2022

Adventurers and Autocrats: The Role of Authority in the Making of the English West Indies, 1595-1655

John Clinton Harris

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John Harris

A Dissertation Submitted to the faculty of the University of

Texas at Arlington

August 16, 2022

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Abbreviations

Bennett Papers: J. Harry Bennett Papers, 1935-1966, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

BNA: British National Archives, Kew, London

Bodleian: Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford

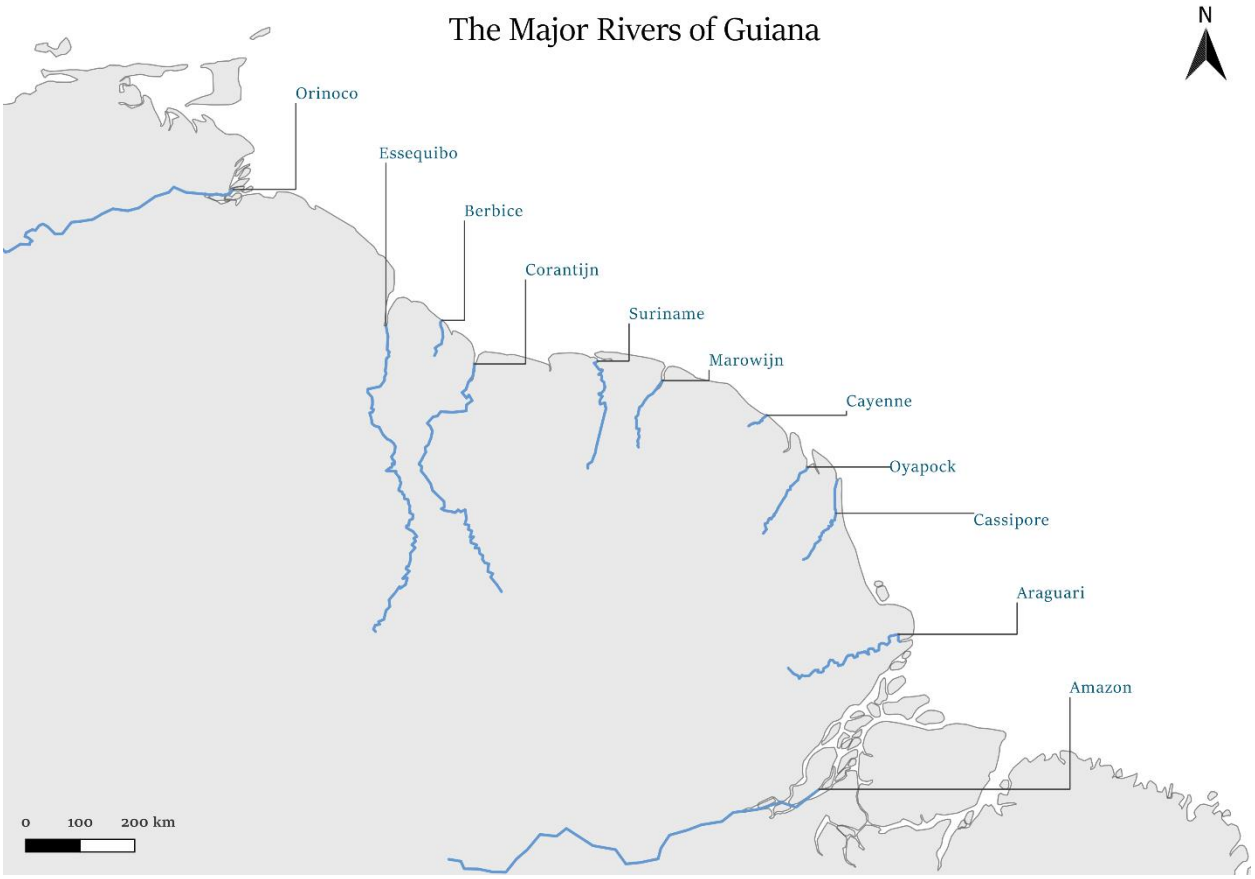
CUL: Cambridge University Library, Cambridge University, Cambridge

BL: British Library, London

Abstract

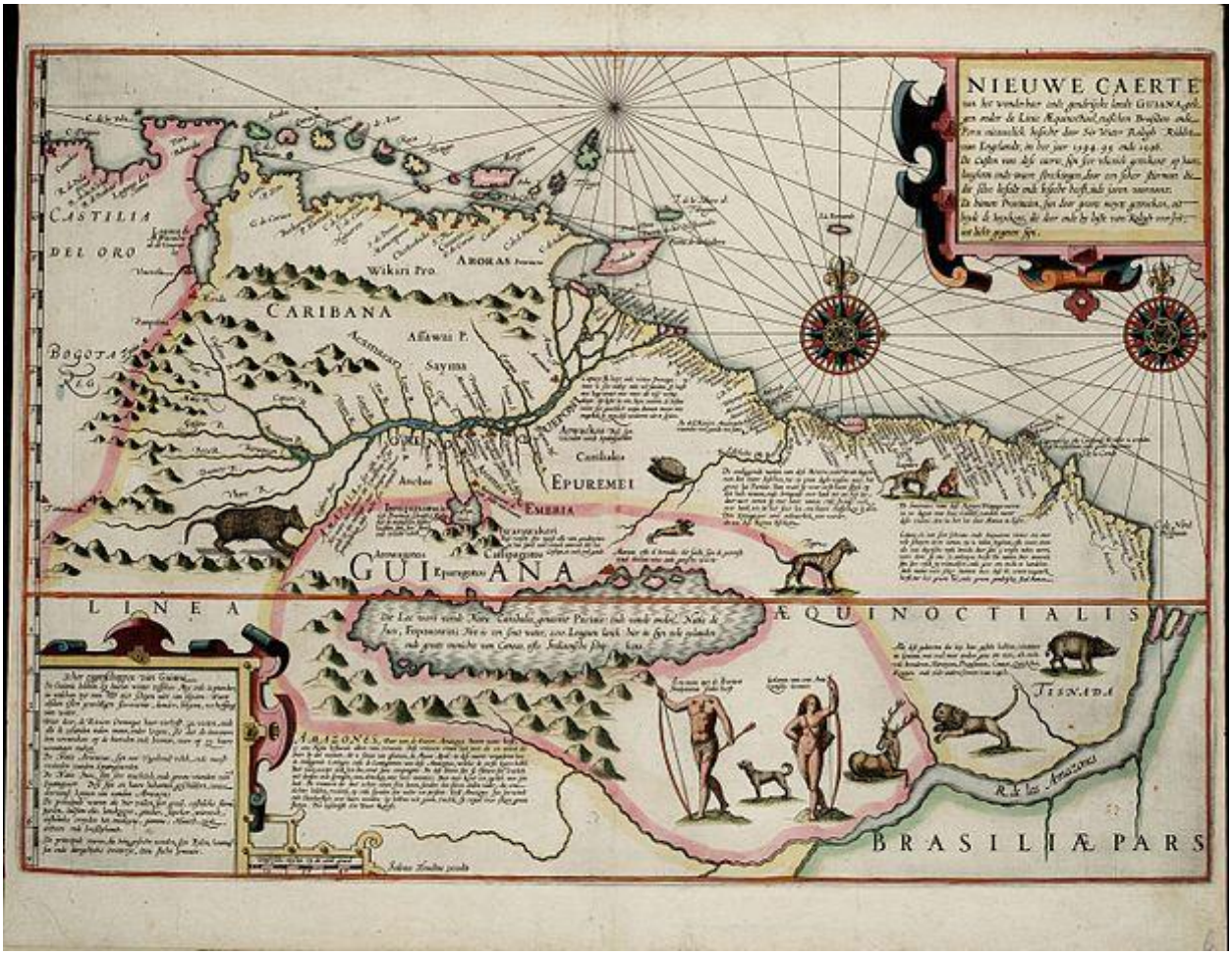
After Walter Ralegh made his famous journey to the Orinoco in 1595, English adventurers began the haphazard process of colonizing the West Indies. Initially they tried to follow Ralegh's efforts in Guiana, but their every effort failed because they lacked access to significant investment capital and did not enjoy the full backing of the crown. After several calamities, Englishmen interested in American colonization turned their efforts towards the Caribbean in 1623. Under the rule of Lord Proprietor James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, and his brutal governors English adventurers enjoyed more success. The key difference in Carlisle's Caribbean and Ralegh's Guiana is that Carlisle had the unqualified backing of the crown and the authority to govern through a form of martial law. That authority gave Carlisle's men the ability to use terror and violence to prevent fledgling island colonies from devolving into anarchy.

Carlisle was so successful at keeping order in his island colonies of St Christopher, Nevis, Barbados, Antigua, and Montserrat that after his death, the West Indians were able to build local institutions on the foundation that order provided. This happened in Barbados first, after Governor Henry Hawley founded an assembly in 1640 that grew in strength throughout the 1640s until it became the most important feature of Barbadian political life. After that, the Lord Proprietor's authority ebbed until it was finally extinguished after the death of the king. With the English state in disarray a faction of big planters took control of the assembly, declared Barbados independent, and expelled Parliament's supporters from the island. Their revolt was unsuccessful, but the English state was never able to assert the same control over Barbados and its sister West Indian colonies again. The West Indian colonies had gone from autocracies built on metropolitan authority to colonial oligarchies that rested on their own power.


The Major Rivers of Guiana
N
Orinoco
Essequibo
Berbice
Corantijn
Suriname
Marowijn
Cayenne
Oyapock
Cassipore
Araguari
Amazon
0 100 200 km

Contemporary Maps

Thomas Hariot, *Roll A. A MAP of Guiana, by Sir W. Ralegh, aft. 1596. Holograph?.Guiana: Map of: 1650.*, 1596 MS Add. 17940a, British Library, London



Jodocus Hondius, *Nieuwe Caerte van het wonderbaer ende goudrijcke landt Guiana, gelegen onder de Linie Aequinoctiael tusschen Brasilien ende Péru. nieuwelick besocht door Sir Water Ralegh Ridder van Engelandt in het jaer 1594, 95 ende 1596*, scale unknown, Amsterdam, 1598.

Gabriel Tatton's chart of the Amazon and Xingu, 1615 (In the collection of the Duke of Northumberland), reproduction graciously provided by Sarah Tyacke

Carte anglaise de l'embouchure de l'Amazone (The "Thomas King Chart") c.1618, GE SH 18 PF 166 DIV 1 P 4 D RES, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris

Richard Ligon, *A topographicall Description and Admeasurement of the YLAND of BARBADOS in the West INDYAES, With the Mrs Names of the Severall plantacons,* 1657 in Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Iſand of Barbadoes: Illuſtrated with a Map of the Iſand, as alſo the Principal Trees and Plants there, ſet forth in their due Proportions and Shapes , drawn out by their ſeveral and reſpective Scales. Together with the Ingenio that makes the Sugar, with the Plots of the feveral Houſes, Rooms, and other places , that are uſed in the whole procefe of Sugar-making; viz, the Grinding-room, the Boyling-room, the Filling-room , the Curing-houſe, Still-houſe and Furnaces; All cut in Copper* (London: Printed, and are to be ſold by *Peter Parker,* at his shop at the *Leg* and *Star* over againſt the *Royal Exchange,* and *Thomas Guy* at the corner Shop of Little *Lumbard-ſtreet* and *Cornhill,* 1673), frontispiece.

Introduction: Adventurers and Autocrats

During the late summer of 1605, John Nicholl walked along a "little necke of land" in St Lucia with seventeen of his fellow settlers to visit with the Kalinago chief of the island, whom the Spanish called Antonio.[1] The Englishmen had just dined with Antonio's brother Augraumart, the chief from St Vincent, in their own camp and joined him afterwards to call on Antonio at his village. There was good reason for Nicholl and his companions to visit. Mistrust had developed between the English and the Kalinago after Captain Nicholas Sen Johns, the settlement's leader, stole a sword out of Antonio's house. Still, the English thought it would be a friendly visit. Some of them danced with the Indian children and allowed them to play with their weapons, which they had not bothered to keep at the ready. Once in the village, they saw Antonio. The chief kept his distance, allowing only his brother to approach. Augraumart reached out to embrace Antonio, and at the last second another Indian raised his "Bruſſell Sword" and knocked Augraumart down with a single stroke.[2] While the English watched in disbelief, a cloud of arrows from archers hiding in the woods rained down on them. The archers left no one unscathed, and the English were unable to rally themselves. Some men ran for the sea, but others like Nicholl tried to fight their way out. After he was too wounded to run, Sen Johns's son held off a swarm of Kalinago warriors while his friends fled into the woods. He finally fell to his knees, swinging his his sword wildly at his attackers "like ſo many Curres from a Lyon" until finally collapsing.[3]

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[1] John Nicholl, *An Houre Glasse of Indian Newes. Or A True and Tragicall Discourse, Shewing the most Lamentable Miseries, and Distressed Calamities Indured by 67 Englishmen, which were Sent for a Supply to the Planting in Guiana in the Yeare. 1605 VVho Not Finding the Saide Place, were for Want of Victuall, Left a Shore in Saint Lucia, an Island of Caniballs, Or Men-Eaters in the West-Indyes, Vnder the Conduct of Captain Sen-Iohns, of all which Said Number, Onely a 11. are Supposed to be Still Liuing, Whereof 4. are Lately Returnd into England. Written by Iohn Nicholl, One of the Aforesaid Company* (London, Printed by Edward Allde for Nathaniell Butter, and are to bee solde at his shop neere Saint Austens Gate, 1607), np.. A Bruſſell Sword" is likely a Kalinago club.
[2] Ibid, np.
[3] Ibid, np.

The arrows kept coming. As he bolted down a narrow trail, Nicholl witnessed a friend take an arrow through the head before taking two arrows in the back himself. He turned and "ſaw Captaine Anthony with an arrow in his Bow drawne againſt me"[4] just as the chief fired a third arrow that pierced his hand and fastened it to the sword handle. Nicholl resolved to die as valiantly as the young Sen Johns and charged the chief before he could draw his bow again. Antonio was caught off guard and ran for cover, and Nicholl escaped back to the camp. When he got there, he saw the Kalinago set it to the torch with flaming arrows. The smoke from the burning wooden structures filled the night air and covered the warriors gathering to storm the camp and finish the massacre. As Nicholl and the rest readied themselves for death, the cannoneer turned the ordnance towards the thickest cloud and fired into it. Shrieks of pain filled the night air, and the startled Indians disappeared into the woods. The awful night was over.[5]

Nicholl's narrative offers a unique comparison between environmental, social, economic, and political dynamics that separated the way English adventurism proceeded in Guiana from the way it unfolded in the Caribbean. These factors were interrelated; environment decided economic purpose and method, commercial relationships molded social relationships, social construction affected political structures, and political power determined whether the authority to decide socioeconomic outcomes was negotiable or unilateral. Despite the divergence in the pattern of Guianese and Caribbean adventurism in the West Indies, colonial processes progressed in a trajectory that traveled in a consistent direction: from a mixed society to a stratified one, from small-scale to large-scale economies, and from free and stateless settlements to unfree institutionalized colonies. Although Sen Johns's settlers did not originally plan to settle in St Lucia, their attempt to do so failed to overcome the same basic challenges faced by Guianese

[4] Ibid, np.
[5] Ibid, np.

adventurers: harsh terrain, uncooperative Indians, and an uncommissioned leader incapable of coercing Englishman or Indian through violence or intimidation.

The Guianese jungle was an enormous rainforest with harsh terrain while the Caribbean – prior to the colonization of Jamaica– consisted of small islands with less land that were more easily cleared. Victuals were far more readily available in places like the Wiapoco River or the Amazon Delta that attracted English settlers than they were in the Caribbean where most of the food and cash crops grown by the English came from seeds indigenous to South America.[6] The Indian population living in riverine villages along the network of waterways that crisscrossed the Guianese interior was quite large, while the Indians living in the Caribbean were nowhere near as numerous. The environment also affected English intentions. Guianese adventurism always had an element of discovery, whereas Caribbean adventurers saw the tiny islands primarily in terms of conquest. In Guiana, adventurers often doubled as explorers and traveled as far up the navigable rivers as they could. In doing so, they collected far more ethnological, cartographic, and navigational information than their later Caribbean counterparts, whose interest in maps was either cadastral or commercial.

If the Guianese adventurers did not want to market their maps, they did share a similar capitalistic purpose with the Caribbean adventurers even if they differed in method. The would-be Guianese colonists were generalists; the earliest ones had no specific ideas about what they wanted to plant or how, and those that were able had to do so unaided by metropolitan adventurers –the merchants, gentlemen, and peers with access to capital pools. As colonial Guianese adventurers learned that planting schemes in the jungle were not so easily realized, they looked to trading with the Indians for saleable tropical commodities that could bring returns

[6] The Oyapock River that separates Brazil and French Guyana today.

on their investments. The Indians benefitted more than the English from their barter economy; the tribes living in the coastal river mouths could become very wealthy acting as the intermediaries between the English adventurers and merchant shippers and the Indians living in the South American interior. Trade with the Indians became the primary economic endeavor in every part of Guiana outside the Amazon, and there trading and tobacco planting were both important components of the local economy.

Trading in various tropical commodities was far less important to the Caribbean adventurers whose specialized operations involved wealthy investors who controlled capital pools and wider-range shipping networks than Guianese adventurers could access and capable agents overseeing the operations in colony. The opportunities for trade were extremely limited because the Indians had less desire for English goods, which made the regular and profitable trade that the English enjoyed in Guiana impossible. This was in part because the Indians in the Caribbean were fewer in number than the large population of Indian tribes living in the riverine villages of Guiana, and in part because the Kalinago were more rightly suspicious of the encroaching English. They were willing to engage goods on a small scale, but they had neither the resources nor inclination to engage in the widespread trading economy Guianese Indians enjoyed. Planting was the primary economic endeavor in the Caribbean, and it was undertaken at such a scale that it completely eclipsed anything the Amazonian tobacco planters had been able to accomplish with their far more limited resources. Caribbean adventurers wanted to plant cash crops like tobacco, cotton, or sugar, and they were willing to sink colossal sums up front for the promise of healthy profits once a colony was established. Their operations involved a more complex operation that obliged adventurers associated with a particular enterprise to carry out specific tasks no matter which side of the Atlantic they resided.

The economies that developed in Guiana and the Caribbean helped foster different societies. In Guiana, the English often encountered cooperative Indians wherever they went because they had things to offer that the Indians wanted. Trade relationships were the most important, but the Indians also wanted military alliances with the English for protection against rival tribes. They also existed in numbers too large to be overwhelmed with force, so Englishmen who wanted tropical commodities or assistance with planting had to cooperate with them. This led to racially mixed societies that did not become nearly as stratified or coercive as Caribbean societies defined by the separation of race and class. Caribbean adventurers –with one major exception– were not interested in cooperation because they could muster greater force than the Kalinago and because the Kalinago had nothing the English wanted. The reverse was true for the Kalinago. Their small population could not counter the English advantage in arms with numbers as the Guianese Indians could, and they had less of a need for English goods. For the Kalinago, this meant chasing the English off their islands before they went from being interlopers to residents. For the English, this meant that coercing or annihilating the Kalinago was the best way to deal with them.

While the trajectory of economic and social forces moving from trading with free people to forcing unfree laborers to work plantations seems unidirectional and inexorable, it was as much a product of contingency as it was of structural causation and there were crucial moments in the process when individual action mattered most. Guianese adventurers lacked royal authority –which could be granted through commission, charter, or patent– to execute Englishmen who did not obey them, and they did not have the weight of public or private institutions to support them with resources or military force. This meant that leaders had to negotiate with their fellow Englishmen as well as the Indians to achieve their objectives, but that

only worked when things were going well. If things got difficult and dangerous, and a leader could not command and be obeyed, then catastrophe could be the result. Many of the Guianese settlements in the Amazon existed for nearly a decade under the leadership of charismatic individuals whose authority came from consent, but the conditions in the Amazon were some of the most favorable colonizing Englishmen ever enjoyed. In other places in Guiana or the Caribbean, life could be much harder, and survival could depend on a strongman to keep a settlement together and the men in it alive. That was only possible if a leader could execute Englishmen without fear of consequences in England, because such ferocious governance requires spectacular atrocity that might get a man imprisoned or executed if the king or one of his representatives did not approve such actions. The authority to make decisions and enforce them was a key component of Caribbean adventurism as well as autocracy, and the two were not so clearly demarcated.

Sovereignty, the pinnacle of state authority and power, belonged to the crown entirely when it came to foreign or colonial affairs and all legal authority in the West Indies originated with the monarch. Only the sovereign or his designated representatives could exempt commissioned officials from the force of English law, and only the sovereign could recognize settled territories as belonging to England. That made royal license vitally important for large-scale enterprises that depended on order and permanence to succeed. When that sovereign authority was transmitted clearly from the crown, adventurers could convert inhospitable areas into profitable colonies. Capitalists could supply enough men and money to throw at the problem of colonization if they thought it was worth it, but that depended on the king's interest in their enterprise specifically or West Indian adventurism in general. If the crown was disinterested or antagonistic towards an enterprise, no financial expense could make an adventure succeed

permanently because adventurers worried about anarchy impeding business or their investments being lost if the king chose not to recognize their claims to private property in the colonies. This made sovereign authority and the authority of commissioners and patent holders vital to an adventurer pacifying a wild frontier. Yet once that settlement became a colony with its own institutions, the need for control from Whitehall or Westminster alone was at an end. The uneven changes in the application and strength of authority in England and the West Indies connected the earliest Guianese explorers in late sixteenth-century to the colonial state institutions in the Caribbean that eventually challenged the Commonwealth and forced the relocation of sovereignty from England alone to the invisible connection between the metropolitan and colonial states in the West Indies.

Nicholl and his fellow Englishmen, hired by Sir Oliphe Leigh to join his brother Charles's colonial expedition in Guiana on the river the English called the Wiapoco, arrived on St Lucia a few days before the attack after missing their original destination. The journey to Guiana had not gone well. When the captain of the *Olive Blossom* hired to transport Nicholl and the other settlers incompetently missed the destination, the trade winds proved too strong for the ship to sail back along the South American coast. When they stopped to victual at St Lucia, the crew and colonists found the Kalinago happy to trade foodstuffs for English merchandise. Unfortunately, there was still not enough for the ship's crew and the prospective colonists, so Nicholl and his fellow settlers had no choice but to remain on the island and wait for another ship to rescue them. The stranded settlers unloaded several chests full of supplies on the beach and kept the ship's tender boat afterwards. Angry at the theft of the boat, the captain discharged ship's cannon at the campsite on shore hoping to destroy the rudimentary dwellings the settlers constructed. Sen Johns returned fire and the cannonball sailed harmlessly over the ship, which

raised anchor and left soon after. When it stopped near the Kalinago village to trade, the crew spread rumors that the settlers "were bad people, and would take all they had from them, and would cut their throats."[7] The ship was still there when Captain Sen Johns showed up with fifteen men in the controversial boat, and a cannonade ensued that Sen Johns and his men barely avoided. The understandably upset crew "tearmed the Baye where we put these men a shoare Rogues Baye" out of contempt.[8]

Despite the rowdy introduction, relations with the Kalinago began well enough. They continued to offer all manner of goods to the English:

> Plantons, Potatoes, Penas, Papaians, Pumpins, Gallobashoes, Pappes, Mammies, Guiauas, with diuerse other fruits, and Tobacco aboundance, all verie pleasant to eate. Also they brought Turtles, Guanas Hens and Chickens, Woodcocks and Snipes, with some Pellicans.[9]

Merchandise taken from Spanish castaways, including several layers of cloth, were available for "hatchets, kniues, beads, fiſh-hookes, and thimbles, with other trifles."[10] Captain Sen Johns traded a hatchet with Antonio for seven huts for his thirty-seven stranded men to live in, and the other Kalinago visited frequently to share a meal with the island's strange new residents. The misunderstandings began when Antonio told the English that Augraumart did not want the English to stay and advised them to kill his brother at the first opportunity. When Augraumart arrived from St Vincent, his disposition towards the English was exceedingly friendly. He even sold them a grinder made from flint designed to process cassava to make it edible, valuable technology that could help fend off starvation. Before leaving Augraumart offered his own

[7] Ibid, np.
[8] Ibid, np; Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others, By Samuel Purchas, B.D. Volume XVI* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1906), 353-354.
[9] Nicholl, *An Houre Glasse of Indian Newes*, np.
[10] Ibid, np.

advice: Antonio wanted him dead, so they should kill the St Lucia chief at the first opportunity. If the English had not realized the precariousness of their situation before, they did now. They were stranded on an island in the Caribbean, caught in a war they did not understand, and likely no one was coming to rescue them.[11]

From there the politics in St Lucia became increasingly uncomfortable. Economic exchange initially allowed the two distinct cultures to coexist, but the confusion caused by Antonio and Augraumart's warnings was worrisome. Sen Johns hurriedly gathered his men, who readily consented to keep him as their leader. That done, he promulgated some unwritten laws everyone was to follow and divided the responsibilities according to individual talents. He forbade anyone to trade a weapon to a Kalinago from that point forward for fear of the English losing their technological advantage. When one of his men broke the rule and sold a sword to Antonio, Sen Johns made the great mistake of stealing it back from the chief while he slept. The more sensible response to the infraction would have been to punish the offender and leave the Indian alone. That chilled the relationship between the English and the Kalinago, and Antonio became cold and standoffish. The daily trading visits stopped.[12]

The situation became more confused when the English asked some of the villagers wearing gold jewelry where they had found the gold. They pointed to the mountain peak on the island, but Antonio counseled that there was none there. This was twice the Kalinago had given them conflicting information. Suspicion plagued the English campsite, and the men balked when Sen Johns insisted on climbing the mountain to look for the gold. The captain persisted until they relented and agreed to his plan, and Sen Johns departed with sixteen men and a store of the camp's provisions. They never returned. One man swore to the others that he had overheard two

[11] Ibid, np.
[12] Ibid, np.

of the Indians talking about Sen Johns getting his hand cut off on the slopes of the mountain. The others dismissed the claim, believing instead that the man had misunderstood the language he was hearing. When the man "made such a motion as to put them to the sword" he was told that "God woulde not bee pleased with such a bloudie Act, agaynst such harmlesse people."[13] This was a massive underestimation of Kalinago power, and it led to ruin. After they were nearly annihilated by the Kalinago during the ambuscade in Antonio's village, Nicholl and his friends decided that risking exposure, starvation, or capture by the Spanish was far better than the certain death they could expect if they tried to stay in St Lucia. Seeing that his enemies were leaving, Antonio agreed to trade a periago filled with food in return for the last of the English commodities. As they left, he warned them that Augraumart still lived and to avoid St Vincent. It is unclear if Augraumart survived out of luck or if the entire thing was a ruse to lure the English into the village, but if it was the latter then Antonio's parting words may have been the Indian's private joke at English expense.[14]

Although Sen Johns presided over a debacle that was entirely unplanned, he made crucial mistakes that doomed his men as well as himself. The failure to reach their original destination had led to a conflict between Sen Johns and the ship's captain, and neither possessed the clear authority to overrule the other. Instead, the crew and the colonists divided into hostile factions, and the former was able to force the latter off the ship when they had the opportunity. While the ship's captain might have overreacted to the theft of his boat, it was Sen Johns who allowed it to be stolen in the first place. Taking the boat might have felt justifiable given that the ship's crew just marooned Sen John's colonists, but it was short sighted. After all, the men stuck in St Lucia were dependent on the ship's captain to tell someone in London where they were. The volley of

[13] Ibid, np.
[14] Ibid, np.

cannon fire directed at Sen Johns and his men in front of the Kalinago signaled that the English remaining on the island were unsupported. Filching the sword from Antonio after the chief bartered for it in an honest transaction confirmed the earlier slander from the ship's crew and made Sen Johns look like a cowardly thief in front of potential rivals. Leaving rule breakers unpunished showed that the captain could be disobeyed without consequence and further eroded his authority as conditions deteriorated. Military preparations and organization were ignored; the English had a cannon and muskets, but the men were too undisciplined to keep them at the ready. The fatal mistake came when Sen Johns, despite the misgivings of everyone around him, took half of the settlers in the English camp on an absurd search for Indian gold. For marooned men, precious metals were just shiny objects; they could not be eaten, worn, or turned into weapons.

Competence and charisma –two qualities Sen Johns did not possess– could often go a long way if a leader lacked official authority. Leigh did not possess either qualification. Later men like Sir Thomas Roe who operated through agents in the Amazon did not have permission to do so, but Roe's recruitment of experienced captains and capable leaders enabled him to run an illicit tobacco trade for nearly a decade until the king's animosity to Guianese adventurism ended it. One of the last settlers associated with Roe to leave the Amazon was Sir Thomas Warner, a military man who had once served in the king's guard. Of all the colonial adventurers to tromp through the West Indies, none were as charismatic and formidable. Without official approval in London, he traveled to St Christopher, founded a settlement, and then massacred the Kalinago already living there. His command was not easily questioned or ignored, and his men appreciated his decisiveness and soldierly manner. Warner managed to hold the colony and its settlers together for over a year until he became the only man whose unauthorized actions in the West Indies eventually received royal endorsement.

Warner's royal recognition came in the form of a commission, which granted him extensive authority over the island as an agent of the crown. Commissions enabled officeholders and agents to perform certain tasks for the state, and they were often the point of contact between most Englishmen and the state. Commissioned colonial adventurers possessed great authority, including the rights to establish institutions or to punish wrongdoers in any way they saw fit. Warner was explicitly granted that right in a commission he received in 1625, and he used his right to fine, incarcerate, torture, or execute Englishmen who disobeyed him without fear of accountability in England. This made his men afraid of him and enabled his despotism, an essential ingredient in successful state formation and the preservation of order. Yet from the metropolitan adventurers' perspective, effective control over a colony was not enough assurance. Commissions were impermanent and the authority they conferred were specific to their jobs, and London magnates who took the long-term view of their colonial investments wanted more certainty than a commission offered.[15]

Proprietary patents were a solution to this problem, although they were not granted through a consistent policy until the Caroline period. Charles intended patents to be permanent, inheritable, and commodifiable, and the king reserved them for his leading courtiers with political experience. This innovative approach gave investors greater confidence, and, more importantly, leant a much wider authority to proprietors than a commissioned official normally enjoyed. They were principate in their patented dominions specified in the patent and could commission their own agents. Yet even though patents were the strongest legal guarantee the state afforded, the royal prerogative still meant that the king could override a patentee's decisions or revoke the patent if he thought it necessary. To prevent that outcome, metropolitan

[15] M. J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 33-44.

adventurers needed noble patrons with enough influence at court to secure a patent and ensure that the king always smiled on their projects. These men were key to colonial success, and their clients knew it even though many were far wealthier than their sponsors. This status meant that a proprietor, no matter his financial contribution to the scheme, directed the enterprise with the advice –but not necessarily the consent– of his fellow adventurers.[16]

The term *adventurer* could be vague, but in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries it usually meant any profit seekers investing in foreign expeditions and colonial projects. The armchair explorer Richard Hakluyt used the term to describe financiers who never left London rather than colonists and thought of *adventure* as a term for capital or cargo intended for trade in foreign locales.[17] Hakluyt's report that John Hawkins's named his ship *Adventure* may have been a clever double entendre for both Hawkins's human commodities as well as the investors who financed his trade. These moneyed men, who never left London, I call *metropolitan adventurers.* Yet not all of Hakluyt's contemporaries employed the word in that way. Sir Walter Ralegh used *adventure* as Hakluyt did, but he also meant facing peril or the unknown in foreign locales. Even so, Ralegh did not mean that the terms had discrete meanings but could refer to men who risked either their fortunes, their lives, or both in overseas undertakings. It is not surprising that he did so, because Ralegh invested his own estate as well as his person when he traveled to Guiana on two occasions. John Smith found gentlemen who bought into the colonial project in Virginia and then joined the expedition especially useless, but whatever their aptitude, these men placed themselves in extreme danger whether they intended to

[16] Ibid, 33-43.
[17] The modern-day term "venture capitalist" derives from *adventure* in the way Hakluyt understood it.

or not. I use the phrase *colonial adventurers* to refer to men of this type, many of whom proved far more competent than either Ralegh or the gentlemen who irritated Smith.[18]

Merchants were the most important adventurers in any colonial endeavor, but they frequently acted in concert with landed gentlemen and were often gentlemen themselves. Social mobility in England was limited, but large estates could allow a man to buy his way into the gentry, and on occasion, the peerage itself. The West Country in Devonshire and Cornwall was thick with gentlemen traders and merchants whose main interests were in North America, and the wealth their activity generated gave them a powerful lobby in the English Parliament. West Indian adventurers tended to hail from areas such as Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Suffolk and operated out of London. Some of these men, commonly referred to as the Merchants of London, became one of the most powerful colonizing and trading interest of the early Stuart era. When West Indian efforts shifted from Guiana to the Caribbean, they gobbled up as much land as they could. More than anyone else involved in West Indian adventure, the Merchants of London were responsible for the advent of slavery in the Caribbean and the seas of bloody cane fields that sprouted in their wake. They were among the first to link Europe, Africa, and the Americas in an Atlantic network that brought them unimaginable fortunes at the expense of indentured or enslaved laborers who usually died miserably and quickly under the tropical sun.[19]

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[18] David Narrett, *Adventurism and Empire: The Struggle for Mastery in the Louisiana-Florida Borderlands, 1762-1803* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 4-6; Walter Ralegh, *The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century by Walter Ralegh, Professor of English Literature in the University of Oxford* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1906), 8, 10, 20, 39, 57, 62, 91; Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Nauigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation made by Sea Or Ouer-Land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at any Time within the Compasse of these 1500. Yeeres: Deuided into Three Seuerall Volumes, According to the Positions of the Regions, Whereunto they were Directed. ... by Richard Hakluyt Master of Artes, and Sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford* (London: By George Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker, 1598), 593.

[19] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 17-19

Earlier historians of the West Indies were more concerned with West Indian political narratives than more recent historians who have a strong preference for cultural and economic analysis. In his 1887 *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados,* late nineteenth-century antiquarian Nicholas Darnell Davis provides a more complete discussion of the the Walrond coup and the fallout afterwards then perhaps anyone has since. James Alexander Williamson's 1923 *English Colonies in Guiana and the Amazon, 1604-1668* or his1926 *The History of the Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patent*s, as well as Vincent Todd Harlow's 1926 *A History of Barbados* show the same concerns as Davis, namely, establishing as complete a political narrative as possible. Williamson reviewed all the known archival documents related to the colonization of the English Caribbean and the struggle for control of the islands that began in 1623 and ended in 1652. Despite his antiquated viewpoint, Williamson's works remain the most complete and frequently cited narrative assessments of the period. [20]

More recent studies such as Richard S. Dunn's 1972 *Sugar and Slaves* focused more on cultural and economic changes that happened during the proprietary years, but limitations imposed by the availability of sources pushed Dunn's often statistical analysis towards the 1630s. Gary Puckrein's analysis of the 1620s in his 1984 *Little England* is also brief, although he is more interested in tying narrative to analysis than Dunn. Both approaches deserve consideration in a study of how authority and adventurers transformed the West Indies, because

[20] Nicholas Darnell Davis, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados,*138-142; Puckrein, *Little England*, 106-111; James Alexander Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 121-123; Vincent Todd Harlow, *A History of Barbados, 1625-1685* (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1926), 25-82; For a broader discussion on the economics of the 1630s and 1640s see: John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, "The Sugar Industry in the Seventeenth Century: A New Perspective on the Barbadian Sugar Revolution," in *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680* ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 289-320; Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 46-80; Simon P. Newman,. *A New World of Labor: The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); 54-107.

the outcome of the colonization process of the 1620s period depended on the actions and decisions of individuals as much as the larger political and economic structural forces unleashed by kings and capitalists. This dissertation seeks to reconsider the importance of contingency sometimes missing from modern works by reconsidering older and perhaps more antiquarian approaches that focused on the narratives of individual decision makers. Authority belongs exclusively to men; understanding how particular adventurers guided economic and social structures requires telling their stories.[21]

The concept of authority that facilitated colonization runs throughout this history of the early English West Indies, although the relationship of authority and power can be hard to discern. This dissertation seeks to complicate Jack Greene's definitions of authority and power found in *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial, Political, and Constitutional History.* Greene sees authority as "a term that implies legitimacy, justice, and right," but that definition requires reconsideration.[22] It is true that the monarch's sovereign authority was inherently legitimate, but metropolitan adventurers holding charters or patents did not care about injustice. They were more concerned with legitimizing their colonial agents' lawlessness by exempting them from the power of English law. There was good reason for this; had the colonial agents acting in their stead concerned themselves with the morality or strict legality of their actions they would have been killed by their own men and their colonies in anarchy. Colonial adventurers needed to be able to resort to extreme violence, and that required clear and unassailable authority originating from the king. Governors acting under the color of a proprietary patent or company

[21] James Alexander Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), 38-63; Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 49-83; Gary Puckrein, *Little England: Plantation Society and Anglo-Barbadian Economics, 1627-1700* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 22-40.

[22] Jack P. Greene, *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial, Political, and Constitutional History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994), 4.

charter could be fearsome, and their masters in London hated. Only the king, whose office combined political and religious authority, could legitimize the rights of adventurers to use deadly force against their fellow Englishmen.[23]

Even if the crown did not construct its own institutions to administer English colonies during the Jacobean and Caroline periods as it did during the Restoration, colonization efforts could not proceed without at least having the monarch's tacit authorization and participation. According to M. J. Braddick, in *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700,* the king's ability to legitimize actions that would have been considered heinous crimes in England depended on the intertwined concepts of belief and compliance. The former depended on a subject's own beliefs, and whether the conduct of state officials could be validated by those beliefs. The king, whose office combined the pinnacle of political and religious authority, could justify a great deal of unseemly behavior on the part of state agents. A commission, charter, or patent confirmed royal approval and served as a justification for a particular activity based on the belief that the king's decisions were correct. Yet that authority had its limits, as Charles eventually discovered when he faced rebellion over political and ecclesiastical disagreements with some of his most powerful subjects. Adventurers could not rely on belief alone to prevent frightened and desperate men from rebellion, because the moment may have come when their charges no longer believed. At that point, the use of force legitimated itself when colonists were made to submit or suffer. Obedience could come from consent or extracted through pain, and the latter was always more reliable than the former when a colony faced danger. A commission

[23] Ibid, 1-24; see also Georgio Agamben, *The Omnibus Homo Sacer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017), 161-247; Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince,* ed. David Wooton (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1995); Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, Or, the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Common Wealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civil by Thomas Hobbes* (London, Printed for Andrew Crooke, 1651).

meant legal affirmation of a governor's actions no matter how outrageous and verified that the holder of the commission would avoid answering for them in London.[24]

Instead of weakening with distance from the metropole, commissions became even stronger the further the agent traveled into the colonial borderlands. In "The Predicament of Ubi: "Locating Authority and National Identity in the English Atlantic," Mark L. Thompson demonstrates this phenomenon by following Thomas Yong's travels from London to the Delaware River in 1634. In London Yong was a supplicant anxious to secure the king's authority for his intended explorations, but as he journeyed through settled Virginia into indigenous territory and from there to the contested space of the Delaware river his authority grew. When he confronted Dutch explorers, he invited them to board his ship and presented his commission to them over dinner. As the Dutchmen only held a commission from the governor of New Netherlands, they acknowledged that Yong's commission from the English crown was the more impressive and left him to his business. Although Yong was an explorer, Thompson's theory held true in the West Indies. Settlers in Guiana never held commissions granting the appropriate authority to realize their plans if they had received royal authorization at all. As a result, they were little match for the hazards present in the jungle that ranged from hunger and sickness to the greater authority and power of local Indian tribes. Like Sen Johns, their authority depended almost entirely on consent, and the consent of men lost in a vast wilderness could be fickle. Conversely, the authority of governors in the Caribbean acting in the name of a patentee's proprietary authority was nearly total. If a rebellion against a commissioned governor or his fellow adventurers succeeded, colonists could expect a reprisal from the English state.[25]

[24] Braddick, *State Formation*, 68-71.
[25] Mark L. Thompson, "The Predicament of Ubi: Locating Authority and National Identity in the Seventeenth-Century English Atlantic," in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* ed. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 71-77, 86-89.

Building off the work of Amy Turner Bushnell and Greene in "Peripheries, Centers, and the Construction of Early Modern American Empires," Thompson identifies four different spaces that Yong passed through in his explorations: domestic metropolitan spaces, domestic colonial spaces, indigenous spaces, and contested colonial spaces. In the West Indies, those divisions were never clear. For Englishmen in Guiana from 1595 to 1623, indigenous spaces and contested spaces were never separate. Not only did they have to recognize the inferiority of their own authority and power to that of the Indians, the threat of other Europeans was also constant. That meant that separate negotiations were often held in the same physical spaces. The experience of early Caribbean explorers and settlers in the 1620s also differed from Englishmen in 1630s North America. The first settlers in St Christopher arrived in an indigenous space, but the island quickly became a space violently contested by the Kalinago as well as multiple European nations. Barbados, at least for the English, was not a previously inhabited indigenous space even if it was contested by separate English factions vying for control of an island with great productive potential.[26]

In the early West Indies, the domestic colonial spaces Thompson refers to are not readily identifiable. Bushnell and Greene argue that places like Virginia, where Yong's authority was greater than in England but lesser than it would be in the North American borderlands, were colonial centers– nodes in a larger network with the metropole at the center– with their own peripheries. The indigenous and contested spaces that Thompson connected to an established Virginia fit that definition nicely. Prior to the 1630s, West Indian adventurers did not pass through any such space on their way to Guiana or the Caribbean. Virginia, which became a

[26] Ibid, 74-86; Amy Turner Bushnell and Jack P. Greene, "Peripheries, Centers, and the Construction of Modern American Empires," in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820* ed. Christine Daniels and Michael P. Kennedy (New York: Routledge, 2002), 5-6.

stopover port or a trading partner, could not be said to be the core to the West Indian periphery. St Christopher and Barbados could occasionally be colonial centers to islands like St Lucia when their governors authorized settlement attempts, but in the years of colonization and settlement prior to the Restoration that status never lasted for long. A commission from a governor and inconsistent support from other adventurers were simply inadequate to the task. This was different from North American colonies, where colonial centers multiplied as Englishmen searching for new lands expanded into the interior.[27]

Although indigenous and contested spaces did not trouble West Indian governors as much as their counterparts in North America, they often faced internal threats from a dissatisfied planter class or their unfree laborers. The distant menace of metropolitan institutions alone was often not enough, and a speedy answer to such challenges meant the creation of local systems of power that organized colonists along political and military lines. This did not necessarily mean uniting everyone in the colony; it was enough to choose a faction and elevate it over everyone else. That gave the governor a coherent force of men motivated by greed who could rapidly respond to the immediate threats of planter revolts or slave rebellions. Greene argues that power is "strength, force, and might," but that description is incomplete.[28] Power is not found in a cannon or a cudgel, but in the institutions or organizations that use them for coercive ends. The strength Greene refers to comes from structure and shared purpose, not from quantity of men or material. In the Caribbean, the governor functioned as the agent of the sovereign, and his office combined the rudimentary institutions of colonial power with authority that came from the king and the metropolitan adventurers financing the project. His right to execute Englishmen gave

[27] Thompson, "The Predicament of Ubi," 77-80; Bushnell and Greene, "Peripheries, Centers, and the Construction of Modern American Empires," 5-6.
[28] Greene, *Negotiated Authorities*, 4.

him the ability to enforce the martial discipline to create a system capable of subjugating indentured Europeans and enslaving Indians and Africans, something Guianese adventurers who lacked the king's permission could never accomplish.[29]

Part One of this dissertation tracks those luckless adventurers in Guiana inspired by Walter Ralegh, a brilliant and charismatic colonial adventurer whose navigation of the Orinoco opened the possibilities for harvesting extractable and renewable resources from the backwater stretching from the Orinoco to the Amazon that was claimed –but not effectively controlled– by the Spanish. Ralegh's sack of Trinidad made him a hero to many of the native tribes of the Orinoco Delta who had been ruthlessly suppressed by the Spanish governor, and Ralegh saw those tribes as potential allies in his search for South American gold. The Leighs and the other men following Ralegh's example looked to Guiana's indigenous residents as potential political, military, and economic allies in their quests for golden ore, plantation riches, or tropical commodities. Historians disagree as to whether this behavior stemmed from ideology or simple realism. In *Walter Ralegh: Architect of Empire,* Alan Gallay argues that Ralegh wanted to create a benevolent empire comprised of a diverse population of English and Indian subjects working hand in hand for mutual defense and financial gain. Joyce Lorimer, in *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana,* contends that Ralegh's case for Indian alliances concealed his true objective of conquest. Ralegh objected to forcibly enslaving the Indians, but he did propose to construct an empire in their homeland that would have subordinated them to their English betters. Initially, they would have to be dealt with on their own terms, but once the English established themselves in Guiana all manner of exploitation could be possible.[30]

[29] Ibid, 4.
[30] Joyce Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana* (London: Published by Ashgate for the Hakluyt Society, 2006), lxiii-lxiv, 206, 253-263; Alan Gallay, *Walter Ralegh: Architect of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 363-373.

Ralegh's elaborate plans for an English empire never gained the crown's support. Boisterous and unpredictable, he was consistently in and out of favor with Elizabeth and never in James's good graces. James never cared for West Indian adventure and he deeply detested Ralegh. The king hated tobacco, and Guiana had been England's chief source of it since the 1590's. Moreover, James suspected that the Elizabethan courtier sought to undermine his rule. When specious accusations of treason arose in the form of the Main Plot, Ralegh was tried without council and denied the opportunity to cross-examine his accuser, the only witness to his purported crime. Ralegh bravely defended himself, and in so doing turned public opinion in his favor. As a new king, James's concerns about his own popularity stayed his hand, and at the last possible moment he opted to incarcerate Ralegh in the Tower instead of executing him. Although Ralegh eventually persuaded James to free him from the Tower and allow him to return to Guiana to search for gold in 1617, the flamboyant knight was never able to command the authority he had under Elizabeth. The king could not be reliably expected to side with him if he resorted to violence against the Spanish during his mission. When the return to the Orinoco resulted in the burning of a Spanish outpost, the king took his head. That sad event marked the decline and eventual demise of English plans for Guiana until later in the seventeenth century. For all his brilliance Ralegh lacked the political savvy necessary for gaining and keeping the monarch's full authority, and after his death no one traveled to Guiana with the authorization of the king.[31]

Chapter One examines the failed adventures of Ralegh, Charles Leigh, and Robert Harcourt from 1595 to 1609. All three men went to Guiana with very different purposes: Ralegh wanted glory and gold, Leigh wanted to start planting immediately, and Harcourt wanted to place

[31] Gallay, *Walter Ralegh: Architect of Empire,* 424-429.

trading factors along the Guianese coasts for his ships to visit regularly. They all interacted and traded with the Indians, although Ralegh never entirely gave up on his original ambitions and only reluctantly agreed to cooperate with merchant traders who wanted to operate in the lands he absurdly claimed as Raleana. These adventurers wanted to learn as much as they could about the geography, natural resources, and indigenous peoples in Guiana as they could; profit depended on that, but so did survival. Englishmen needed to know who and where their allies were, what they wanted, and what they could offer. In no case could the English do anything besides cooperate with tribes like the Yao that they found there, as the Indians were too numerous and too powerful to be coerced. The Yao benefitted more from contact than did the English and made use of their exclusive connections with English traders to accumulate the economic resources and political authority necessary to form a pan-tribal confederacy that stretched throughout the region between the Wiapoco and the Amazon known as the Amapa.

Chapter Two follows Sir Thomas Roe and the settlers he deposited in the Amazon to plant tobacco, and demonstrates that even when environmental, economic, and social conditions were all favorable to an adventure it could not permanently succeed without royal authority. The Amazon had a healthy environment with the world's largest supply of fresh water, friendly Indians, and plenty of rich soil that was perfect for planting tobacco. What the English adventuring there did not have was permission. Roe was a savvy operator, and he managed to keep his business quiet for nearly a decade before other adventurers began making moves that annoyed the crown. Ralegh persuaded James to allow him to return to Guiana in 1617, and to the great embarrassment of the king Ralegh's men sacked a Spanish outpost and outraged the Spanish who demanded Ralegh's head. With the Spanish now keenly aware of English interlopers in territory claimed by Spain, some of the wealthier men began to consider their own

plans for the Amazon. Those men included some of the wealthiest and most powerful nobles in England, and when they formed the Amazon Company to promote their schemes for planting in the Amazon, the alarmed king opposed it to protect his pro-Spanish foreign policy. Still, West Indian adventurers learned from their experiences, and realized that royal authority was the determinant factor in colonial success or failure. The Amazon Company did not lack for capital; it lacked permission. When West Indian adventurers turned their attention towards the Caribbean, they looked to influential men at court to secure the prerequisite authorization needed to protect their investments.

Part Two demonstrates the difference that royal permission, proprietary authority, and the commitment of metropolitan adventurers brought to the English West Indies. After Charles became king in 1625, he handed one of his chief ambassadors and courtiers, James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, a proprietary patent that gave the earl a hegemony throughout the Caribbean islands England claimed or would later claim. The proprietary patent had several advantages over a corporate charter. A proprietor's singular authority was more efficient than a corporation because an individual made important decisions instead of a board of directors, thereby keeping the line of authority from the crown as clean as possible. The drawback was that the success of a proprietary adventure depended on the acumen and competence of the key men involved in the undertaking, the most important of which was the proprietor himself. Adventurers seeking a proprietary patron had to choose their man carefully, and if they were wrong it was far more difficult to make the adjustments necessary to protect their investments that a corporate institution could make.[32]

[32] Herbert L. Osgood, "The Proprietary Province as a Form of Colonial Government," *The American Historical Review* 2, no. 4 (July 1897): 648-656.

Carlisle was the perfect man for the task. A skilled ambassador and negotiator, he was one of the few men entrusted with representing Stuart interests in many of the great courts throughout Europe. The earl was well-known as a key player in European power politics, and someone the Spanish court was wary of offending. His status as a royal favorite enabled him to run a proprietary protection racket that sheltered his investors from the machinations of other metropolitan adventurers. Charles modeled the Lord Proprietor's patent after the Bishopric of Durham, an office equal in power in its jurisdiction to that of the Lord Chancellor of England. The patent's language left no doubt that Carlisle's authority came directly from the king, or the chief qualification for the office of Lord Proprietor:

> This of our Regall Authority is given and granted to him … and the same Earle of Carlisle his Heirs, and Assignes of the aforesaid Region, wee do create, and ordeine, absolute Lord, as he to whom the propertie doth belong, keeping true Faith, and Alligeance to Us, our Heires, and ſucceſsor.[33]

The earl could establish his own courts of common pleas and chancery, as well as an exchequer to regulate fines and taxation. Martial law could be declared to squash resistance to the earl or his agents. Carlisle's authority was virtually absolute, and no one other than Charles himself could restrain the proprietorship. This meant everything depended on royal favor –as the king himself pointed out– and keeping it was Carlisle's primary obligation to his investors.[34]

The historical assessment of the Earl of Carlisle has changed over time. Clarendon's short biography, in the *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, shaped later assessments of his character. Clarendon described an intelligent man who kept no one's counsel but his own and his monarch's, but who was all too comfortable spending the riches he acquired from Stuart largesse in a conspicuous and extravagant manner. Later historians of the nineteenth and early

[33] BNA, CO 29/1 f. 3-5.
[34] Cambridge University Library, RCMS 259/15/2, f. 43-44.

twentieth centuries who viewed the Cavalier cause unfavorably tended to focus on his excesses, which were by all accounts enormous. In his 1887 *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados,* Nicholas Darnell Davis described Carlisle as an "epicurean" who "got all he could and … spent all he got."[35] Williamson underscored that view and went further, arguing that the earl provided nothing for his endowments from the king beyond ineffectual ambassadorial service.[36]

More recent historians like Roy E. Schreiber present a different assessment in his biography "The First Carlisle Sir James Hay." For Schreiber, Carlisle was an adept courtier who rendered genuine service to his crown and country as an extraordinary ambassador, but who could never gain control of his income or expenditures. The earl's tact and charm enabled him to achieve the best outcome in difficult in international disputes on the European continent, or at least one that was satisfactory to his master. When he was involved in diplomatic failure, he was always adroit enough to wriggle out of political consequences and preserve an income that depended on his access to royal offices, privileges, imposts, licenses, and patents. This royal largesse constituted nearly all of Carlisle's income. While he occasionally acted on some of these grants himself, his usual method was to sell them to financiers in London merchant houses. While Davis and Williamson believed that Carlisle was controlled by those men, Schreiber maintains that the reverse was true: the clever earl managed an entangled web of creditors and agents, and no one could amass enough leverage to control him. The fact that the perpetually insolvent Carlisle never lost his authority adds credibility to Schreiber's contention. As a proprietor, he often deferred to his adventurers or offered them managerial authority over certain

[35] Nicholas Darnell Davis, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados, 1650-1652: With Some Account of the Early History of Barbados* (Georgetown: Argosy Press, 1887), 50-51.
[36] Ibid, 50-51; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 39-41; Edward Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England Begun in the Year 1641,With tbe precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the Happy end, and Concluſion, therof ny the King's Bleſſed Restoration, and Return, upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660, by Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Voume. 1, Part 1* (Oxford: Printed at the Theatre), 61-62.

policies, but in the English Caribbean his word was final. His agents were responsible to the earl and only the earl, who never overrode their decisions. This unequivocal support leant Carlisle's governors his own authority, just as Charles's unqualified backing of his Lord Proprietor made the earl sovereign over his colonial dominions.[37]

Chapter Three focuses on the transition from the unclear and contested royal authority at the end of James's reign and the beginning of Charles's to the clear and uncontested royal authority over matters colonial. Royal authority became clearer as Charles's reign progressed and Carlisle won more influence over him, and when the king finally decided to authorize West Indian colonization the earl was awarded the valuable patent for the Caribbean islands. The matter, however, did not end there. The Caribbean was too rich a prize to not attract competitors, and Carlisle's proprietorship and the metropolitan and colonial adventurers associated with it faced contests in Whitehall as well as the West Indies. The competition blurred proprietary authority while the validity of Carlisle's patent was questioned by rival claimants, which made proprietary agents unsure of their own commissions from Carlisle; they worried that their authority to use violence could be suddenly invalidated and that they might find themselves answering for actions otherwise prohibited by English law. When his metropolitan authority was finally and permanently clarified, Carlisle's agents quickly reduced Barbados, St Christopher, and Nevis to obedience with a ferocity that defined the next several years of proprietary rule.

Chapter Four shows how fear and authorized violence kept the Caribbean islands in order during a rough period of economic development during the 1630s that Gary Puckrein labeled "The Tobacco Era." The authority of colonial adventurers like Sir Thomas Warner of St

[37] See Roy E. Schreiber, "The First Carlisle Sir James Hay: he First Carlisle Sir James Hay, First Earl of Carlisle as Courtier, Diplomat and Entrepreneur, 1580-1636," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 74, no. 7 (1984): 1-202.

Christopher or Henry Hawley of Barbados manifested itself through spectacles of atrocity, a practical necessity in a small frontier constituted by tiny islands hugging the edge of the Atlantic rim. Investors wanted returns; order had to be kept, crops had to be planted, and revenue had to be collected. Barbados receives the most attention in this chapter, for two different reasons. The first is that the historical record in Barbados at that time is more complete, because as an uninhabited and undisturbed island it showed great economic potential and therefore received the most attention. The second is that Barbados's political and economic systems developed more quickly than its sister islands, and because of that it was the first to have a planter elite with enough wealth and influence to credibly contest proprietary authority. When the proprietorship became weak enough and the planters strong enough, they formed an assembly to counter the authority of proprietary agents. Still, Barbados's break with the proprietorship had as much to do with Hawley's intrigues as it did with the structural progression of the political and economic systems. The latter created the space of action for the former, but the result of that action determined the course of the political and economic evolution taking place. To defy the proprietorship, Hawley formed an assembly that survived his recall, and became the institutional base for resistance to the proprietorship, Commonwealth, or crown as well as the center of the Barbadian colonial state.[38]

Institutional development in Barbados began in the 1630s with Tufton's governorship and continued under Hawley until the assembly was formed in 1640, making rudimentary state formation a contest between autocrats and oligarchs. For Puckrein, the most important institutions in the tobacco era were slavery and the plantation. The former was a public as well as a private problem. The Hawley government made its policy clear soon after he took office, and

[38] Puckrein, *Little England*, 40-55.

he occasionally made proclamations that clarified the status of African and Indian slaves. This preserved the planters' absolute authority over their unfree laborers, and as the Barbadian state enacted additional slave laws state power augmented and amplified that authority. Conversely, that control depended on the planters' ability to assist the state in population management, which became more difficult as the number of unfree laborers proliferated. That made the plantation an essential institution for carrying out state policy, but it also meant that power grew alongside profit as a planter expanded his plantation. Planters' mastery over their unfree laborers assisted in the proprietorship's responsibility to keep order, but the proprietorship's growing dependence on the planters steadily weakened its own authority. Cragg echoed Puckrein and went further, arguing that the administration of land grants under Tufton and Hawley led to the increase of plantation size and planter authority that made the institutional transition in 1640 possible. This suggests that a rise in individualism among the planter elite led to the political transformation but ignores the importance of the implosion of proprietary authority in the metropole after Carlisle died in 1636. The creation of the assembly linked separate plantations into a powerful collective that could credibly resist metropolitan adventurers and state authority, but only to a point; it took the failure of the proprietorship and the distraction of the crown and Parliament to give Barbadian institutions the space they needed to form and mature.[39]

Part Three consists solely of Chapter Five and is distinct from the previous chapters because it shows how the formation of a colonial state in Barbados began the transition in West Indian politics that relocated sovereignty in institutions instead of the hands of despots. That vacuum of metropolitan power and authority created by the weakening of the proprietorship and the onset of the English Civil War gave the colonists the freedom to govern themselves and self-

[39] Puckrein, *Little England*, 22-25, 40-43; Cragg, *Englishmen Transplanted*, 60-62.

regulate their economy. By the end of the 1640s, the assembly had become such an important feature of Barbadian life that contesting colonial or metropolitan authority meant capturing the assembly instead of defying metropolitan agents by arresting or executing them. The oligarchic institution moved with a different logic than the proprietary autocracy that preceded it. Rather than the authority of a man, it was mobilized by the collective power and authority of wealthy planters willing to foment military resistance to perceived threats to their political independence or economic success. They had profited greatly from the benign neglect of a metropole locked in its own contest over sovereignty, and now that that contest was over the Barbadians had no intention of returning to the tight control that Carlisle's adventurers had possessed. Though the Barbadian state was not strong enough to resist Cromwell's navy when it came to restore the island to fealty, it endured and continued to frustrate the governor installed by the Commonwealth. Colonial institutions had achieved permanence and despite metropolitan attempts to reassert its sole authority, sovereignty became a collaboration between metropolitan and colonial institutions. With the rule of autocrats and men at an end, proprietary adventurism – the combination of state authority and private resources– faded from view. There would always be adventurers, but the meaning of the word found new definition over time. Few men would ever again tower over their colonies the way Carlisle and his partners did.

The formation of the assembly and the introduction of sugar ended the harsh years of the tobacco era and brought the planters the unimaginable riches they had journeyed to Barbados to earn, and the historiographical view of that event has changed over time. In his 1972 *Sugar and Slaves,* Richard S. Dunn blamed the Dutch for Barbadian sugar success. For Dunn, the Dutch need for the commodity was so great that they were willing to share trade secrets with the Barbadians to preserve their own access to a valuable commodity and to exploit the Barbadian

market for slaves and credit. Russell R. Menard and John J. McCusker disagreed with Dunn in their 2004 “”The Sugar Industry in the Seventeenth Century,” arguing instead that the English already knew about sugar and sugar making, and that it was easier access to English –and not just Dutch– credit that changed the cash crop preference in the English Caribbean from tobacco to sugarcane. Simon P. Newman agreed with this view in his 2013 *A New World of Labor and* observed that the main challenge was not finding other crops to grow besides tobacco like indigo or cotton, but a depressed economy that was Atlantic-wide. The Barbadians were eager for sugar profits, but by 1645 only 40% of arable land was dedicated to sugarcane, which means that the Dunn’s analysis overemphasized the importance of sugar as well as Dutch participation. Moreover, while economic depression made planting challenging, there were still planters who found success. By the end of the 1630s, some of them were already gobbling up more land, which made them a better risk in the estimation of English lenders. This dissertation accepts Menard, McCusker, and Newman’s economic analysis, but seeks to reintroduce the importance of contingency to a historiographical discussion primarily concerned with production or property. Englishmen in the metropole and colony were not passive actors; their decisions determined the changes in the economic, social, and political conditions in Barbados that transformed the socioeconomic order and caused an institutional breakdown that ultimately led to a stable and ongoing negotiation between metropolitan authority and colonial institutions.[40]

Adventurism was the path that connected Ralegh to the Barbadian assembly, from weak authority and few resources to a strong institutional authority buttressed by the powers of

[40] Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 59-70; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, “The Sugar Industry in the Seventeenth Century: A New Perspective on the Barbadian Sugar Revolution,” in *Tropical Babylons” Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680* ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 291-297; Simon P. Newman,. *A New World of Labor: The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 57-59.

officeholders and organized force. Prior to the formation of the assembly, colonial adventurers were entirely dependent on metropolitan authority and power to make their own authority real. Whether they cooperated or coerced depended on the nature of contested authority within the metropole. When that authority was not clear, settlements failed or became violently chaotic. When it was clear, they suffered from an oppressive autocracy enforced through cruelty. That pattern did not end until colonial institutions gave colonists their own source of power and authority. When that happened, the reign of adventurers and autocrats ended, and a new regime began. The new system balanced the metropolitan governor's authority against the local assembly's power in a constant yet politically stable dialectic between metropole and colony over the precise location of sovereignty. With metropolitan despotism diminished and the authority of the plantocracy ascendant, enslaved Africans replaced disobedient Englishmen as the objects of state violence.

Part One

"The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying 'this is mine,' and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society."

–Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*

Chapter One: Anakayuri and the Englishmen

On May 2, 1604, Anakayuri climbed aboard the *Olive Plant* anchored in the estuary of the Wiapoco River, known today as the Oyapek River on the border of French Guyana and Brazil, to dine with Captain Charles Leigh. The Yao cacique and his chiefs sought an alliance against their Carib enemies who had invaded their territory, killed their allies, and kidnapped their women and children. One man stepped forward to show the English captain the injuries he recently suffered from Carib arrows, further proof of their insidious encroachment into Yao territory. Leigh saw a bargain to be made. He avoided disclosing his plan to build a permanent colony, telling his guests instead that he intended to only stay a few months in search of gold and that the settlement he proposed was merely to provide "Gardens, that my men might have victuals of their owne labours."[41] His story was believable enough. Englishman tromping around Guiana almost always had gold fever, although it was unusual for them to grow their own provisions. Leigh agreed to assist the Yao in their fight with the Caribs, promising a shallop and twenty men to assist their invasion of the Cayenne River in return for assistance finding a suitable place to plant. Anakayuri agreed and offered to travel with them to a site upriver by the falls. The following day Leigh and his men sailed with their new allies to the proposed settlement, and from there the scheme slowly unraveled.[42]

Inspired by Sir Walter's 1595 navigation of the Orinoco River, Leigh was the first of two Englishmen with plans to build permanent colonies on the Wiapoco. Neither effort was successful, for two related reasons. The first was the English monarchs' reticence to commit

[41] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumous or Purchas His Pilgrimes: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others, Vol XVI* (Glasgow: James McLehose and Sons, 1906), 317.
[42] Ibid, 316-317.

themselves to Guianese adventure. Elizabeth's approval for her privateers almost always depended on their success, and Ralegh's failure to return to England with gold made her circumspect about allowing him to prospect in the tropics a second time. James showed disinterest in the early expeditions to Guiana, although they did not escape the interest of a few well-placed men in the government like Lord Privy Seal and Secretary of State Sir Robert Cecil. That was not enough. Only the king could make colonies a legal reality, and without his active endorsement no investor was willing to risk significant capital on a project that could not count on the state's protection of property. If adventurers faced the disinterest of the monarch, their schemes in South America had little chance of success. No matter how accommodating the Yao were willing to be, their cooperation was not enough for colonizers operating in borderlands without access to substantial resources and proper authorization. The moment could always come, as it did later for Leigh, when a leader faced mutiny or desertion.[43]

The second reason that the Wiapoco adventurers failed was the general disinterest of wealthier investors in London. From Ralegh to Robert Harcourt, the last Englishman with a scheme for the Wiapoco, the inability to raise the necessary capital to turn dense rainforest into productive plantations necessarily limited profit potential. Without the expectations of significant returns, metropolitan adventurers were not willing to bear the enormous expense in money and men that such an undertaking would require. Ralegh, Leigh, and Harcourt had to settle for the tropical commodities that the Yao and the other tribes confederated with them could acquire:

> Waxe, fine white long Feathers, Flaxe, Tabacco, Parrots, Monkeyes, greene and blacke, Cotton-yarne and Cotton-wooll, sweet Gummes, red Pepper, Urapo, and Apriepo woods, Spleene stones, matiate stones, Roots and Berries, which we thought to be medicinable….[44]

[43] James Alexander Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon, 1604-1668* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 33; Joyce Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana* (London: Ashgate, 2006), xxii-xii, xxxi-xxxiii, xciii.
[44] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes,* 313.

Those goods were profitable, especially when bartered for cheap English manufactures, but there was no consistency in the variety, quality, or quantity of the goods. The marketable natural resources in Guiana were in abundance, but they did not require a colony to acquire if one already had established merchant shipping networks; the Indians could obtain those commodities far better than an Englishman could. Besides, even though the tobacco, flax, and cotton available through trade with the Indians were desirable products, they were not as valuable as mass-produced tobacco, cotton, flax, or sugar cane.[45]

Leigh understood that the plantations were far more profitable than factories, but he did not go to the Wiapoco with any specific product in mind. In a letter to his brother, Leigh described three crops that he believed were native to the area that had potential: flax, cotton, and sugarcane. He was convinced that flax could be the real money-maker, evidenced by the Dutch consistently outbidding the English for the natives' flax harvest. Cotton was possible. It grew less easily than flax, but that each plant produced "continually and plentifully" and would do well on a plantation if properly cultivated. Sugar production was possible with the right equipment, and if the Leighs could get that operation up and running it would easily best the competition in Barbary;Sugarcane grew easily on the mountainside of the hills dotting the area around the Wiapoco, matured much more quickly, and did not require irrigation in a rainforest. Leigh omitted any reference to tobacco although it was among the most marketable commodities in England, but it can be safely assumed that he would have planted it given the opportunity. Most likely he was aware of James I's excoriation of the "stinking suffumigation" of tobacco and did not want to annoy the king or his officials on the Privy Council.[46]

[45] Ibid, 311-313, 320-322
[46] Ibid, 311-313, 320-322; James Stuart, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (London: Imprinted by R.B., 1604) n.p.; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana*, 33-34.

Leigh never realized his hopes for quick riches, but he was correct that profitable renewable resources could be easily grown in Guiana. Within five years after his death settlers employed by Sir Thomas Roe began planting tobacco on the banks of the Amazon and did so successfully over a decade. The Amazonian environment was healthy, the natives were friendly, and Roe was adept at running an efficient operation without much trouble from English authorities. What kept Roe's settlements from becoming colonies was his lack of royal permission. The king had ignored the adventurers planting in the Amazon without his license, but when the Spanish finally began to complain about the presence James put an end to his subjects' activities. Still, their experiences with tobacco in the Amazon confirmed that tobacco planting could bring easy wealth if attempted in the right environment. The two men most responsible for settling the early English Caribbean, Sir Thomas Warner and Henry Powell, were Guianese veterans who brought the knowledge and seeds needed for tobacco planting with them. Although Caribbean planters eventually landed on sugarcane as their chief cash crop, tobacco planting was their original and intended industry. Charles Leigh did not profit from any such scheme. Yet even if he was incompetent and misguided, he was nevertheless the first adventurer to travel to the West Indies with planting in mind. It is for that reason that the story of West Indian planting begins with him, even if he produced little besides a few survivor accounts that contained specific knowledge about what crops could be grown in Guiana.

If trade with the Indians did not create large English fortunes, the reverse was not true. The regular visits from English, French, and Dutch merchants transformed Guiana's political economy and created a new distribution of wealth and power among the Amerindian tribes living there. The English held the greatest advantage when it came to dealing with the Yao in the Wiapoco. The Yao first encountered the English when Ralegh took Trinidad from the hated

Spanish, and a few of them traveled to England at his behest to learn its language and culture. Ralegh hoped their service as guides and translators would serve the interests of English conquest, but the Yao proved the main beneficiaries. As they migrated from the Orinoco delta to the Amapa region between the Wiapoco and the Amazon, continued contact with the English enabled their political rise among the other Orinoco tribes that had also fled the Spanish. Their unique ability to communicate with the English fostered economic relationships and military assistance with taking and holding the river mouths that served as harbors for merchant ships. From the valuable trading zone at the mouth of the Wiapoco, the Yao retained a virtual monopoly of trade goods over their confederates and tribes living further into the South American interior. That special access to English culture, English manufactures, and English arms allowed the Yao to become the elites of a formidable pan-tribal confederacy capable of taking and holding new territories throughout the Amapa.

The Leigh expedition was an underwhelming beginning to the English colonization of Guiana. In 1597 Leigh had led a moderately successful privateering expedition on the *Hopewell* to Cape Breton and Newfoundland, and his account of that voyage found its way into Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations.* Although he captured a ship from Basquero buccaneers, his men came close to mutiny when they suspected that he intended to hoard the prize for himself when he boarded the acquisition to sail it back to England after ordering the *Hopewell* to sail to the Azores. Four years later he undertook another piratical enterprise in the Mediterranean at the behest of Cecil, Lord High Admiral Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and Alderman Sir Oliphe Leigh, Charles's brother. By 1602 he was in financial trouble, and after exploring the Guianese coast he decided that planting along the banks of the Wiapoco could restore him to solvency. His brother sponsored the expedition, and after receiving a commission to go to

Guiana in 1604 he launched an underprepared and ill-considered adventure. Oliphe lacked the resources to sustain the sort of losses that an initial settlement might entail, and Charles's experience as a lesser Elizabethan privateer did not translate into the competence necessary for founding a colony. It is not clear if the brothers tried to attract additional interest in their scheme, but if they did they found few takers. Cecil and Nottingham did not shy from adventurism, but do not appear to have hazarded their own money on this particular scheme. They knew better than anyone that adventurers who lacked royal interest or permission were doomed.[47]

There is a discrepancy in the evidence as to whether Leigh did or did not have a commission. According to Williamson, no commission exists in the patent rolls. A survivor account from John Wilson mentions an instance where Leigh claimed to have one, but that assertion was made to several new men who arrived after he had barely escaped a near mutiny. In his own communications with his brother and the Privy Council he never mentioned a commission, but he did send a letter to the king along with those to his brother and the Privy Council. It is highly likely that the Leigh brothers' adventure was almost entirely speculative on their part, and that they assumed royal recognition would be forthcoming after they succeeded. That argument makes sense because none of the accounts, including Leigh's, ever reference him intimidating, imprisoning, or executing Englishmen who did not obey him. Given the numerous

[47] Williamson, *English Colonies.*, 30-31; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 297-298; Richard Hakluyt, *The principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoueries of the english nation made by sea or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600. yeres: Deuided into three seuerall volumes, according to the positions of the regions, whereunto they were directed. the first volume containeth the worthy discoueries, &c. of the english ... the second volume comprehendeth the principall nauigations ... to the south and south-east parts of the world ... by richard hakluyt preacher, and sometime student of christ-church in oxford* (London, By George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599), Vol III 195-200; Granville Leveson-Gower, *Notices of the Family of Leigh of Addington* (London: Wyman & Sons, 1878), 17-18;

problems his men gave him, he probably would have used the coercion or the threat of criminal punishment in London for mutiny if he could have.[48]

It did not take long for the men of the *Olive Plant* to recognize their captain's folly. The sight of the Guianese interior was shocking, and the thought of clearing land for plantations stirred serious discontent. The lush green rainforest was inconceivably vast, and the falls upriver where Leigh intended to place his colony was obviously unsuitable for that purpose.[49] Large trees huddled closely along the riverbanks of the Wiapoco, and the thick underbrush covering the forest floor was impenetrable. The air was hot, humid, and filled with insects. Many in the crew, including the ship's master Martin Pring, had hoped to persuade Leigh to abandon this scheme and turn instead to "spoyle and purchase in the West Indies."[50] The captain should have considered their point. When it was discovered that the ship lacked the necessary provisions an outright revolt ensued. The men finally agreed to plant back downriver near Mount Comaribo but reneged once they returned and plainly told their captain that they lied to draw him away from the waterfall. Unable to coerce his men, Leigh found himself bribing them with a substantial number of his trade goods to keep their word. Unsurprisingly Leigh found this mutinous, but the men perhaps understood the impossibility of the scheme better than he did. Carving plantations out of the jungle was just too monumental a task for forty-six undersupplied men on a fifty-ton ship. When the English returned from their brief stint upriver, Anakayuri and the villagers entreated with them to stay in Caripo in return for "two Houses and Gardens alreadie planted to their own hands."[51] There was enough merchandise to fill the ship's hull

[48] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes Vol XVI,* 340; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana,* 33.
[49] That location is known today as Saut Maripa.
[50] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes Vol XVI,* 318.
[51] Ibid, 319.

before it returned to England. This was a more acceptable arrangement, and Leigh agreed to take the offer.[52]

Charles wrote a letter to Oliphe a month later from his new home on Principium atop Mount Howard. After reporting the alliance with Anakayuri, he requested a supply of fresh settlers and hoped his brother would include "companions both for advise and societie" to offset the "Mutinors and monstrous Sailours" working against him.[53] Leigh's misapprehension of the situation prevented him from realizing that the adventure was becoming an absurdity. Nowhere is this clearer than in his penchant for renaming local landmarks. The village of Caripo became Principium, Mount Caripo became Mount Howard, and the Wiapoco itself was rechristened the Caroleigh. The Wanary River, the Arrocawo River, and Mount Comaribo were transformed into the Jotramleigh, the Olivoleigh, and Mount Huntley, respectively. He pompously created the title Generall of Guiana for himself, but he only commanded a few irate loafing sailors surrounded by hundreds of Indians. An imaginary military rank did not make his men an army, and his meager and often contested authority depended on constant negotiation with Englishman and Indian alike.[54]

The Wiapoco had all the necessary ingredients for a productive trading hub. The Wiapoco estuary, located between Mount Comaribo and Cabo Orange, offered European ships an excellent natural harbor.[55] The table mountains supported agricultural production during the long rainy seasons and offered natural defensive positions like Caripo itself. Unlike the Amazon or the Orinoco, the Wiapoco was a safe enough distance from Portuguese Brazil that Dutch, French, and English ships began making regular commercial visits to it. Lacking any colonial

[52] Ibid, 316-319.
[53] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 322-323; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana*, 29-41.
[54] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes vi*, 309, 316-322.
[55] Mount Comaribo is known today as Montagne d'Argent.

pretensions, these merchants found the sizeable tribal confederation growing there a significant advantage to accessing the raw materials and tropical commodities they were after. At first glance the exchange rate of commodities appears to unfairly benefit Europeans, but the laden goods transported from across the Atlantic were finite while the Yao bartered with goods that were easily accessible and readily available. The ready access to European clothing and metalwork gained from controlling the Wiapoco gave the Yao more economic and political strength. This threatened their Carib neighbors on the Cayenne, and by 1604 the two were feuding for control of the Cayenne and the Wiapoco.[56]

Maintaining their special relationship with the English required the Yao to utilize their knowledge of English religion to solidify their connections to the merchant traders that kept them in power. Leigh was not initially enthusiastic about living in Caripo, but when the Yao requested missionaries to instruct them in Christianity Leigh happily assented to their request. Four Yao men went to England ostensibly to receive religious instruction, although they were also well-treated hostages who guaranteed the would-be settlers' safety. When relating the event to his brother, Leigh congratulated himself about being "a meanes to this simple-hearted people of the knowledge of Christ."[57] More importantly, the event allowed him to heavily emphasize the missionary possibilities in his letter to the Privy Council. The same evangelical impetus that provided a language for the residents of Caripo to secure English assistance offered Leigh a method to lobby the ostentatiously pious state officials inhabiting the rooms of Whitehall. For

[56] Jean Mocquet, trans. Nathaniel Pullen, *Travels and Voyages into Africa, Asia,* and *America, the East* and *West-Indies; Syria, Jerusalem,* and the *Holy-Land.* Performed by M[R.] John Mocquet, Keeper of the *Cabinet of Rarities,* to the King of *France,* in the *Thuilleries* (London: Printed for William Newton, Bookseller, in Little-Britain; and Joseph Shelton; and William Chandler, Booksellers, at the Peacock in the Poultry, 1696), 52-53, 59; Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes,* 311-312, 341-342; Martijn van der Bel and Gerard Collomb, "Beyond the Falls: Amerindian Stance towards New Encounters along the Wild Coast," in *Material Encounters and Indigenous Transformations in the Early Colonial Americas: Archaeological Case Studies*, ed. Corrine L. Hofman and Floris Keehnan (Boston: Brill, 2019): 333-335.
[57] Ibid, 319.

James and his Privy Council, royal authority derived from the combination of church and state and a religious mission in the Americas helped legitimize the rule of a Scottish monarch who was not always popular with his English subjects.[58]

Yao familiarity with English culture began when Ralegh's sacked San Josef de Oruña and liberated their Trinidadian homeland. Spanish conquest had had apocalyptic results. Even before Don Antonio de Berrio took Trinidad and the mainland Orinoco delta, dislocated Lokono and Carib were moving from the interior into the Orinoco delta and squeezing out the various tribes like the Yao already there. Berrio made their situation much worse when he subjugated the Indians residing on the island in 1593. Elite caciques were subjected to punishments that included scalding "their naked bodies with burning bacon" and leaving them in chains afterwards.[59] As with conquistadors before him Berrio allied with some tribes against others, choosing the Lokono –whom the Spanish called Aruacas or Arawaks– as his allies. Many of the Yao refugees from Trinidad retreated to the Orinoco delta to join their kinsmen, only to have the Lokono drive them out for their Spanish allies in return for enslaved African laborers to toil in the tobacco fields planted on their newly conquered lands. Lokono slavers were infamous for guiding the Spanish to other Indians' villages to kidnap their women and children, and their victims remembered their atrocities for years afterwards.[60]

The dislocations created by Spanish contact not only redefined Indian political and territorial realities, but consistently confused Europeans for at least three centuries. In 1503,

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[58] Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 318-320; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana,* 33-34.
[59] Lorimer, *Discoverie of Guiana*, 28-29.
[60] Ibid, xli, lxxxviii-lxxxix, 22-23, 81-82; van der Bel and Collomb, "Beyond the Falls," 335-338; Neil Whitehead, "Arawak Linguistic and Cultural Identity through Time: Contact, Colonialism, and Creolization," in *Comparative Arawakan Histories: Rethinking Language Family and Culture Area in Amazonia,* ed. Jonathan D. Hill and Fernando Santos-Granero (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 67; Lorimer, *Discoverie of Guiana*, 28-29; Lawrence Keymis, *A relation of the second voyage to guiana. perfourmed and written in the yeare 1596. by lawrence kemys, gent* (London, By Thomas Dawson, dwelling at the three Cranes in the Vintree, and are to be solde, 1596), n.p..

Isabella I reversed a 1493 decision that prevented Indian slavery and decreed that cannibals could be enslaved. Within a short time, the Spanish found cannibals everywhere, particularly among tribes resisting their imperial conquests. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the term Carib applied to a wide range of tribes inimical to the Spanish and divided into categories that conflated peoples with no actual relation to one another.[61] By contrast the Spanish used the term Aruaca to refer specifically to the Lokono, but this moniker eventually devolved into a false dichotomy. To later European observers Arawaks were good, and Caribs were evil. This led to confusion among nineteenth-century British ethnologists like Everard Im Thurn and William Brett, who unquestioningly accepted these terms and continued to use them to refer to wide swaths of linguistically connected groups that did not account for variations in tribal identity and culture. Writing in the early twentieth-century, J. A. Williamson simply referred to Yao, Suppoyo, and Arawaks inhabiting the Wiapoco during the early English colonial attempts as Arawaks. It was not until the later twentieth century when historians like Joyce Lorimer or anthropologists like Neil Whitehead began to tease out the important differences between Arawak and Carib and restore tribal identity in the historiography of Caribbean and South American Amerindians.[62]

The situation on the Orinoco changed after Ralegh adventured in Guiana looking for the legendary city of gold also known as El Dorado, in 1595. After secretly marrying one of Elizabeth's ladies in waiting he found himself decidedly out of royal favor. Desperate to regain

[61] Because of the conflated terminology used in contemporary sources, the term Carib is used here as a political designation to refer to a group whose specific identity remains unclear.
[62] L. Antonio Curet, "The Earliest Settlers," *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and its Peoples,* ed. Stephen Palmie and Francisco A. Scanaro (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 54; Lynne A. Guitar, "Negotiations of Conquest," *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and its Peoples,* ed. Stephen Palmie and Francisco A. Scanaro (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 127; Whitehead, "Arawak Linguistic and Cultural Identity," 66-69; Campbell, Lyle. *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 122; Lorimer, *Discoverie of Guiana*, lxiv-lxviii, 75 ; Williamson, *Early English Colonies,* 31.

his place at court, he hatched a scheme that promised returns so incredible that the queen would have to forgive him and restore him to her grace: the discovery of a city more fabulous than either Tenochtitlan or Cuzco. The riches belonging to the Emperor Inga of Manoa were said to exceed those of his brother Atahualpa, a dizzying fortune that would make England the most formidable power in the Atlantic world. The queen authorized the project, which began auspiciously enough. After arriving in Trinidad, Ralegh launched a surprise attack on the settlement of San Josef de Oruña and captured Berrio. Genuinely upset at the abhorrent treatment of the Trinidadian caciques, Ralegh torched San Josef de Oruña at the request of Berrio's Indian victims. A man with a flair for the dramatic, Ralegh happily presented himself as a liberator, but there was also a more important reason for developing friendly relations with the local tribes. He needed native guides and translators to find Lake Parime, the lake of one thousand canoes where Manoa was said to be situated.[63]

Ralegh's belief in the importance of indigenous support is evident in the text of *The Discoverie of the Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana,* which highlights Ralegh's success in starting an alliance with the tribes living on the Orinoco. The details of his conferences with Topiawari, the chief of the Orenoqueponi living in the land of Aromaia, are intended to make this point to the reader. In their first meeting, the old cacique tried to warn the English off further travel upriver. The tribes there were dangerous, and the swift current resulting from the rainy season would frustrate their efforts. Topiawari's advice turned out to be partially true. Ralegh reported some friendly contact with the upriver tribes, but he only made it as far as the confluence of the Caroni River when the flood waters began to rise and slowed their barges "to

[63] Lorimer, *The Discoverie,* xxii-xxiii, 46-47; Alan Gallay, *Walter Ralegh: Architect of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 320-322, 340-355.

one stones cast in an hower."[64] When Ralegh turned around after prospecting there turned up nothing but crystals, he estimated that they traveled at the rate of one hundred miles a day. After returning to Aromaia on his way back to the Orinoco delta, he and Topiawari struck a bargain. If Ralegh returned the next year at the right season with enough men to constitute a proper military force, the anti-Spanish tribes would join him in the conquest of Manoa and the overthrow of its emperor. Topiawari was clever; whether he believed in Manoa or not, portraying enemy tribes like the Epuremei as allies of the great city ensured that they would become foes of the English as well. The two men concluded by exchanging Topiawari's son for two Englishmen, and Ralegh returned to England set upon persuading other potential adventurers that Manoa was within reach.[65]

The Discoverie of the Rich & Bewtiful Empire of Guiana was a work of propaganda at cross-purposes, and it fell to Secretary of State Robert Cecil to act as an editor for the manuscript before it went to print. Ralegh and Cecil faced a paradoxical need for salesmanship and secrecy. Cecil worried about the political ramifications. Ralegh could be persuasive but also gregarious, and an errant bombast or jocular remark would almost certainly offend the queen. One passage involving parties with raucous drinking and tobacco smoking that Ralegh enjoyed with the Indians was removed, as well a sexual jest about the legendary Amazon warriors. Protecting strategic information was also in their interest. It was true that no one wanted to risk their money or their lives to find a place whose existence was not satisfactorily proved but revealing too much information about Ralegh's discovery might lead someone else to try their luck without him. English interlopers prowling around the Orinoco could jeopardize the diplomatic relationships with caciques like Topiawari if they sacked Indian villages looking for gold.

[64] Joyce Lorimer, *The Discoverie*, 146-147.
[65] Lorimer, *The Discoverie*, 147-149, 165-177; Gallay, *Walter Ralegh*, 356-361.

Worse, from Cecil's perspective, was the possibility of provoking Spain. Oddly, Ralegh mentioned the necessity for secrecy in the same sentence that disclosed that he had "a large Chart or Map, which I have not yet finished."[66] It seems strange that this reference to the map was not removed entirely, as Cecil had even underlined the need "to secreat it and not suffer it to pass yo*u*r own hands" and drew an arrow in the margins highlighting it further.[67] The likely explanation is that the sentence exemplified the contradiction author and editor labored under: Ralegh needed to convince his audience that the Empire of Guiana was real while simultaneously avoiding revealing anything that might demonstrate that he knew where it was. Whatever the reason for the admitting the presence of such a valuable document, Ralegh was proctective enough to take it with him when he joined the earl of Essex's naval excursion to Cadiz in 1596.[68]

The following year Ralegh sent his trusted companion Laurence Keymis to explore the Guianese seaboard, ascertain the nature of the Spanish presence on the Orinoco delta after Ralegh's violation of their territory, and to try to discover either new mines or a more southerly route to Lake Parime. Although no route to the Guianese interior was found, Ralegh's friend and adviser Thomas Hariot considered the voyage a success:

> Although Cap Keymish be not come home rich yet he hath don the speciall thing which he was injoyned to do as the discovery of the coast betwixt the Amasones & orrinico where are many goodly harbors for the greatest ships her M*ajes*ty hath & any nomber where there are great rivers & more than probability of great good to be dun by them.[69]

Ralegh, Keymis, and Hariot finally accepted that more realistic inducements like trade or planting were necessary to attract additional manpower and investment capital to continue their search for Manoa, and for merchants to operate effectively they needed to know the geography

[66] See Fig. 1 in Contemporary Maps.
[67] Lorimer, *The Discoverie* 58.
[68] Ibid, xxxii-xxxv, xl-xli, 58.
[69] Ibid, 285-286.

and politics of the Guianese waterways. The raw materials and tropical commodities available there could offset the cost of a search for a great undiscovered city that even Ralegh's supporters seriously doubted. Keymis's *A relation of the second voyage to guiana* listed each river that he discovered, the tribes inhabiting them, and the chieftains he negotiated with. Inspired by Ralegh and guided by Keymis, English and Dutch merchants and privateers soon became a regular presence in the harbors Harriot mentioned. This frustrated both Ralegh and Keymis, who had taken to calling the land "Raleana" and considered any other European trading there a trespasser. Even their closest supporters worried that they were at best unsuccessful explorers and at worst complete buffoons.[70]

The change in Ralegh's approach to advertising Guiana was also an acceptance of a mistake that made the need for secrecy moot. After Keymis returned, he failed to make sure that he was the only person with copies of the surveys and documents generated by his reconnaissance. The source of the leak was a disillusioned ship master, William Downe, who believed that clandestinely selling the papers was a justifiable and victimless way to cover his own losses. That assessment was not shared by Ralegh's cohort. Harriot had planned to draft a confidential chart combining the information collected by both expeditions, and add the coastline based on Keymis's surveys to those of Ralegh's. When he discovered the wayward shipmaster's activities, he wrote Cecil and asked him to intervene. Cecil acted quickly to stop Downe and confiscate his papers. After Downe's house was ransacked, he suggested that he had learned his lesson and would henceforth keep the papers secret. The unamused Cecil had his papers confiscated, but by then it was too late.[71]

[70] Lorimer, *The Discoverie*, lxxiv, lxxxvii-xc, 285-286; Keymis, *A second relation*, n.p..
[71] Lormer, *The Discoverie,* xc, 285-288; Keymis, *A second relation*, n.p..

In 1599 the English learned that Keymis's cartographic information was in the hands of foreign competitors when the Dutch cartographer Jodocus Hondius issued prints of his *Nieuwe Caerte van het wonderbaer ende goudrycke landt Guiana* or *A New Chart of the Wonderful and Gold Rich Land of Guiana.*[72] The title cartouche in the top-right corner citing Ralegh's explorations as the mapmaker's chief source shows that the map was intended as a visual complement to Ralegh's popular book. The Orinoco in the *Nieuve Carte* is a copy of the river drawn on Hariot's 1595 chart, but with more bends added to give it a more authentic appearance. An imagined route to Lake Parime via the Essequibo taken from Yao reports is shown extending into the borders of the mythical Empire, terminating roughly a day's journey from Manoa. The Empire of Guiana itself the size of the Spanish and Portuguese dominions in South America, with fixed borders that contrast with the vague territorial divisions present in the coastal borderlands. The vast Lake Parime immediately draws the eye, as do the images of legendary acephalous tribesmen or Amazon warriors that add an element of Argonautica for an audience already fascinated with classical literature. The seaboard from the Amazon to the Orinoco is intricately detailed and shows several rivers, villages, and Indian territory. While much of this information can be traced to Keymis, some of it was either Hondius's invention or –more likely– it came from the Dutch pilots already sailing along the Guianese coast on a regular basis. The *Nieuve Carte* must have annoyed Ralegh but without the need for secrecy it likely helped him sell Guianese adventure, a cause that stayed in his mind for the rest of his life.[73]

Ralegh's unique insights into Indian diplomacy came in part from the Yao transportees that he recruited to train as guides and interpreters. Indigenous knowledge was far superior to the cartographic intelligence no longer under Ralegh's control and native guides knew the Guianese

[72] See Fig. 2 in Contemporary Maps
[73] Joyce Lorimer, *The Discoverie*, 282; Keymis, *second voyage to Guiana*, n.p..

terrain. They could also communicate with other tribes, and very often that knowledge saved English lives. John Provost, the son of a Yao cacique and one of Ralegh's original interpreters, helped Keymis conduct interviews that provided witness testimony about the possible routes to Manoa. At the Caux river near the Wiapoco, a Yao chief named Wareo told Keymis and Provost how his clan originally left the Orinoco for the Amazon to avoid the Spanish "borrowing their wives" in reprisal for allying themselves to Ralegh. The had Amazon proved no safer, and they fled to the Caux after Wareo killed more Spanish rapists prowling the great river.[74] He knew of Ralegh and inquired about the promised Elizabethan fleet that never materialized, but the adventurous knight's reputation was still enough to persuade him to assign an experienced guide to take Keymis further up the coast. With Provost acting as translator, the guide regaled the enraptured English with stories of Guianese treasure, and Keymis eagerly reported the man's usefulness to the search for the golden empire.[75]

The year after Keymis's interview with Wareo, another English explorer named John Ley reported that Anakayuri had recently become the cacique of the Caux after the death of his brother Awpula. Although Ley did not describe Anakayuri, he did mention that his brother "was a great Indian of personage, And did conquer diverse Indians" which suggests that his replacement met a similar standard.[76] The elaborate and violent rituals that caciques endured to ascend to their positions were designed to foster the respect a chief would need to lead his tribe through war. In addition to conducting raids while fasting, the prospective cacique endured ceremonial admonitions to fight bravely in battle followed by beatings from the other warriors to test his endurance. As a Frenchman named Jean Mocquet visiting the Wiapoco the month before

[74] Keymis, *second voyage to guiana,* n.p..
[75] Lorimer, *Discoverie of Guiana,* 336; Keymis, *second voyage to guiana,* n.p.; Alden T. Vaughn, "Sir Walter Ralegh's Indian Interpreters, 1584-1618," 59, no. 2 *William and Mary Quarterly* (Apr., 2002): 341-376.
[76] Lorimer, *Discoverie of Guiana,* 326-330.

Leigh's arrival observed, the Yao chieftain's authority derived from his status as a great warrior: "They do not love a Coward, or a Pultron, but Honour such as are Valiant and Couragious."[77]

Anakayuri's primary responsibility was to organize Yao warriors for battle. After seeing the construction of several large canoes and wooden arms for nearly a thousand men, Mocquet referred to the cacique respectfully as the "Captain of Cannoes."[78] He also noticed the presence of a "Caribe-slave, whom they made to work" in Anakayuri's home stacking the cassava cakes and large gourd canteens in the center of the house to supply the expedition.[79] After leaving the Wiapoco for the Cayenne, Mocquet realized that the Carib knew of the Yao's preparations for war and that an attack was imminent. As they readied a response it was discovered that Anakayuri had already raided their villages, despoiled the countryside, and carried the captured survivors back to the Wiapoco. Mocquet's captain reported that the enraged Carib ate the bodies of fallen Yao left behind after the invasion, although Mocquet did not witness cannibalism himself. He did hear the chief's threats to feast on Yapoco, Anakayuri's nephew, who was aboard Mocquet's ship. For his part, Yapoco ignored the threats and even protected two Carib transportees during their unfamiliar and frightening trip across the Atlantic.[80]

By 1604 the Yao confederacy was already in its infancy. John Wilson, one of Leigh's sailors, explained the amalgamation of tribes residing on the Wiapoco in his survivor's account. The Yao were gregarious and domineering: "a people very proud, and use much flouting and mocking of others."[81] The Suppoyo were scrupulous traders who exacted more from their transactions with the English than the other residents of the Wiapoco. The Lokono were "a

[77] Ibid, 60-64, 72.
[78] Mocquet, *Travels and Voyages*, 60.
[79] Ibid, 55.
[80] Ibid, 52-60, 80-81; Van der Bel and Collomb, "Beyond the Falls" 336-342.
[81] Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 347.

people of better carriage, and did use our company with better respect than the Yayes."[82] Wilson does not report an inimical relationship between the Yao and the Lokono, which is curious and suggests that Lokono behavior was not monolithic. A clan might split off from their other tribesmen for several reasons, including a distaste for collaborating with the Spanish. Moreover, their residence among the Yao and Suppoyo implies that anyone opposing the Spanish was welcome in Caripo.[83]

Leigh also requested "Sir Walter Rawleigh's Indian or my Lord Admirals" because "here is but one, and he understandeth but little to any purpose."[84] The translator, a Yao transportee the English called William, had left the Caux with Keymis in 1596 and returned the following year with Leonard Berry. The irritation Leigh expressed in his letter was only the beginning of the friction between the two men. The tension began over Leigh's frustration with Williams linguistic ability, but it escalated into outright enmity when William accompanied Leigh up the Arracow to visit the tribes neighboring Caripo. During an interview with an Indian from a tribe called the Marrias, a misunderstanding brought things to a head:

> An old man spake unto him and pointed up into the Countrey, and the Captaine asking the Interpreter what he said, he told them that there was no such that way. The Captaine perceiving the falshood of his Interpreter would goe no further….[85]

The awkwardness of that moment cannot be understated, and Leigh upbraided the interpreter for his perceived disloyalty. It must have seemed implausible that the old man would point in the direction where no gold existed, but it is also possible that William did not speak the language of the Marrias any better than his broken English. He may have been playing a familiar trick Amerindians often used on armed Europeans looking for gold by sending them towards an

[82] Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimmes*, 347.
[83] Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes,* 347; Neil Whitehead, "Arawak Linguistic and Cultural Identity," 66-68.
[84] Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes,* 323.
[85] Ibid, 312.

enemy's territory; the St Lucia Kalinago had used a similar deception to separate and destroy the English intruders led by Captain Nicholas Sen Johns. Anakayuri himself informed the English that the Carib-inhabited Cayenne was a river rife with gold. Perhaps this was the moment when the hapless Leigh finally realized the enormous danger of his situation. The canoe ride back downriver must have been a quietly tense experience for all, an uneasy end to a dismal trek.[86]

When the party returned to Caripo, Leigh found only disaster. His men were stricken with "Agues (malaria)," "Fluxes (dysentery)," and "Calenture (sunstroke)" and soon Leigh fell ill himself.[87] The now overtly suspicious English assumed that the Indians knew how to overcome local tropical diseases and blamed them for intentionally withholding cures, even though native knowledge had already helped the English survive the many hazards in the jungle. The Indians taught the English to sleep in hammocks to avoid the pests crawling the ground and to keep a fire on either side of them at night to protect from the stings of flying insects. Sand fleas were another misery, and one man who lacked shoes suffered a significant infestation. The Indians covered his feet in "hot melted Waxe which is blacke upon it, and letting it lye upon it till it was thoroughly cold, they forcibly pulled it off; and therewithall the Wormes came out sticking in the same, seven or eight hundred in number."[88] Still, English wariness may have been warranted. The suffering crewmen were a burden to feed, and they had failed to maintain their gardens or keep their agreement to fight the Cayenne Caribs. The native practice for people dying of disease was to withhold food from them, which prevented the waste of resources and allowed sickness to take the infirmed more quickly. The Indians were familiar enough with the ailments they saw

[86] Ibid, 311-312.
[87] Ibid, 314, 342.
[88] Ibid, 314.

troubling their guests and knew the likely outcome. Despite English allegations of withheld cures, the natives could not treat Old World diseases like malaria or dysentery.[89]

The situation worsened when the animosity between Leigh and William during the visit to the Marrias soon burst into open view. The interpreter suggested to Anakayuri that the English might revenge themselves on the village for withholding supplies once their reinforcements arrived, so the cacique called a council to consider killing the English before that happened. When William's concern was voiced, the result was bedlam. The outraged wives of the hostages in England attacked Anakayuri and ripped his clothes from his body, while two other Indians who resented him alerted the English to the danger. A startled Leigh gathered his strength and ordered his men to prepare for a fight, but the chaos at the council meeting had already decided the issue. For the English William's treachery was unforgiveable, and when he arrived soon afterwards to make restitution with some gifts the irate Leigh ordered him arrested and bound. Leigh then met with Anakayuri and the tribal leaders to decide William's fate. The Yao did not see the translator's actions as an injustice because no harm came to the English, but they agreed to further restitution with a substantial offering of victuals. Although the Indians would not allow William's execution, he was left tied up and prostrate on the ground until he begged pardon before the English and the rest of the village.[90]

As with William's punishment, all authority on the Wiapoco was subject to negotiation. For the English this was destructive. Leigh was an incompetent man bereft of power who commanded little authority from his men, and the lack of either brought only further catastrophe. Instead of creating a foothold in Guiana, the crew's unwillingness to labor turned the entire adventure into an overstaffed merchant operation and an eventual disaster. As more crewmen

[89] Ibid, 312-315, 342-346.
[90] Ibid, 315-316.

sickened and died, there was no way for their leader to hold the together in an increasingly hostile environment. Although Anakayuri's authority far exceeded Leigh's, the Yao cacique still needed to maintain the active consent of his fellow villagers through the custom of tribal council. The hostages' wives' reaction to the suggestion of forfeiting their husbands' safety demonstrated the limits of the cacique's authority, especially when deciding matters of life and death. Unable to rely on coercion, codification, or institutional power in the rough borderlands sandwiched between the Spanish and Portuguese empires, both men depended on consensus to legitimize their leadership.

The sight of Leigh and his wasted settlers stunned the men aboard the *Olive Plant* when it returned. The original crew was feeble, sick, and had not scouted further territories or acquired enough goods to send to England for Oliphe. After leading the new colonists on a half-hearted raid on Carib huts along the Wia River the infirmed Leigh suddenly decided to return home, ostensibly to seek more provisions and reinforcements. More likely he was following a dying man's instinct to return to his homeland before passing. If that was his wish, he was already too late. Charles Leigh died aboard the ship while it was still anchored in the Wiapoco estuary, and his second, Captain Edward Huntley, quietly buried him in an unmarked grave so as not to alarm the others. The colony was disintegrating and there was not enough room on the ship to rescue everyone, so the men still aboard were told Leigh chose to remain in the settlement and the men on land were told he was returning to England. Huntley knew another ship with colonists and provisions was on the way, but it never arrived. Leigh's death was the ignominious end of a forgotten man who founded a forgotten colony, and the names he bestowed on the local landmarks disappeared along with him.[91]

[91] Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 342-344; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana*, 36-37.

Despite their distrust of the Indians, Leigh and his men had been fortunate that anyone survived at all. The Yao confederacy was too strong for adventurers operating without the help of their governments or metropolitan capitalists to overcome. If the relationship between would-be colonizer and native soured, the latter could kill their unsavory guests at any time. According to the Restoration-era historian John Scott, three French landed three ships in the Wiapoco estuary in 1607 with nearly 400 colonists to raise tobacco. The Frenchmen erred by clearing land near Caripo and disclosing their intentions for permanent settlement, a mistake that led to their destruction. The natives might have wanted extensive trade with Europeans, but they did not appreciate permanent neighbors of the mind to ruin their home with large plantations. Leigh had never disclosed his true intentions and died before any such project could be realized. That, along with their affection for Ralegh and his countrymen, saved English lives. Similar massacres occurred throughout Guiana for much of the early seventeenth century. In 1613, 160 French families attempting to settle the Cayenne were either dead or fled within the space of a few months. The Dutch attempted a settlement there in 1615 with 280 men and experienced a similar result, only with fewer casualties. English colonizers may also have shared the fate of the unfortunate French and Dutch interlopers. In 1617, a Captain Harvey headed for the Wiapoco lost seventy settlers to either shipwreck on the way or Indian attack after landing. Whatever nation they hailed from the slaughtered settlers shared one characteristic: they were there to construct colonies instead of trading posts.[92]

In 1609, the next English adventurer arrived on the Wiapoco. Robert Harcourt shared a similar background with his predecessor as a man from an old gentry family who self-financed his expedition at great personal expense. Unlike Leigh, Harcourt had a commission gained

[92] Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 343; BL Sloane MSS 3663 ff. 39-40; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana*, 39.

through the influence of Henry, Prince of Wales, and his crew maintained better discipline. Although there was some grumbling when his men realized that there would be no extensive search for gold, he was able to quash it without resorting to begging and bribery as Leigh had. Under Harcourt the English followed orders, even if that meant being stationed miles away from their compatriots on one of the numerous Guianese river mouths. Harcourt also had the good sense to start small and begin his colonial project by placing factors at each river mouth – including the Cayenne– to facilitate trade. This initial plan may have been unobtrusive, but Harcourt envisioned a grander colony where monocultural plantations produced tobacco, cotton, and sugar in high volume for higher profits. To that end he needed the consent and cooperation of the Yao and their confederacy.[93]

In his 1613 *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana,* Harcourt described a political system much larger and more complicated than the one Leigh or Mocquet described in 1604. The confederated system of caciques and chiefs had expanded throughout the Amapa and developed a tiered system of authority to govern it. Yao territory was organized loosely around what Harcourt assumed were hierarchical divisions, although it should not be supposed that anything resembling the regional and national borders familiar to Europeans existed in Guiana. Harcourt saw the Yao as elites governing large swaths of territory that he labeled signories and provinces, and he portrayed the Amerindian tribal arrangements in an English political vocabulary. The coastal provinces he described were obviously based on the names of the principal rivers in each area; the Arykary, Arrocawo, Wiapoco, and Caiane were in Arricary, Arracoory, Wiapocoory,

[93]Harcourt, Robert, *A Relation of a Voyage to Gviana Describing the Climat, Scituation, Fertilitie, Prouiſions and Commodities of that Country, Containing ſeuen Prouinces, and Other Signiories within that Territory: Together, with the Manners, Cuſtomes, Behauiors, and Dispositions of the People. Performed by Robert Harcovrt, of Stanton Harcourt Eſquire. the Pattent for the Plantation of which Country, His Maiestie Hath Granted to the ſaid Robert Harcovrt Vnder the Great Seale* (London: Printed by Iohn Beale, for W. Welby, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in Pauls Churchyard at the ſigne of the Swan, 1613), 39-42, 71.

and Caiane, respectively.[94] It was incorrect to associate Indian politics with land instead of people. The indistinct categories in the Yao confederacy were organized around tribal affiliations and personal relationships between local leaders who never burdened themselves with formalizing boundaries as the English government did. Harcourt acknowledged the absence of the coercive institutions that controlled who belonged on what lands despite his feudal analogies, writing that "there is not setſd gouernment amongſt them, onely they acknowledge a ſuperiority, which they will obay as far as they pleaſe."[95] He never mentioned the name of the confederacy itself. Perhaps no such name existed, a striking contrast with the English impulse to define and name everything they considered their own.[96]

If he did not mention a name for the polity that united the various tribes under the Yao, Harcourt did mention the man he considered to be its overlord. Anakayuri was the "Principall and greateſt Lord, or Caſſique of all the Yaios in thoſe Prouinces"[97] who held sway over the entirety of the Amapa region and its inhabitants. After Leigh's unfortunate visit in 1604, Anakayuri had pushed steadily to the east before making his final home near the Aguari. His authority was it at its most expansive, even if his rule was often indirect, and he was likely capable of raising a much larger army than the one Mocquet witnessed. Given the frequency of explorer references to the great cacique and the admiration those authors expressed, it can be inferred that he was one of the most important and consequential figures in the story of adventurism and authority in the early English West Indies. He was more successful in building

[94] Today those rivers are known as the Aguari, Urucaua, Oyapek, and Cayenne, respectively.
[95] Ibid, 20.
[96] Ibid, 16-20; Charles Alexander Harris, *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana by Robert Harcourt 1613: With Purchas' Transcript of a Report made at Harcourt's Instance on the Marriwini District* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1926), 19-25.
[97] Harcourt, *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana 1613*, 17.

wealth through trade than most of the Europeans who bartered with the Yao, unequal exchange rate notwithstanding.[98]

Ralegh's Yao transportees were as important to Harcourt's scheme as they were for Leigh's colonial attempt. One man who returned with Harcourt, Martin, was one of the hostages sent to England on the *Olive Plant*. He was by rights the chief of the Wiapoco while his brother stood in for him until he returned. Another man, known as Anthony Canabre, was one of Ralegh's original transportees and a former interpreter for Berrio. Both men were thought dead by their kinsmen, and their return helped Harcourt open productive discussions with the Caripo villagers to further his mercantile plans. Carisana, "prinncipall amongſt them," came aboard Harcourt's ship with a small entourage and gifts for their English visitors as Anakayuri had done five years previous. The cacique and his men dressed in European clothes and impressed Harcourt as "the better ſort" who stood in stark contrast to the other Indians wearing loincloths or going "ſtark belly naked."[99] Like Leigh five years earlier, Harcourt arranged for provisions in return for a promise to leave some men on the Wiapoco to provide defensive aid. The following day Martin leant his own house to Harcourt, a courtesy that was real enough –Leigh reported that Martin went to England willingly– but it may also have stemmed from the value of English powder and shot against his rivals.[100]

Leonard Ragapo, a cacique living near the Cassapouri river Harcourt called Cooshebery, knew the worth of English military support. A former servant of Berrio like Canabre, Ragapo joined the 1595 Berry expedition alongside William and afterwards traveled to England. He became a Christian and learned about English sensibilities as well as their language. After

[98] Ibid, 14, 17.
[99] Ibid, 7-8.
[100] Ibid, 7-12.

hearing of Harcourt's arrival, Ragapo traveled to the Wiapoco "for the great loue hee did beare to *Sr Walter Ralegh*, and our Nation." The Indian reminded Harcourt of Leigh's unfortunate fate after falling ill and assured him that Cooshebery was a much more salubrious environment. Harcourt was so taken by the flattery of "the brauest Indian of all thoſe parts" that he did not consider the cacique might have an ulterior motive for coaxing him away from the Wiapoco.[101] Harcourt blithely accepted the entreaties and once in Cooshebery he agreed that it was a beautiful land rich with commercial possibilities. Although Harcourt soon left to complete his factory project, he stationed four men with Ragapo at the Indian's request before he departed.[102]

Acquiring the arms of even four Englishmen offered the Yao a decisive advantage against their foes. Ragapo made them his personal guard and placed them at the center of roughly fifty men searching for a Carib raiding party attacking villages under Yao protection. One of the Englishmen later reported to Harcourt that when they found the roughly two hundred raiders, the Yao organized themselves into ranks with the English in the center. The sight of English muskets frightened the Carib, and Ragapo swaggered over to them and demanded recompense for their actions or "hee was there ready with his friends the Engliſhmen to fight with them, and reuenge his wrongs." He warned that if any harm came to anyone else, a larger English force stationed at the Wiapoco would "returne to burne their houſes, and cut them all in peeces."[103] The fear of reprisal protected the English, but by extension it protected the cacique's position as well. When the frightened Caribs retreated despite their greater number, Ragapo's authority increased amongst his own people.[104]

[101] Ibid, 15.
[102] Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigation,* Vol. III 696; Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana 1613,* 15-16. 21.
[103] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana 1613,* 22.
[104] Ibid, 21-23.

Although Harcourt's business plan began sensibly enough, his initial small steps were only the first towards a scheme more visionary and foolish than Charles Leigh's colonial hopes. He did not intend to just trade or settle Guiana, but to subjugate it and make the English its masters. The Yao were a key component of this strategy. They were the strongest tribe in eastern Guiana and "the diſicipline and order they hold in war … in time will much auaile vs, being well obſerved, and rightly applied according to occaſion."[105] This policy of divide and rule, and strongly resembled Berrio's alliance with the Lokono. Despite that uncomfortable similarity, Harcourt saw himself as a benevolent future governor and bragged that he stationed men at the Carib-held Cayenne "to keepe peace between them and the *Yaios, Arwaccas,* and other nations their allies."[106] His factors were there not only to oversee trade, but to maintain an English presence east of the Essequibo and preserve his *Pax Anglica* throughout.[107]

All the scheming came to nothing. The wooden hoops on the barrels containing the ship's supply of beer and water began to rot, forcing Harcourt to return to England prematurely. He left his brother in charge of the colony and sailed home to oversee the metropolitan side of colonial business. James awarded him a formal patent "for the planting and inhabiting of all that part of *Guiana* … lying between the riuer of *Amazones,* and the river of *Deſſequebe*" in 1613 and printed but that greater authority did not stimulate any interest from other adventurers.[108] He had intended his *Relation of a Voyage to Gviana* to serve as a prospectus for new investors, but by the time it was printed his factories were no longer manned. Just as damaging to Harcourt's plans was the absence of any metropolitan adventurers of note on his subscriber lists. Without a man of importance and respect to lend his reputation to an adventure, there was little chance to attract

[105] Ibid, 23.
[106] Ibid, 23.
[107] Ibid, 19, 23, 59-61.
[108] Ibid, 67.

anyone with money to spend. A colonization scheme depended on metropolitan adventurers with access to authority and capital, and without those essential ingredients colonial adventurers were little more than stranded men stumbling through the tropics. Without the resources and economic power that came from substantial investment capital, royal permission meant little. Without recourse to investors, the king was more likely to rescind the patent if the patentee could not use it. When the Amazon Company appeared with a list of subscribers that boasted some of the most important men in the kingdom, Harcourt's patent was revoked and folded into the Company's charter. Out of money and authority, Harcourt had little choice but to fold in with the Company and accept a lesser role as a small investor.[109]

The Yao maintained their preeminence over the confederation of Amapa tribes after the English visits became less frequent through continued contact with other Europeans. In 1624, the presence of a small group of Dutchmen residing with the Yao in a village atop Comaribo provided access to the iron tools that continued the Yao monopoly of valuable European commodities and the weapons that reinforced their political dominance. Just as Leonard Ragapo formed a military alliance with armed Englishmen to protect his territory fifteen years earlier, the presence of a Dutch cannon enabled the Yao to settle a dispute between the Carib of the Cayenne and the Palikur of the Arrocarow. Yao relations with the Carib had improved significantly since Leigh and Harcourt's time, but they also had an interest in preventing a war that might drag the entire confederacy into a renewed conflict. With the assistance of the Dutch captain Jesse de Forest, the Yao compelled Palikur to participate in a ceremonial submission:

> The Caribs obliged them to wait on the seashore with their arms and fitted the arrow to the bow ready to let fly, the Aricoures [Palikur] took water and poured it on their heads. This done, the Caribs, throwing down their arms, rushed into the canoes of the others and

[109] Ibid, 67; Williamson, *English Colonies*, 14-15, 48-51, 83-91.

> embraced them. On the occasion of this peace the Yaos entertained them for eight days.[110]

Palikur acquiescence had not come easy, even with the lavish feast thrown afterwards to ease their obvious humiliation. They were a warrior tribe indigenous to the Amapa who resented their subjection to migrants from the Orinoco delta. Intertribal diplomacy was likely impossible without widespread recognition that the Yao and their European allies were the strongest, and the cannon served as proof that they were.[111]

Despite their diplomatic successes, the Yao did not always choose to negotiate. Since tensions with the Carib had cooled, the primary opponents of the confederacy were tribe known as the Mayzers. After arbitrating the dispute between the Palikur and the Carib, the Yao asked their Dutch compatriots to assist in a raid against the Mayzers. A war party of five-hundred men traveled by canoe for over a week to a large village close to the Arrocarow and surrounded the well-defended longhouses at daybreak. Unlike Ragapo's battle over a decade earlier intimidation was not the goal, and the Yao announced their presence without revealing their Dutch allies. The Mayzers greatly underestimated the force they were facing, and after the Yao set fire to one of their buildings the Mayzers found they had no escape. They resisted with "unconquerable courage" to protect their women and children and refused to retreat despite suffering grave wounds from the musket balls.[112] The last man fighting fell into a canoe after his leg was blown off by a chain-shot and continued firing arrows at the attackers until he finally died. The Mayzers' reinforcements advanced bravely through the swarm of Yao canoes until they ran into

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[110] Emily Johnston De Forest, *A Walloon Family in America: Lockwood de Forest and his Forbears, 1500-1848, by Mrs. Robert W. de Forest, Together with A Voyage to Guiana Being the Journal of Jesse de Forest and his Colonists, 1623-1625* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), 245.
[111] Ibid, 241-245; Martijn van den Bel, "The Journal of Lourens Lourenszoon and his 1618-1625 Stay among the Arocouros on the Lower Cassiporé River, Northern Amapá State, Brazil" *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas*, 4, no 2 (2009): 310-311.
[112] De Forest, *A Walloon Family in America*, 255.

gunfire and witnessed the horrific damage that powder and lead could inflict on naked flesh. Their retreat became a rout, leaving those who could not flee helpless to the marauders who quickly murdered them all. Over 120 Mayzers were killed, and their severed heads were mounted on spears before the war party returning to the Palikur village. The gruesome spectacle served as an object lesson to any other Indian tribe inside or outside the confederacy from opposing the Yao. While intratribal relations involved negotiation, intertribal diplomacy depended on fear and the Yao did not shy from using terror as a political weapon.[113]

As English interest in colonization west of the Amazon withered and the Dutch abandoned the Amapa for the Essequibo and Berbice further west, the Yao connection to European culture, commodities, and arms slowly disappeared. English colonial interests in the Caribbean and Dutch focus on the Essequibo eventually ended the regular visits from merchant ships, especially after the Spanish and Portuguese became more protective of their imperial claims. After two decades of contact, the familiarity between the European and Indian civilizations cultures no longer warranted the service of Yao transportees as translators or guides. Indian visits to Europe ended. The merchants that continued to visit Guiana no longer needed them to serve as intermediaries for trading. Other tribes stopped fearing English arms when there were no more Englishmen to wield them. Even the great Anakayuri, who so fascinated his European visitors, vanished from their travel narratives. Contact helped make the confederacy and the end of regular European encounters brought its decline.[114]

In 1618, Walter Ralegh became the last English adventurer to land at the Wiapoco, a stop on the way to a final ill-fated search for Guianese gold. Although Ralegh himself remained

[113] Ibid, 251-255.
[114] Van der Bel, "The Journal of Lourens Lourenszoon," 305; Harlow, *Colonizing Expeditions*, 139; Harris, *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, 22-23.

aboard, he sent nine men upriver to collect fresh water where they encountered a "chiefe … called captiane william" near the falls at the site of Charles Leigh's aborted colony. [115] Age had mellowed the man who once betrayed a band of sick and ungrateful Englishmen that had overstayed their welcome in his village. Now much older, he treated his guests courteously and traded with them for "hennes, ducks, plantoas, pines, Cacane, fishe, and ale [all?] in great plenty."[116] It was the last recorded time that the Yao provisioned the countrymen of the conqueror of Trinidad.[117]

[115] BL Add MSS 344216, ff. 49.
[116] Ibid, 49.
[117] Ibid, 49.

Chapter Two: Amazonian Tobacco

Twelve years after his 1595 exploration of the Orinoco, Sir Walter Ralegh found himself imprisoned in the Tower for his alleged involvement in a plot to replace James I with his cousin Arabella Stuart. Undeterred from continuing to promote his Guianese schemes, Ralegh lobbied his old friend Secretary of State Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, to renew their adventures in Guiana. The political situation under the Stuart monarch in 1607 had changed from the earlier days of Elizabethan privateers. James saw himself as a peacemaker who preferred diplomacy to open hostilities and did not wish to antagonize the Spanish by enabling Ralegh to return to their territory. Even if the political situation in 1607 were more conducive to such an adventure, Ralegh's justifications and conditions for its undertaking overreached his rather weak negotiating position. He approached Salisbury with news that recently assayed ore from the Orinoco showed a high quantity of gold, and that the refiner agreed to go to Guiana on the proposed expedition as an invaluable expert able to work the "six paire of great bellowes, and brick in ballast" intended to convert the ore to ingots before returning to England.[118] Ralegh hoped that Salisbury and Queen Anne might invest £3,400, but if they refused he would provide the financing and offer them half of the gold recovered if they did not. Salisbury's apprehension was palpable. Before he authorized another Ralegh adventure he insisted that Lawrence Keymis, who claimed to have sighted a mine near the Caroni confluence, quietly return to the river and bring back additional

[118] BL, MS Add 6178, ff.827.

ore to prove that the mine existed. Ralegh refused to cooperate with Salisbury's requirement if he allowed to undertake the mission himself, and so he remained a prisoner for nearly a decade.[119]

In 1609, two years after Ralegh's entreaties to Salisbury and the Council reached an impasse, he began working on another proposal for Guianese adventure. The chief proponent of this expedition was Sir Thomas Roe, an exceedingly capable man whose diplomatic gifts later won him an ambassadorship to the court of the Great Mughal on behalf of the crown and the East India Company. Ralegh managed to find some interested contributors, including Henry Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, and together "Roe him sealfe with his parteners" raised £1,100.[120] Convincing Salisbury, now Lord High Treasurer as well as Secretary of State, to authorize the adventure was another matter. Salisbury's relationship to Ralegh was not what it once was, but they were not openly antagonistic towards each other. James I, however, was not Elizabeth I. He had not endured years of Spanish and Catholic intrigues and saw diplomacy and peace as a sounder approach for interacting with Spain. His Secretary of State saw it differently. The earl thought that a pro-French foreign policy suited England's interests better, but he was far too cautious a man to risk royal disfavor. To that end, he ordered Roe to evaluate the potential for Guianese colonization, as Roe's adventurers wanted, but he was also to stop at Trinidad and report on the Spanish presence there. Roe was to exercise extreme caution and avoid offending Spain, but the intelligence Salisbury wanted might have the potential to change the king's mind about his pro-Spanish stance. For that James would want assurances that conquest of Spanish Guiana was possible, and that victory would be rewarded with gold. Without that guarantee,

[119] Ibid, ff. 827; Vincent Todd Harlow, *Ralegh's Last Voyage: Being an account drawn out of contemporary letters and relations, both Spanish and English, of which the most part are now for the first time made public, concerning the voyage of Sir Walter Ralegh, knight, to Guiana in the year 1617 and the fatal consequences of the same* (London: Argonaut Press, 1932), 18-21.
[120] Bodleian, Tanner MSS, 168, f. iv.

military action in Guiana would not be possible. While the virulently anti-Spanish Ralegh saw harassing Spain as a desirable goal, no one else was eager to join him in the Tower.[121]

Roe's voyage marked an important change in English adventurism in the West Indies. Unlike Ralegh, Lawrence Keymis, or John Ley, Roe was interested in colonial schemes involving planting as well as reconnaissance.. Unlike Charles Leigh or Robert Harcourt, he was an agent for public officials as well as private adventurers with far greater resources than Sir Oliphe Leigh could manage alone. Roe's predecessors imagined themselves as actively furthering the interests of the crown and Privy Council, but Roe undertook an espionage mission commissioned by the highest public official in the land short of James himself. He was destined for a much more notable political career than most of the colonial adventurers that followed him, partly because of his own ingenuity and resourcefulness, and in part because the capitalist institutions that separated the tasks and roles performed by later adventurers did not yet exist.

Armed with adventurer financing and Salisbury's authorization, Roe sailed to Guiana in the *Lyon's Clawe* early in 1610 and arrived at the Amazon in the spring. Once there he navigated the ship some two hundred miles upriver, and then an additional one hundred miles in a pinnace. At some point during his stay, he established a fort he named Taurege and left some twenty men there to maintain his claims from Dutch and English competitors. After reaching further upriver than any other known attempts, Roe departed the Amazon and achieved the same feat on the Wiapoco. Following Salisbury's directive, he did not penetrate the Orinoco any further than San Thomé, and then docked in Trinidad to spy on Spanish forces while he acquired a lading of tobacco. In a deferential letter to the Lord High Treasurer, Roe described the scope of the illegal multinational trade moving through Port of Spain and the depth of the corruption of Spanish

[121] Ibid, f. iv; BNA CO 1/1 ff. 93-94; Harlow, *Ralegh's Last Voyage*, 9, 12-17; Alan Gallay, *Walter Ralegh: Architect of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 441-442.

authorities: “15 sayle of ships freighting smoke [tobacco], English French Dutch … for the Governor is lazy … and hath more skill in planting Tobacco and selling yt, then in erecting Colonyes.”[122] Roe’s implicit message to Salisbury was clear; Spanish forces on the edge of their empire were weak, reliant on reputation alone to enforce their claims, and could be easily swept aside by daring Englishmen.[123]

The letter to Salisbury is the most important extant document relating to Roe’s excursion to Guiana, and his explorations effectively ended the preoccupation with the city of gold that motivated the Elizabethans. Ralegh rarely mentioned Manoa again and only spoke of the gold mine near the Caroni when lobbying the government for his release in 1617. Harcourt came to much the same conclusion after his trip to the Amapa region between the Amazon and the Wiapoco in 1609, and his own business arrangements all but ignored the possibility of substantial gold discoveries. Salisbury gained a clearer picture of the Spanish presence in Trinidad, and Roe helpfully suggested two potential spies he believed might be receptive to English overtures. One was an unnamed Venetian soldier-turned-priest from New Grenada, who according to Roe “pretends change in his conscience … but I know his professions, and his abiltyes here.” The other man was a Don Juan de Gambo, “a Spaniard proscribed” for allegedly treating his English prisoners well and who now busied himself by tormenting the residents of San Thomé from the cover of the jungle. Although he attempted to persuade Salisbury that Guiana was worth taking, Roe was careful to mention that “I will not exceed your Honorable

[122] BNA CO 1/1 ff. 93-94.
[123] BNA CO 1/1 ff. 93-94; Michael Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe, 1581-1644: A Life,* (Wilby: Michael Russell Publishing Ltd., 1989), 32-33; James Alexander Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 55-58; Edmond Howes, *The Annales or General Chronicle of England, begun firſt by Maister Iohn Stow,* and *after him continued and augmented* with matters forryne, and dom*meſtique, anncient and moderne,* vnto the ende of this *preſnt yeere* 1614 by Edmond *Howes,* gentleman (London, Imperis Thoma Adam, 1615), 946.

caution your Lordship gave me" by taking any action that might be construed as an act of war.[124] Insightfully, he also avoided any mention of Ralegh and conveniently forgot to mention that he had established fortified tobacco plantations upriver in the Amazon. Of all the Englishmen who adventured in Guiana, Roe was the most adept at striking the balance between his own interests and those of public officials or private capitalists. He never became too greedy or grandiose, and never exceeded his authority beyond the limits that Salisbury or the other Privy Councilors could reasonably ignore.[125]

The high volume of tobacco Roe reported passing through the Trinidadian black market testifies to the growing demand for tobacco throughout northern Europe, and the Spanish crown struggled to regulate it. The Lokono and their Carib allies grew tobacco in the Orinoco delta as did the Island Caribs in the Antilles. The autonomous nature of these tribes enabled Lokono tobacco producers to sell their commodity to Spain's European rivals like the hated Francis Drake in 1585, and by 1591 Spanish settlers in the area were following the Amerindian example. In 1593, Governor Antonio de Berrio reported numerous English interlopers in Spanish waters, and by 1606 the Spanish crown forbade tobacco production in its dominions entirely. The Spanish king's prohibition had negligible effect. The Lokono planters quickly filled the supply gap and kept the contraband tobacco flowing. Tobacco sales in Trinidad continued unabated and by 1608 its ports filled the hulls of over twenty ships per year. When the crown rescinded its prohibition in 1612, tobacco grown along the Orinoco continued to be the primary source for the English markets.[126]

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[124] BNA CO 1/1 ff. 93-94
[125] Ibid, ff. 93-94; Harlow, *Ralegh's Last Voyage,* 18-20; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana*, 54-58; Joyce Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon, 1550-1646* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1989), 36-40.
[126] Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2008), 148-156.

The chief attraction of Guianese tobacco was its ready availability. Prices inflated after the Spanish chased away English merchants and replaced them with Portuguese middlemen, and the various additives Lokono planters used to hide poor production devalued it still further as one customer complained:

> the Tobacco … is noynted and slubbered ouer with a kinde of iuyce, or syrope, made of Salt-water, of the dregges or filth of Sugar, called *Malasses,* or blacke honey, Guiana pepper, and leeze of Wine; to which in some places they adde a red berry called *Anotto,* This they doe … to giue it colour and glosse … and to giue one and the same countenance to all their rotten, withered, & ground-leaues, which they wrappe vp in the midle of their wreathes, couering them ouer on the outside with one that is good.[127]

At that time there were no English sources of well-grown and mass-produced tobacco; James Towne did not send its first shipment until 1617. Despite the grumbling from English tobacco consumers, Indian tobacco encouraged adventurers to consider planting tobacco consistent in quality, quantity, and availability could reap enormous rewards. Regular shipping networks could provide much more efficient logistics that merchant privateers who dared to enter Spanish dominions and smuggle Lokono tobacco back to England at great personal hazard. What metropolitan adventurers with West Indian schemes did not have was control of their own colony recognized by the king, and that difficulty proved far more difficult to overcome than locating a suitable environment for planting, attracting investor interest, or enlisting a man as capable as Roe. When they were finally able to obtain unqualified royal backing to supplement their financial resources, environmental and financial challenges could be overcome.[128]

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[127] C. T., *An Advice Hovv To Plant Tobacco In England: AND How to bring it to colour and perfection, to whom it may be profitable, and to whom harmfull. The vertues of the Hearbe in generall, as well in the outward application as taken in Fvme. With the Danger of the Spanish Tobacco. Written by C. T.* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to bee sold by Walter Bvrre, 1615), n.p..

[128] Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*), 148-156; C.T., *An Advice, n.p.*; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1975), 90.

Despite the expensive and inferior supply of Guiana tobacco, it became popular enough to seep into England's cultural zeitgeist. In the 1601 play *Euery Man in his Humor,* Ben Jonson depicted a playful scene where men extolled the joys of "diune Tabacco" while women decried its evils in comically exaggerated terms.[129] Tobacco consumption was associated with masculinity, and the abhorrence of it with feminine virtue. In 1602, the poet Thomas Scott assumed the gendered association when he wrote *Foure Paradoxes of Arte, of Lawe, of Warre, of Seruice* for Elizabeth's maid of honor Lady Helena, marquess of Northampton. The author described art as a paradox hiding corruption in beauty, "Or like the tawny weede which gallants take, in pride, and fetch as farre as rich *Guiana.* Thy end is infamie, thy fruite is smoake, with which the greedy taker thou dost choake."[130] Scott assumed that the marquess held the same low opinion of tobacco as Jonson's female characters, and the poet likely hoped that his negative descriptions would ingratiate him with one of the most influential women in Elizabeth's court. Whatever the author's intention, the *Foure Paradoxes* also shows how closely the English associated tobacco with Spanish Guiana; Scott referred to tobacco as *Trinidado,* the island situated just off the mouth of the Orinoco where Lokono tobacco was planted.[131]

That English smokers enriched Spanish coffers was no small irritation to their government, and tobacco's cultural association with Indians even more so. There was general agreement among English elites that tobacco smoking was a vice akin to alcoholism at best, and at worst it could lead to the degeneration of Englishness. James believed tobacco use blurred the sharp distinction between Englishmen and Indians that the state wished to preserve, and in his

[129] Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humor. As it hath beene sundry times publickly acted by the right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by Ben. Iohnson* (London, By S. Stafford for Walter Burre, and are to be sould at his shoppe in Paules Church-yarde; 1601), n.p..
[130] Thomas Scott, *Foure Paradoxes of Arte, of Lawe, of Warre, of Seruice. by T.S* London (London: Printed by Valentine Simmes for Thomas Bushell, 1602), n.p..
[131] Scott, *Foure Paradoxes,* n.p.; Jonson, *Every Man in His Humor,* n.p..

1604 *Counterblaste to Tobacco,* the king asked, "what honour or policie can move vs to imitate the barbarous and beaſtly maners of the wilde, godleſſe and ſlaviſh Indians, eſpecially in ſo vile and ſtinking a cuſtome?"[132] Conserving the English culture bought in little revenue, and in the same book James asserted that taxation was the solution to the tobacco problem and placed a heavy impost on it. That helped the perpetually empty royal coffers did nothing to curb tobacco usage, but that failure mattered less to James than additional revenue.[133]

By 1614, MPs in the Commons like John Middleton of Horsham fretted about tobacco's deleterious effects on the English economy. Merchants were trading trifles for tobacco with the Indians and making money from poor men smoking up their wages, and all so English gold could find its way to Spanish pockets. Moreover, the monopolists who controlled tobacco importation did so at the king's pleasure, not the will of Parliament. Middleton was not alone in his opposition This debate touched on another issue besides tobacco; the Commons loathed the royal patent system that authorized an unpopular form of tax collection that incentivized public officials to collect from a particular area. It was a system subject to abuse at the expense of the taxpayer or, in the case of tobacco imports, the customer. Yet for all their bluster, there was little Parliament could do. The royal prerogative governed foreign trade, and it would not be until 1640 when the Commons finally captured the right to regulate imports and exports.[134]

If Roe's Amazonian adventure facilitated a trade the English government disliked, that did not prevent his rapid political rise. Two years before he began preparing to explore the Guianese coast, he had served on the Royal Council of the Virginia Company where he was

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[132] James Stuart, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (London: Imprinted at London, 1604), n.p..
[133] Alfred Rive "A Brief History of the Regulation and Taxation of Tobacco in England" *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* 9, no. 1 (1929), 1-5; Stuart, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*, n.p..
[134] Rive "A Brief History of the Regulation and Taxation of Tobacco in England" 1-5; Stuart, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco,* n.p.; *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 1, 1547-1629* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1802), 469-470.

instrumental in the reassessment of the Company's disastrous initial approach. He was a naturally cautious man, but willing to take calculated risks when the reward was promising enough. When the proposed adventure to the Amazon gave him an opportunity to advance his political career as well as accumulate a tobacco fortune, he wagered his entire family estate. The bet paid off. Not only had he started a small yet profitable tobacco plantation, but his good service gathering intelligence for Salisbury also brought him to the attention of the crown. In 1613 he traveled with Princess Elizabeth to Heidelberg where she joined her new husband, Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine. The following year Roe became a Member of Parliament for Tamworth during the session later referred to as the Addled Parliament. There are few records of his activity there and he seems to have remained cautious in his verbiage, speaking little even when his friends from the Virginia Company appeared before Parliament to plead for assistance for the floundering colony. His moderate political instincts made him the wrong man for such a divided moment, but it did commend him for even greater diplomatic service than just a brief stint as the princess's escort. In 1614, Roe was made Lord Ambassador to the Mughal Emperor Jahangir after the East India Company concluded an agreement that opened diplomatic relations with the emperor and allowed trading factories in Surat. Roe represented England at the Mughal's court for nearly four years, all the while maintaining his Amazonian business through trusted friends like George, Lord Carew.[135]

Roe's captains began regular and lucrative trips to the Amazon shortly after he returned from Guiana in 1611. Matthew Morton, an associate from the early days of the Virginia company, departed the following year "In the Lions Clawe of London burthen ffowerscore tonnes Mathew Morton *master* for the Amazons For Sir Thomas R[oe] [Ind] knight thirty dozen

[135] Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe,* 15-18, 37-41, 47-57.

of Axis and hatchets … greater grosse of glasse beades … Butchers knives" –the trade goods most sought after by the Amazonian tribes.[136] The other captain, Thomas King, built a second fort near the Tapajos further upriver from Roe's original plantation that quickly produced lucrative returns.[137] Even though tobacco planting garnered substantial returns, Roe's captains did not always limit themselves to freighting Amazonian tobacco. In January of 1613, the *Lyon's Clawe* landed in Portsmouth with a valuable cargo of sugar and Brazilian hardwoods. How the crew acquired the sugar is an open question, but Portuguese sources attest to losing a sugar-laden caravel to the English near the Amazon in 1615. This activity began to alarm Spain. The Duke of Lerma, Phillip's chief minister, worried that the enticing profits attracting settlers to the Amazon might soon rival the East India Company's and escalate the English presence from merely obnoxious into a serious threat. The Spanish ambassador in England, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, consistently lobbied James to restrict planting and privateering in Guianese waters. Lerma and Gondomar's concern was that the English government might eventually authorize an illegal colony in territory Spain claimed as its own.[138]

Roe was no friend of Spain, but he was wise enough to maintain a low profile until the English state was willing to recognize the Amazon colony on the same grounds of occupation that persuaded James to claim Virginia. Until then, his business depended on avoiding the

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[136] Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations,* 156.
[137] King commissioned a chart of his own around 1618 by an unknown author. See Fig. 4 in Contemporary Maps.
[138] John Smith, *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine Iohn Smith, in Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America, from Anno Domini 1593. to 1629 His Accidents and Sea-Fights in the Straights; His Service and Stratagems of Warre in Hungaria, Transilvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, Against the Turks, and Tartars ... After how He was Taken Prisoner by the Turks, Sold for a Slave ... and Escaped ... Together with a Continuation of His Generall History of Virginia, Summer-Iles, New England, and their Proceedings, since 1624. to this Present 1629; as also of the New Plantations of the Great River of the Amazons, the Iles of St. Christopher, Mevis, and Barbados in the West Indies. all Written by Actuall Authours, Whose Names You Shall Finde Along the History* (London: Printed by Iohn Haviland for Thomas Slater, and are to bee sold by Michael Sparke at the Blew Bible in Greene Arbour, 1630), 49; BNA E 190, 820/1; George Carew, *Letters from George Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador to the Court of the Grand Mogul, 1616-1617* ed. John MacClean (London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1860), 98; Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations,* 155-159, 166-171. Lorimer's transcription of the Portsmouth document, written in 1989, contains words that are no longer legible or visible on the document.

attention of Spanish warships or English customs. Still, an unrecognized settlement was an unregulated one. He was not troubled with a mandate to preserve order among the settlers or aid in protecting their fortifications. Local food was in ample supply. The colony was not advertised nor was immigration encouraged, following Harcourt's example of minimizing the risk by reducing the operating expenses as much as possible. It also left him without legal protection from potential rivals as knowledge of his operations began to circulate. At least one of the men from the 1609 Harcourt expedition to the Wiapoco later went to the Amazon, but it is not clear if he tried to assert Harcourt's proprietary rights during his visit. If he did, nothing came of it. Whether or not Harcourt noticed Roe's activities, there is no doubt that metropolitan adventurers in the peerage did, and they could summon the power and authority to bring everything the English had settled from the Amazon Delta to the confluence of the Tapajos under their control. They organized a colonial scheme under a patented corporation called the Amazon Company. Harcourt impotently resisted their overtures to buy his patent outright, but Roe did not. Roe was a savvy businessman and a political survivor who always knew his limits, while Harcourt was a dreamer with unattainable ambitions who could not understand when he was in over his head.[139]

Expanding production was the most crucial step towards attracting men with capital and influence. The trading factories favored by Harcourt were not effective for accumulating the Amazon's commodities without significant indigenous participation. The political linkages that offered the Yao a means to control the supply of goods and services going in and out of eastern Guiana did not exist in the Amazon, and the tribes there did not immediately involve themselves in large-scale trading with the Europeans when Roe arrived because they did not produce much surplus beyond their own needs. As the Europeans continued to plant in the Amazon, a barter

[139] Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations*, 58, 163, 194.

economy developed. An Irishman named Phillip Purcell exchanged merchandise for Indian laborers to plant the tobacco fields using the methods of Orinoco planters. Military assistance could also be exchanged for Indian knowledge and labor. When a conglomerate of 250 Dutch and English settlers constructed a fort near the Ginipape in 1615, a local tribe the English referred to as Supanes helped them develop their fledgling colony in return for an alliance against their Palikur rivals.[140]

The number of English, Irish, and Dutch planters in the Amazon increased to several hundred by 1618. The settlers there found the environment salubrious and filled with an abundance of natural resources. The diseases that killed Charles Leigh and several of his crewmen in 1605 did not seem to trouble the Amazon settlers because the powerful current and massive volume of water made it harder for dysentery to thrive. So great was the faith in the river's healing waters that the settlers thought bathing in it cured malarial fevers. Animals like turtles, manatees, and parrots that were useful for meat, hides, and products like oil and bird feathers were plentiful. The variety of trees available provided high-quality timber, dyes, and shipbuilding materials like pitch and resin. There was a variety of edible fruits and nuts that made delicious wines and vinegars. In addition to the commodities they could produce, the plentiful flora and fauna meant that the planters did not have to grow their own food or rely on imports from the mother country to survive. The Dutch were so enamored with the country that in a 1616 expedition to settle upriver from the Ginipape fourteen of the settlers brought their families. They felt so secure that they did not bother to build all their huts within the walls of the fortifications they constructed, and when their ship returned the following year they did not need

[140] Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations*, 156-157, 164-165; Howes, *The Annales or General Chronicle of England*, 946. The Ginipape is known today as the Paru.

many of the foodstuffs it brought. They did, however, load the ship with a cargo of tobacco, annatto, and fine lumber that Restoration era historian John Scott believed was worth £60,000.[141]

In addition to growing the Amazon's production capacity, mapping the river was an effective method of communicating growth potential to moneyed investors and prospective colonists or for establishing a claim to a particular location. Morton began surveying the northern channel from the mouth of the river to the Xingu confluence in 1614, and afterwards he commissioned a professionally drafted chart from the Dutch-trained Gabriel Tatton in 1615.[142] This was the second time Tatton had mapped the Amazon –his first effort appears to be based on Harcourt's 1613 *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*– but the depiction of the Amazon was copied from Hondius's 1599 *Nieuve Carte*. The hydrology critical to navigational charts is the most important feature, but there is a significant amount of locational and economic data that includes Indian villages and English forts. Many of these toponyms are not found on any other maps, and their presence is reminiscent of cartographic propaganda advertising the Virginia colonies to prospective adventurers. The depiction of settlements gives the appearance of an already booming colonial economy that Roe's company wanted to present. English forts and plantations signified high productivity, and the large Indian presence implied ample supplies of food and labor from native resources. Perhaps the best attestation of the map's influence with potential adventurers is that it found its way into the Duke of Northumberland's archives. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and a resident of the Tower like his friend Ralegh, was a map collector

[141] Bodleian, Rawlinson A 175, ff.370-372; Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations*, 163-164; 181-183; *The proceedings and debates of the House of Commons in 1620 and 1621* (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1766), 249.
[142] See Fig. 3 in Contemporary Maps.

and a proponent of American colonization. Northumberland was the exact sort that Roe wanted to entice, and it is unsurprising that Morton's map ended up in the earl's possession..[143]

By 1615, the restless Ralegh had resumed his lobbying of such royal officials as Secretary of State Sir Ralph Winwood to permit his return to Guiana. Ralegh promised to give the king no cause for offense and assured the secretary that he only wanted to "pay his Matie some part of the Debt I owe him."[144] Eight years after he had pressed Salisbury to allow him to return to Guiana, Ralegh's letter to Winwood sounded a different tone than the one written to his old friend. The desperate Ralegh pled with the secretary to consider that:

> This last Offer of mine … If itt goe on and succeed well his Maiestie shall have Reason to acknowledge itt towards you as the meane of a service And pchance the greateſt that hath bin done, And if itt shall please God that I perish in itt yet his Maiesty shall loose but a man already loſt.[145]

Winwood was very receptive to Ralegh's proposal, but not because he thought another search for Guianese gold would bring him royal favor. The secretary abhorred the Spanish ambassador Gondomar's suggestion for a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Spanish Infanta – later known as the Spanish Match– to cement an alliance between England and Spain. Ralegh was reviled in Spain, and his release from the Tower could disrupt the marital negotiations by pushing Spain into an overreaction. In 1616, Winwood and others in the anti-Spanish faction secured Ralegh's release from the Tower and authorization to travel to Guiana.[146]

Winwood had done Ralegh no favors. Ralegh was a gifted and charismatic man, but he could also be impetuous and pugnacious, and it often fell to his friends to keep him out of

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[143] Sarah Tyacke, "English Charting of the River Amazon c. 1595-c. 1630," *Imago Mundi*, 32 (1980): 73-82; *Jodocus Hondius, Nieuwe Caerte van het wonderbaer ende goudrijcke landt Guiana, gelegen onder de Linie Aequinoctiael tusschen Brasilien ende Péru. nieuwelick besocht door Sir Water Ralegh Ridder van Engelandt in het jaer 1594, 95 ende 1596, SCALE UNKNOWN, Amsterdam, 1598.*
[144] BL Harley MSS 39, ff. 352-353
[145]Ibid, 353.
[146] Ibid, 352-353; Harlow, *Ralegh's Last Voyage,* 23-25, 34-36.

trouble. Salisbury's 1607 refusal to countenance a return to Guiana without Keymis performing additional reconnaissance kept Ralegh from getting himself killed by the Spanish or by James's headsman. When the Lord High Treasurer authorized Roe's voyage, he emphasized the importance of restraint and the careful Roe showed nothing but. The caution on the part of both men protected Ralegh, who was never in James's favor, from rash and impolitic decisions that could infuriate the king. That meant that they had to accept his incarceration until the situation at court changed. Secretary Winwood cared less about Ralegh's well-being and more about his use as a political tool and encouraged the adventure even as it became obvious that the king was intriguing against it. Ralegh had let himself get caught in the middle of a struggle between crown and Parliament, both of whom saw him as an expendable pawn if their gambits failed.[147]

How much of a willing participant Ralegh was in Winwood's plot is an open question, but his commitment to the enterprise is certain. Ralegh's original goals had changed little since 1595. He had dropped the idea of finding Manoa and begrudgingly accepted that trade and planting would be the main sources of wealth in English Guiana, he could not drop his obsession with the Orinoco. He probably believed that there were gold mines near the Orinoco or its tributaries, and the idea that he could sidestep Spanish forces and sail an army upriver past the Spanish outpost of San Tomas just beyond the Orinoco Delta was ridiculous. He knew that some military maneuvers would be necessary to outwit Spanish forces prowling the area and to hold the mine once it was taken, but with the mine safely in English hands James would undoubtedly recognize the venture and defend it. How Ralegh convinced other investors to back him is a better question. Adventurers tended to pass on schemes that lacked practicality, and this one was, in the words of V.T. Harlow, "a madcap enterprise."[148] It had a very tenuous connection to the

[147] Harlow, *Ralegh's Last Voyage,* 19.
[148] Ibid, 97.

royal authority perquisite to the scheme's success. Many of his investors shared his anti-Spanish predilections, but many were family and friends. They raised a surprising £30,000 total and used it to outfit a massive fleet of fourteen ships to carry nearly 1,000 men, many more than what was necessary for a mining venture. It cannot be known if he had faith in the mine's existence and simply wanted to rediscover and protect what he considered a valuable English possession, or if he imagined that the king would countenance a war that his subjects started without permission. Most likely he had convinced himself that both could be true. Whatever his reasons, once he sailed from Plymouth events completely escaped his control and led him to tragedy.[149]

James's motivations for freeing Ralegh to adventure in Guiana were more complicated than those of Winwood and the anti-Spanish faction. The Spanish Match had offered him a way around a contentious Parliament that demanded more influence in return for additional revenue. A Spanish dowry would refill the crown's purse and allow the king to ignore Parliament and rule England as he saw fit, and as such the marital negotiations were something the king jealously protected. Yet in a rare moment of inconsistency in his pro-Spanish foreign policy, James relented and authorized Ralegh's voyage. Part of this reversal was in the timing. The pro-Spanish favorite Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, had fallen from the king's grace and the new favorite Sir George Villiers favored an alliance with the French, and Villiers had been key in persuading the king to free Ralegh. James may also have considered the logic inherent in Ralegh's sad musing to Winwood; he could have enough gold to fill the royal coffers or conveniently rid himself of a man he despised but could not execute without political consequences. Doubtless the king would have preferred Guianese gold, but he expected a debacle and hedged his bets. Trade –not gold mining– was the stated objective on Ralegh's commission, although the king's right to one fifth

[149] Ibid, 23-25, 97; Williams, *Early English Colonies in Guiana,* 74-75.

of any precious metals or gems unearthed was mentioned three times. James assured the irate Spanish ambassador that the entire thing was just political theater for an English audience, as a royal agent bluntly stated: "His Majesty is very disposed & determined against Ralegh, and will join the King of Spain in ruining him, but he wishes this resolution to be kept secret for some little while in order that … he may keep an a eye on the disposition of some of the people here."[150]

Roe was in India in 1617 when Carew notified him that their mutual friend Ralegh had been released from the Tower to search for the mine that Lawrence Keymis reported finding near the Caroni during the 1595 excursion. Carew was optimistic for his friend and kinsman and was optimistic that Ralegh "may retourne deepe loden with Guianian gold oure!"[151] In a subsequent letter, Carew noted that shortly after Ralegh departed Plymouth dangerous weather forced him to seek shelter off the Irish coast after losing a pinnace with all hands. Further correspondence painted an increasingly inauspicious picture. A mutineer had returned to England and blamed his desertion on Ralegh, accusing him of planning to turn pirate after nearly starting a war with Spain in the Canaries. Fortunately, the Privy Council did not believe the allegations, but they were concerned that Ralegh was near to running afoul of James's policy of placating Spain. Shortly after learning of the incident Gondomar recommended to Philip III that the governor of the Canaries escalate the tension by robbing the next English ship that called there. Despite another communication from Carew regarding the continuing success of his Amazonian endeavors, the news about Ralegh must have filled Roe with foreboding. Such an astute political

[150] Harlow, *Ralegh's Last Voyage*, 34-38, 155; Gallay, *Walter Ralegh*, 460-462; Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 15-18; Alexander Samson, "The Spanish Match," *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* ed. Alexander Samson (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 1-3.
[151] Carew, *Letters of George Lord Carew*, 97.

mind no doubt understood that his friend's return to the Orinoco could end everything in Guiana if it roused the Spanish to military action or upset the English king.[152]

After arriving at the Orinoco Delta in late 1617, Ralegh sent Keymis upriver with five ships and four hundred men with orders to look for the mine and avoid engaging the Spanish. What happened next is uncertain. According to English sources, the Spanish attacked Keymis's ships before falling back to San Tomas with the English in hot pursuit. Spanish sources assert that the English marched on the town without provocation. Either way, the result of the siege is not in doubt; the town was torched after a night of barbarism. The Spanish governor's body was found the next morning with the head split open to the jaw from an English sword. When they learned that Ralegh's son Wat had died in the bloody hand-to-hand fighting, his incensed companions desecrated many of the remaining Spanish corpses by beheading them and throwing their bodies in the river. The English remained in the town for a few days to search for the mine, but Keymis's preoccupation with gathering plunder from the attack led his men to suspect that "he might be deluded, even by Sir Walter Raleigh, in the ore and place."[153] Unable to admit to the men that the entire episode was the result of either a flawed memory or an outright fabrication, Keymis told them that locating the mine while surrounded by enemies harassing them from the cover of the rainforest would "open then a mine for the King of Spain." This was an absurd declaration given that the entire purpose of such a large English fleet was ostensibly there to protect the mine once found.[154]

Keymis sailed to Trinidad where Ralegh was waiting for him to answer for his failure. He made similar excuses to Ralegh for not locating the mine, complaining that in addition to the

[152] Ibid, 97, 111, 116, 120, 129, 133-134; Harlow, *Ralegh's Last Voyage,* 155.
[153] Ibid, 235.
[154] Ibid, 171-174, 234-235; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana*, 74-79.

Spanish threat the jungle was indecipherable and impenetrable. When Keymis did not receive forgiveness for the San Tomas fiasco or for Wat's premature death, he returned to his cabin and shot himself. He botched the job, and his son found him with a knife in his chest after the bullet missed its mark. Keymis's suicide only made him the scapegoat for the entire calamity. Captain Charles Parker, a confidant of Ralegh's, described him as "a mear machevill, for he was false to all men and moste odious to him selfe, for moste vngodly he butchered himselfe lothinge to live since he could doe no more villany."[155] Still, Ralegh's hapless fellow traveler was not solely responsible, even if he had misrepresented his precise knowledge of a mine's whereabouts. Over the previous decade, both Harcourt and Roe separately concluded that Guianese gold was an improbability, and that the real wealth to be gained would come from planting and trading. Ralegh either believed in the mine to the point of dismissing more reliable evidence than Keymis's two decades old memory, or he cynically used the possibility of the mine to gain the king's permission to return to Guiana so that he could plunder Spanish possessions. Whatever fantasies he entertained were dissipated by the burning of San Tomas. There was no gold, no glory, and no redemption for a broken man who had lost his family's fortune and his son's life.[156]

The inexorable march towards Sir Walter Ralegh's execution began shortly after he sent one of his captains, Roger North, ahead to London. Ralegh had spoken well of North when he explained the events leading to Keymis's suicide in a letter to Carew, and North repaid him by testifying to the king and later the Privy Council that Ralegh knew there was no mine and that the whole adventure was designed to rejuvenate his political career. He agreed with the soldiers

[155] BL Harley MSS 39 ff. 352.
[156] Ibid, 351-352; Arthur Cayley, *The Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, Knt, In Two Volumes, Vol. 2* (London: Printed for Cadell and Davies, in the Strand, 1805),161-163; Harlow, *Life of Ralegh*, 235, 241.

who suspected that Keymis realized the search for the mine was futile and "that upon the going up the river it was often in question amongst, and urged by the examinate himself, why they should engage themselves in the taking of a Town, for a mine wherof he this examinate and many others were in doubt."[157] When asked if the raid was intentional, North replied that the English "marched towards the Town: and that this was before any shot or assault made from the Town, or before they could perceive that the Town had any knowledge of them." He concluded by reporting that Ralegh mentioned escaping to France after the shock of what transpired on the Orinoco had settled. 1618 was the time for sharing blame, and many of Ralegh's captains were eager to save their lives and reputations by telling all they knew and then some about their disgraced commander.[158]

The backlash against Ralegh was severe. Gondomar demanded the fallen knight be sent to Madrid where he would be hanged without trial. James readily consented, but Lerma's had the good sense to veto an action that would have inflamed the tension between England and Spain further. Ralegh's fate was left to the machinery of the English state, which did not move swiftly or deliberately. The security around his person was initially very lax, and it is possible that the government wanted him to escape and take the embarrassment caused by his return with him. That did not happen, for the same reason that brought Ralegh back to Plymouth in the first place. He had misjudged the Spanish ambassador's success in exploiting James's anger and did not want to live the rest of his life ignominiously as a man without a country. His decision to take his chances with the English courts was fatal. The vengeful monarch signed Ralegh's death warrant even before the specially convened group of Privy Councilors and judges pronounced sentence.

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[157] BL Harley MSS 6846 ff. 58.
[158] Ibid, 57-60; Walter Ralegh, *Sir Walter Rawleigh His Apologie for His Voyage to Guiana by Sir Walter Rawleigh* (London, Printed by T.W. for Hum. Moseley, and are to be ſold at the Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-Yard, 1650), 22; Harlow, *Life of Ralegh,* 86-87.

Only the intervention of the queen prevented Ralegh from being hanged like a common criminal. Ralegh went to his death with the pleasant detachment of an English gentleman, and Spanish and English witnesses agreed that he died nobly. The judicial slaying of the brilliant and brazen Elizabethan celebrity prompted a public outcry that compelled James to print a declaration justifying his actions.[159]

The swing of the headsman's axe signaled a change in the Spanish and English states' West Indian policies. The destruction of San Tomas prompted the Spanish to rethink their practice of ignoring Guiana, and it decided that it could not allow Roe, Morton, and King to trespass in the Amazon any longer. Gondomar pressured his government to end settlement attempts in the river by force and prepare a military response from Portuguese forces in Brazil. James reversed his previous policy of recognizing English colonial endeavors in areas claimed – but not occupied– by Spain. He had previously countenanced or ignored Leigh's adventure and even belatedly awarded Harcourt a patent, but that ambivalence was over. Just as Ralegh's unsuccessful 1595 adventure began the chapter of English adventurism in Guiana, his tragic return there in 1617 portended its close. Englishmen interlopers in the tropical backwater could no longer expect salutary neglect from their government. All of Guiana from the Orinoco to the the Amazon was off limits to Englishmen now, and the next adventurers willing to test the crown's resolve to keep it that way were fortunate to escape with their heads on their shoulders.[160]

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[159] Harlow, *Ralegh's Last Voyage*, 87-89, 92-93; Cayley, *Life of Ralegh,*161-163, Appendix 78-82; Anonymous, *A Declaration of the Demeanor and Cariage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Aswell in His Voyage, as in, and Sithence His Returne and of the True Motiues and Inducements which Occasioned His Maiestie to Proceed in Doing Iustice Vpon Him, as Hath Bene done* (London, Printed by Bonham Norton and Iohn Bill, printers to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, 1618), 1-44.

[160] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement,* 69, 76-84; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana*, 33.

Despite his sullen accusations against Ralegh, North's trip to Guiana inspired him to follow Roe's approach to accruing wealth through planting. Although the expedition had bypassed the Amazon and made landfall at the Wiapoco, prior information likely obtained from Roe's men about the Amazon Delta's possibilities for the monocultural production of tobacco or sugar convinced him to focus on that location instead. By 1619, North was the lead colonial adventurer for the Amazon Company, which intended to consolidate the various forts and plantations on the river under a single patent and to serve as base of operations near Spanish and Portuguese territory. The list of Company subscribers boasted some of the most powerful lords in the kingdom, including Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Lennox and later of Richmond, Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset. They were all adventurers eager for tobacco profits and intensely anti-Spanish political figures capable of manipulating the government to their own ends.[161]

The first obstacle the Amazon Company faced was Robert Harcourt, who had never given up on his patent for the land between the Essequibo and the Amazon. He stolidly refused to concede his claim to the Amazon, prompting North to make official complaint to the Privy Council. The Council recommended that a committee of four royal officials that included Arundel consider the issue, and two days later they replaced Harcourt's patent with a "Commissions of discovery" that divided Harcourt's Wiapoco from North's Amazon.[162] After completing that business, the Amazon Company then applied for a fresh patent as a joint-stock company and received it less than a month after having Harcourt stripped of his proprietorship. The copy of the patent is now lost, but an early prospectus advertised to potential investors that

[161] BL Harley 1583, ff. 83; Smith, *True Travels,* 49; Lorimer, *English and Irish Colonies,* 60-61.
[162] *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, Vol. 1, 1613-1680,* ed. W.L. Grant, James Munro, and Almeric W. Fitzroy (Hereford: Anthony Brothers, Ltd, 1908), 24.

"it hath pleased his Ma*jes*tie allreadye to give order for Le*tte*res Pattentes to bee drawne whereby all the said Adventurers may bee united into one bodye."[163] To mollify Harcourt, the patent was limited to the Wiapoco, leaving him the right to revive his failed colony there if his financial circumstances changed. Harcourt's stubbornness kept him from realizing that the Amazon Company intended to become an irresistible force capable of bending anyone at cross-purposes with it into submission or exclusion. Roe had long expected this. The exact nature of his participation with the Company is not clear, but many of his former employees like Morton signed on with the Company. There is evidence to suggest that Roe was actively involved in arranging additional supplies of men and material for the Amazon colony, and he may have helped the Company to establish a business relationship with the colonial adventurers that had worked for Roe. Whatever his relationship with the Company, its directors thought enough of him that they agreed to bring back the last cargo of Roe's tobacco when their ships returned from the first supply.[164]

Pushing aside someone like Harcourt was one thing; reconciling the king's pro-Spanish foreign policy to a colonial adventure with a profound anti-Spanish undercurrent was quite another. When a Spanish agent complained that North "careyth foure hundreth men and much armor with him," James ordered the voyage delayed and instructed Secretary of State George Calvert to assure the Spanish that North would explain his intentions in writing.[165] North quickly complied, and Calvert forwarded a translated copy of his reply to Gondomar. North had assured the king that he went on private business only and that he would not emulate Ralegh's harebrained invasion of Spanish territory. The Company only planned to wrest control of English

[163] BL Harley 1583, ff. 83
[164] BL Harley 1583, ff. 83; Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations*, 61-62; *Acts of the Privy Council*, 22-26; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana*, 82-84.
[165] Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations*, 198.

settlements from Dutch merchants, and the Spanish were easily avoided as their nearest town was hundreds of leagues away. Neither statement was entirely true. If Dutch merchants controlled the availability of Amazonian products, it was because they were supplying otherwise unsupported English settlers and there is no evidence to suggest there was constant fighting between the two. It was true that there was no Spanish settlement anywhere near the Amazon, but the Portuguese settlement of Para that belonged to Philip III was just to its south. That was close enough to consider Portuguese claims to the Amazon valid. As to the four hundred men, North could afford to be more transparent. In addition to prospective planters and merchants, the Company employed numerous specialists in drugs, dyes, blacksmithing, and carpentry that were needed to fully exploit the Amazon's ample supply of raw materials. He reminded the king that the Company was not only comprised of men who could afford the costs of delay, but also small investors like himself who could not afford further delay. If James found these arguments persuasive, he still did not allow North to leave.[166]

After receiving a copy of North's letter, Gondomar met with the Privy Council to assert the Spanish claim to the Amazon and to ask for the Amazon Company's dissolution. When he arrived on April 14, he was met by a crowd of Company adventurers and their supporters. Warwick, the Company president, was among the most forward and argued that the debate over Spanish or English claims could be held after North sailed. In a private meeting a few days earlier, Lennox had made a similar argument and suggested that the ambassador tread lightly in opposing the popular enterprise. Gondomar was not so easily intimidated. After praising North to the Council, the Spaniard repeated the suspicion that the large number of colonists intended for the first supply were in fact a conquering force. His second argument that the Company's patent

[166] Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations*, 201-203; Smith, *True Travels*, 49-50.

violated Spain's claim to the Amazon "and the whole Tract thereabouts" was far more accurate. The Company's patent claimed the land from the Wiapoco to "fiue Degrees of Southerly Latitude … and for Longitude into the Lande be Lymitted from sea to sea," which included the settlement of Para in Brazil and much of Peru to the west.[167] The inclusion of that language was politically foolish. Whether or not North himself intended to restrict Company activities to the Amazon, the anti-Spanish metropolitan adventurers intended to go much further. The Council reminded the ambassador that the English presence in the Amazon was not a recent development and asked him to present the arguments supporting Spain's claim in writing. That was a happy outcome for Gondamar, who considered further postponement a victory because it would likely finish the Company. Despite confirming the stay that James imposed, the Council allowed the Amazon Company to continue its preparations until the king was satisfied.[168]

Permission from the king to sail never came, and with every passing day the Amazon Company adventurers grew increasingly anxious. North had invested his entire estate in the Company, a sum that matched the largest investments of aristocratic subscribers who could afford to take such a loss. Gondomar worried to Lord High Admiral George Villiers, no Marquess of Buckingham, that Company ships might leave without clearance to do so if significant steps were not taken, a concern that turned out to be justified. As the exasperated North waited with his commission from the Company in hand, he "receaved Letters that all was well & that the world expected I should goe without bidding."[169] He jumped on these instructions and departed on April 30 in *The William and Thomas,* igniting a firestorm within the English government that doomed the already floundering Company. James was livid at the violation of

[167] *Acts of the Privy Council,* 25; BL Harley 1583 ff. 81.
[168] Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations,* 64-66, 199-205; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana,* 81-82; *Acts of the Privy Council,* 25, 31-32, 37; BL Harley 1583 ff. 81.
[169] BNA CO 1/4 ff. 17-18.

his express command. His brother Dudley, Baron North, was jailed in the Fleet. The Privy Council quickly ordered the Lord Deputy of Ireland to seize the Company's ships and to remand the wayward captain into his custody for extradition back to England. The Council then threatened North's associates with severe reprisals if they helped him in any way and ordered Warwick to submit the patent to them forthwith. North's impetuousness had ended any debate over the merits of English and Spanish claims to the Amazon. The Company formally relinquished its patent and begged the king's pardon in hopes that they might avoid punishment for North's actions.[170]

Blissfully unaware of the trouble back in London, North arrived in the Amazon some seven months after sailing from Plymouth. The visit to the river itself was a successful one. The new settlers approved of the land and roughly a hundred of them agreed to stay. The English and Irish settlers already living there submitted to the Amazon Company's authority. After leaving them a pinnace with Morton to explore upriver, North loaded his ship with Roe's tobacco as well as other assorted commodities and returned to England where he received a most unwelcome reception. The Privy Council remanded him to the Tower in January of 1621, where he remained for two months with his cargo impounded. Once released, North complained before the Council about the seizure of his goods. Gondomar claimed them on the legal pretense that the goods came from Spanish possessions and were therefore his master's property. North and his backers argued that the unsettled status of the Amazon meant that anyone could make use of the land. The Commons placed the decision in James's hands, and remarked:

> it wilbe likewise good to knowe the Kinge's pleasure … For if he disclayme his right wee are at an end If the Kinge showld disclayme, it is to bee considered whether the interest

[170] Ibid, 7-8, 17-18; BNA PC 2/30 ff. 505, 661; *Acts of the Privy Council*, 31-38; Smith, *True Travels*, 49.

> of the Subject bee thereby extinguished For by the Lawe of Nations any bodye may make use of a desolate Countrie whereof noe bodye is in Possession.[171]

After Commons wondered aloud if James intended to protect the rights of Englishmen, North was rearrested and again confined to the Tower for his part in embarrassing the king.[172]

James was never going to allow the Amazon Company to flourish in an area so fiercely contested by the Spanish after the Ralegh debacle. North's impulsive decision to leave gave the crown a reason to act, but the responsibility for the Company's failure was more fundamental. Like Ralegh's supporters before, the metropolitan adventurers involved in the Company found themselves at odds with the crown's overarching pro-Spanish foreign policy. Popular opinion could persuade the monarch to support the Company publicly, but it could not replace the Infanta's dowry. If the Company directors believed they could leverage public approval over the king indefinitely –a charge that Gondomar repeated in James's presence– then they miscalculated. In matters of foreign and colonial policy, state power and royal authority were very tightly bound. The king and his Privy Council could revoke a patent at any time. The Company could not project its own authority or create its own institutions under such unstable conditions, and it was foolhardy to proceed with the undertaking as if such a structural problem could be ignored. The Company's major subscribers were fortunate that James ended the trouble with North as the only scapegoat.[173]

Not every investor could afford to simply drop the matter. Roe, now reseated in the House of Commons, vociferously defended English rights to the Amazon. The Company's

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[171] Wallace Notestein, Francis Helen Relf, Hartley Simpson *Commons Debates, 1621 Vol. Four* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), 224-225.
[172] Robert Harcourt, *The relation of a voyage to guiana describing the climate, situation, fertilitie, & commodities of that country: Together with the manner and customes of the people. performed by robert harcourt, of stanton harcourt esquier. 1609* (London, Printed by Edw: Allde, dwelling neere Christ-Church.Smith, 1626), 6; Smith, *True Travels*, 49-50; Notestein, *Commons Debates*, 219, 223-225; *Acts of the Privy Council*, 39-43.
[173] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 208-213.

implosion had impacted Roe financially in several ways. First was the loss of his tobacco consignment on the *William and Thomas.* Second was the loss sustained by his newly granted monopoly on tobacco, which allowed him to set the price for importation from all English tobacco-producing colonies and collect those monies on the government's behalf for a significant profit. Very likely he intended to use it to prioritize the sale of his own tobacco as well as the Amazon Company's. Roe asserted his own claims to the Amazon, arguing that the Company's actions before North's departure were proper and that the voyage was hindered by the "Malice of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador." After reminding the Council that the tobacco in question belonged to him and that North's share only a fifth of its value, he bellowed that "the Truth is, Sir *Thomas Rowe* and his Servants were the firſt that inhabited and planted … the country of the Amazons."[174] In other words, good Protestant Englishmen had been denied their rights as loyal subjects by the crown's policy of accommodating the vile machinations of Catholic Spain. Small wonder the entire proceeding annoyed the king, who decided to make a further example of North for provocative speech by an indignant Member of Parliament.[175]

After his release in July, North was finally permitted to recover the disputed tobacco from customs. After a six month stay in the customs house the goods were rotten, and he was unable to sell it afterwards or to remunerate anyone involved in the voyage including Roe. The destitute captain could not even pay the crew, and at least twenty-three of them sued him for their lost wages. The Privy Council allowed the claimants to recover the tobacco while North was still in the Tower upon payment of the duties and impositions, but that was an unaffordable

[174] Edward Nicholas and Thomas Tyrwhitt, *Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons in 1620 and 1621, Collected by a Member of that House, and now Publiſhed from his Original Manuſcipt in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford. With an Appendix, Which ſome Paſſages are Illuſtrated from other Manuſcripts, in Two Volumes, Vol. I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1776), 249-250.
[175] Tyrwhitt and Nicholas, *Proceedings and Debates,* 249-250; Notestein, *Commons Debates,* 223.

condition given its deterioration. North flailed about looking for the money to keep him out of debtor's prison and sued the owners of *The William and Thomas* on the grounds that there were numerous deficiencies in the ship and that after being made aware of the problem the defendants ignored it. He argued that the defects cost time and money, damaged his freight and provisions, and ultimately resulted in "the loſſe in ſale of Commodities."[176] Perhaps the suggestion that the owners did not meet their contractual obligation was valid, but asserting that they were responsible for lost cargo after North willingly departed Plymouth in their vessel was laughable. He did not win his lawsuit, but the Council eventually relented and reversed its decision to allow his men to confiscate the tobacco after an independent assessment found that it was barely worth the amount of the required imposition. So great was his loss that the Council further granted some relief by ruling that neither North nor the Company were liable to anyone for the loss and ordered the impositions waived. North wound up with nothing for his trouble but five months in the Tower and roughly two years of wasted effort. As John Smith observed, he "beyond all others was by much the greatest Adventurer and Loser." [177]

Although North successfully united the disparate settlements along the river in his brief time there, the failure of the Amazon Company to fulfill the promise of cohesion and security fractured them into individual groups given to squabbling amongst themselves. Polities on the Amazon among the English, Irish, and Dutch settlers residing there only existed on the level of individual plantations or fortifications, fostering an environment where negotiated authority flourished. Although Smith believed that "all authoritie being diſſolved, want of government did more wrong their proceedings than all other croſſes whatſoever," it is more likely that the ability

[176] BNA HCA 24/79, Part 1, No 8.
[177] Ibid; *Acts of the Privy Council,* 40-46; Smith, *True Travels,* 50.

to choose local leaders helped the settlements prosper through a barter economy.[178] Strong leaders willing to take responsibility for their settlements easily attracted followers. Several Englishmen joined with Captain Parker and settled near the site of Roe's original Taurege fort. Parker's status as a veteran of San Tomas and his familiarity with naval tactics made him an obvious figure to command the respect of his fellows. His experience later proved invaluable for not only constructing a gainful plantation but in defending it from Portuguese attack in 1623.[179]

Although the various Europeans from different nations resided in their individual Amazonian settlements in relative amity, violence or threats of violence could occasionally break the peace. Roe made a last half-hearted effort to resume his previous illicit operations in the Amazon and in 1620 or 1621 sent a group of Irishmen to plant enough tobacco to refill the *Lyon's Clawe's* empty hulls. The Irishmen quickly fell in behind Bernard O'Brien, an energetic man as given to exaggeration as John Smith himself. O'Brien organized his men, built a small fortification, and learned the local languages to establish friendly relations with the Supanes. This arrangement mirrored the bargains struck in the Amapa with the Yao, a freely entered trading arrangement cemented by a military alliance. When a Dutch ship arrived near the Irish fort on the Amazon Delta's northern canal and asked for assistance starting a new settlement, O'Brien met with the Dutch captains and informed them that he had thousands of Indian warriors at his disposal and took the frightened men prisoner. He ransomed them for their cannons and forced their crew to load the artillery into the Irish fort. The unarmed Dutchmen hastily removed themselves far away from the belligerent Irish closer to Dutch forts already constructed.[180]

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[178] Smith, *True Travels,* 50.
[179] Ibid, 50; Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations,* 252-253
[180] Harcourt, *relation of a voyage to Guiana (1626),* 6; Smith, *True Travels,* 50; Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations,* 264-266, 406-407.

O'Brien's success shows that in an area where the white population far eclipsed anything ever seen on the Wiapoco, cooperation with the natives was a beneficial arrangement. The profits that Indian labor and protection brought the Europeans living in the Amazon aroused jealousy from the Portuguese. A captain named Manuel De Sousa D'Eca complained in 1618 –the same year Ralegh's men sacked San Tomas– that the English did not enslave the Indians or otherwise treat them cruelly. D'Eca did not suggest that Portugal change its policy towards indigenous peoples, but he did acknowledge that the rumors about Portuguese cruelty that the Amazonian colonists spread were not without merit. The upshot was that the Indians avoided trading with the Portuguese, making settlements near the Amazon like Para less profitable. It was time to remove the competition.[181]

The Portuguese finally invaded the Amazon in June of 1623 and effectively brought the era of European settlements on the Amazon to an end. Led by Vicente Cochado three Portuguese ships augmented with several hundred Palikur in canoes entered the Amazon Delta from a southerly route. Minor skirmishes broke out between the Supanes and Palikur, but the former was driven off by the latter. The Portuguese continued without further incident until they reached the Dutch fort on the Xingu. The inhabitants of the Dutch fort immediately surrendered, as did their countrymen further upriver on the Ginipape. At the Xingu fort Cochado found women and children, and at both forts he discovered enslaved Africans. The presence of Dutch families and their expensive enslaved laborers confirmed the worst fears of Portuguese officials, that the Amazonian colonists intended their wooden stockades and ramshackle plantations to become

[181] Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations on the Amazon,* 174-176.

permanent colonies once their mother countries decided to embrace and protect their subjects' claims to the fertile Delta soil.[182]

As Cochado departed the Amazon with his Dutch captives, his colleague Bento Marciel entered the more heavily populated northern canal. When Supanes scouts warned the English about the incursion, the English abandoned the Taurege and boarded a Dutch ship to confront the Portuguese vessel. Portuguese and Dutch sources differ on what happened next. According to the Portuguese, the ship was overtaken and burned with the loss of nearly everyone aboard including Captain Parker. The Dutch claimed that the hazardous currents left the ship aground on a sandy bank, and that the crew set fire to it to prevent it from falling into Portuguese hands. John Smith later reported that Parker lived six years after his arrival in the Amazon, so content that he did not wish to return to England. If Parker did survive, he was one of the few Englishmen that did so. Portuguese resolve to keep other Europeans out of the Amazon never wavered, and after a few more abortive attempts to colonize Guiana the English abandoned it.[183]

Jacobean adventurism in Guiana ruined nearly every man who touched it. Insufficient understanding of the Wiapoco's harsh environment, the Yaos' ability to resist encroachment, and outright incompetence fatally undermined Charles Leigh's project. Robert Harcourt's attempts to establish a trading empire in the Amapa cost him estates that had been in his family since the twelfth century. Although the two men's schemes were flawed, their government's relative disinterest all but guaranteed that their adventures would fail. The reverse was initially true for the Amazon. The environment was healthy, the Supanes were less organized, and the settlers

[182] Bodleian, Rawlinson A 175, ff. 370-372; Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations,* 249-250; Harcourt, *relation of a voyage to Guiana (1626),* 5-6.
[183] Lorimer, *English and Irish Plantations,* 250-252; Smith, *True Travels,* 50; Emily Johnston de Forest, *A Walloon Family in America: Lockwood de Forest and his Forbears 1500-1848, Together with A Voyage to Guiana being the Journal of Jesse de Forest and his Colonists 1623-1625 Volume II* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), 227-229; Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana,* 107-114.

themselves benefitted from Thomas Roe's adept management. Success came so easy that royal authority or investment capital barely figured into Roe's business model. [184]

Roe's settlements in the Amazon show that it was possible for English colonies to succeed in Guiana if they had royal license and adventurer capital. It is counterfactual to argue that the Wiapoco projects would have fared better with the right support, but the Virginia Company's ability to resuscitate the James Towne colony after the 1610 Starving Time suggests that adventurers with enough authority and resources could force a colony into existence if they committed to it. Roe's Amazonian settlers did not have to contend with environmental challenges or a powerful native confederacy, as existed in the Amapa faced by Leigh, Harcourt, or at James Towne. The climate was healthy, food and fresh water were plentiful, and the Supanes were cooperative, but the political obstacles were for too great to overcome. The end of the near decade of profitable Amazonian tobacco planting came when the settlers ran afoul of James's designs for the Spanish Match. The royal sovereignty over colonial policy was total and subject to the king's whims alone. After Ralegh's misfortune and the international embarrassment that followed, James brooked no more Guianese projects and allowed the Portuguese to clear the English from the Amazon. Colonial state formation was virtually impossible under these conditions; the Amazon Company's rapid collapse is proof enough of this. Local conditions mattered, but a steady supply of settlers and resources mattered most. Without a monarch willing to countenance colonial schemes or the interest of adventurers willing to back it with enough resources, even thriving settlements could and did fail.[185]

[184] Edward William Harcourt, *The Harcourt Papers: Vol. III* (Oxford: Printed for Private Circulation by James Parker and Co., 1880), 252.
[185] Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975), 78-82, 92-102

Part Two

"This leads us to a question that is in dispute: is it better to be loved than feared, or vice-versa? My reply is that one ought to be both loved and feared; but, since it is difficult to accomplish both at the same time, I maintain that it is much safer to be feared rather than loved, if you have to do without one of the two… For love attaches men by ties of obligation, which, since men are wicked, they break whenever their interests are at stake. But fear restrains men because they are afraid of punishment, and this fear never leaves them."

–Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*

Chapter Three: The Lord Proprietor's Autocracy

In July of 1616, James, Lord Hay, arrived in Paris as extraordinary ambassador for an audience with the young Louis XIII and his regent Marie de' Medici to discuss the possibility of marrying Charles, Prince of Wales, to Christine, Daughter of France. The baron entered Paris led by six trumpeters and two marshals clad in velvet and cloth of gold and surrounded by "a great Train of Pages and Footmen in the ſame rich Livery, encircling his horse."[186] Despite the grandeur of the English parade, no one eclipsed the ambassador. He was attired in a cloak, hat, and hose fashioned from white beaver pelt and a doublet made of cloth of gold. Atop a magnificent horse with silver horseshoes, Hay stopped in front of French dignitaries and commanded it to fling its valuable shoes at the delighted crowd watching. As the animal patiently waited for replacement shoes, its master basked in the adulation of a crowd enraptured by a carefully choreographed show. Unwilling to let the English display go unanswered, the French king threw a sumptuous banquet for Hay and his impressive entourage. Although the English mission did not procure a French bride, Louis admired the splendid nobleman with elegant manners and easy charm. It was a display of aristocratic extravagance that the French king never forgot.[187]

James Hay's career began long before his mission to Paris and continued for some years afterwards. As a Scottish knight, Sir James Hay accompanied James I after the latter ascended to the throne of England in 1603 at the age of twenty-three. Through James's favor he was elevated

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[186] White Kennett, *A complete Hiſtory of England: with the Lives of all the Kings and Queens Thereof; From the Earlieſt Account of Time, to the Death of his late Majeſty King William III* (London: Printed for *Brab. Aymer, Reb. Bonwick, Sam. Smith* and *Benj. Walford, Will. Freeman, Tim. Goodwin, Tho. Bennett, Matth. Wotton, John Walthoe, Sam. Manſhip, Tho. Newborough, John Nicholſon, Richard Parker,* and *Benj. Tooke,* 1706), 704.
[187] Ibid, 703-704; Roy E. Schreiber, "The First Carlisle Sir James Hay, First Earl of Carlisle as Courtier, Diplomat, and Entrepreneur, 1580-1626," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 74, no. 7 (1984): 14-15, 19.

to the peerage as Baron of Sawley in 1615, Viscount Doncaster in 1618, and then Earl of Carlisle in 1622. He was an incorrigible spendthrift, and by the end of his reign James had spent thousands of pounds on his courtier's expensive pursuits. In 1617, he hired Ben Jonson to write a play, *Masque of the Lethe of Lovers made Men*, for a French ambassador that was so impressive Hay found himself reassuring James that he was not conducting secret negotiations for a French match. The earl could be jocular and jovial. He participated in tilting and hunting for as long as he was physically able and had a fondness for both sports throughout his life. Perhaps his most important quality outside his charismatic demeanor was his knack for political showmanship. Carlisle's banquets were legendary, and it was common to see well-dressed gentlemen bringing twenty dishes or more to the table into his Whitehall apartments. When Edward Denny, Earl of Norwich, chided him for his expensive habits, Carlisle replied "Whie my Lord, spend and God will send." An incredulous Norwich asked "What will he send? A staffe and a wallet?"[188] It was an appropriate yet rhetorical question. Norwich knew that if God was not willing to provide, the Stuart kings always were.[189]

Carlisle's service to the crown was inseparable from his private business endeavors, as both depended on the king's favor, but the earl's persona as a well-mannered courtier and diplomat contrasted drastically with his unscrupulous methods for making money. These two facets of his personality made him an effective colonizer, and when he received a proprietary patent for the Caribbean islands from Charles in 1627, his experience in politics and business made him the most powerful adventurer involved in the West Indies. Establishing colonies on his islands and consolidating his proprietary authority over them was a three-stage process. The first

[188] Thomas Raymond, *Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire, Camden Third Series, Vol. XXVIII* ed. G. Davies (London: Offices of the Society, 1917), 25.
[189] Ibid, 24-25; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 7, 10-11, 19.

step began before he received the patent and involved coordinating a scheme for St Christopher with metropolitan and colonial adventurers, giving them his tacit support to begin the project, and an assurance that he would secure royal approval when the time was right. Once the patent was in hand, the second step was fending off other courtiers interested in filching it and that required his political acumen. A patent could be rescinded by the king and awarded to another; preventing that from happening required influence at court. It was not until 1629, two years after he received the patent, that he was finally able to persuade Charles to dismiss all rival claims to the islands. When his metropolitan authority was finally undisputed, Carlisle took the third and last step, gaining physical control of his islands. There had been unrest on St Christopher and Nevis ever since the new proprietor announced a new regime and higher taxes, and Barbados had nearly politically disintegrated when proprietary agents arrived to assert control over it. This obliged Carlisle to show the uglier side of his character, and he sent ruthless and ambitious men immediately after the king ratified the patent to crush any further resistance to his authority and to bring the anarchy in his colonies to an end.

The patent for the Islands of Carlisle Province changed the nature of colonization in the early English West Indies. The Guianese adventurers may have envisioned plantations, but they lacked both the royal authority and material resources to realize their plans. Englishmen had to negotiate there, either with the Indians or with each other. The proprietary adventurers began their project in a whirlwind of contestation and negotiation, and they intended to bring an end to it as quickly as possible. Scarcity drove the competition. There Wiapoco adventurers rarely faced interlopers and the fertile Amazonian riverbanks offered more land than the Englishmen there could plant. Although real estate sales fast outpaced the number of settlers willing and able to plant in St Christopher, Nevis, and Barbados, the rapid commodification of land nevertheless

fostered competition as available acreage disappeared. Property ownership necessitated legal and physical control, and when Carlisle's patent and the permanence it guaranteed fell into dispute, political violence rocked the islands and business suffered as a result. It took the validation of the patent in the metropole and a reconquest of the colonies, but by 1630 the proprietorship was recognized as the governing institution with total authority to regulate taxes keep order.

Carlisle was the chief node in a network that linked royal authority and adventurer capitalism, but the historiographical picture of him has changed over time. Nicholas Darnell Davis argued in his 1887 *The Cavaliers and Roundheads* that Carlisle was profligate and crooked, and Williamson went further and claimed that the earl's indebtedness to wealthy metropolitan adventurers made him beholden to them. Dunn accused the earl of laziness, neglect, and overdependence on the colonial operators governing his colonies. As recently as 2003, Larry Dale Cragg echoed Dunn in *Englishmen Transplanted* and charged Carlisle with rapacious carelessness. Puckrein disagreed with this view in his 1981 "Did Sir William Courteen Really Own Barbados," by showing that Carlisle was neither indolent nor incompetent, and never subservient to the adventurers associated with him. Roy E. Schreiber went further in his "The First Carlisle Sir James Hay," arguing that the earl was an effective manager of his business affairs in the West Indies and careful to not become too indebted to his creditors or too dependent on his agents. When he did choose to make exceptions to that rule, they tended to be for noteworthy employees whose loyalty and ability were never in question. This dissertation accepts Puckrein and Schreiber's assessment of Carlisle; he was undoubtedly a competent man able to negotiate the highest affairs of state well enough to merit his royal masters' trust. However, Schreiber's interest was primarily Carlisle's career as a diplomat, and relegates all his monopolies and offices to a closing section of the book that exists apart from the main narrative.

Yet the West Indies represented far more than a reclamation project or a wine impost. Carlisle was nearly fifty when he received the patent and at the end of his ambassadorial career. The Hays did not have the long history of a family like the Percys of Northumberland and lacked the generational wealth of families like the Riches of Warwick. The Islands of Carlisle Province had the potential to change that and give the earl something the king could not simply award: an enduring familial legacy built on an aristocratic fortune.[190]

The patent for the Caribbean islands was the greatest gift the Stuarts ever gave Carlisle, but it was only one of many. In late 1603 Carlisle received a license to sell broadcloth valued at £3,000 that he sold to merchants more willing and able to use it, and from that time forward his finances depended on royal favor. In 1611 he was granted a monopoly over Irish wine imposts which he also sold. Over time, this practice became the way the profligate Hay stayed ahead of his creditors, who were extensive. Despite his perpetual indebtedness, he was always careful never to allow himself to become completely beholden to any man involved in his businesses. This resale of offices and privileges was a pattern that Carlisle continued for the rest of his life, although he kept for himself the most prestigious and politically advantageous office he ever received, Master of the Great Wardrobe. This office placed him close to the king, and his sense of style ensured that James's attire befitted a king of England. It also won him an opportunity to demonstrate his skill in negotiations. When James's greatest favorite, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, found himself in the Tower awaiting trial for murder in 1615, it was Hay who persuaded Somerset to keep the king's secrets in return for leniency and an eventual stipend once

[190] Nicholas Darnell Davis, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados, 1650-1652: With Some Account of the Early History of Barbados* (Georgtown: Argosy Press: 1887), 50-54; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 39-40; Davis, 49-54; Larry Dale Cragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados, 1627-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 50-51; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 138-139, 170-172; Gary Puckrein, "Did Sir William Courteen Really Own Barbados?" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (Spring, 1981): 135-136.

it became politically safe to grant. The earl's loyalty to the crown's concerns above all others ensured that he remained "no great Favourite ever, yet … never but in Favour," and this consistency made him the perfect courtier to speak for the king's interests in foreign courts.[191]

Carlisle's importance as James's representative to the courts of Europe gave him first-hand knowledge of the shifts in European dynastic politics, and a keen insight into what they portended. The king was gambling everything on the Spanish Match, the name for the proposed marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales and heir to the English throne, and the Spanish Infanta Maria Anna. The Infanta's dowry promised to end Parliament's ability to constrain the royal prerogative through its control of revenue. More worrisome was the potential for a Catholic Franco-Spanish alliance, which could leave England isolated politically and economically isolated from Western Europe. A marriage between the Stuarts and the Hapsburgs would greatly reduce that possibility. Between his desire to refill the royal coffers without recourse to Parliament, and his fear that Spain and France could run roughshod over the rest of Europe and cut the English off from access to American wealth, James became convinced that the Spanish Match would be a solution to all his problems. No one could change his thinking, and anyone who disrupted the delicate negotiations for the marriage did so at his own risk. No one, least of all Englishmen stumbling through a Guianese jungle looking to mine, trade, or plant, was going to disrupt the delicate negotiations for the marriage. Carlisle had nearly learned that the hard way when he barely escaped scrutiny for his alleged role in Ralegh's 1618 disaster on the Orinoco. Like many astute political observers, he did not believe the marriage would ever take place, so he resigned himself to watching, waiting, and expressing mild support for the king's plans. When the haggling over the Spanish Match failed, Carlisle's return to his preeminence among

[191] Kennett, *A complete Hiftory of England,* 703; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 12-13, 140, 144, 156.

England's ambassadors would make him an excellent choice to secure a French marriage to end the threat of a Franco-Spanish alliance. This assessment proved correct.[192]

Other Englishmen at court and in Parliament shared the earl's analysis, and though he might have been loath to admit it, James was politically astute enough to realize that failure was a real possibility until the ceremony took place. It is understandable then that the king was shocked when Charles and George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham, told him of their plans to travel through France to Spain in secret. Not only did the idea seem silly, once in Spain the two could become hostages. When an English agent who had recently returned from the Spanish court was asked for his opinion on the prince and the favorite's proposal, he trembled and told the king that "it would render all that had been done towards the Match, Fruitleſs."[193] The Spanish would be able to take a more hardline position with Charles in their physical custody and were almost certain to demand James bestow privileges on English Catholics that would never be politically acceptable in England. James inherently understood all of this, but he could not help but indulge his son. The king's misgivings about his eighteen-year-old son's competency to engage in such a bizarre undertaking were confirmed when the two dilletantes, travelling under the aliases "John and Tom Smith," managed to get themselves detained in Canterbury before they left England. Although James had already installed John Digby, Earl of Bristol, as extraordinary ambassador to Spain, there was need for someone with experience in the French court to follow behind Charles and Buckingham to Madrid by way of Paris to clean up

[192] BL Harley 39 ff. 361-364; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 48, 58.
[193] Edward Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion and the Civil Wars in England, Begun in the Year 1641, with the precedent Paſſages and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the King's bleſſed Restoration, and Return upon the 29th of May, in the year 1660, Vol. I* (Oxford: Printed at the Theatre), 17.

the diplomatic mess that the two men's not so incognito journey was going to cause. Carlisle was the obvious choice.[194]

The earl departed England in February of 1623 with orders to prevent French retaliation for what amounted to a massive insult to Louis when "John and Tom Smith" traveled through his kingdom unannounced. That had not escaped French notice, and neither had the purpose of their journey. The Spanish Match threatened the balance of power between Spain and France, and Carlisle worried that Louis would be nervous about the political ramifications if the marriage succeeded. Worse was the implicit insult offered by an English royal sneaking through Paris on his way to Spain to establish this harmful alliance without notice or permission. Carlisle was unsure of what sort of reception he would receive at the French court, but his concerns proved unfounded. Louis forgave everything and allowed the Smiths to continue their journey unmolested. This wholly unexpected response had more to do with French intelligence than Carlisle's charm. Louis had good reason to believe, as Carlisle did, that the Spanish Match would not happen. He also shared Carlisle's hopes for a French marriage once Charles left Spain empty-handed.[195]

Carlisle arrived in Madrid in March without any of his usual fanfare and his stay was short; he did not want to be there, and no one else wanted him there. His strong Protestantism and anti-Spanish outlook troubled Spanish officials and offended the Infanta, who received him with cold and stately demeanor. When he tried to kiss her hand during an audience, she was "as immoveable as the image of the Virgin Mary, when suppliants bow to her on festival days."[196]

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[194] Ibid, 17-20; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 49-50; Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*, 74-77.
[195] Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 1, 13-16.
[196] Thomas Birch, *The Court and Times of James the First; Illustrated by Authrntic and Confidential Letters, from Various Public and Private Collections, Edited by the Author of "Memoirs of Sophia Dorothea," etc., in Two Volumes, Vol. II*, ed. Robert F. Williams (London: Henry Colburn, Publisher, 1848), 400.

The pro-Spanish ambassador Bristol worried that Carlisle was there to undermine him, and Charles and Buckingham thought he was there to take credit for what they believed would be their glorious diplomatic coup. The earl was happy to oblige everyone and leave. He left for England as fast as a convenient excuse could be found and had the dubious honor of announcing to the English court that the pope had granted a dispensation for the Stuart-Hapsburg marriage. That must have been an awkward moment for all concerned.[197]

Leaving a month after his arrival in Madrid spared Carlisle a serious diplomatic headache, but it left Charles and Buckingham without an advisor who might have helped save them from themselves. Buckingham had come to loggerheads with Bristol, prompting one observer to wonder if "a buſineſs of ſo high a conſequence as this … ſhould be ranvers'd by differences 'twixt a few private ſubjects."[198] The tiresome Villiers, created Duke of Buckingham while in Madrid, had also profoundly irritated Philip IV and his chief minister Gaspar de Guzman, Count-Duke of Olivares, with his quarrelsome approach to negotiations. In a fit of pique Olivares shouted at the duke that neither he nor Philip III, under whom discussions for the marriage had originated, had ever really wanted the marriage to take place. Things deteriorated further when Olivares miscalculated his own ability to bully Charles into firm promises to end the suppression of English Catholics. As the stalemate continued and the increasingly unwelcome English delegation imploded, the prince finally became concerned about the security of his person after realizing just how dangerous it was to have placed himself directly in Spanish hands. He just wanted to go home, and his father was distraught that his son was in such danger and beseeched him to do or say anything that would help his escape. James sent word that the

[197] Ibid, 399-400; Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta,* 64; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 50-52.
[198] James Howell, *Epiſtolae Ho-Elianae: Familiar Letters, Domeſtic and Forren, Divided into Four Books, Partly Hiſtorical, Political, Philoſophicall, Upon Emergent Occaſſions, Fifth Edition* (London: Printed for *Thomas* Guy, at the Corner ſhop of little *Lumbardſtrees* and *Cornhill,* near *Wollchurch* Market, 1678), 122.

prince should agree to every Spanish demand until they let him go. Charles followed his father's advice and was permitted to leave and have a proxy stand for him in Spain for a wedding that would never take place. Charles looked like a coward and a liar, and James a weak and dotty old man. The Stuarts were international laughingstocks.[199]

Olivares's outburst to Buckingham had given away the game, and by the time the Smiths were back in England Charles's antipathy for Spain had become so visceral and visible that it alarmed the Spanish ambassador Juan de Mendoza, Marquis de la Hinojosa. By now the Spanish had realized the whole thing had gone too far, but the diplomatic fracases had already started. Bristol was instructed to withhold the proxy until further notice, and soon after that he was recalled from Madrid to answer for his pro-Spanish policies. A Parliament was summoned to debate the matter, and when the MPs heard Buckingham's version of events –one that greatly exaggerated Charles's skill and resolve in the negotiations– the prince's popularity soared. When Hinojosa tried to approach James privately to present the Spanish version of events, he went too far and attempted to malign Buckingham. The king initially believed the ambassador, and when he realized he had been fooled his reaction was ferocious. When a frightened Hinojosa tried to sneak out of England, he was detained for over a month before James let him leave on a merchant ship. To complete the reversal of English foreign policy, Carlisle and other ambassadors were dispatched to France with overtures for a marriage between Charles and the French princess Henrietta Maria.[200]

This new disregard for the Spanish made the Spanish Match one of the most consequential events in West Indian history. James's policy towards the Spanish had always been weak, and his desire to please the Spanish ambassador Diego Sarmiento, Count of

[199] Ibid, 122; Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*, 110-111, 119-124, 131-133.
[200] Charles Carlton, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 1995), 48-54.

Gondomar, led Guianese adventurers to disaster. Part of Spain's reason for the charade had been to trick the king into enforcing its foreign policy in the Americas, and it was unlikely that would change after the marriage. Had the Spanish Match succeeded, that policy would have been likely to continue. Yet the Spanish Match failed, and afterwards Charles took increasing control of the government until his father died in 1625. The new king wanted to provoke Spain, not placate it, and he was willing to countenance adventurer projects that served the ends of his foreign policy. Carlisle and his network of adventurers had been watching all of this closely. That Charles adopted a warlike posture towards Spain pleased the earl immensely. He had no love for Spain and had always thought the marriage a gross error, but he also saw opportunity. The new monarch was likely to bless any adventures in Spanish territory. [201]

The earl had sensed the changing political winds when he departed Spain in 1623, and when he returned he met with a Thomas Warner and a few merchants to discuss Warner's prospective adventure in the Caribbean. Warner was a formidable man and a natural colonial adventurer. Born in Parham before 1575, he had served in the crown as a member of the king's guard and as Lieutenant of the Tower before looking to West Indian adventure to make his fortune. He signed on with the Amazon Company in 1621 and sailed to the Amazon with Roger North, and while in country he learned about the island of St Christopher's potential for tobacco cultivation. When he and fifteen other settlers left on a ship bound for England in 1622 they visited Trinidad and several of the islands in the Lesser Antilles on their way. Around the time Carlisle returned from Spain, Warner returned from the Amazon by way of St Christopher. Warner stopped at the island and confirmed the report. Once back in London he approached Ralph Merrifield, a wealthy London merchant, about backing a scheme to colonize the island.

[201] Schreiber, *The First Carlisle*, 168-172.

Even with James's newfound dislike of Spain, gaining the pacifist king's permission for a West Indian adventure was still a chancy proposition.[202]

What was needed was a good friend at court, a courtier with enough influence to protect their schemes from incurring the king's displeasure. This meant finding a noble patron; someone wily enough to gain the king's authority and make use of it, and sufficiently profligate to allow the adventurers a great deal of leeway so long as he was paid. At this initial stage Carlisle was not willing to publicly link himself to the scheme, but he took preliminary steps to set the plan into motion. Writing years later from hearsay, John Scott asserted that James promised Carlisle a patent in 1624 based on Warner's information. Scott's report makes sense, as Carlisle would have been reticent to proceed without some royal assurances. Still, no patent was issued at that time. The most persuasive evidence that James knew about Carlisle's scheme is that one of the earl's chief creditors, Marmaduke Royden, supplied the ship that ferried Warner back to St Christopher that same year. Just as the earl's participation probably hinged on royal permission, it is unlikely Royden would have invested that sort of money in the project without Carlisle's word that the adventure had unofficial sanction.[203]

Even with the king's tacit consent to Carlisle's adventure, avoiding public association with it was the smart play. Carlisle had reason to be wary of both prince and Parliament. The

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[202] John Smith, *The true travels, adventures, and observations of captaine iohn smith, in europe, asia, affrica, and america, from anno domini 1593. to 1629 his accidents and sea-fights in the straights; his service and stratagems of warre in hungaria, transilvania, wallachia, and moldavia, against the turks, and tartars ... after how he was taken prisoner by the turks, sold for a slave ... and escaped ... together with a continuation of his generall history of virginia, summer-iles, new england, and their proceedings, since 1624. to this present 1629; as also of the new plantations of the great river of the amazons, the iles of st. christopher, mevis, and barbados in the west indies. all written by actuall authours, whose names you shall finde along the history* (London: Printed by *J. H.* for *Thomas Slater,* and are to bee sold at the Blew Bible in *Greene Arbour,* 1630), 51-52; Aucher Warner, *Sir Thomas Warner: Pioneer of the West Indies* (London: The West India Committee, 1933), 13-15, 18, 21; BL Sloane 3662 ff. n.p.. Sloane 3662 is Scott's handwritten draft of his history of colonization, and he when he finished writing from front to back, he turned the book around and wrote on the other side of the pages from back to front and those pages have not been numbered. The passage on Carlisle and James is under the section entitled "Concerning the Various Revolutions which have beene upon the Island."

[203] Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 168-172.

fallout from the Spanish Match had not abated, and the prince Charles was on the hunt for scapegoats to take the blame for his profound cockup. Carlisle worried that his short visit to Madrid might make him the prince's quarry, but Buckingham had already steered the prince toward other prey. The duke had already badmouthed Bristol to Parliament, and the former Spanish ambassador found himself roughly handled by Charles for several years after he returned from Madrid. Parliament was a little more concerning. Carlisle was under the MPs' scrutiny for his less-than-savory methods of collecting taxes in arrears from people who had hidden their lands from the crown. He had been licensed by the king to collect those taxes, but the use of private incentives to achieve the ends of public policy incentivized extortion. In 1623, Parliament noticed that the earl had a "Commission for the Commissioners of Defective Titles" that totaled thirty different "inquisitions."[204] The following year he informed Parliament that he would forfeit his commission. As for James, he was aging and losing his authority to Charles and Buckingham. His promises to eventually grant the Caribbean to Carlisle, even if sincere – always a concern when dealing with James– would be worth nothing if the earl suffered a political downfall. Better to stay aloof and acquiescent while Warner and the merchants clandestinely laid the groundwork for the proposed colony on St Christopher.[205]

Once on the island Warner had to come to terms with its native Kalinago inhabitants. The Kalinago had migrated from Guiana to the Caribbean in the fifteenth century, and from Columbus's time they had proved difficult for Europeans to subdue. After the Spanish managed to drive them out of the Greater Antilles, the Kalinagos' reputation as fierce warriors kept the Spanish from following them to the Lesser Antilles. Kalinago weaponry was intimidating

[204] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1623-25*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1859), 6
[205] Ibid, 6, 266; Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion,* 32-37; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 142-143.

enough. They preferred six-foot-long bows made from snakewood, arrows tipped with manchineel poison, and large clubs that could easily crush a man's head. Europeans like Pere Labat thought of them as vindictive, lazy, and nearly impossible to enslave because they were known for fighting to their deaths rather than surrender their freedom. While the Kalinago regarded the islands as their homeland, they adopted guerilla techniques that emphasized nomadic movements to evade attackers combined with hit and run tactics to harass European interlopers. Their resistance spanned several years. In 1640 they raided Antigua and kidnapped Edward Warner's wife and child, who were never heard from again.[206]

There is every indication that the Kalinago did not immediately regard the English settlers on St Christopher as an existential threat, but it did not take long for them to change their initial impression. Warner obtained Tegreman's consent to plant there, and the English were accommodated in a similar fashion to the Yao or the Amazonian Supanes. The colonists feasted on "Caſſada bread, potatoes, plantine, pines, Turtels, Guanes, and fiſh plenty," a menu that strongly suggests the assistance of indigenous people.[207] Warner gave an English boy to Tegreman who adopted him into his tribe, a move intended to further goodwill between the two cultures. Whether Warner's gift was a sincere offer of cooperation or simply a ruse to buy time while the English constructed their colony is an open question, but as the English continued to gain a foothold on the island social relations between European and Indian broke down. Warner had to be careful. Starting a sustained and bloody conflict with the Kalinago was a judgment call that could have serious repercussions if it failed. Even if he did avert the near annihilation that John Nicholl reported on St Lucia twenty years earlier, there was the possibility that he might be

[206] Hilary McD Beckles, "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance to European Colonisation of the Caribbean," *Caribbean Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (Dec 2008), 78-81; Pere Labat, *The Memoirs of Pere Labat, 1693-1705,* trans. John Eaden (New York: Routledge, 2013), 73-74, 83; Warner, *Sir Thomas Warner,* 57-58.
[207] Smith, *True Travels,* 51.

unwelcome when he returned to England. Warner did not have formal authorization for his adventure; the best he had was the king's promise to grant a patent to Carlisle, and that was different from Carlisle holding the patent or Warner holding a commission. As unpredictable as James could be, there was no telling how the king might view a massacre of hundreds of natives on an island claimed by the Spanish.[208]

The change in Warner's strategic position came when a ship of French buccaneers made landfall in 1624 at St Christopher for repairs after losing a confrontation with a Spanish vessel. The French were also impressed with the island's potential for planting, and they struck a bargain with the English. The two nations would divide the island in return for a military alliance against the Indians. This was a departure from the practice in Guiana, where Englishman and Indian formed military alliances to protect their shared territory from interlopers from rival European nations or inimical Indian tribes. Anakayuri wanted Leigh's help keeping his Karina enemies living at the mouth of the Cayenne out of the Wiapoco, and Leonard Ragapo utilized his friendship with Harcourt to intimidate Karina raiders in the Amapa. The Irish Bernard O'Brien frightened a Dutch ship away from his settlement in the Amazon with the threat of an Indian army, and the English used Supane scouts to warn of Portuguese invaders. The shift from favoring indigenous allies to European rivals shows how differently the English and French viewed the social context in the Caribbean from that in Guiana. Besides, a deal with the French was better than attempting to subjugate the Kalinago, who did not need an alliance with the Europeans and were willing to fight imperial encroachment into their homeland to the death.[209]

Warner ordered the construction of "a fort of palisadoes with flanckers and loopeholes for theire defence" named Charles Fort near Old Road Town in the middle of the island and the

[208] British Library, Egerton 2395, f. 503; Smith, *True Travels,* 51.
[209] British Library, Egerton MS 2395, f. 503; Smith, *True Travels,* 50-53; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 21-26.

French built their own fortifications at Basseterre on the eastern side.[210] The English placed their defenses provocatively close to Tegreman's village, and the chief rightly saw it as preparation for the conquest of his island. John Hilton later suggested that a misunderstanding on the part of Tegreman led him to prepare an ambush for the settlers. Considering the evidence, it appears that goading the Kalinago into a fight they could not win was the reason for putting the palisaded fortress so close to their village. When Tegreman inquired about the purpose of the loopholes in the stronghold 's walls, he was told that the gun ports were for protecting the "fowles they had about theire houses."[211] This was clearly a fabrication. Tegreman needed no further evidence of hostile English intent and decided to annihilate them before the European settlers were too numerous to overcome. When another Kalinago betrayed the chief and warned the English about the imminent attack, Warner ambushed them "like a wise man and a good Souldier."[212] While the Kalinago slept, the English attacked the village and slaughtered everyone there. Tegreman was stabbed to death while he slept in his hammock. The English boy was with him and barely survived the attack.[213]

The carnage did not end at Tegreman's village. With the chief and the villagers dead, the English and French forces turned on the several hundred –perhaps even a few thousand– Kalinagos from nearby islands that had gathered nearby to join their brethren on St Christopher. Swaths of Kalinago warriors were put to the sword in a single night of butchery, an event for which Warner must be held responsible. The murder of several hundred men capable of strong physical resistance is not a quick task. It requires the coordination of a competent commander to organize, and he must have begun training his men immediately after they settled at St

[210] British Library, Egerton MS 2395, f. 503.
[211] Ibid, 503.
[212] Ibid, 503; Smith, *True Travels,* 50-52.
[213] British Library, Egerton MS 2395, f. 503; Smith, *True Travels,* 51-52.

Christopher. Hacking a single individual to death would have taken an average of five minutes, and sword arms quickly tire. The killers would have had to take turns and proceed in a cohesive military formation, which would only get more difficult as bodies piled up and the ground became slippery with blood. A Frenchman present at the slaughter described a frenzy of pikes in all directions and a river red with blood. Hilton avoided mentioning it directly, even after describing the raid on Tegreman's village. [214]

The massacre at the place later called Bloody Point changed English adventurism in the West Indies. In Guiana, Englishmen –like Warner himself– did not commit such atrocities and would have had a tough time doing so had they tried. The lack of any additional men or resources from England made cooperation with the natives unavoidable. Yao access to tropical commodities or the Supanes willingness to labor made the Indians important to Guianese adventurers. The resulting negotiated authorities led to more just outcomes. Leigh had not been allowed to execute his interpreter William for betraying him, but Anakayuri had agreed to a physical punishment. Thomas Hobbes thought of America as a stateless space "where every man is Enemy to every man," but it was not inherently so.[215] The situation changed in the Caribbean, where the balance of power on which negotiated authority depended shifted in favor of the English. Their supplies were adequate, and they were not as vastly outnumbered as they were in Guiana. The Kalinago were not needed for either planting schemes or survival. Once Warner believed that his men could overcome a smaller number of Indians and that Carlisle's blessing was enough authority to do so, he acted mercilessly. Carlisle's protection proved unnecessary;

[214] Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, *Histoire Generale des Antilles, Habite'es Par Les Francois, Divise'e en Deux Tomes, et Enrichie de Cartes & de Figures, Contenant Tovt Ce Qvi, s'eſt paſſe dans l'eſtabliſſement des Colonies Francoiſes* (Paris: Chez Thomas Iolly, au Palais, en la Salle des Merciers, a la Palme, & aux Armes d'Hollande, 1667), 4-7.
[215] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, Or, the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Common Wealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civil by Thomas Hobbes* (London, Printed for Andrew Crooke, 1651), 62

the only people in England who cared about the massacre were Warner's partners, and they had no intention of negotiating with anyone who threatened their total control over tobacco production in St Christopher. The Kalinago were in the way. They could flee, submit to enslavement, or be killed –and it did not matter which option they chose.[216]

A year after Warner gained a permanent foothold on St Christopher, his merchant partners sank more money into his project. The most important of these financiers was Maurice Tomson, a merchant organizing a vast network of trade and production throughout Virginia and the Caribbean. His first scheme on St Christopher was a partnership with a planter with deep debts and a thousand acres of undeveloped land, and soon after that he sent his brother Edward to manage his interests there. For someone like Tomson, rapid development of his assets was paramount, and he was willing to outlay as much capital up front as necessary for the significant returns he could expect. When he supplied three ships for Warner's return to the colony in 1626, the small fleet stopped by West Africa along the way to acquire sixty enslaved Africans to work Tomson's new plantation. That was a significant expense and made him one of the largest enslavers in the English Americas at the time. Once his enterprise in St Christopher took root, Tomson supported Warner's expansionist designs and worked with him to colonize new islands. Edward Tomson was part of Anthony Hilton's 1628 expedition to colonize Nevis, and George Tomson joined Anthony Briskett's later efforts to settle Montserrat.[217]

Warner left for England shortly after the tragedy at Bloody Point, most likely in the summer of 1625, before the third and decisive battle for St Christopher. After the French had finished their fort at Basseterre the Indians besieged them with over five hundred warriors before

[216] Du Terte, *Histoire Generale*, 4-7; Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 62.
[217] Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (London: Verso, 2003), 125-129; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves,* 120-121; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 31, 36-37.

all the French settlers could get inside the walls. Among the slain was a friar, his body mutilated and thrown in a well. The assault was very near successful and had the Kalinago won they would have been able to retake the island. By chance, an Englishman trapped there escaped the onslaught and made it back to the English fort to tell his countrymen of the attack. The English sailed from Fort Charles to Basseterre to provide reinforcements, and after relieving the fort they chased the Indians back to their canoes where a few of them escaped. There was never such a large-scale engagement between Europeans and Indians on the island again, although the Kalinago continued to harass the European settlements for some time afterwards and attacked English and French colonists whenever possible.[218]

Warner returned to London in 1625, where he applied for and received a commission from Charles to govern St Christopher and the other islands he intended to claim. Warner now held the rank of Lieutenant with "full power and authority … as our Lieuetennant … to governe rule and order … our naturall borne Subjects as the Natives and Savages" and "to chastise correct and punish" at his discretion.[219] Gaining this power was not Warner's only purpose for obtaining a commission. If the commission was insufficient for the Carlisle adventurers' long-term goals, it did serve as a legal record of their agent's control over the Caribbean islands. That would matter when the appropriate time came for Carlisle to secure a patent. The commission could also document a discovery that Warner had not actually made and thereby facilitate a theft from another adventurer. Warner had learned about the discovery of the uninhabited island of Barbados from bigmouthed sailors docked at St Christopher under the command of John Powell, after they had scouted it on behalf of the Anglo-Dutch merchant Sir William Courteen on a return voyage from Pernambuco. As an uninhabited island, Barbados was valuable. As a base for

[218] British Library, Egerton MS 2395, f. 503-504; John Smith, *True Travels*, 51-53.
[219] BNA, C.O. 1/3 no. 222.

Warner's competition, it was an economic and political threat he needed to remove. Kicking Courteen and the Powells out of his backyard proved a tricky matter that took several years to accomplish, but the process began in London with paperwork showing that Thomas Warner was Barbados's first claimant.[220]

The most crucial reason that Warner had to settle for a commission was that James's death had not made the political climate any more favorable for Carlisle to seek a patent for the West Indian adventure than it had been before the contentious negotiations for the Spanish Match had ended. After Charles and Buckingham returned from Madrid, their hunger for war with Spain led them to commit a major military blunder. Since 1621 the Stuarts had tried to help recover the Palatinate, a state within the Holy Roman Empire, for James's Protestant son-in-law Frederick V, Elector Palatine. After Bohemian nobles deposed their Catholic ruler and offered the crown to Frederick in 1619, he made the unwise choice of accepting it. In response, the Catholic Emperor Ferdinand II routed the Bohemian army the next year with the aid of Spanish forces, compelling Frederick to abandon the Palatinate as well as Bohemia. Restoring the Palatinate to Frederick's control would be a victory for Protestantism as well as House of Stuart, and it had been one of the sticking points in the talks with Spain. When Count Ernst Von Manfield offered to lead an expedition to the Palatinate to take it by force, Charles and Buckingham jumped at the chance and pushed James into countenancing the proposal. England provided the count with 12,000 English conscripts, 9,000 of whom died after the spent the winter stuck in Holland. James lived long enough to see the awful results of the hare-brained invasion before he died in March 1625 and left his kingdom in Charles and Buckingham's care.[221]

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[220] Ibid, 211-223; Willamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 25-30.
[221] Carlton, *Charles I*, 27-28, 44, 55-56; Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution, 1603-1660* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1920), 48-49; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 77-78.

Now that Charles was king, he was resolved to support Frederick's cause and prosecute a war with Spain. His first Parliament, called in 1625, did not respond well to his request for large sums for unspecified strategic goals. The king wanted to achieve two general objectives, restoration of the Palatinate to Frederick and to check Spanish aggression, but he had not defined the strategy any further. Parliament voted much less than he asked for and refused to grant the additional revenue unless the king agreed to listen to better counsel than Buckingham's. Charles dissolved Parliament instead and endorsed Buckingham's idea to demand forced loans from wealthier Englishmen to fund a naval attack on Cadiz in hopes of surprising the Spanish treasure fleet when it returned to Spain. Flush with gold and victory, everything would be forgiven. The duke's plans failed even more miserably than Mansfield's. The incompetent leadership had been chosen from among Buckingham's sycophants to lead men pressed into service who did not want to be there. The initial assault on the harbor went nowhere, and the 2,000 men ordered to make an attack by land stopped their advance when they found a warehouse of Spanish wine. The fleet limped back to England, where it landed in Plymouth on Dec 15, 1625.[222]

The return of the Cadiz expedition was worse than its failure to win Spanish gold. Death had been so rampant after supplies ran out that corpses were thrown overboard daily. The troops that did return were emaciated and sick. Buckingham created a Commission of Plymouth to deal with the problem, but lack of funding for the soldiers' food, clothing, and shelter compelled the Commission to billet them. On January 4, less than three weeks after the fleet landed, the Privy Council received a letter from the Commission requesting additional money because "Difficulties they find in billeting the soldiers; the rich will not have them, and the poor cannot

[222] Carlton, *Charles I*, 59, 67-76.

support them."[223] Three days later the civil unrest was bad enough that the Commission asked for the authority to declare martial law. By the end of January, the situation was bad enough that the Commission sent representatives to speak to the Council personally to beg for the necessary financial support. On April 5, Captain John Pennington reported to Buckingham that the soldiers and sailors were still destitute, and that he had recently put down a mutiny. The duke responded by assuring him that he had ordered Plymouth's mayor to feed the men and that nearby authorities had been ordered to help prevent further mutinies and commanded him to sail from Plymouth to disrupt Spanish preparations for a naval response to the English attack on Cadiz. Pennington shot back that around fifteen men a day were dying from a disease threatening to engulf Plymouth. On June 8, the Commission informed the Council that "the plague has so far spread that commerce has ceased, the town is destitute of its best inhabitants, and the infection has spread to all of the parishes where the soldiers are billeted" and begged that the Council find some other place to put the soldiers who fast becoming roving brigands.[224]

The debacles at Cadiz and Plymouth were enough for Parliament to turn on Buckingham and begin articles of impeachment. This was dangerous for Carlisle; his relationship with Buckingham might associate him with the duke's failures, and the earl's own affairs might be investigated as they had been in 1623. This placed Carlisle in the unenviable position of trying to maintain Charles's favor while avoiding Parliament's animosity for protecting the duke. He decided the best course was to surreptitiously help Buckingham while publicly acting on behalf of Parliament. First, he persuaded the king to release an unjustly imprisoned peer, an act that ameliorated the hostility towards the king in the House of Lords. Charles had resisted this

[223] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I 1625, 1626: Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office,* ed. John Bruce (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), 214.
[224] Ibid, 177, 184, 214-216, 227. 304-308, 250.

outcome with meritless legal arguments, beginning his famously contentious relationship with Parliament. Second, Carlisle promoted himself as a valuable liaison between Parliament and Crown as someone acceptable to both parties. So long as his public support for Buckingham was minimal, the earl could use his diplomatic talents to distract the MPs and delay the proceedings without drawing unwanted attention to himself. It was a trick that perhaps only a handful of men could have pulled off.[225]

The impeachment of Buckingham was bad enough, but matters took a turn for the worse after Parliament announced its intention to hear evidence that included Bristol's communications from Madrid in 1623. Bristol was happy to supply his papers and agreed to testify about everything he witnessed during Charles's marital negotiations, and his testimony was certain to embarrass the king. This was a crisis of Charles's own making. The former ambassador to Spain had taken the blame for the Spanish Match's failure despite his efforts to save Charles and Buckingham from themselves in Madrid –as Carlisle himself had tried to do– and found himself under house arrest afterwards. In January of 1626, Bristol ha asked to be released so that he could be present at the coronation in February. The king took the overture as an insult and alleged that the earl had foreknowledge of Spain's true bargaining position before Charles left England, and that he had tried to persuade the prince to convert to Catholicism. On March 22, Bristol's petition for release was read into the public record, and the king's angry response to the earl was presented on March 30. The king had no choice but to either release the earl or indict him, and on April 27 Charles formally accused Bristol of treason. Bristol responded by making his own allegations against Buckingham before the Lords on May 1.[226]

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[225] *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 3, 1620-1628* (London, 1767), 649-654; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 94-95.

[226] *House of Lords,* 536-537, 543-544, 574-578; Stephen Rawlinson Gardiner, *A History of England, 1624-1628, Vol. II* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1875), 40-42.

For Carlisle, Charles's predicament was an opportunity to further ingratiate himself to the king and to avoid any implication of ambassadorial malfeasance. The earl goaded the Lords into delaying the hearings by appealing to their sense of noble privilege. Carlisle noted that on May 2, the day after Bristol's impeachment of Buckingham before the Lords, the Commons had impeached the duke as well. The Lords bristled at the procedural violation and advised Buckingham not to respond to the "divers Particulars againſt his Grace."[227] Two days later the Lords confirmed that "This Cauſe of the Earl of *Bristol* is to be retained wholly in this Houſe."[228] On May 22, a committee formed to consider the evidence and Carlisle was among its members. While legal proceedings slowed Bristol's trial, Buckingham went before the Lords and claimed to be the victim of a plot hatched against him in the Commons. Two days later the earl was added to the committee that would determine whether a copy of Buckingham's speech could be sent to the Commons. Still, despite all his maneuvering, Carlisle could not prevent the Lords from agreeing to hear Bristol's testimony. On June 15, 1626, Carlisle helpfully brought the Lords a copy of Charles's January letter to Bristol, thus disassociating himself from the other message the Lords received from their king that day, a "Commiſſion … for the Diſſolution of Parliament."[229] Bristol was on his way to the Tower to wait for his interrogation by the Star Chamber. Carlisle had survived a tumultuous political meltdown without overtly upsetting either crown or Parliament, and his position at court was secure.[230]

Parliament's dissolution left the king in a quandary; he had wasted a hefty sum on the disastrous Cadiz expedition, and he had sent troops to Denmark who needed to be supplied and paid. To remedy the situation the crown resorted to asking for a second forced loan. This policy

[227] *House of Lords,* 543.
[228] Ibid, 581.
[229] Ibid, 682.
[230] Ibid, 580-581, 647-648, 654-669, 681-682; Gardiner, *A History of England,* 75; Schreiber, 94-95.

received a more favorable reaction than one would expect. Patriotic support for the army was a factor, but pirates were harassing the English coast and their depredations constituted a national emergency. Even so, there were strong objections. There were several unwilling creditors who refused to comply with Charles's demand and did their best to delay or avoid the commissioned agents who came to collect. The king could not afford defiance while he was pressuring others to pay, and he ordered them to be remanded into custody without bail. He believed that the royal prerogative allowed this when dealing with matters of state, but whether that standard applied to the king obliging his subjects to lend him money on threat of detention was questionable. In 1627, the defense attorney in the Five Knights Case, a trial of five men who had been incarcerated by the crown for refusing to advance the requested sums, contested the crown's policy. The judges had no wish to anger the king or Parliament and avoided declaring the detention illegal, but when they denied bail they did so in a narrow ruling that left the possibility for another court to consider the issue in the future. Charles had escaped the Five Knights Case with the royal prerogative unchanged, but that changed in 1628 when Parliament passed the Petition of Right denounced forced loans and indefinite imprisonment as unlawful.[231]

Charles did not limit his search for revenue from his richer subjects, and a tiff with the French gave him another source of income. After an ugly row with Henrietta Marie, the queen's French advisers and friends were deported from England. Before long husband and wife were both miserable, so much so that Buckingham tried to insert his rather libertine mistress –Lucy Hay, Countess of Carlisle– into the king's bed. How much Carlisle knew of this scheme is unclear, but he was not a fool and may have used his wife's promiscuity for political purposes. The French took umbrage at Charles's ungallant treatment of Louis's sister, and a series of

[231] Mark Kishlansky, "Tyranny Denied: Charles I, Attorney General Heath, and the Five Knights Case," *The Historical Journal* 42, no. 1 (1999): 57-58; Colston, *Charles I,* 84-85, 100-101.

diplomatic missteps prompted both nations to engage in piracy against the other. The English were better at this form of warfare, and the income from their prizes taken at sea got the king's attention. In March of 1627 Charles authorized Buckingham to issue "letters of marque against ships and goods of France" and further clarified in May that the duke was "to issue the same generally and freely to all who desire to take them forth."[232] Many of the same privateers who took advantage of the letters of marque were the metropolitan and colonial adventurers interested in West Indian colonial schemes. Two years earlier in 1625, Warner had stopped by Trinidad on his way to St Christopher to see what prizes he could take from the Spanish, but he came up empty and sailed on to his new colony.[233]

After the 1626 Parliament's dissolution in, the political conditions in London were finally right for Carlisle to finally seek a patent for the Caribbean islands. The king's newfound enthusiasm for privateering transferred easily to licensing West Indian adventures. Allowing adventurers to plant colonies in islands claimed by the Spanish served a similar purpose to permitting privateers to attack the French; aggravating a European rival while enriching the crown at private expense. The problem was that James's 1624 promise of a patent was useless, and the earl now had competitors. John Ley, Earl of Marlborough, had already received Charles's promise of a proprietary patent for St Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat. Carlisle settled with him for £300 paid annually from the colony's proceeds, thereby removing the most serious obstacle to his acquisition of the patent. On July 2, 1627, two months after Charles lifted all restrictions on applications for letters of marque, Carlisle received his patent for over twenty islands including St Christophers, Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, and Barbados. He was Lord

[232] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I 1627-1628,*117, 159.
[233] Ibid, 117-159; Carlton, *Charles I*, 87-90; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 135; BL Sloane 3662, ff. 46.

Proprietor over the numerous Islands of Carlisle Province with a palatine authority over them that was absolute.[234]

By the time Carlisle became the Lord Proprietor, Courteen had already acted on John Powell's discovery of Barbados. The island's geography was promising. There was an excellent natural harbor in a bay to the south, and several places for ships to dock along the leeward coast. Timber grew in abundance, and Iberian hogs left by the Spanish crowded the thick forests that covered the island:

> they found by tryals in ſeveral parts, to be overgrown with Wood, as there could be found no Champions, or *Savannas* for men to dwell in; nor found they any beaſts to inhabit there, only Hogs, and thoſe in abundance: the *Portugals* having long before, put ſome aſhoar for breed, in caſe they ſhould at any time be driven by foul weather. To be caſt upon the Island, they might find freſh meat….[235]

After Powell claimed Barbados by carving "*James, King* of *England* and this *Iſland*" into a tree near the landing sight, he returned to London by way of St Christopher to tell his employer what he had found.[236] Courteen recognized Barbados's potential and he dispatched Powell in early 1626 to take control of the island. This first effort failed after Powell decided to go privateering instead. The second ship under the command of his brother Henry Powell reached the island in February of 1627 after another bit of piracy where several enslaved Africans were taken as a prize. After landing on the leeward coast of Barbados near what is now called Holetown, Henry

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[234] BNA CO 1/4, ff. 78-80; BNA CO 1/9, ff. 83; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 28-29, 40-41; Schreiber, *The First Carlisle,* 171-172; William Duke, *, Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Iſland of Barbados, and other the Carribbee Iſlands, with the Succeſſion of the Governors and Commanders in Chief of Barbados to the Year 1742* London: Printed for E. Owen near *Chancery-Lane, Holborn,* 1743), 5-7.

[235] Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Iſand of Barbadoes: Illuſtrated with a Map of the Iſand, as alſo the Principal Trees and Plants there, ſet forth in their due Proportions and Shapes , drawn out by their ſeveral and reſpective Scales. Together with the Ingenio that makes the Sugar, with the Plots of the feveral Houſes, Rooms, and other places , that are uſed in the whole procefe of Sugar-making; viz, the Grinding-room, the Boyling-room, the Filling-room , the Curing-houſe, Still-houſe and Furnaces; All cut in Copper* (London: Printed and are to be sold by *Peter Parker,* at his Shop at the *Leg* and *Star* over againſt the *Royal Exchange,* and *Thomas Guy* at the corner Shop of *Little Lumbard-ſtreet* and *Cornhill,* 1673), 23.

[236] Ibid, 23; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados*, 2.

ordered the construction of a rudimentary fortification later known as Powell Fort and raised the king's colors. The new settlers elected William Deane of Bermuda as their new governor, but he was never more than a resident manager of Courteen's employees. Everyone knew that the real authority on Barbados rested with the Powells, particularly Henry.[237]

Henry Powell was a daring mariner with deep experience in West Indian adventure, especially in Guiana. There is a Henry Powell referenced by survivor testimony from the Leigh expedition, but there is nothing beyond the name to suggest that they are the same person. It is more certain that Powell spent his earlier years sailing under the flag of Spain during the Twelve Year's Truce between the Dutch Republic and the House of Hapsburg. The brief ceasefire allowed Dutch and Spanish traders to interact, and Powell probably sailed on a Courteen merchant vessel transporting salt from Venezuela to European markets. As a Courteen associate he continued trading visits to the Guianese river mouths that Powell became acquainted with Amos Groenewegen. Groenewegen was an intrepid Dutch adventurer whose exploits in Guiana spanned nearly half a century, and in 1616 he started a factory upriver on the Essequibo and served as the Dutch governor until he died in 1664 after holding that office for forty-eight years. After Powell had delivered the first supply of settlers to Barbados, he traveled to the Essequibo with a small number of additional men to assist Groenewegen's operations there. His years traversing Guiana made him familiar enough with tropical commodities to attempt their transposition to another locale like Barbados. After delivering the supply of settlers to Groenewegen, Powell purchased the seeds and roots necessary for planting from the Lokono living near the Dutch outpost.[238]

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[237] Ligon, *History of Barbadoes*, 23; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 33-37; BL, MS Egerton 2395, ff. 503.
[238] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others, Vol XVI* (Glasgow: James McLehose and Sons, 1906), 342; George Edmundson, "The

As Powell returned downriver to the mouth of the Essequibo, he noticed that several Lokono followed him. After anchoring next to one of the islands in the river mouth to see what they wanted, Powell learned that Groenewegen had convinced thirty-two of them to travel to Barbados to start their own plantation. The Dutchman hoped that their presence could further trade linkages between English Barbados and Dutch Guiana, a prospect that likely delighted Courteen and Company. As with the Yao transportees, the Lokono trusted the English and asked Powell to return the following year to collect more of them to participate in building the new colony. This was a valuable offer, because the indigenous peoples of Guiana understood tropical agriculture far better than the English. According to Powell, the Indians agreed to "goe wth me as free people to manure those fruits and that I should allow them a peice of Land, the which I did."[239] They further consented to send more of their tribesmen to Barbados if Powell returned the following year, with the promise that if they did not like living on the island they would be allowed to return to Guiana and compensated with £50 of English merchandise. As with Leigh and his men on the Wiapoco, Indian assistance proved the difference in success or starvation. Crops grew extremely well in the rich Barbados soil and soon the Lokono plantation produced corn, potatoes, cassava, and a variety of delicious fruits to sustain the island's growing number of inhabitants. The surplus of food allowed the planters to focus on the most important plant Powell brought to the island: tobacco.[240]

The difference in Henry Powell's treatment of the Lokono and Warner's mass killing of the Kalinago is striking, especially because both men had experience in Guiana. In western

Dutch in Western Guiana," *The English Historical Review,* 16 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1901): 655-662; Bodleian, Rawlinson MSS C 94, ff. 27, 28.

[239] Bodleian Rawlinson MSS C 94, ff. 33.

[240] Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 44-45; Bodleian, Rawlinson MSS C 94 28, 33-34; Edmundson, "The Dutch in Western Guiana," 655-656.

Guiana on the Essequibo, Groenewegen's English and Dutch partners enjoyed friendly and profitable relations with the Indians living there. In the Amazon, where Warner had lived for two years, the Supanes were a key part of the planters' success. In neither case were the Indians subjugated; politics and economics depended on cooperation. When Powell brought the Lokono to Barbados, he was building a colony based on personal experiences that taught him the value of native assistance to a new settlement. He had conducted business with Guianese Indians since as early as 1604, and he had gained an affection for them. Warner was different. He had lived in Guiana for a much shorter period and had focused on tobacco planting. With a military background and some practical experience with tobacco, he was more inclined to eradicate the Kalinago presence in St Christopher so that metropolitan adventurers like Merrifield and Tomson would gain the control over the island that their transatlantic operations required. Neither man held a commission for what he was doing, which makes their actions the product of individual decision making based on what they thought would be best for their partners in London, rather than any specific instructions from them. Powell favored cooperation and Warner preferred coercion. It was only when the Carlisle proprietorship gained physical control of the island that the English enslaved Powell's Lokono as part of a larger policy the Lord Proprietor authorized.[241]

Powell's men had little success planting tobacco in Barbados, and the Carlisle adventurers who followed them did no better. The island was far more thickly forested than St Christopher, and clearing farmland was a process that took several years. Less usable farmland meant less production. Soil also mattered. St Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat are all part of a volcanic formation, and their soil has an acidic soil composition, whereas Barbados's soil is more alkaline because the island was formed by uplifted coral limestone. Alkaline soils lead to

[241] Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line*, 43-46.

manganese deficiency, which leaves necrotic white spots on the tobacco leaves that eventually discolor the entire leaf. Whatever the reasons for Barbados's poor tobacco production, its exports never approximated those of St Christopher and were a mere pittance compared to Virginia's. By 1637, Barbados was producing half of what was exported from St Christopher, and just over one tenth of what was shipped out of Virginia. After such poor returns the Carlisle proprietorship had had enough. Peter Hay, the proprietorship's receiving agent in Barbados, was frankly told that "your tubaco of Barbados is all the tubaco that cometh to England is accompted the worst." The proprietorship recommended that he encourage the planters to replace it with cotton as the "staple commoditie" but it brought no better success, and neither did their later experiments with ginger and indigo.[242]

A 1628 letter from John Winthrop, the future governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, to his son Henry shows just how difficult it was to grow and sell tobacco in Barbados's infancy. Henry Winthrop was the archetypical prodigal son with a headful of get-rich-quick schemes and a paucity of common sense. He had traveled to the island as an employee of Courteen salaried at £100 annually like his shipmates, but once there he looked to increase his earnings with a plantation of his own. To that end, he sent a few rolls of tobacco to his father along with a letter asking for more money and servants for his business venture. The elder Winthrop scowled at the merchandise he received, calling it "very ill-conditioned, foul, and full of stalks, and evil colored" and informed his son that "taking the judgment of divers grocers, none of them would

[242] Bennett Papers; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 53-54; C. T., *An Advice Hovv To Plant Tobacco In England: AND How to bring it to colour and perfection, to whom it may be profitable, and to whom harmfull. The vertues of the Hearbe in generall, as well in the outward application as taken in Fvme. With the Danger of the Spanish Tobacco. Written by C. T.* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to bee sold by Walter Bvrre, 1615), n.p.; FAO-Unesco *Soil Map of the World, 1: 5,000,000 Vol 3, Mexico and Central America* (Rome: Tipolitographia F. Failli, 1975), 48; "Fertility -Nutrients," North Carolina State Extension Tobacco Growers Information, accessed January 5, 2022, https://tobacco.ces.ncsu.edu/tobacco-fertility-nutrients/; "Tobacco-Manganese (Mn) Deficiency," North Carolina State Extension Tobacco Growers Information, accessed January 5, 2022, https://content.ces.ncsu.edu/tobacco-manganese-deficiency.

give five shillings a pound for it." He went on to lambast his son for making extravagant and impossible requests and wondered "upon what ground you should be led into so gross an error as to think, that I could provide ten such men … and disburse a matter of £200."[243] As frustrated as John Winthrop was with his foolish progeny, he did send his son £35 and two young boys as servants by way of Henry Powell. Yet by the time Powell arrived, the younger Winthrop had already given up on his fanciful dreams of American wealth and was on a return voyage home.[244]

Despite the slow start to his tobacco-planting scheme, Courteen was not ready to submit to a hostile takeover by the Carlisle proprietorship. Courteen's entire fortune was at stake and his surrender was impossible, so he found his own patron, Phillip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, and persuaded him to try and wrest ownership of the islands back from Carlisle. The subsequent legal confrontation between the two peers had serious repercussions for the settlers in Barbados. Everyone knew that a patent was only as permanent as the goodwill of the king. The king inadvertently escalated the conflict when he could not decide who had the legitimate rights to Barbados. Montgomery had been clever when he applied for a patent for Trinidad and Tobago – which he showed little interest in using– as well as Barbados, and the king awarded it without realizing the earl's ploy. With royal and proprietary authority unclear, the colonial adventurers associated with either nobleman's patent resorted to intrigue and violence to take actual possession of the island in hopes that their patron could make good at home. The result was massive disorder; over the next three years there were three coups –one in 1628, two in 1629, and a final one in 1631– that resulted in a governor's arrest, kidnapping, or death. The political

[243] Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts-Bay Colony at their Emigration to New England, 1630* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1864), 285-286.
[244] Ibid, 285-287; Massachusetts Historical Society, *Microfilm Edition of the Winthrop Papers,* ed. Marjorie F. Gutheim (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1976), n.p.; Davis, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados,* 31-36.

violence did not end until Carlisle and his governors had consolidated their power over the Caribbean and enforced the colonists' recognition of Carlisle's sovereign authority.[245]

The legal arguments between Carlisle and Montgomery focused on misspellings in both patents. Among the islands listed on Carlisle's patent were "Insulas Sci. Cristofers, … Barbidas … Antigoa, Monserat, Redendo, Barbado, Mevis" and may others besides.[246] As Carlisle had moved first, Montgomery needed to be careful as to what specific islands were to be listed as part his patent because an attempt to obtain a patent for Barbados alone would almost certainly have failed. On February 25, 1628, he received a patent for Provencia Montgomeria that included "Insulas de Trinidado, Tabago, Barbudos, and ffonseca," and conferred the same proprietary authority on Montgomery that had been granted to Carlisle.[247] It is possible that Carlisle had misspelled "Barbados" intentionally to conceal his intentions from Courteen, but Montgomery's use of a different spelling was very likely an attempt to take advantage of the errors in the Carlisle patent so as to call it into question. Carlisle responded quickly to Montgomery's ploy and acquired a second patent just over a month later mentioned Barbados four times with four different spellings and Barbuda was mentioned three times with an equal number of misspellings. In not one instance in any of three grants is the island identified as "Barbados" or even "Barbadoes." Confident in the strength of his second patent, Carlisle left on an embassy to the Dutch Republic and left Royden in charge.[248]

The Courteen settlers were unlikely to recognize Carlisle as lawful proprietor without assurances, and before departing for his diplomatic assignment Carlisle wrote a letter of

[245] Larry Dale Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados 1627-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 32; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 43-46.
[246] CUL RCMS 259/15/2 ff. 45.
[247] BNA, CO 1/4, ff. 108.
[248] Ibid, 108; CUL RCMS 259/15/2 ff. 45; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 42-46; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 173.

introduction for Captain Charles Wolverston, the man Royden chose to govern Barbados. The letter, addressed to "my very good friends Capt. John Powell and Capt. William Deane," promised to restrict Wolverston's activities to his own settlement.[249] Letter in hand, Wolverston slipped out of England with sixty-four prospective colonists and went to Barbados by way of St Christopher in late 1628. That was not the quickest route to travel because it meant sailing against the trade winds part of the way, but it did help to disguise the destination from Courteen and Company. John Powell's son John –the highest authority on the island in the absence of his uncle and father– accepted Carlisle's assurances and allowed Wolverston to locate his men near the Bridge at what is now Bridgetown. Powell did not know that Wolverston had also brought with him a commission from Carlisle granting him full authority over all of Barbados, the Courteen men included.[250]

Wolverston waited until he received an additional forty men from Royden in September to launch his coup. While he waited for reinforcements, he made himself the governor and appointed a deputy and a council. When his additional supply of men arrived, he called the Courteen men to the Bridge.[251] Once present, Wolverston revealed his commission from the earl and demanded their immediate submission to his new government. The Courteen men were aghast when Governor Deane willingly surrendered his office to Wolverston. They "made Torches of Wild Canes" and returned to Powell's fort at the Hole to prepare for battle. When Wolverston heard that his enemies were mobilizing, he sent a retinue commanded by Deane to confront them. Violence was only prevented by the intercession of a clergyman, who persuaded both sides that "the Diſputes ſhould be referr'd to the two Earls.[252] Both sides met again the next

[249] Bodleian, Rawlinson MSS C 94, ff. 31.
[250] Ibid, 31; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 48-51; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 10.
[251] Bride was the early name for Bridgetown
[252] Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 12.

day to formalize their agreement, and after the Leeward Men stood down Wolverston had Powell arrested and imprisoned. Shortly after this was done two merchants commissioned by Royden, George Moale and Godfrey Havercamp, arrived in Barbados to "ſettl more fully his Authority."[253] Believing that they had formalized the proprietary patent and that Wolverstone had physical control of the island, the commissioners moved on to St Christopher to do the same there.[254]

Montgomery and Courteen were quick with a response, and on February 26, 1629, Henry Powell landed in Barbados "armed and p'pared with powder shott and municon for takeing of the island another hundred settlers by force from the said Captain Wollferston."[255] Powell went to his nephew's house and sent word to Wolverston and Deane that he had a new commission from the Privy Council and requested a meeting to go over its particulars. When the two arrived, the irate uncle "caused them to be put and tyed in Chaynes of Iron" and threatened to do the same to anyone who did not willingly acknowledge his nephew as the rightful governor.[256] Not content with simply imprisoning Wolverston and Deane, Powell seized all the commodified tobacco belonging to Carlisle, Royden, and the other merchant aligned with the Carlisle Proprietorship. After laying waste to their plantations and capturing their servants, the Leeward Men broke into Wolverston's house and destroyed all his possessions, his account books, and his commission. Believing he had restored Courteen's plantations to Provencia Montgomeria, Henry Powell returned for England with his prisoners and roughly 35,000 hogsheads of confiscated tobacco.[257]

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[253] Ibid, 12.
[254] Ibid, 11-12.
[255] Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 222, quoting Chancery Proceedings, Ch. I., C 60/no. 38(i)).
[256] Ibid, 223.
[257] Ibid, 221-226; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 12.

While Courteen's employees were busy despoiling their enemies' belongings in Barbados, the political quicksand began sliding away underneath his feet. Carlisle had returned to England the dispute over the overlapping patents was reaching a decisive conclusion. The major complication was Charles's indecisvenes. Unaware that Henry Powell was already sailing to Barbados to overthrow Carlisle's governor, Charles authored a letter to Wolverston charging him to reduce the Barbadians to "obedience to the said Earle of Carlisle."[258] After some lobbying from Montgomery, the king reversed himself and sent new instructions for Wolverston to stand down until the Lord Keeper Thomas Lord Coventry could render a judgment. Charles was inclined towards Carlisle, but the king felt he could not afford to disappoint Montgomery without a legal pretense. The Lord Keeper's hearing carried no force of law, but Coverntry's opinion could inform the king's decision. Years of planning paid off when Warner's commission from 1625 became the crucial evidence that he and Carlisle had expected it would. After a cursory investigation that involved fabulist assertions and contradictory testimony from unsworn witnesses, the exasperated Coventry decided that the "Barbados" in Warner's commission could be identified as an island referred to as "Barbidas" or "Barbado" in Carlisle's first patent. He reasoned further that if Warner had been granted Barbados in a royal commission, then as the earl's agent his claim passed to Carlisle's patent. After twice reminding the king that this hearing was "not taken in a iudiciall way … Myne opinion is, that the proof on the Earle of Carlisles parte … is verie stronge."[259] Charles had the pretext he wanted, and so he confirmed Carlisle's patent for the final time. With Carlisle's authority now irrefutable, the earl turned his attention to the political turmoil that had become rampant throughout his islands.[260]

[258] CUL, RCMS 259/15/2, ff. 39.
[259] BNA CO 1/5 ff. 45.
[260] Ibid, 44-45; CUL RCMS 259/15/2, ff. 38-40; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 55-60; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 173.

While Barbados endured two coups within a year, St Christopher and Nevis had suffered their own disorders. After Warner traveled to London in 1628 and left his son Edward in charge, a violent dispute broke out between the governor of newly colonized Nevis, Anthony Hilton, and a Mr. Asten serving as the Warners' chief adviser. Already a planter on St Christopher and a man with connections to Ireland and its tobacco markets, Hilton had received permission from Warner to plant on the windward side of the neighboring island. After Hilton lost the entire crop of tobacco to an attack by the Kalinago and barely escaped with his life, he led the rest of the survivors to an English settlement on the leeward side of the island. From there he was able to oversee the planting of a fresh crop of tobacco, and merchandise in hand, sailed for England to offload his goods and to meet with Carlisle and an adventurer named Thomas Littleton. After returning with the backing of Littleton and a commission from the earl to serve as the governor of Nevis, Hilton visited St Christopher to check on his plantation. Once there he "had Some words passed betwixt Mr. Asten as it Seemes wch were not Cordiall," and Asten contrived to have the governor murdered while he was still in St Christopher.[261] Anthony Hilton's brother John believed that Asten planned to take the government of Nevis and to use his influence with young Warner to confiscate his servants and plantation. Asten bribed one of Hilton's servants to do the deed, but the man lost his nerve while standing over his master's bed knife in hand. The man fled to Asten to report his failure, and Hilton learned of the plot soon afterwards.[262]

It did not take long for the personal disagreement to bring the entire island to loggerheads. Hilton's numerous friends rallied to his cause and soon half of the island was up in arms against the younger Warner's government. The two sides readied themselves for a

[261] BL, Egerton MS 2395, ff. 504.
[262] Ibid, 504-505.

showdown, "stood upon theire gards & tooke prissioners."[263] Hilton's men decided to attack before Asten and Warner could finish preparing their defenses by burning down a tobacco curing house close to Warner's home, waiting for the house to catch fire, and then ambushing the deputy governor and his adviser as they fled the burning building. The raid failed because it was too long in the planning and gave Asten time to strike first. The day before the assault on Warner's home was to take place, Hilton took a small party in a rowboat out to meet a ship that had just landed. As the small contingent approached, Asten signaled to the captain from the shore to fire his cannon at the boat. A cannonball sailed over Hilton's head, and it was only by sheer luck that his boat made it close enough to the ship to be recognized and allowed aboard. Once safely aboard, he persuaded the captain to take him back to Nevis.[264]

For Carlisle, this instability endemic to his colonies was intolerable. The infighting between Hilton and Asten, the recalcitrance of Courteen, and outright defiance from the Powells threatened everything. There could be no doubt about whose authority was supreme, nor could the chaos be allowed to continue lest it disrupt commerce. The earl was done with fair promises and clever tricks, so he decided to send a different and darker message throughout the Islands of Carlisle Province. The messenger was the intelligent, capable, and amoral Henry Hawley, a young man of about thirty from Middlesex. His father James Hawley had been a barrister and a MP for Andover, and his brother Jerome served in key positions in the Virginia colony. Henry was also interested in American adventure and already owned property on St Christopher. and made his career as one of the most reliable henchmen Carlisle ever employed.[265]

[263] Ibid, 504.
[264] Ibid, 504-505.
[265] P.W. Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558-1603* (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), 167-168; Schreiber, *The First Carlisle,* 173-174.

Hawley arrived in Barbados aboard the *Carlisle* on August 9, 1629, and within a short time he was the island's undisputed master. John Powell the younger, the acting governor, refused the *Carlisle* permission to land, but he did invite Hawley and some other gentlemen ashore "where they were curteoulsy entertained." After a long night of drinking, Hawley invited the governor and his brother onto his ship to "eate a dish of Kretchett brewes," and the Powells "not thinking of any harme did goe."[266] Once everyone was seated for breakfast, Hawley produced his commission from the earl and a letter from the king demanding that Powell relinquish control over the island to its new governor, Robert Wheatley. When Powell refused, Hawley's men trained their muskets on his men and moved to arrest them.[267] John Powell was declared the king's prisoner, stripped naked, and chained to the mast of the ship where he probably died of exposure. His business with the Powells completed, Hawley returned to the island and installed Wheatley as its acting governor until Sir William Tufton, Carlisle's appointee to replace Wolverston, could arrive and take office. After Hawley sailed away some of the Courteen men attempted an armed revolt, but it was easily put down in return for seven years' worth of tax exemptions for the men who defended Wheatley's position. The loss of physical possession of his island ended any hopes Courteen entertained about defending his right of discovery. In the eyes of the crown, the would-be adventurer was nothing but a landlord to a camp of squatters. The loss of his investment ruined Courteen, and he died a ruined man in 1636 who left his family nothing but debts.[268]

[266] BL, Egerton MS 2395, ff. 505.
[267] Ibid, ff. 504-506.
[268] Ibid, 504-506; Bodleian, Rawlinson MSS f. 7, 9; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 12-13; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 60-61. Davis, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados,* 46. The phrase "Kretchett Brewes" may refer to Grisette beer, made in the regions near the border of France and Belgium. Davis translated the faded text in BL, Egerton 2395 ff. 505 as "breams" but that spelling is not correct.

John Powell's kidnapping signaled Carlisle's absolute dominion over the English Caribbean. Wolverstone and Henry Powell had only arrested the sitting governors but had not contemplated murdering them because they were not confident enough in their authority to do so. Carlisle's agents knew were untouchable men who could use atrocity to intimidate everyone into submission. There was to be no retribution or justice. This time Henry Powell would not be returning to avenge his nephew for the latter's awful death, nor would any court in England bring Hawley before it to account for himself. Hawley's actions shocked the settlers not only because of their brutality, but because they went unpunished; he was a tyrant allowed to commit crimes against Englishmen. This exception for lawless men like Hawley formed the basis for the proprietary autocracy that reduced Barbados to fealty. Coercion and fear were the method for the proprietary metropolitan adventurers; cooperation or contestation were not allowed. The earl's sovereignty meant that he could legitimize barbarity by excluding his agents from the constraints of English law, and he chose men whose competence and capacity for violence gave him the power to ensure that his colonists remained obedient to that authority. The *Carlisle* and its ferocious captain were proof enough that the new regime could summon the power to have its way and had no qualms about breaking anyone who thought otherwise.

Henry Powell was not able to return to Barbados for over two decades after Hawley seized the island's government and kidnapped his nephew. He returned in 1656 after the Carlisle proprietorship and the monarchy that supported it had collapsed in 1649 and was horrified to discover that the Lokono he brought with him from the Essequibo had been enslaved and their families separated by the planters after Carlisle's takeover. The betrayal had nearly gotten his old friend Groenewegen killed for vouchsafing their safety, and the Dutchman "was forced to mary a

Woman of the Carroboo Nation to ballance the power of the Arawacoos" to save himself.[269] By the time of Powell's return, only five of the original thirty-two Indians remained; a woman named Yow and her three children as well as a young boy the English called Barbadoes. Powell brought the Lokono survivors before Daniel Searle, the governor appointed by Parliament in 1652, and petitioned him "to sett these poore people ffree that have been kept thus long in bondage whereas I lefte them here ffree people."[270] Searle granted Powell's request and freed the Lokono. It was only a small remedy to the gross injustices indigenous peoples suffered at the hands of the planters enabled by proprietary authority.[271]

Barbados had represented the most serious challenge to Carlisle's sovereignty, but the commotion in St Christopher and Nevis could not be ignored. With John Powell chained to the *Carlisle's* mast, Hawley sailed on to Nevis to make Anthony Hilton answer for his offence against Warner. Warner was still in London when he and Carlisle learned of the trouble between Hilton and Asten, but despite Hilton's legitimate grievance the governor of Nevis had attacked Warner's adviser as well as his son in St Christopher. As Warner's agents, Asten and Edward Warner were Carlisle's agents and therefore untouchable. Whether Hawley knew about Asten's attack on the governor's house or not before he left England –he could have learned of it while in Barbados– he knew what was required of him. Loyalty was the only currency in Carlisle's new colonies, and the earl's agents were most effective when they answered to him alone for their reprehensible behavior.[272]

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[269] British Library, Sloane 3662, 105-106. Sloane 3662 is an unpublished history by John Scott, written in a notebook that he began front to back, but then continued back to front after he apparently ran out of space. The back to front side does not appear to have been paginated, so the folder numbers are an educated guess. The passage is found under Scott's heading "The Discription of Barbados."
[270] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C, 94, 34.
[271] Ibid, 33-34, British Library, Sloane 3662, 105-106.
[272] Ibid, 506.

Fortunately for Hilton, he learned in advance of John Powell's fate in Barbados and had time to escape for London to beg Carlisle's forgiveness. When Hawley showed up at Nevis, Hilton's deputy received him with an armed guard and refused to permit the *Carlisle* to land. The reception was cordial enough, but after Hawley inquired about Hilton's whereabouts, he was flatly told that the Nevis men "had understood for what they came for" and that "neither would we heare any thinge that might tend to ye alteracion of government" until Hilton returned.[273] The shrewd Hawley made no reply. He was there to make an example of someone, and if Hilton were gone his second would do. As in Barbados, Hawley convinced the Nevis men that he meant no harm and even spent the night feasting with them. Before the night ended, the deputy governor of Nevis proved as foolish as the Barbadian governor Hawley had chained to the *Carlisle's* mast. Despite the deputy governor's awareness of what had happened in Barbados, he accepted an invitation to board the ship. Fortunately for him, his luck was stronger than his judgment. Just as the moment came to arrest him, a Spanish fleet appeared and fired its cannons at the English ships in Jones Bay and their fortification at nearby Pelican Point.[274]

The Spanish fleet's 1629 attack nearly wiped out the fledgling colonies on St Christopher and Nevis, and it was only the restraint shown by the Spanish commander that saved the settlers from an outright massacre. Resistance on Nevis melted very quickly. The island was small and sparsely populated and few records were kept, so there is little hard evidence to indicate how many bondsmen there were or how they were treated. In a place where everyone endured a harsh life, it is highly likely unfree laborers frequently considered escape or rebellion. When the Spanish arrived, the planters that they had made a grave error when they conscripted the servants into military service. The servants immediately defected and swam for the Spanish ships

[273] BL Egerton MS 2395, f. 504-506.
[274] Ibid, 506.

screaming “Liberty, Joyfull Liberty,” and they were followed shortly after by John Hilton and a Spanish interpreter to negotiate a surrender.[275] The terms were simple. The Spanish commander was not a bloodthirsty man and preferred to carry out his orders to clear the islands peaceably, promising that “in respect you have yeilded to my proposicions, who Soever doth either man or woman wronge Shall die for it.”[276] If the English surrendered, they could return to England unharmed. Not every Englishman cooperated, and several bolted for another part of the island where the Spanish declined to pursue them. St Christopher fell in a similar fashion. Again, the majority agreed to the same conditions save for a few who absconded into the woods to hide for as long as the Spanish tarried in the harbor.[277] When Hawley sighted the Spanish ships, he cut the cables and made for St Christopher across the Narrows. The *Carlisle* ran aground, and the Spanish made a prize of it. Hawley, John Hilton, and Carlisle’s cousin George Hay were made hostages and taken to Spain where Hilton remained in custody for some time. Either through escape or exchange, Hawley was back in Barbados the following year on behalf of his master.[278]

While two of his islands burned, Carlisle’s hopes for one last ambassadorship to Spain to bring an end to five years of hostilities were quashed by the Privy council. This did not lessen his influence over the English crown or with other European governments, particularly Spain’s. Carlisle had become an influential proponent of peace with Spain after years of war, and despite his now relatively minor office in foreign affairs the Spanish still could not afford to offend him. The War of Mantuan Succession in northern Italy had drawn France and Spain into a dispute neither wanted, and if the English inserted themselves into the conflict a small war could become a much larger one. The French were already encouraging Carlisle to take their side in the Italian

[275] Ibid, 506.
[276] Ibid, 506.
[277] Ibid, 506.
[278] Ibid, 506; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 13.

conflict, and if he did it would create a difficult diplomatic obstacle to surmount. This put the Spanish ambassador, Peter Paul Rubens, in a difficult position. Capturing the ship bearing the earl's name and holding his cousin hostage was not likely to engender his goodwill. For the moment Charles was unconcerned with a Spanish action against a tiny Caribbean colony, but someone like Carlisle could easily change that.[279]

As it happened, the sack of St Christopher and Nevis was merely a complication that Carlisle could manipulate to his advantage. The Spanish had not been able to clear the island of all its English colonists, and they were already rebuilding. Whether the Spanish knew they had raided Carlisle's islands or not, with the balance of power in southern Europe at stake it was important to placate the influential earl. Rubens was reduced to asking Carlisle to think of the Spanish attack as against the French of St Christopher only, which was less than convincing because the Spanish moved against Nevis as well. Carlisle himself was not blameless. He had taken advantage of Charles's war with Spain and issued letters of marque to his captains, and Rubens was aware that Carlisle had outfitted numerous privateering vessels that prowled the Caribbean for Spanish gold. Spain had attacked Nevis and St Christopher to eradicate a pirate's nest. The two ambassadors came to an arrangement whose details are unknown but likely it included the release of Hawley and a Spanish promise to leave Carlisle's islands alone. Again, the Lord Proprietor had protected his adventurers in a way that no one else could have, and from that point forward Spain ignored the Islands of Carlisle Province and concentrated instead on its

[279] David Parrott, "The Mantuan Succession, 1627-31: A Sovereignty Dispute in Early Modern Europe," *The English Historical Review* 112, no. 446 (Feb 1997), 64-65; Peter Paul Rubens, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens,* ed. Ruth Saunders Magurn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 331, 351. Rubens is better known for his career as a painter than for his service as a Spanish diplomat.

continental holdings in South America. As for Hawley, he was back in the Caribbean and about the earl's business the following year.[280]

After Carlisle reached an agreement with Rubens, Warner and Anthony Hilton returned in early 1630 with fresh commissions, provisions, and a supply of settlers before the Spanish returned most of their captives from St Christopher and Nevis to England. The two men returned to very different fortunes. Warner's timely arrival rescued the men who had escaped the Spanish and maintained the English foothold on St Christopher, and the production and shipping of tobacco resumed forthwith. He reorganized the colony along military lines as a response to the continued threat from the Kalinago and the fragile partitions separating the French and English sides of the island. Hilton did not receive the same welcome from the few men that had remained on Nevis, and it was only after some haggling that they consented to his governorship. Even with that somewhat muted approbation, his gubernatorial tenure was short-lived. Several of the island's residents, including Hilton himself, had become so indebted to Littleton that they could not prevent him from seizing the governorship for himself. After resigning his office, Hilton gathered a few men from Nevis and St Christopher to plant on Tortuga for the Providence Island Company.[281] This was a dangerous adventure, as shortly before Hilton's arrival the Spanish had captured fifteen Englishmen there, hanged them, and left their bodies on display "wth Tobacco in derision planted vnder ther dead feet."[282] Still, the Puritan adventurers in the Providence Island Company were hard-headed and spoiling for a confrontation with the Spanish. It took Spain some time to oblige them, but after the island became a trading hub for English, French, and

[280] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1628-1629* 298-299, 307; Rubens, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, 351.
[281] The Providence Island Company called it Association Island.
[282] CUL, MSS Mm ff. 3, 9, 19.

Dutch merchants the Spanish navy razed the colony completely in 1635. Fortunately for Hilton, he did not live to see it as he died the year before.[283]

Coming to terms with the Spanish put the finishing touches on Carlisle's assertion of sovereignty over the Caribbean. He was not only the final authority over Englishmen in his colonies, but he was also recognized by the Spanish as someone with whom they had to make a separate peace when it came to relations between Englishmen and Spaniards in the West Indies. This shielded large merchant shippers like Merrifield, Tomson, and Royden from further Spanish attacks on their trading routes or raids on their property like the one that nearly destroyed St Christopher and Neves. It also kept colonial adventurers from facing ruin when their crops or houses were burned. With the passive consent of the Spanish, Carlisle's protection racket was complete. He could not only guarantee the English crown's legal recognition of private property, but he could also safeguard that property from internal and external threats to order. With all that in place, the adventurers partnered with him could proceed with their business unimpeded.

After his stint in a Spanish prison, John Hilton returned to Nevis sometime before 1634 "to present his Service to governor Littleton, & to see some of his freinds & acquaintance there."[284] Littleton invited Hilton to dinner, where the latter was arrested by the governor's guards. The indignant Hilton demanded to know the reason, and the governor flatly told him that his brother Anthony was dead and that he was being held liable for his debts. Littleton was lying; Anthony was in Tortuga acting as the Providence Island Company's governor. After a review of the account books, Hilton paid the full amount and was released. Altogether furious with his treatment, he nevertheless maintained a friendly demeanor and after a night of drinking with the

[283] Ibid, 19; BL Egerton MS 2395, ff. 506-508; Karen Ordahl Kuppermann, *Providence Island 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 94, 197.
[284] Ibid, 506.

governor and his men Hilton "Invited them aboard to be merry."[285] Incredibly, Littleton and his men agreed. During the festivities, Hilton conferred with the ship's captain who offered to kidnap the lot of them and drop them off on Hispaniola for the Spanish to capture. Hilton had another idea.[286]

After returning to the party, Hilton signaled for the ship's crew to storm into the room and hold a musket on every man in the room. When one man looked as if he might try to fight back, Hilton yelled "Shoot ye dogge thorough … and throwe him out ye gallery."[287] It must have been terrifying to think of John Powell chained to the mast of the *Carlisle,* helpless before a wicked man willing to get creative with his methods of torture. Fortunately for Littleton, his captor was not a murderer like Hawley. John Hilton was just a man enraged by an injustice done to his brother and himself. After everyone was threatened with transportation to Tortuga, the governor begged for his life so fervently that Hilton worried the man might just drop dead in front of him. Hilton returned the Nevis men to shore before leaving for Tortuga, where he was doubtless surprised and gratified to find his brother.[288]

Hilton's shaming of Littleton was an aftershock from the political and economic earthquake that was the arrival of the Carlisle proprietorship. Caribbean colonization began during a time when neither the monarch's authority nor his intentions were clear. With arable land in limited availability, it did not take long for the Caribbean Islands to become a source of contention. They were a prize rich enough that Carlisle's adventurers and Courteen felt the need to move into the islands and claim them during the early 1620s in the hope that their settlements would become recognized as colonies by the monarch. By 1629, when the Carlisle proprietorship

[285] Ibid, 506.
[286] Ibid, 506.
[287] Ibid, 506.
[288] Ibid, 506.

was ascendant, the settlers on the Lord Proprietor's islands were reticent to accept a sudden regime change that portended higher taxes. It was the lack of clarity in authority that made the competition for land so fierce. It was one thing for incompetence, mismanagement, or an act of God to cost a man his estate, but it was quite another for him to wonder every day if the land where he planted would be his to plant tomorrow. The anxiety that uncertainty created led to violence, which then prompted an overwhelming response from Carlisle and his agents.

The events that transpired in the wake of the Spanish Match to Carlisle's pacification of the Caribbean came from contingency as well as larger-scale political and economic causes. Royal uncertainty and fiscal pressures made the competition ferocious and violent as adventurers grabbed what they could and tried to defend it from anyone trying to take it, but decisions still mattered. Throughout the process of establishing proprietary authority, personal contests between Carlisle and Montgomery or the adventurers supporting either faction affected far more people than just the men involved. This emphasis on individual action was the basis of the proprietary autocracy that Carlisle oversaw until his death in 1636. It was not the commissioners sent to the Caribbean to proclaim Carlisle's authority that encouraged the West Indians to accept it, it was a singular episode of intense and terrible violence that did that. The Courteen settlers resigned themselves to their new proprietor after they witnessed John Powell's fate, and Anthony Hilton fled to England when he learned the *Carlisle* was destined for Nevis next. It was not until they were replaced by the colonial assembly that state institutions that depended on codification and bureaucracy replaced the autocratic regime with an oligarchic one that limited the impact of a governor's decisions. Until that happened, rule by intimidation and coercion was the mode of governance for the colonies in English Caribbean under the Lord Proprietor's dominion.

Chapter Four: The Rise and Fall of Proprietary Authority in Barbados

In 1647, Henry Hawley stood in front of the door of the House of Commons in the Great Palace Courtyard, awaiting the outcome of a Parliamentary committee investigation into the abuses of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, the deceased Lord Proprietor of the Caribbean islands. Chaired by the future regicide Miles Corbett, the committee assembled in Abraham William's House adjacent to the House of Commons to hear numerous witnesses testify about everything from onerous taxation to political violence. Hawley had governed Barbados as Carlisle's proxy despot for a decade and became one of the most notorious men in the West Indies. In 1629, he had cleared Barbados of any remaining vestige of the Courteen syndicate by seizing its governor and chaining him to a ship's mast to die of exposure. When he returned to take control of the island from Sir William Tufton the next year, it began a series of events that ended with a Tufton leading a revolt and being summarily executed for it afterwards. Whether it was Hawley's intention to execute Tufton when he initially deposed him cannot be known, but there can be no doubt that the event solidified Hawley's position as governor and proprietary economic policy.[289]

The murder of Tufton was shocking even by Barbadian standards. Sir William was brother to Nicholas Tufton, Earl of Thanet. Unlike Powell, Tufton was someone who could not be killed without his aristocratic brother wanting to know why. To placate Thanet, Carlisle summoned Hawley to London for a decent interval before returning Hawley to Barbados with a fresh commission. During the 1647 Parliamentary hearing Robert Coytmore, Secretary of the Admiralty and a fellow examinate, approached the infamous former ex-governor loafing outside the Commons door, and demanded to know by what right he had executed Tufton. Coytmore

[289] *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 5, 1646-1648,* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1802), 105-106.

later related the chilling reply to his examiner: "Martiall Lawe and that he had a Commission from the Earle of Carlile to doe it."[290] Seventeen years after Tufton's slaying, eleven years after the death of Carlisle, and six years after his own recall, the tyrant of Barbados made no apologies for his conduct. He wanted Coytmore to know that he ordered assassination on his own authority and that of his deceased master, and that was all the legality and legitimacy needed. Hawley was right; the 1647 hearing ended without any decision and the Carlisle patent remained in effect.[291]

Proprietary rule depended on the competence of Hawley and his counterpart on St Christopher, Sir Thomas Warner, as much as it depended on Carlisle's proprietary authority. Carlisle's governors were the key instruments of his power, but their own access to institutional power was limited. The only offices and organizations they could depend on were those that they created, such as offices that served as inflated titles for their enforcers, or loosely organized militias that had to be hastily assembled anytime the threat to the governor and order became serious enough. This meant that keeping order daily meant being obeyed, and obedience came from fear. Murdering a nobleman's brother was not overzealous; it was carefully choreographed theater designed to scare everyone who witnessed it. Without recourse to state power on the local level, intimidation and violence became the governors' main implement of their office. Settlers

[290] CUL, RCMS 259/15/2 ff. 111-112. RCMS 259/15/2 is a replica of MSS., G. 4, 15 housed in Trinity Archives. It was hand-copied for Nicholas Darnell Davis by the Assistant Librarian Thomas French in 1883. It has been substituted here because the Trinity College Archives had restricted access due to the COVID-19 pandemic.
[291] Arthur Collins, *The peerage of England : containing a genealogical and historical account of all the peers of that kingdom, now existing, either by tenure, summons, or creation, their descents and collateral lines, their births, marriages and issues, famous actions both in war and peaces, religious and charitable donations, deaths, places of burial, monuments, epitaphs, and many valuable memoirs never before printed : also their paternal coats of arms, crests, supporters and mottoes, curiously engraved on copper-plates / collected from records, old wills, authentic manuscripts, our most approved historians, and other authorities, which are cited by Arthur Collins, esq. ; in eight volumes, VOL. III* (London: Printed for W. Strahan, J. F. and C. Rivincton, J. Hinton, T. Payne, W. Owen, S. Crowder, T. Caslon,T. Longman, C. Rivington, C. Dilly, J. Roeson, T. Lowndes, G. P-obinson, T. Cadell, H. L. Gardner, W. Davis, j. Nichols, T. Evans, J. Bew, R. Baldwin, J. Almon, J. Murray, W. Fox, j. White, Fielding and Walker, T. Esecroft, J. Donaldson, M.Folingsby, 1779), 325; Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 94, ff. 1-4, 10; James Alexander Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), 125-129.

who were afraid of their governor were far less likely to cross him or break the rules he enforced. Terror was the manifestation of their authority, and the only method for preventing anarchy and the ruin of the Lord Proprietor's colonies. As much as fear was the proprietorship's strength, it was also its weakness. Fear kept order in the early years of the English Caribbean, and order brought economic development. Economic development created wealth, and with wealth came influence and resources. As enough colonial adventurers became colonial magnates, their own authority and power grew until it could credibly contest proprietary authority and the metropolitan adventurers associated with Carlisle's declining and indebted proprietorship.

When Carlisle died in 1636, he left proprietary administration in the hands of trustees who were hopelessly divided, and their authority steadily diminished without him. As that happened, Hawley realized that the only way to hold on to his governorship was to rebrand himself as a colonial oligarch instead of a metropolitan autocrat, so he led the resistance to the English state's attempts to regain a semblance of control over colonies that still legally belonged to the proprietorship. To accomplish that feat, he formed an assembly and established it as a permanent institution in the hopes that it could prevent his recall when proprietary agents came calling. He failed. The assembly was not mature or powerful enough by 1640 to save the governor, but the idea that it could challenge the proprietorship spread to St Christopher and Nevis. Sir Thomas Warner found himself forced to adapt to the change in the political relationship between metropole and colony. Henry Hawley, the colonial adventurer who stabilized Barbados for the proprietorship, was the same man who created the institution that helped bring proprietary authority down.

The ascendancy of the Barbadians assembly and the assemblies in St Christopher and Nevis that followed came at a moment when the metropolitan adventurers and state officials in

London were helpless to do anything about it. The English state had shattered, and until sovereignty was reestablished or relocated no one in either Whitehall or Westminster was going to be able to credibly threaten the Barbadians. The negotiation for authority had been reopened, and the Barbadians were bargaining from a much stronger position than they had been when Carlisle crushed the Courteen syndicate in 1629 and ended any ambiguity about who ruled the English Caribbean. The crown, Parliament, and Carlisle all tried to cajole Barbados into recognize metropolitan authority but to no effect. The assembly found that the most advantageous way to negotiate with the competing metropolitan authorities was to refuse to engage with them, and to look to profiting from the expanding economy that stable local institutions underpinned.[292]

External and internal political conditions often determined the nature of economic growth. Warner had authority over the Englishmen in St Christopher and Nevis but Kalinago attacks and uneasy relations with the neighboring French meant that he had to maintain martial law and keep his defenses at the ready. That made plantation development difficult, especially when Warner's cannons and fortifications failed, and kept them from acquiring the influence and wealth that Barbadian planters enjoyed by the early 1640s. Barbados had had the good fortune to escape the pressures of international politics as neither the Kalinago nor the French showed any interest in harassing it. Without the need to maintain a constant defensive military posture, Hawley's government could direct its attention to public and private institutional development that could not be accomplished on St Christopher. Hawley's main concerns were keeping order and collecting taxes. In the rough conditions found in early Barbados, preventing anarchy meant arbitrating disputes among incorrigible and quarrelsome planters by either separating or scaring

[292] For a more in-depth discussion of the onset of the English Civil War see Chapter 5.

them. Extracting revenue relied on intimidation. The governor and his officials behaved like gangsters, using violence and intimidation to keep the Barbadians obedient and willing to pay the often-extortionate sums demanded. The governor could maintain order in the colony and profits in the metropole because he had a commission to do what others could not; commit spectacular atrocities against disobedient Englishmen with impunity.

Tufton was one of the last governors that Carlisle appointed on the advice of his adventurers, a man who bought his office instead of earning it. The earl already had misgivings about his new hire, and the commission warned that the four-year term required "goode behaviour."[293] Although Tufton owed his position to the influence of his brother Thanet and the £1,500 in investment capital he offered the proprietorship, he took a genuine interest in performing his duties. When he began his term on the island in December of 1629, his administration seemed as though it would be competent and effective. He awarded around 140 land grants totaling over fifteen thousand acres and undertook surveys for additional grants. He divided the island into six parishes, provided for a court of grand sessions that met monthly, and assembled the vestries necessary for parishioners to build churches and staff them with clergy. This was a good start, and Tufton must receive the credit for installing the first political institutions in Barbados.[294]

These improvements were welcome, but Tufton soon ran afoul of the growing planter class when he attempted to ameliorate their servants' sorry condition, which directly threatened the planters' control over their bondsmen. The governor could judge which punishments were too extreme, and then take the servants of offending masters and give them to more benign

[293] BNA, CO 1/5 ff. 220.
[294] Ibid, 220; Duke, William, William Arnold, Samuel Bulkly, and John Summers. *Memoirs of the first settlement of the island of Barbados and other the Carribbee Islands: with the succession of the governors and commanders in chief of Barbados to the year 1742* (London: Printed for E. Owen, near *Chancery-Lane, Holborn,* 1743), 14-15.

planters. If that happened then terror, the enslaver's most effective tool, was toothless. Crops would go unharvested, the money spent on servants would be wasted, and the offending master would be ruined. Besides their fear of economic loss, many of the Barbadians suspected that the less abusive planters happened to be Tufton's friends. When or if Tufton started reappropriating servants is unclear, but by early 1630, his enemies were maligning him to Carlisle, stealing his personal correspondence, and even plotting another coup led by Hawley's brother-in-law Richard Pearce. Tufton's supporters pleadingly wrote asking Carlisle to intervene on the governor's behalf and see that his enemies were "ſeverly puniſhed."[295] Carlisle smelled the potential disruption of the island's economic development the governor was causing, and he did not care about the morality of servile bondage and thought of it as a necessary part of the plantation economy. He was trying to guide a sparsely populated fledgling colony through its formative years, and only financial success was going to do that. Order could provide a permanent political foundation for an economy, but only financial success would truly make it profitable and permanent. The earl decided his gubernatorial appointment had been a serious mistake and decided to rectify it.[296]

It is difficult to say what was in Tufton's mind. Perhaps he worried about a servant revolt like the one on Nevis where bondsmen immediately defected to Spanish invaders, or he might have been genuinely concerned for their welfare. He may have been redistributing servants to build a supportive political faction. Whatever his reasons for trying to protect servants, Tufton erred further when he granted land belonging to Carlisle's personal estate. Not only had he gambled with Carlisle's pocketbook by disrupting the Barbadian economy, but now he had

[295] BNA, CO 1/5, ff. 79.
[296] *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, 1574-1660,* ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London: Longman, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1860), 119; BNA, CO 1/5, ff. 79, 220.

insulted the earl further by daring to infringe on the Lord Proprietor's private property. Despite his impolitic missteps, Tufton's most serious mistake was to send Pearce and the other would- be mutineers back to England instead of executing them on the spot after their revolt was discovered. There could be no meek authority in Barbados.[297]

In response to Tufton's tumultuous governorship, Carlisle tapped Hawley to solve the problem. Shortly after his arrival in Barbados during the summer of 1630, Hawley presented a commission ordering an election between Tufton and himself for the governor's seat. The virulent letters from the disaffected planters to the earl led him to believe that the sitting governor was unpopular throughout the island, but when offered a choice between the weak and grasping Tufton and the frighteningly malevolent Hawley the Barbadians chose the former. When the election did not produce the desired result, Hawley showed a second commission ordering the governor's removal anyway. Carlisle went a good bit further in his private instructions and insisted that Hawley discharge Tufton "by force if neede be," leaving it up to Hawley to determine if that would be necessary.[298] Even though he withdrew without rancor, Tufton made the ill-advised choice to remain on the island. His very presence there imperiled his life, as remaining on the island threatened the new governor's legitimacy.[299]

Hawley was right to see Tufton as a threat. The displaced baronet brooded over his mistreatment, and when the winter of 1630 saw external supply problems he saw a chance to avenge himself. In February 1631, the "Planters and Adventurers" of the English Caribbean had petitioned Carlisle and the Privy Council for assistance, and in response Carlisle persuaded the

[297] BNA CO 1/5, f. 220; CUL, 259/1/2; Gary A. Puckrein, *Little England: Plantation Society and Anglo-Barbadian Politics, 1627-1700* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 37-39; Roy E. Schreiber, "The First Carlisle Sir James Hay: The First Earl of Carlisle as Courtier, Diplomat, and Entrepreneur, 1580-1636," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 74, no. 7 (1984): 177-178.
[298] British National Archives, CO 1/5 f. 221.
[299] Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 89-90; BNA CO 1/5, f. 220-221.

Council to order six ships laden with "twentie Hogsheds of Meale, with other provisions of victual" each sent to St Christopher, Nevis, and Barbados.[300] When the provisions arrived at Barbados, Hawley refused to allow access to them without his permission. Hungry men might swarm the ship and take as much as they could, and the unequally distributed food would soon be gone. This decision, necessary though it might have been, was wildly unpopular and a small faction organized around Tufton's leadership. They were planning to overthrow Hawley and the planters Carlisle had chosen to protect. This brewing rebellion against the governor was a direct threat to proprietary rule and its prioritization of metropolitan adventurers and colonial elites over the welfare of small landholders, and it could not go unanswered. Pushing Tufton out was a coup half-finished.[301]

When the time seemed right, Tufton rallied twenty-five men to his cause and "proclaimed Libertie for Servants upon reward in tobacco." With "pistols and poiniard in his hand and 25 in his companie" armed with pikes and muskets, Tufton led a raid on Hawley's house.[302] His hopes for a mass uprising of servants went unmet. They were afraid of the awful consequences that would befall them if they failed and were not impressed with an offer to let them buy their freedom instead of giving to them. Hawley escaped capture and quickly rallied enough of his own supporters to put down the mob. Once Tufton stood down, Hawley enticed him to meet "under Promiſe of Accord" to discuss a truce.[303] Given Hawley's reputation, it is surprising that

[300] *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, Vol. 1, 1613-1680,* ed. W. L. Grant, James Munro, Almeric W. Fitzroy (Hereford: Anthony Brothers, Ltd, 1908), 159-160.
[301] Ibid, 159-160; BNA CO 1/5, f. 220-221; Puckrein, *Little England,* 37-39.
[302] BNA CO 1/5, f. 221.
[303] William Arnold, Samuel Bulkly, and John Summers, *Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Iſland of Barbados: and Other the Carribbee Iſlands with the Succeſſion of the Governors and Commanders in Chief of Barbados to the Year 1742,* (London: Printed for E. Owen, near *Chancery-Lane, Holborn,* 1743), 17.

Tufton agreed to do so, but there was no other real option. The ex-governor was outmatched, and Barbados was a small island. There was nowhere to run.[304]

Tufton and six of his compatriots were immediately arrested after arriving to the parley. Hawley brought the rebels before a hastily summoned tribunal that he picked himself, and the outcome was a foregone conclusion. Sir William Tufton was charged with issuing a proclamation promising to free the servants and for leading the attack on Hawley's house. He was found guilty and sentenced to death, and the execution was carried out the following day. Tufton was shot in the chest, and after six of his men "drew lotts for their lives" Hawley hanged two of them and had the other four tortured.[305] Tufton's death pleased several of the planters, but the slaying of a nobleman's brother horrified them and every other colonist in the English Caribbean. It was a frightful and nigh unthinkable action, and it sent the message that political and economic policy originated from the metropole and not from the colonial adventurers engaged in planting or acting as proprietary agents. The Lord Proprietor and his agents could invalidate elections, imprison anyone for any reason, and have Englishmen executed. In return for the imposition of a despotism, the proprietorship guaranteed that masters held complete control over their servants' bodies. Crony capitalism could proceed unhindered, and there would be no more talk of protecting or liberating bondspeople.[306]

Royal and proprietary authority changed everything about West Indian colonization. Although a harsh environment and the large Indian population had hindered Leigh and Robert Harcourt's schemes on the Wiapoco, their lack of real support from metropolitan adventurers ensured their failures. They did not have the material resources to be successful, nor did they

[304] BNA CO 1/5, f. 220-222; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados*, 17.
[305] Rawlinson MS C 94, 12-13.
[306] Ibid, 12-13; British National Archives, CO 1/10 ff. 78, BNA CO 1/5 220-222; Puckrein, *Little England*, 37-39.

have the authority to execute Englishmen or Indians if necessary. The language of Leigh and Harcourt's commissions is not known, but Harcourt published the patent he received after he had returned from the Wiapoco. Harcourt's patent doubled as an advertisement for Guiana. He provided outlines for even "the "meaneſt Aduenturer in Perſon" to receive acreage and specified how that land would be granted.[307] It provided for three offices to administer the colony's government: treasurer, minsters, and constables, and contains some vague mention of defenses.[308] Yet there is little to no enumeration of Harcourt's power or authority, and there are two possible explanations for that. He was so determined to market his prospective colony that he omitted any mention of order keeping that might deter someone from risking "perſon, or purſe" while the document was being drafted.[309] Another is that James had declined to grant Harcourt any significant royal authority out of either indifference or distrust, which would have been in keeping with the king's personality. Without the king's support for Guianese projects, merchants and gentlemen could not be expected to hazard too much investment capital. Only plenty of money and manpower could carve colonies out of the jungle, and that would not be forthcoming without the monarch's commitment.[310]

Sir Thomas Roe's efforts in the Amazon show that even a healthy and vibrant economy could not survive without the English king's authorization. The healthy environment, abundant natural resources, and cooperative Indians providing labor could not save Roe's settlements without royal license. Had the settlers decided their business with Thomas Roe was unprofitable

[307] Harcourt, Robert, *A Relation of a Voyage to Gviana Describing the Climat, Scituation, Fertilitie, Prouiſions and Commodities of that Country, Containing ſeuen Prouinces, and Other Signiories within that Territory: Together, with the Manners, Cuſtomes, Behauiors, and Dispositions of the People. Performed by Robert Harcovrt, of Stanton Harcourt Eſquire. the Pattent for the Plantation of which Country, His Maiestie Hath Granted to the ſaid Robert Harcovrt Vnder the Great Seale* (London: Printed by Iohn Beale, for W. Welby, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in Pauls Churchyard at the ſigne of the Swan, 1613), 68.
[308] Constables in this context were more akin to commissioners than order keepers.
[309] Ibid, 67.
[310] Ibid, 67-71.

and defied him, he could not have sent a ship filled with gunmen into the Amazon to kidnap or execute them. Without the king to define it through commission or patent, all authority in Guiana was contestable and negotiable. Roe had no legal title to the land his men planted, and without that he could not have attracted the capital necessary to establish permanent colonies. That deficiency became obvious when James finally became aware of Englishmen in the Amazon who were there without his permission and refused to protect them or challenge the legality of Spain's claims to territory that they had not occupied. Roe could have all the resources at his disposal that he wanted, but without royal authority, legal recognition, or the king's protection from other European nations his colony was always on borrowed time. Adventurers needed the crown's authority, and state authority needed adventurers; without each other neither mattered.

Charles went much further than James in the legalese in Warner's commission and Carlisle's patent that described the adventurers' authority. Warner's commission gave him an overly broad authority, and allowed him to grant lands, establish state offices, and to "governe, rule, and order all and singular persons … and punish according to their ffaults and Demeritts."[311] Carlisle's patent went much further. It awarded him total sovereignty over his Caribbean dominion, which included the authority to impose "Martiall Lawe against such Rebells, Traytours, mutineirs, or Seditious persons" either in internal or external defense of the island[312] Furthermore, he could arrest and return anyone who tried to leave his colony while martial law was in effect. If the palatine authority granted to Carlisle did not specifically authorize Tufton's execution, this specific clause did. The patent also answered the question of land ownership. Warner had been allowed to allocate land, but he could not confer ownership either for himself or his fellow adventurers. The earl's patent declared the land on his islands to

[311] BNA, CO 1/3 ff. 222-223.
[312] CUL, RCMS 259/15/2 ff. 66.

be his personal and inheritable property, which meant he could plant it, rent it, or sell it. Moreover, the authority granted in the patent applied to Carlisle's "heirs and Assignes," effectively establishing a proprietary dynasty over the Caribbean colonies.[313] Harcourt's patent had the similar language that affirmed his ownership of the land, but without the authority over Guiana that Warner and Harcourt enjoyed over the Caribbean there was no way for Harcourt to establish physical and legal control over his colony. Without authority, private property did not exist, and neither could profit or permanence.[314]

Although Tufton's followers held Hawley responsible for the starving time in 1630, the problem was of the Barbadians' own making. Many plantations remained half-finished after their owners used fire to clear the forest, leaving charred tree stumps to rot in the muck. Sir Henry Colt, a visitor to the island in the summer of 1631, thought that Barbadian plantations looked like the "ruines of ſome village lately burned," and it is unsurprising that such poorly maintained estates contributed to food scarcity shortly before Colt's ship anchored off the Barbadian coast.[315] Instead of growing subsistence crops, the Barbadians focused all their resources on tobacco while relying on Henry Powell's Lokono for produce. Meat was scarce. The Barbadians had nearly wiped out the plentiful wild hog population that existed when the English first arrived on the island. Henry Colt, deplored their wasteful hunting practices:

> They vsually killed 1500 hundred a week, a waste to(o) geat to be continued. Lett them remember yt when they went to hunt hoggs their custome was when they had taken .10. or 12. to binde them togeether, & to let them lye, & to proceed further to catch moor … they would nott take ye paynes to return & fetch ye first beinge to(o) farr out of ther way home butt left them soe tyed to starue.[316]

[313] Ibid, ff. 66.
[314] Ibid, ff. 222-223; CUL, RCMS 259/15/2 ff. 60-64; Harcourt, *A Relation of a Voyage to Gviana*, 67-71.
[315] CUL, MSS, Mm. 3, 9; f. 6.
[316] CUL, MSS, Mm. 3, 9; f. 14.

The hog population had not completely disappeared by the time of Colt's visit, and he had a chance to try some baked into a meat pie. He wrote in his journal to an imaginary Barbadian audience the meat was delicious and better than anything their English ancestors had ever tasted, even though they "weer … far better men, then you are" for not thoughtlessly wasting their natural resources.[317] When the food shortage was at its height hogs had become scarce enough that the islanders resorted to eating rats, prompting Colt's sardonic observation that they "eat in tast like younge rabbitts; but I eat not any yet."[318]

Drunkenness aggravated the already precarious situation. The abundance of cassava and potatoes prevented a disaster like the 1610 starving time in James Towne, but the plants also contained the right ingredients for making two types of home-made poteen: mobbie and perino. Mobbie was an unpleasant concoction distilled from either white potatoes or sweet potatoes, leaving a rudimentary wine that gave those who imbibed it a serious hangover that Ligon called "Hydropick humours." A Spanish visitor to Providence Island who tried it "wondred that any of thoſe who that continually drink it were still alive."[319] Perino was a beverage that had been familiar to English adventurers since Charles Leigh's men learned about during their 1604 adventure to the Wiapoco. To make it, Indian women chewed the cassava, spat the mush into water, and left it to sit for three to four hours. The result was a beverage that "taſtes the likeſt to *Engliſh* beer of any drink we have there."[320] All this booze left the islanders a sozzled and legless lot whose debauched antics did not go unnoticed, and Colt found this alcoholic culture startling. He tried to follow his hosts' example but soon found that he could not keep up with them:

[317] Ibid, 14.
[318] Ibid, 6, 14; Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 47-48.
[319] Ligon, *History of Barbadoes*, 32.
[320] Ibid, 32-33

> I, in ye Imitation of this bad example of yours, & for your societye, was brought .2. drams of hott water a meale, to .30. & in few days if I had continued this acquaytance, I doe beleev I should have binn brought to ye encrease of .60. … In a few dayes you corrupted me, yt have seen moor, & lived many moor yeers to be moor wise & temperate.[321]

The sight of men passed out along the roadside was common, as was their subsequent injury or death from the land crabs that swarmed the shore at night and could strip a helpless man of his flesh in a night. Unfortunately, the plentiful and well-fed crustaceans were not edible.[322]

Colt recognized the island's potential despite the derelictions he lamented. Slosh and sloth may have hindered many Barbadians, but he praised industrious men like James Holdipp as "ye beautye, hands, eyes, and feet of all other planters."[323] The fruits and vegetables like corn, cassava, peas, beans, plantains, pomegranates, lemons, figs, pineapples, and guavas, grew quickly and well. The forest that the settlers had cleared indiscriminately offered exportable timbers like mastic, cedar, and fustic. Fresh meat could return if the islanders were more careful to not overhunt the animal population, but there were still local sources. The islanders still had to import their cows and pigs, but there were a wide variety of edible birds such as peacocks and pigeons. Colt received a demonstration of the island's culinary possibilities after dining with James Futter, who served "pigs, capons, Turkeys, chikins, from ye field, Indian wheat, Cassui & Cabidges, whose stemme or stalk was .200. foot long & you must cutt them downe wth an ax."[324] Futter bragged that he could eat that way "eury day of ye yeer," and Colt believed the boast. That Holdipp and Futter enjoyed such plenty shows how much loafing Englishmen on other plantations contributed to their own privation.[325]

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[321] MSS, Mm. 3, 9; f. 5.
[322] Ibid, 5-6; Ligon, *History of Barbadoes,* 31-33; Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimmes: Contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells be Englishmen and others, Volume XVI (*Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1906), 313-314, 347.
[323] Ibid, 8.
[324] Ibid, 8.
[325] Ibid, 6-8.

Although he was critical of the Barbadian's wasteful indolence, Colt was impressed by the young Hawley and his ability to manage the island's troubles. The governor curtailed the violence "wthout much difficultye" despite "beinge but a younge man," and Colt thought that this was because he was "naturally enclined to modestye & temperance."[326] This description implies that Hawley was better able to control his drinking than others, as John Powell could have attested after he spent his last night in Barbados merry making with his future captor. Colt was also aware of Hawley's penchant for violent political display and knew how Tufton had died but understood as the governor did that such acts were necessary in a place that could easily devolve into lawlessness or anarchy without firm leadership. Colt found the governor pleasing company and and the two dined together on two occasions. It was during the first dinner at the governor's home that Colt tried the porkpie that had saddened him afterwards. The second dinner was aboard Colt's ship, an ironic venue given Hawley's notorious actions aboard the *Carlisle*.[327]

With control over Barbados established after Tufton's murder, Hawley worked to exploit its resources and the men harvesting them. This was not easy. The inferior quality of Barbadian tobacco made profits hard to come by, and the need to generate income led some of the planters to experiment with edible crops in search of higher profits. Nutritious food commanded a high price from ships looking for provisions, and by 1634 there was enough food to sell if the passengers and crew could afford the unreasonable prices. The *Ark,* carrying Leonard Calvert on his way to found Maryland, stopped at to rest themselves with "convenient good dyet some few dayes … but it Cost us our eies."[328] A chicken went for six shillings, a turkey for fifty, and a young pig for one hundred, which far exceeded what most people could afford. Cassava and

[326] MSS, Mm. 3, 9; f. 6.
[327] Ibid, 5-6, 8.
[328] Clayton Colman Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 34.

potatoes were cheap enough that they were difficult to give away, and so they remained the chief component of the islanders' high-starch diet due to the expense of healthier fare like meat, fruits, or vegetables. Tasty victuals were not the only expensive goods, and the relative monopoly Barbados had over wholesale purchases of foodstuffs because of its position along the Atlantic sea routes allowed the governor to dictate prices. After learning that the Chesapeake-bound colonists were there to buy corn, Hawley's deputy Pearce ordered the price doubled from one to two shillings per bushel.[329]

Although Barbados shifted part of its economy towards edible crops, tobacco was always the chief commodity throughout Carlisle's islands. The onerous regulations and high duties imposed by the Privy Council, Carlisle, or proprietary governors did not help the disadvantaged islanders. In 1630, Warner set a poll tax at nearly 110 pounds of tobacco per head, meaning that every planter had to pay that amount for himself and for every person he was responsible for. In 1633, he curtailed tobacco production on St Christopher and ordered everyone to grow cotton in its place, but that did not stop him from demanding that the planters pay their duties –which he raised– in tobacco. That policy sparked an uprising Warner had to put down by aiming his cannons at the rioters, but he returned to the poll tax system and lowered the rates to 50 to 60 pounds of tobacco and a hen for each person on a plantation. During Wolverstone's tenure as governor of Barbados, the colonists agreed to pay a 5% in kind tax to the proprietorship, but that was a difficult tax to assess without relying on a certain measure of self-reporting. By 1635 Hawley had done the same and replaced Wolverstone's method with an annual tax of forty pounds of tobacco per head. He also looked to foreign trade for additional revenue and imposed a twenty shilling moorage for docked ships. In 1634, after Pearce had shaken down the Maryland

[329] Ibid, 34.

settlers traveling on the *Ark,* Hawley took advantage of Barbados's newfound reputation as the "granarie of all the Charybbies Iſles" and began charging 7% of the value of offloaded goods.[330]

The Barbadians hated the Lord Proprietor and his minions for their gangsterism as much as the taxes themselves. Before the planters could grow and harvest their crops, Warner collected the proprietary share. He forbade anyone who could not pay from conducting any other business until they did so, and the inability or unwillingness to comply could result in the confiscation of land or servants. Hawley could be a little more creative. Like Warner, he did not permit any man to sell his goods or even remove them from their plantation until they had paid their dues. Unlike Warner, Hawley often confiscated personal items necessary for surviving in the tropical environment. Hammocks and beds were impounded so that the debtor and the members of his household had to sleep on the ground with all the hazards there, and cookware was taken "soe they have bin forced to eat their meate rawe."[331] If none of that worked, then their land grants were revoked and resold, but the new owner remained responsible for all the back taxes accrued by the former tenant. Imprisonment was also a possibility, but there is little evidence that either Warner or Hawley utilized capital punishment to enforce tax policy. One known attempt to cheat Hawley's receiver merely resulted in another fine. Restraint was the better policy when a tax calculated by the head diminished with every death. Maimed or murdered men could not generate revenue.[332]

Attempting to subvert proprietary authority was a more serious matter than tax avoidance, and the proprietary governors often met offences against them with far more severe punishments like whipping, imprisonment, pillorying, or mutilation. The more detailed accounts

[330] Ibid, 34; CUL RCMS 259/15/2, 91-96; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 18-19; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 84-92.
[331] CUL RCMS 259/15/2, 98.
[332] Ibid, 97-99; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 19.

of proprietary abuse come from Barbados. After "writinge a booke … tearmede a libell" John Wilborne was whipped, pilloried, subjected to ten penny nails driven through his ears, and stigmatized by searing his cheek with hot iron.[333] Futter, Colt's host to a table of plenty, was incorrigible enough to ask a judge in the courtroom "if all whore masters were taken off the bench, what would the Governour doe for a Councell" before accusing Carlisle himself of being a drunkard.[334] That earned him two hours in the pillory at high noon, and the governor's enmity thereafter. Hawley fined Futter 40,000 pounds of cotton and incarcerated him for a year, then sent alcohol to his cell and removed any bedding or toilet so that he and his cellmates were "forced to doe the necessityes of Nature in the Roome where they lay."[335]

Whether or not the governor enjoyed torture is beside the point; his understanding of instrumental violence and how to use it was what most qualified him for the job. While Hawley's commissions have not survived, the two separate commissions he brought to oust Tufton in 1630 suggest that Carlisle preferred to handle things peaceably. Still, if persuasion did not work the earl was comfortable with authorizing violence –as Tufton discovered. Hawley's authority depended on fear, and an insult unanswered could make him seem soft. Weakness might invite thoughts of retribution among the Barbadians, and the governor's overthrow would have precipitated anarchy since Barbados had no local institutions other than governor and council that could enforce proprietary edicts. Carlisle would punish the perpetrators but that would do a dead governor no good. Moreover, a governor with a mild temperament and no stomach for cruelty could find himself recalled at best, and at worst publicly executed.

[333] RCMS 259/15/2, 110.
[334] Ibid, 105.
[335] Ibid, 104-111.

No matter how unassailable Carlisle's authority might have seemed, the proprietorship was a system of men and not laws. Laws conferred legitimacy through consent when they were created by representative institutions like Parliament or a colonial assembly. The legitimacy of autocratic men came from submission and fear, and that meant that any serious contestation of gubernatorial authority merited an extreme response that taught others not to make the same mistake. Yet just as passive men made poor governors, so did outright sadists. The capacity for violence had to be tempered with judgment. After a dramatic spectacle, a governor needed to curtail violence –random as well as his own– or it would make everyone on the island worry that they might be next. Nothing is as destabilizing as desperate men who wake up in the shadow of death every morning; eventually they will decide that their only hope for survival is an uprising. The proprietorship wanted the colonists productive, not dead or in rebellion. The purpose of the adventure was business, not butchery. Hawley and Warner's innate understanding of well-used cruelty was what made them competent autocrats.

Of the executions remembered by witnesses testifying to the Parliamentary committee in 1647, only those of John Powell and Tufton are attributed directly to Hawley himself. There are two explanations for this. The first is that his initial extrajudicial slayings made an impression, and that executions conducted under a semblance of common law did not. Secondly, after coming to power through violence done early and all at once, the governor showed restraint afterwards. The spectacle of chaining a man to a ship's mast and the audacity of shooting a knight –both done in full view of the public– inspired dread, but once done Hawley refrained from executing people unless the calculus of power compelled him to do so. Even the obnoxious Futter was not executed for his insolence to the council, probably because the governor understood that the punishment should match the offense. It was one thing for the Barbadians to

believe in his capacity for violence, but consistent and unpredictable killings fostered anxiety about who would be next; that threatened order and reduced productivity. The Barbadians did not worry about their survival under Hawley's regime, only their pocketbooks. They might write angry letters to London condemning the governor's cruel punishments and enforcement methods, but at least there were men alive to write them and those men paid their taxes whether they liked it or not. Besides, Carlisle had demonstrated that he cared more about production than popularity when he authorized Tufton's execution.

Hawley's frightening demeanor was the system's greatest strength and its greatest weakness, and when he was absent from the island Deputy Governor Pearce had trouble containing violence; the Barbadians were just not as afraid of him as they were his brother-in-law Hawley. In 1633, Pearce had at least four men sentenced to death while the governor was away in England. Two of them had killed their victims over a personal disagreement, but the other two had been part of a revolt against "the Deputy Governor, Council and Country."[336] Those men allegedly tried to organize a servant rebellion sizeable enough to justify "armes to the number of about 800 men" after one of the conspirators betrayed his comrades.[337] Given that the Barbadian population was still small at that time, mustering that many men shows that Pearce was very concerned about the danger posed by the revolt. While Barbadians tended to overreact to servant revolts, the considerable number of men at arms suggests Pearce was facing more rebels than the thirty men led by Tufton. For the servants, always watchful for cracks in the plantation system, Hawley's absence must have seemed like an advantageous moment for rebellion. Hawley had been fortunate that Pearce had responded as severely as he had to acts of

[336] Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 18.
[337] Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland,* 34

murder or mutiny, or the next time challenge to proprietary authority might not be easily answered.[338]

Worse than the personal danger of retribution faced by individual governors was the problem of replacing highly competent men. Carlisle, Warner, and Hawley handled their roles with skill, but one day the proprietorship would have to continue without them. Carlisle was irreplaceable. There was no one willing to take the reins of the proprietorship that could approximate his influence with Charles, and even if there were that person would need the earl's cunning. Carlisle succeeded because he found proficient agents and authorized them to do their jobs as they saw fit rather than waste time and money trying to control the specifics of colonial operation. His main form of oversight was recalling ineffective governors while hiring and promoting capable ones. This did not mean finding brutes to oversee a colony. Sadists like Pearce were not in short supply, but without the intelligence or judgment to know when and how to use political violence they could become hated enough to cause anarchy –the very thing a proprietary governor was supposed to prevent. A governor who knew when to be brutal and when to show restraint kept his subjects from being in constant fear for their lives and therefore less of a threat to political stability. In a government where human authority was paramount and there was little in the way of codified law, who wielded that authority mattered. So long as Carlisle, Warner, and Hawley formed the center of proprietary authority, the system worked. When they either died or faced recall, there was no one to replace them.

The first of the three men to die was Carlisle. In 1636 the earl had a stroke that left him unconscious for three days. When he regained his senses, he realized death was near and began putting his affairs in order. He entrusted the proprietorship to Sir James Hay, Archibald Hay, and

[338] Ibid, 34; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 17-25; RCMS 259/15/2, 112.

Richard Hurst, who were to settle the substantial debts Carlisle left unpaid. The remainder would be the new Lord Proprietor's share, although his father was aware that there was little money left over. James Hay, Viscount Doncaster and later second Earl of Carlisle, had married the daughter of one of the king's enemies without his father's permission. That was an insult that the first earl could not abide, and the embarrassment jeopardized his position at court. Preventing his son from overseeing his own inheritance was a final expression of paternal disappointment. James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle, died one month after his stroke. His funeral procession had the glamor of the man himself. The chariot carrying the coffin displayed his coronet. An entourage of nobles, knights, heralds, and servants, marched alongside his elegant hearse. Following the train was another horse clad in finery like the silver-shodden horse that paraded through the streets of Paris twenty-one years earlier. London onlookers were less impressed than the Parisians, and everyone but the nobility ignored the procession. Carlisle had been a man for the king, not the people. Even his alienated son did not attend.[339]

The new trustees immediately upended the proprietary policies that enriched the first Carlisle's metropolitan adventurers and their colonial agents tied to it. The former proprietor's success came from simplicity. He protected the colonies from other aristocrats like Warwick who might try to steal his colonies, sent capable despots to the islands, and gave them the autonomy needed to efficiently farm taxes from a stumbling economy. The earl did not try to manage the colonies from London, nor did he try to circumscribe the authority of his two key colonial governors. He had always backed both men without reservation. The new trustees took an entirely different approach and treated their most important proprietary agents –who did not like each other– differently enough to earn one's enmity. They confirmed Warner's promotion by the

[339] Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 125, 135-137; Bennett Papers

late earl to the rank of Lieutenant General over all the proprietorship's possessions and underwrote his expansionist plans for colonizing St Lucia. As for Hawley, the trustees suspected he might prove treacherous and moved to loosen his grip on the Barbadian governorship. They drafted extensive accounting procedures and sent a family representative, Peter Hay, to the island with a commission to serve as a "Receiver for Rents and Customs" for all proprietary dues.[340] Hawley sensed, correctly, that the trustees would cross him when they thought he was no longer necessary. They returned him to Barbados because they could not replace him. For a natural conspirator with little aversion to risk, this was an opportunity to take the island for himself.[341]

Shortly after receiving his commission in 1636, Hawley left for Barbados to consolidate his hold on the island. By July he had confirmed a council that included his brother William Hawley, Pearce, and some of the bigger names on the island like Holdipp. In 1631, he had "form'd the Court of Common Pleas" that met monthly in four different districts.[342] The justices arbitrated simple disputes that were subject to the governor's approval. Hawley tightened his grip on the courts by restructuring them into two districts and installing two of his supporters as the justices, constraining judicial independence even further. He placed spies throughout the parishes to help the governor monitor felons, tax cheats, and grumblers. The Barbadian state was now more developed now than it had ever been, and a political hierarchy was slowly taking shape despite a sluggish economy based on foodstuffs, cotton, and tobacco. Hawley was building a new power base out of the colony's elites in response to the hostility of his metropolitan superiors and empowering his supporters with offices and privileges was the first step. The autocrat was fashioning himself into an oligarch.[343]

[340] Bennett Papers.
[341] Ibid; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 20.
[342] Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 16.
[343] Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 16-20.

The most important act of the council was the formal codification of slavery. This would have come about even if Carlisle had lived, but it offered a way for Hawley to hedge against the uncertainty of his authority following his master's death. This was one of the first slave laws enacted in the English West Indies, and in a single sentence the council turned people into chattel: "*Negroes* and *Indians,* that came here to be ſold, ſhould ſerve for Life, unleſs a Contract was before made to the contrary."[344] Categorization by race instead of class, religion, or nationality was an iron clarification of the formerly ambiguous West Indian society known to Henry Winthrop. In his letters back home, Winthrop described Barbados's population as English "save a matter of 50 slaves, or Indyenes and blacks" and differentiated between "christyanes and fortye slaues of negeres and Indyenes," identifying both race and religion as characteristics that set Africans and Amerindians apart from Europeans. The Indians he referred to were Henry Powell's Lokono partners, who worked as free people on their own plantation during the Courteen years and constituted most of the "slaues" Winthrop described.[345] They had a prior verbal agreement, a contract between free people, with Winthrop's employer Henry Powell. Even so, two years after the Indian plantation began producing much of the island's food, Englishmen were already beginning to associate non-Europeans and non-Christians with enslavement. The language of the 1636 law should have applied to the Lokono because of their prior arrangement with Henry Powell, but by that time there was no one besides the exiled Powell to object to their enslavement. Years later, the Commonwealth's governor Daniel Searle agreed with Powell and set the last two living Lokono free.[346]

[344] Ibid, 20.
[345] MHS, Winthrop Papers, f. 4.
[346] Ibid, 4; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 20.

With a new regime installed, Hawley felt more comfortable resisting the proprietary government. After Warner returned to the Caribbean with the superior rank of Lieutenant General over all the proprietary colonies, Hawley refused to cooperate with a risky plan to colonize "Metalina."[347] On the way to St Christopher, Warner stopped in Barbados to subordinate Hawley and raise troops to take the new island. The Lieutenant General was in no condition to assert himself. Of the two supply ships in which he had invested "ffoure thouſand pounds adventure of my owne" he lost one with all hands the other ship saw a fourth of its passengers succumb to disease.[348] Hawley recognized Warner's rank and agreed that his commission gave him authority over Barbados, but frankly told him there was no way to enforce it. A furious Warner wrote two letters to the trustees and the king carping about the Hawley's insubordination. He congratulated himself on his discretion for not raising an army "of his [Hawley's] own people, whoe willinglye attended the Beate of my Drums" for fear of causing the trustees undue headaches.[349] Hawley answered the accusation in a dissembling letter dated September 6, 1636, that played down his insubordination and blamed the whole thing on a disagreement over a debt. The trustees did not understand how serious this clash between Warner and Hawley had been. The Barbadian governor had weakened proprietary authority by contesting his immediate superior's authority, and when that went unpunished it emboldened him to continue subverting metropolitan authority until it was weak enough to defy.[350]

Even for autocrats, authority is a means not an end. Carlisle brooked no rival sovereigns, but his goal was always revenue. If he could have earned the same money without directing the

[347] BNA, CO 1/9 ff. 41. "Metalina' may refer to Catalina Island off the coast of Hispaniola. Given the previous fate of English planters on Tortuga, Hawley was probably wiser than Warner in his assessment of the scheme's potential.
[348] Ibid, 41.
[349] Ibid, 42.
[350] Ibid, 42-42; Bennett Papers.

proprietorship, he would have, but his obligations as Lord Proprietor required him to be more than a mere influence peddler if he wanted to realize any worthwhile income. Warner and Hawley's motivations were similar. They guarded their authority carefully, but that authority existed to further commerce. The planters were in the Caribbean colonies to plant tobacco, and the governors were there to regulate and tax its production. Both governors were corrupt, but they were both careful to keep Carlisle happy. When the earl died and the trustees signaled that Hawley's days as governor were numbered, he began grabbing anything he could. He frustrated the proprietorship's attempts to govern Barbados from London at every turn, and consistently undermined its ability to collect duties and taxes that rightfully belonged to it. Like the other colonial adventurers, he had risked his fortune and his life for years to steer Barbados towards prosperity and reap the huge rewards he could expect for investing ten years of his life into the project. Hawley did not want to be a prince so much as a profiteer, but success for a big planter depended on his ability to combine authority and adventure into a single enterprise.

Peter Hay met as much resistance from the Barbadian governor than the Lieutenant-General had, but Hawley's method for obstructing the receiver was less brash than the way he had treated Warner. Hawley had assured the trustees that he would give the receiver all that was needed to complete the required bookkeeping. In a letter to the trustees written on October 15, 1636, Hay praised the governor for being "very diligent in doing all things for the good and profitt of the Island, and likewise I finde him very carefull in collecting of my Lords duties."[351] A month later, Hay still felt that Hawley was cooperating, although he did not yet have a clear idea of what payments and what duties remained outstanding. When the receiver inquired about the missing anchorage fees, Hawley replied that they belonged to him directly as a reward for his

[351] Bennett Papers.

service. Six months later Hay's report to the trustees relayed a different assessment, grousing that the anchorage was "not any of his due wch will amount to sixty pounds some years."[352] The customs fees particularly concerned the receiver. After warning the trustees that Hawley was untrustworthy, and that the money should "fall not in his hands," the frustrated Hay remarked that gaining the governor's cooperation "is a thing impossible for me or any man els to sitt in rome and strive wth the pope."[353] He accused Hawley and Pearce of confiscating goods for their own use and keeping the money earned from that year's land grants.[354]

By 1636, both the economy and the population were expanding rapidly. Immigration had been slow prior to 1635, when the per capita tax records show that there were 1,227 people over fourteen years old on the island. The next year that number nearly doubled. By 1638 there were 5,705 people and in 1639 there were 8,707. As the colonists already on the island had purchased most of the arable acreage by 1637, it seems reasonable to assume that most of these newcomers were servants, slaves, or would-be colonists who moved on to new prospects elsewhere when they found that there was little property left to buy. Barbados was fast becoming a sound investment. Around 10% of the planters owned more than ten acres and now had ready access to cheap unfree labor, which significantly raised their credit with London merchants. Growing plantations into profitable enterprises was not easy and some men like Holdipp were better at it than others, but it still required the foundation of political stability. For that, Hawley and his second Pearce deserve the dubious credit for the eventual prosperity of a colonial slave society.[355]

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[352] Ibid.
[353] Ibid.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves,* 54-56; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, "The Sugar Industry in the Seventeenth Century: A New Perspective on the Barbadian 'Sugar Revolution,'" in *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680,* ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 294-295.

In 1638, Hawley ordered John Swan, a man who had been part of the first supply of Carlisle's settlers led by Ralph Wolverstone in 1628, to draw a map showing the cadastral information needed to accurately assess taxes on an island whose population and economy was growing. That map is lost, but a reproduction of it, entitled *"A topographicall Description and Admeasurement of the YLAND of BARBADOS in the West INDYAES with the Mrs Names of the Severall plantacons"* is found in Richard Ligon's *A True & Exact History of Barbadoes.*[356] Swan's purpose was only to map the location of the plantations on it, most of which dotted the coastal area on the Leeward side. Ligon, who was concerned with selling an entertaining book, filled the blank spots in the map with his own illustrations intended to show the exotic nature of tropical Barbados. Sea monsters, imported dromedaries, and escaped slaves are all depicted, as is a beautiful compass rose tilting north about 45 degrees. Ligon included crude topographical information, with mole-humps to indicate elevation and generic drawings of trees to indicate forestation, which shows that he had some knowledge about the island's geography. Still, neither cartographer of Barbados had the same motivations as the English explorers and surveyors prowling the Guianese coast. Their maps, from Walter Ralegh's map of the Orinco to Thomas King's chart of the Amazon, were drawn to aid ship's pilots. Swan and Ligon were not interested in navigational or hydrological information; their audiences were either state officials or armchair adventurers. The Ligon map's purpose was to make money, whether it was to aid in extracting revenue from resistant colonists or to sell to a curious English public.[357]

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[356] Fig. 5 in the included map section.

[357] Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Iſand of Barbadoes: Illuſtrated with a Map of the Iſand, as alſo the Principal Trees and Plants there, ſet forth in their due Proportions and Shapes , drawn out by their ſeveral and reſpective Scales. Together with the Ingenio that makes the Sugar, with the Plots of the feveral Houſes, Rooms, and other places , that are uſed in the whole procefe of Sugar-making; viz, the Grinding-room, the Boyling-room, the Filling-room , the Curing-houſe, Still-houſe and Furnaces; All cut in Copper* (London: Printed, and are to be ſold by *Peter Parker,* at his shop at the *Leg* and *Star* over againſt the *Royal Exchange,* and *Thomas Guy* at the corner Shop of Little *Lumbard-ſtreet* and *Cornhill*, 1673), frontispiece; Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados,* ed. Karen Ordahl Kuppermann (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2011), 32.

The receiver was right to be suspicious; there were lots of opportunities for the governor to enrich himself at the proprietorship's expense. By October 1637, Peter Hay was in complete despair. Hawley had progressed from ignoring the receiver to outright thwarting him, leaving the poor man to worry that his employers back in London would blame him for his inability to do his job as instructed. He pled for the trustees to intervene on his behalf, but for the moment no one could intimidate the governor into compliance. The trustees wrote back in November and suggested that he "looke to make the best of your owne plantation," advice that the luckless Hay ignored.[358] In February 1638 the miserable receiver denounced Pearce to the trustees, and Pearce responded by openly questioning the validity of a commission authorized by the trustees and not the Lord Proprietor. By April Hay had sent several itemized reports that enumerated all the estates which Hawley refused to hand over to him. The receiver made himself so obnoxious that after an argument with Pearce over the receiver's right to sit in council Hawley threw him in prison, and afterwards Hay wrote to the trustees that Hawley was "our Gor of small judgement … is soe senceless that he hath not judgement almos to doe neither good nor evill." More contemptuous of Pearce, Hay denounced him to the trustees as "a President of mischief in this place, and loves you … as weell as the devill loves holy water." He urged the trustees to act, but a public quarrel with Carlisle had hamstrung their authority.[359]

The second Carlisle had not taken his exclusion lightly and had tried to undermine the trustees from the start. His first attempt to assert himself as Lord Proprietor had been to send his own agents to the islands in 1638, prompting the trustees to appeal to the Privy Council for help. The Council created the Committee for Foreigne Plantations, and that body claimed the authority to establish courts and appoint colonial officials over the proprietary prerogative. For Carlisle

[358] Bennett Papers.
[359] Ibid.

this was an unacceptable imposition. If the king and Privy Council overrode his rights, then those rights no longer existed. Revoking his patent was one thing but pretending as if it did not exist was detrimental to the entire proprietary enterprise. Whining to the Council about the Lord Proprietor was a foolish move on the trustees' part. Whether Carlisle controlled any specific operations was beside the point; he was the patent holder and the font of proprietary authority. Clashing with him hopelessly muddled that authority and enabled bad faith actors like Hawley to ignore metropolitan adventurer interests in favor of their own schemes. When a suit over the estate of a deceased resident of St Christopher reached the Star Chamber, the earl appealed to the Council and claimed that only he, the Privy Council, and the king had the right to arbitrate disputes on his islands. Since proprietary authority came directly from the crown, Carlisle argued, the English courts had no standing to override the powers elucidated in his grant. When that effort failed, he brought a suit before Chancery arguing that the first Carlisle violated his own patent when he entrusted the proprietorship to anyone besides his heir. Worn down, both sides eventually settled on a new arrangement in March 1639 that gave Carlisle more equitable standing with the trustees. It was a tenuous solution at best.[360]

All this squabbling for control in London skirted another salient issue, which was that the metropolitan adventurers –the merchants, trustees, and proprietor still hoping for returns on their investments in the proprietorship– trying to reestablish control over the Caribbean colonies lacked the prerequisite knowledge that could only come from real experience in the West Indies. The first Carlisle allowed his governors to adjust policies as local events required, rather than trying to issue uninformed commands from the metropole. The trustees and the Privy Council wanted to govern the islands from England, and when their ignorance fused with their fractured

[360] Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 107-108; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial*, 282-284.

authority it produced comical results. Particularly absurd was the Council's command to Hawley in 1638 asking him to facilitate the recovery of a debt supposedly owed to William Courteen's estate by his former estate manager, the elder John Powell. After listening to Courteen's daughter, the Council decided that "the petitioners Case (if it bee such as informed) fit to bee releeved" and asked the governor to provide "lawfull assistance and Countenance in the prosecuting of the recouery of the petitioners Goodes and Estate."[361] Perhaps the Council did not know that Hawley was in part responsible for Courteen's daughter's dispossession, but in any event there was little or nothing to collect. It seems unlikely that either Carlisle or Hawley would have permitted Courteen or the Powells to quietly plant in Barbados after the struggle over the island. Whatever Courteen's daughter recovered, it was not enough to satisfy the estate's debts.[362]

The disputes and divisions among the trustees, the Privy Council, and the Lord Proprietor continued to erode and obscure their own authority while emboldening their rivals. Carlisle had prevented this from the time he became Lord Proprietor until his death, and his loss was now acutely felt. He had been the nexus of a network linking king to colony through clean lines of authority, and without him that network had crumbled. There was no one close to the Charles to ensure the strength of proprietary authority or then use it to direct the agents responsible for colonial governance. In London, the king was disinterested and had allowed the Council to further confuse metropolitan authority, while in Barbados the governor ignored the trustees' efforts to wrest control of revenue from him. All this trouble invited a threat to the proprietorship unseen since Carlisle confirmed his patent in 1629. Other nobles were beginning to wonder how

[361] *Acts of the Privy Council,* 228.
[362] Ibid, 227-228; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 107-108, 129.

vulnerable the proprietorship was, and if the second Lord Proprietor might be frustrated enough to divest himself of the patent entirely. If he was not, perhaps he could be pushed aside anyway.

In 1639, three years after the first Carlisle died, Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, decided to advance a claim to Barbados. Warwick had purchased the rights to the patent for Trinidad, Tobago, and Barbados belonging to Phillip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and Pembroke, with an eye to taking Trinidad and Tobago from the Spanish.[363] The grant had not been used, but the sudden possibility of reviving Montgomery's claim to Barbados presented the opportunity for a much more profitable scheme. If Warwick could control Barbados, it would not only provide immediate revenue, but could also serve as a staging point for the conquest of Trinidad. The timing was fortuitous. Carlisle was in a mood to sell his rights to the island for whatever he could get, and the dissatisfied Hawley was open to declaring for a new proprietor. Allying with the Barbadian governor would have immediately given Warwick physical control of the island once his purchase of the patent was legally confirmed, thus avoiding the chaos that followed Carlisle's confrontation with Montgomery over who owned Barbados in the late 1620s. When Warwick made overtures to Hawley is not clear, but in September 1638 the governor returned to London to meet his new patron. By October Peter Hay had received communications from both Carlisle and Warwick that the sale of Barbados was a foregone conclusion. The trustees confirmed as much in November and assured Peter that he had worked out a deal with Warwick for them both. By January of 1639, it appeared that the intrigue was going to succeed. Charles thought that Carlisle had already hawked his possession to Warwick, and Warwick certainly believed that to be the case. To show his benign intent to the Barbadians, the would-be proprietor had already sent cannon, powder, and shot for the island's defense –something Hawley had neglected

[363] Philip Herbert's brother William, Earl of Pembroke, died in 1630. Philip inherited his brother's title and became the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

throughout the entirety of his term as governor– as a demonstration of his intent to reform the Carlisle proprietorship's unpopular policies.[364]

By March 1639, Warwick's plan was unravelling. After settling during the Chancery proceedings, the trustees and the Lord Proprietor had clawed back some of their lost authority and had determined to reassert control over Barbados. They revoked Hawley's commission and appointed Henry Huncks as the new governor, who left shortly after receiving his commission on March 16. Still in England, Hawley acted fast to stave off his recall. He took advantage of a bureaucratic error in a commission dated March 27 for the "Lieutenant Generall and Governor of Barbadoes" to regulate tobacco production throughout the islands that named him as that governor.[365] That the document originated from Westminster where Warwick held considerable influence suggests that the mistake was intentional, and that Hawley was able to persuade other officials at the port that his commission was valid suggests that there was still a great deal of confusion as to where metropolitan authority over the Caribbean colonies emanated from. Before anyone discovered the ruse, Hawley had was racing to Barbados ahead of Huncks with plans to finish the coup. By May the despondent Receiver Hay feared that Warwick would soon be the new proprietor, and he vowed to the trustees that he would not cooperate with anyone that did not have authorization from either the proprietorship or the king. As it happened, the trustees had already sent a letter to their receiver advising him that Warwick had withdrawn his claim to Barbados in return for the trustees' agreement to purchase all the munitions shipped to the island months earlier. When Hawley returned to the island in June and learned of Warwick's capitulation, he realized that he was dangerously exposed.[366]

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[364] Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 109-110, 139-140; Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial*, 286-290.
[365] *Calendar of State Papers Colonial*, 291-293, 305-306.
[366] Ibid, 291-294; Bennett Papers.

Hawley was now committed to a coup, whether he had proprietary protection or not. He acted quickly to shore up his authority on the island and formalize the plantocratic power base he had been building for years. He declared a general amnesty and opened the jails, ended the proprietary government's policies he had once implemented, and formed an assembly of the biggest planters on the island to replace them. This empowerment immediately endeared the former autocrat to the 766 men who owned more than ten acres of land –the requirement for enfranchisement– and allowed him to reconcile with former enemies. Futter, Hawley's loudmouthed nemesis, had fully supported his connivance with Warwick and afterwards sat as an assemblyman. In its infancy the assembly's power was limited, but Hawley was careful to follow the assemblymen's advice. More complex institutions began to appear, although the state offices created were far from just. The Alienation Office imposed a fee of ten pounds of cotton or tobacco per acre plus an additional twenty-five pounds to the "Clerke of the Office" to be paid by anyone selling their land, a policy designed to shake down failed planters as they tried to recoup whatever money they could before leaving the island.[367] Styling himself Lieutenant General and Governor of Barbados, Hawley had exchanged the authority of metropolitan adventurers for the authority of a faction of colonial adventurers who were beginning to see real money after years of a hardscrabble existence. Those men had no intention of sharing their success, and as their wealth and influence grew so did their assembly's power. Their state was created to serve their interests at the expense of justice, and they were happy to use it to check metropolitan authority and oppress their fellow Barbadians.[368]

Even in its infancy, the Barbadian assembly's existence called the location of sovereignty over the English West Indies into question. Bickering between the trustees and the Lord

[367] CUL RCMS 259/15/2 ff. 101
[368] Ibid, 101; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial,* 299-301; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves,* 58-59.

Proprietor was one thing, but a colonial assembly willing to recognize another proprietor as its sovereign was something else. Negotiation was returning to the West Indies, only this time it was a much larger-scale contest between metropole and colony. The existence of the assembly implied that the planters wanted to be governed by consent rather than coercion, and it troubled metropolitan authorities that they might be losing control of a colony that was beginning to show signs of economic growth. They had good reason to worry; Hawley formed the assembly to protect himself, but he was able to do it because the planters were readily cooperative. The authority of the metropole no longer overawed the colony.

The formation of the assembly under Hawley took less than a month and surprised the metropolitan adventurers, trustees, and the Lord Proprietor. Their constant infighting and confusion had finally resulted in a systemic fracture that could not be repaired. Since Carlisle's death the proprietorship had experienced a steady decline and loss of control, and now in Barbados that devolution had finally resulted in a crisis that the trustees were helpless to solve. They had no one they could rely on to do Hawley's job, and certainly no one capable of ousting him from the governor's chair without the support of metropolitan power to help him do it. Even with assistance from ships and men provided by metropolitan adventurers involved with the proprietorship, the man leading had to have the same qualities that made Hawley and Warner competent governors: competence and a willingness to use violence. Carlisle had one such man at his disposal, Henry Ashton, but despite the earl's rapprochement with the trustees Huncks was chosen for the mission. It did not take long for Huncks to show that commissioning him had been an error in judgment that all but obliterated proprietary control over Barbados.

As soon the oblivious Huncks disembarked his ship he found himself in a showdown. The only courtesy Hawley granted him was an audience with the sitting governor joined by a

select assortment of council members and assemblymen. The governor was blithely arrogant, and even had Hunck's commission and the king's letter of introduction mocked and seized. Afterwards the Barbadians informed Huncks that the only proprietor they would recognize was the earl of Warwick and declared that they would "acknoeledge nor receive any Governor but Capt. Hawley." They threatened Huncks with a pistol whipping if he remained on the island much longer and advised him to remember that "Sr William Tufton was wth a Bullett in his bosome" for offending their governor years earlier.[369] The overmatched Huncks fled to Antigua to escape imprisonment. For the rest of that year and much of the next one, Hawley governed in relative peace. He even felt secure enough to allow the irritating Peter Hay to stay and conduct whatever proprietary business he could, which included overseeing cargo bound for St Lucia.[370]

The trustees did not fully understand the degree to which Barbadian defiance had damaged their authority and continued with Warner's scheme to colonize St Lucia. The island was larger than any the proprietorship possessed, and settling it promised a reversal of the proprietorship's fortunes. There were numerous warning signs early in the adventure that should have made the proprietorship proceed more carefully. The English had not attempted to colonize St Lucia since Sen Johns and Nicholl's shipmaster marooned them on the island over thirty years earlier, and the Kalinago were no less hostile than they had been in 1604. Weak authority quicky worsened the situation. Warner had lost interest. He had not rebelled against the trustees, but he must have realized that the current state of the proprietorship made it unfit for new adventures. The trustees' incompetence kept them from scrapping the project when it became apparent that Warner was not willing to directly oversee it, and the way that they discovered the Lieutenant General's insouciance should have alarmed them. In November 1639, the St Lucia governor,

[369] BNA CO 1/10 ff. 78.
[370] Ibid, 78; *Calendar of State Papers,* 299-301; Bennett Papers; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 141-142.

Andrew Judd, complained to the trustees that he had written to Carlisle several times about the perilous situation he and what few men he had were facing. The trustees were annoyed that he had not contacted them sooner and wondered why Warner had not made the danger on St Lucia clearer before entrusting Judd with the governor's job. Undeterred by Judd's incompetence or Warner's indifference, the trustees pressed ahead and continued spending considerable sums on supplies intended for the island. The trustees wasted so much money that they were reduced to asking their receiver to try and offset the costs of the adventure through whatever could be collected in Barbados. If he could not do that to make the payments out of the proprietorship's holdings to preserve its credit.[371]

As St Lucia floundered, the proprietorship finally turned its attention back to the slow-moving crisis in Barbados. Between a preoccupation with St Lucia and the internal struggle between the trustees and the Lord Proprietor, the proprietorship had been too distracted to deal with the agitated Barbadians. Several months passed after Huncks's humiliation before they acted, but by December 16, 1639, the king had finally agreed to commission Ashton to take a small force to Barbados and finally dethrone the disobedient governor. In England, Hawley's wife pled his case before the king, and assured Charles that all the accusations from Carlisle and the trustees were lies about a man who had served his majesty and the first Carlisle faithfully for years. The Barbadian assembly also wrote to the king on Hawley's behalf, fearful that the next proprietary agent might try to snatch away their newfound power. Before Ashton could leave England, the king stayed his commission and sent word to Barbados that if Hawley assented to

[371] Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 147; Bennett Papers; John Nicholl, *An houre glasse of indian newes. or A true and tragicall discourse, shewing the most lamentable miseries, and distressed calamities indured by 67 englishmen, which were sent for a supply to the planting in guiana in the yeare. 1605 VVho not finding the saide place, were for want of victuall, left a shore in saint lucia, an island of caniballs, or men-eaters in the west-indyes, vnder the conduct of captain sen-iohns, of all which said number, onely a 11. are supposed to be still liuing, whereof 4. are lately returnd into england. written by iohn nicholl, one of the aforesaid company* (London: Printed by Edward Allde for Nathaniell Butter, and are to bee solde at his shop neere Saint Austens Gate, 1607), n.p..

Huncks's governorship and returned home to explain himself, no one would molest his property or person. Hawley ignored the king's letter. He knew enough about the value of promises in West Indian politics to avoid returning to London where he would be utterly unable to protect himself from the consequences waiting for him. Defying Charles was the only move he had left to avoid the comeuppance that surely awaited him in England, and that brought him to ruin. By March 1640, the trustees, Carlisle, the Privy Council, and the king all agreed that the defiant governor had to go.[372]

Hawley's decade-long tenure, from 1630 to 1640, ended with little more than a whimper. Ashton and his force were more than a match from whatever the planters could muster, and the assembly left Hawley to fend for himself. He resigned his government, "acknowledged his offence and submission," and returned to England a prisoner.[373] After everything he had done and all the people he had crossed, the greatest affront to the king and the proprietorship was the creation of the assembly. Hawley had weakened the ties that bound colonial agents to London by connecting the governor's authority to the power of a representative institution. Determined to shame the tetchy Barbadians, Ashton made the councilors and assemblymen who had sided with Hawley go to Peter Hay's house and beg forgiveness. Planters like William Hilliard, who had once told the trustees that he would recognize no governor who he did not think fit, meekly admitted that "or fault was great in takeing uppon us to bee expositors of the Law."[374] The ecstatic receiver eagerly helped Ashton sequester Hawley and Pearce's estates. Throughout August, Hay wrote frequently to the trustees gleefully recounting how thoroughly he was inventorying their property.[375]

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[372] *Calendar of State Papers Colonial,* 304-306; *Acts of the Privy Council,* 271-273; Bennett Papers.
[373] *Calendar of State Papers,* 312-314.
[374] Bennett Papers.
[375] Ibid; *Calendar of State Papers,* 312-314; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 21.

The victory was short lived. Hawley's submission ended the united metropolitan authority that had mobilized against him, and proprietary infighting resumed. Carlisle and the trustees were back to arguing over who held sway over Barbados before Ashton and the commissioners even set sail. St Lucia continued to preoccupy the trustees, and they sent another supply of ammunition and weapons bound for their new colony with Ashton. As for Ashton and Huncks, they were not neutral parties. Their allegiance was to Carlisle personally, and with Hawley out of the way they intended to hand control of Barbados directly to the Lord Proprietor. In September Peter Hay wrote to the trustees and informed them that "Capt Ashton and the gov: doth intend to take all the estates … and convoye them home privatelie unto my lord" before further disparaging Huncks with the same vehemence with which he denounced Hawley. Another proprietary receiver sent to assist Hay sent word that Huncks had encouraged the rumors that the trustees' men were extortionists and "too ignorant of the dischargeing of such a place" to account for all the proprietary dues properly. With their common enemy Hawley unseated, Carlisle and the trustees returned to their backbiting and previous ineffectiveness.[376]

By 1641 the proprietorship was in a spiral. In January, Charles signaled his displeasure by protecting Hawley from the metropolitan adventurers associated with the proprietorship from avenging themselves. The ex-governor paid a bond for his good behavior and received royal permission to return to Barbados where he could "quietly enjoy his estate in Land and Goods in the said Island without Impeachment of the said Serieant major Huncks or of His Majestys Commissioners… whatsoever."[377] If Carlisle wanted to confiscate Hawley's property, he would have to provide a full accounting of Hawley's debts first. Huncks soon faced problems of his

[376] Bennett Papers; BL, Egerton 2597 ff. 189-190; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial,* 308-309; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 152-153.
[377] *Acts of the Privy Council,* 273.

own. Ashton's reward for evicting Hawley was the governorship of the recently colonized Antigua, and once he left Barbados the planters stopped groveling and started agitating for the proprietorship to restore their assembly and lower their taxes. Huncks capitulated easily to their demands, which forfeited much of the Lord Proprietor's authority. There was really nothing else Carlisle or the trustees could do aside from embarking on an expensive and more permanent occupation of the island. The Lord Proprietor ratified Huncks's disastrous negotiations and by the summer the governor left Barbados. To mollify the planters further, Carlisle fired the detested Peter Hay, who wrote to the trustees again to whine about his misfortune.[378]

The resilience and power of the assembly came not just from the strength of the men who comprised it, but from maturation and method. As state offices and their procedures gained consistency with time, politics became more predictable, and plantations became more productive. Codified law defined the government, not the proclamations of an autocrat. The state itself became legitimate, an institution that was respected and accepted as permanent. It also redefined the role of adventurers and what an adventurer was. Over time, colonial adventurers became wealthy planters as they became less reliant on metropolitan authority. As metropolitan adventurers lost their authority, they came to depend on the Barbadian state for the protection of their property and the regulation of commerce on the island.

In 1641, Huncks was replaced by Phillip Bell, the former governor of Providence Island and a man well-suited to the political moment. Bell was sensible enough to learn the lessons of the past year and concluded that the best way to govern the Barbadians was to recognize their power and administrate effectively. He approached the job differently than the two previous governors had and committed himself to improving much of the island's sagging infrastructure.

[378] Ibid, 272-273; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial,* 316-317; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 21; Bennett Papers.

Bell formally convened the assembly that Huncks had suspended, and under his administration the institution became permanent. The new colonial government abolished proprietary rents and replaced them with land ownership in fee simple. Courteen had intended to recognize no landowner than himself and saw his colonists as employees, and the first Carlisle had won most of the Courteen men over by agreeing to grant them lands for a quitrent instead. By 1641, colonial adventurers had turned their rudimentary plantations into profitable enterprises, and the assembly's confirmation of their status as freeholders improved their credit with metropolitan adventurers hoping to profit from a large-scale planting operation. The assembly also concerned itself with maintaining order. It established a local system of courts and offices, defined misdemeanors and how they would be punished, and determined what fees to pay the requisite clerks and judges. Of all the laws passed, the most important was an act declaring that no executive fiat could undo a law enacted by the assembly.[379]

The Barbadians' triumph sparked a wave of jealously throughout Warner's Leeward Islands, and at a precipitous moment. After a battle over the salt ponds on St Christopher nearly engulfed the island in a war between the English and the French, Warner and the French governor agreed to place a moratorium on tobacco production throughout the French and English Caribbean. As the two governors probably understood that that would be an unpopular policy, they also made a pact of mutual assistance. By 1641, the English planters were debt-ridden and furious. The men in St Christopher formed their own assembly which Warner refused to recognize, prompting a contestation of his authority not seen since the 1620s. The trouble began when a planter named Sander Short insulted Warner's deputy governor John Jeafferson and the proprietorship's court sentenced him "to be burned in the tongue" for his insubordination. The

[379] Bennett Papers; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 22-25; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 49-51; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 65, 85-86.

court granted Short clemency, but shortly after his release he called Jeafferson a "murtherer and Traitour in open Court" and got himself arrested again.[380] The court believed the man to be insane and leaned towards sparing his life, but Short was too ornery to simply return to his plantation with his tongue still in his mouth and threatened to petition the king for justice.[381]

Warner's thugs snatched Short out of his cell during the night, brought him before a hastily gathered military tribunal, and hanged him at dawn. The sight of Short swinging the next morning prompted an armed uprising. Imprisoning, pillorying, stigmatizing, or whipping the man would have been fine, but to hang him over an insult was just too much. The revolt caught Warner off his footing, and he was unable to quell it on his own. The situation was so dire that Warner's son Edward had to go to Basseterre and ask the French governor to honor his pact of assistance with Warner. The French cannons outmatched anything the rioters could muster, and the resistance melted away. Warner did not bother with the tribunal this time and ordered an execution on his own authority instead. As with the men who assisted Tufton's attempted coup, several of the captured men "cast lots and one [was] hanged."[382]

Although Warner quelled the rebellion with force, his position was deceptively weak, and he knew it. In April 1642 he wrote Carlisle and the trustees, and frankly informed them that he had barely survived the rebellion and was at a loss as to what to do next. He advised them that proprietary authority was weakening, and he worried that the Nevisians were also ready to rebel over his refusal to accept their assembly. Before he sent the letter he attached a post scriptum to it reporting that Nevis had rebelled. Warner urged the Lord Proprietor and the trustees to respond harshly, but he was no longer the man to undertake such actions. Not only was he dependent on

[380] RCMS 259/15/2, ff. 113.
[381] Ibid, ff. 113; Bodleian, Rawlinson MC C 94, ff. 9; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 147-149.
[382] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 94, 9; RCMS 259/15/2, ff. 112-113.

French arms to keep order, but he had badly overextended himself financially. Even if he could kill all the planters who rose against him, doing so would have destroyed his income. Warner's adventures were almost over, and he knew it. He finally ended the violent upheavals in St Christopher by allowing the assemblymen to meet, although he managed to hold on to enough of his authority to check their power. He refused to free the three men he had imprisoned until they pledged fealty to "gods Viceregent in this place," but their acquiescence was performative. [383] Proprietary authority in London may have been rotting away, but Sir Thomas Warner was still a man of great stature in the English Caribbean. He remained as the governor, but he was wise enough to accept the political changes in St Christopher. For the rest of his governorship, he sided with his colonists' interests and gently rebuffed overtures from the metropole as best he could until he died in 1649. In the last years of his life, Warner's status was more akin to a community leader than the tyrannical autocrat he had once been.[384]

While the proprietorship was struggling to hold on to Barbados, St Christopher, and Nevis, the less developed Antigua and Montserrat inched towards total failure. Although both islands were settled by 1632, neither had more than a thousand people by 1642. The colonies were poor, the broke, and near anarchy. At the beginning of 1641, Antigua was in such trouble that at least two groups of settlers stole a shallop and a longboat to flee the island and escape their creditors. Planter debts were substantial, and most of them owed three years of back taxes. Ashton's policy soon became one of careful leniency, and he worked with individual debtors to work out a payment schedule. Anthony Briskett was in no better shape than Ashton. In 1636 Montserrat was sturdy enough that Briskett applied for the right to offload tobacco in Ireland for the same prices enjoyed by Warner, but when the Lieutenant General joined the French governor

[383] Bennett Papers.
[384] Ibid.

in temporarily banning tobacco production, Montserrat's economy suffered to the point that Briskett had to forego tax collection to prevent a revolt. Neither island had magnates strong enough to overpower their governor with an assembly, but the incoherent policies emanating from London left Ashton and Briskett at a disadvantage not faced by Hawley or Warner. Out of all the adventurers connected to the flailing proprietorship, no one was truly in charge. The two governors were completely on their own and consequently had to be circumspect in their application of justice to maintain control.[385]

With the onset of the English Civil War the crown found its sovereignty seriously contested by Parliament, which meant that neither royal nor proprietary authority could command obedience from its Caribbean colonists or their governors. Parliament tried and failed to fill that vacuum. After Parliament made Warwick Governor in Chief and Lord High Admiral in November 1643, he sent word to Barbados that they should declare allegiance to the Commonwealth. In January 1644, Carlisle wrote to Bell demanding that he refuse to admit Warwick's agents into the colony and assured him of proprietary protection. Before the ship with Carlisle's letter departed, the trustees included their own missive. They told Bell frankly that Carlisle had wanted to replace him and had even recently signed a new governor's commission, but that they had talked him out of it. This may have been true; Carlisle wanted to regain sole authority over his islands, and likely received overtures from Parliament promising to give it to him. The trustees admitted that they had also been in talks with Parliament and had received assurances that the proprietorship's authority would be maintained. They also assured Bell that Charles was still well-affected to him and to do what he could to reassert the king's rights, but

[385] Bennett Papers, Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line,* 155; BNA, CO 1/9 no. 83; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 17-18; Donald Harman Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1670* (Kingston: The Press University of the West Indies, 1997), 34-38.

they also advised him to respect Parliament's authority: "Governe these people as you have done by that lawfull autoritie which you have and if you receave anie orders from the parliamt mak use of it to strengthen that authoritie you have and not to abragat it."[386] Carlisle and the trustees were trying to navigate contentious politics in England and preserve the patent, but in Barbados the governor was so confused that he decided to pay lip service to metropolitan authority while ignoring it in practice. Barbados was just too powerful and England too distracted and confused to do otherwise.[387]

As sovereignty in the metropole became more difficult to locate several of the West Indians continued to maintain a position of benign neutrality, even to Charles himself. The Leeward governors had not been any more receptive to Warwick than Bell had been, but only three of them recognized the king's authority when John Ley, Earl of Marlborough, and son of the former claimant to Barbados, arrived with a proprietary grant signed by the king. Warner of St Christopher, Briskett of Montserrat, and the settler in the recently colonized Santa Cruz all accepted Marlborough's authority.[388] Barbados continued to refuse to recognize either proprietor, crown, or Commonwealth until the English Civil War resolved the question of sovereignty. Besides, England's inability to regulate commerce helped usher in a Barbadian boomtime defined by free markets and quick fortunes. The planters were in no hurry for the metropole to reassert itself. Richard Pearce, onetime enforcer of proprietary prerogative, was among the signatories in a confrontational response to Carlisle's overtures to reinstate the quitrents in return for lower taxes.[389]

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[386] Bennett Papers.
[387] Bennett Papers; *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 9, 1646*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1767-1830), 49-54.
[388] Santa Cruz only existed for fourteen months sometime between 1645 and 1649 before it was taken from the English by the Dutch. It is called St Croix today. See Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 151-152.
[389] Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*,151-152, 160-161; Carla Gardina Pestana, "A West Indian Colonial Governor's Advice: Henry Ashton's 1646 Letter to the Earl of Carlisle," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 60, no. 2

The earl misunderstood the nature of the Barbadians' complaints; their assembly had already privatized their property and lowered their taxes, and they would only submit to a metropolitan authority that recognized their assembly as a legitimate power of its own. Carlisle had nothing to offer them, and he never again regained control of his islands. In 1649 he sold his rights to Francis, Lord Willoughby, in return for a fourth of the colonies' future profits that never materialized. The English Civil War prevented Willoughby from realizing any gains from his patent until the Restoration in 1660, the same year Carlisle died without issue. Willoughby spent the next two years fending off other claims from Marlborough, the London merchants, and the Courteen family before Charles II finally reissued a patent that gave Willoughby the office of governor over the Caribbean for seven years and of Suriname in Guiana for life. Unlike Carlisle's patent, Willoughby's colonies were not his possessions and therefore not inheritable. He was entitled to a "moiety of the revenue of the Caribbee Islands for seven years" and required to submit "a true and perfect account upon oath to the High Treasurer of England or Commissioners of the Treasury" of all such profits. Willoughby received that patent on November 18, 1662, and a second patent to rule Suriname –which he named Willoughby Land– for life for an annual fee of £400 to the crown. The English West Indies now belonged entirely to the crown and the Carlisle proprietorship was officially dead.[390]

(Apr. 2003): 386-389; *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 6, 1643* (London, His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1767-1830), 290-293; *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 9, 1646* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1767-1830), 49-54; Bennett Papers;

[390] BNA CO 1/9 ff.. 83; James Hay, *A Declaration by James Earl of Carlile, Lord of the Caribee Islands, Or Province of Carliola. Manifesting His Care of, and Affection to, the Good and Welfare of the Inhabitants of the Island of Barbadoes, and of all Other People Under His Government* (London, 1648).; RCMS 259/15/2 ff. 19-36; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 5, 1661-1668*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1880), 91-95, 113-115, 134-137; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 210-217; James Alexander Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana in Guiana and on the Amazon, 1604-1668* (Oxford: University of Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1923), 172-173.

The rise of the proprietorship during the first Carlisle's lifetime and its slow demise after his death changed the history of the English West Indies forever. The earl's absolute and unqualified backing of his governors enabled them to promote stability and enforce the rents and taxes that Carlisle and his metropolitan adventurers demanded. Even in its early years of sporadic violence and unruly men, witnesses like Colt described a governor competently managing the constant squabbling that threatened productivity the collection of revenue. Colt also tacitly recognized that Hawley could do that because everyone knew what happened to Sir William Tufton. The decade of autocratic rule was ugly and terrifying, but the violence perpetrated by proprietary agents eventually transformed rudimentary colonial governments into lasting colonial states with their own institutional power.

The permanence that the proprietorship brought to the Caribbean destroyed it as colonial adventurers turned into big planters wealthy enough to shake off their dependence on proprietary authority in favor of their own. Fear had been the mainstay of colonial governance while the islands remained Atlantic borderlands, but they were maturing and needed predictable laws that protected English life, human property, and permanent land tenure. Hawley's slave law of 1636 only had the force of a proclamation that the next governor could reverse, but the assembly could codify, preserve, and protect those laws from executive interference. By the time Bell arrived, the Barbadians were no longer afraid. Their state was firmly in the hands of the planters who sat in assembly, and the new governor was intelligent enough to accept their colonial legislature as a fact and deal with it on its own terms. Metropolitan authorities had no better luck than Bell, and throughout the 1640s they were never able to persuade the Caribbean colonists to accept their offers. Although proprietary rule disintegrated in the 1640s as crown and Parliament vied for

control of England's colonies, it continued to be a thorny legal matter until Willoughby negotiated his own authority with Charles II.

Part Three

"This is the Generation of the great LEVIATHAN, or rather (to ſpeake more reverently) of that *Mortall God*, to which wee owe under the *Immortall God*, our peace and defence. For by this Authoritie, given him by every particular man in the Common-Wealth, he hath the uſe of ſo much Power and Strength conferred on him, that by terror thereof, he is inabled to performe the wills of them all, to Peace at home, and mutuall ayd againſt their enemies abroad. And in him conſiſteth the Eſſence of the Common-wealth; which (to define it) is *One Perſon, of whoſe Acts a great Multitude, by mutuall Covenants one with another, have made themſelves every one the Author, to the end he may uſe the ſtrength and means of them all, as he ſhall think expedient, for their Peace and Common Defence.* And he that carryeth this Perſon, is called SOVERAIGNE, and ſaid to have *Soveraigne Power;* and every one beſides, his SUBJECT."

–Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*

Chapter Five: The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados

Humphrey Walrond's 1650 coup was falling apart. He had received notice from Governor Philip Bell that he was to hand over his military commission and stand his men down or be destroyed by a much larger regiment advancing towards him on behalf of the Barbadian government. This moment had been in the making since Walrond and his fellow Royalists first used the excuse of a possible Spanish invasion to make themselves the dominant military force on the island. While the other Barbadians nervously watched, Walrond and his followers consolidated their political power by harassing their enemies and pressuring the aging governor to seat their leaders in his council. Governor Philip Bell favored the Royalists and initially welcomed their presence, but by 1650 the violent and resentful Royalist majority threatened the tranquility that the island had enjoyed since Bell took office. Since the death of Charles I in 1649, English colonies that favored the monarchy began to reconsider their position as satellites of a mother country. After Bermudan Royalists expelled Parliament's supporters from their colony, one of their representatives from Bermuda made a formal request to the Barbadian assembly entreating them to join a "League Defenſive and Offenſive" against Parliament.[391] James Drax, the leader of the Parliamentary faction, managed to defeat a motion in the assembly to join the rebellion and offered instead to allow the Bermudan diplomat to purchase whatever weapons and supplies he could. Incensed at Drax and the Parliamentary faction for preventing Barbados from joining its sister colonies in an uprising on behalf of Charles II, Walrond persuaded the majority of assemblymen that the only way to preserve the plantation economy

[391] A.B., *A Brief Relation of the Beginning and Ending of the Troubles of the Barbados, with the True Causes Thereof. Set Forth by A.B. a Diligent Observor of the Times* (London, Printed by Peter Cole in Leaden-Hall, and are to be sold at his shop at the sign of the Printing-Press in Cornhil near the Royal Exchange, 1653), 2.

and their place in it was to use its legal power to suppress anyone deemed to be a Parliamentary spy or saboteur.[392]

The idea of sovereignty in early modern England was at the heart of the disagreement between the Royalists and Parliamentarians as much as it was between the crown and Parliament. The sovereign's authority can guarantee the law because there is no power above it, and it can designate exceptions to the law through either legal or illegal mechanisms. A sovereign can pardon a criminal and exempt a commissioned official from legal consequences, but he can also suspend *habeas corpus* or dictate *ad hoc* law. This unparalleled authority can be necessary in times of national crisis, but it can also create a dictatorial regime where state institutions rely on obedience to the sovereign instead of adhering to existing laws and procedures. Still, sovereign authority was not permanent in character and where it was located could change if it was countered by an institution with similar authority. In the colonies, sovereignty –the right to suspend the law and coopt its institutions to preserve them– could only happen when governor and assembly acted in tandem. This was especially true in Barbados; when the conflict between Royalists and Parliamentarians reached a fever pitch, the Barbadian state broke down as competing authority figures tried to seize the power and authority of the sovereign for themselves. The result was an extreme level of violence not seen since the early proprietary years.

Walrond's 1650 coup attempt happened in part because sovereignty in Barbados had come into question after a decade of social change resulting from changes in the island's political

[392] Ibid, 2-5; Nicholas Foster, *A Briefe Relation of the Late Horrid Rebellion Acted in the Island Barbadas, in the West-Indies Wherein is Contained, their Inhumane Acts and Actions, in Fining and Banishing the Well-Affected to the Parliament of England (both Men and Women) without the Least Cause Given them so to Doe: Dispossessing all such as any Way Opposed these their Mischievous Actions. Acted by the Waldronds and their Abettors, Anno 1650. Written at Sea by Nicholas Foster* (London: Printed by I.G. for Richard Lowndes on Ludgate-hill: and Robert Boydell in the Bulwarke neere the Tower, 1650), 3-6.

and economic identities. Prior to the English Civil War, colonial sovereignty rested solely with the crown, and Charles's consistent neglect of the colonies –caused in part by his confrontation with Parliament– had led to a free-market economy that flourished in the absence of metropolitan authority. The flourishing economy attracted English immigrants looking for employment or land, and when they arrived they found little of either. These poor whites, small farmers, and indentured servants favored Parliament, even though there were some very big planters like Drax in the Parliamentary faction. Like the Levelers speaking in the Putney Debates, the lower-class Barbadians equated Parliamentarian ideology with social revolution, and they hoped that the establishment of the Commonwealth would lead to a reduction in class stratification that the plantation system was creating. As the king's army suffered defeat after defeat, Royalist exiles started immigrating to Barbados in larger and larger numbers and they tended to have enough money to buy their way into the upper class of big planters. They were also hardened veterans who despised the Commonwealth. Though the Royalists were not in the majority, they found sympathizers among wealthy Parliamentarians concerned about poor men and Parliament. When coup finally took place, many of the big planters in the assembly –regardless of Royalist or Parliamentarian sympathies– had become worried enough about the lower-class majority on the island to go along with it whether they liked the Commonwealth or not.[393]

[393] Gary A. Puckrein, *Little England: Plantation Society and Anglo-Barbadian Politics, 1627-1700* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 106-111; Nicholas Darnell Davis, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados, 1650-1652, With Some Account of the Early History of Barbados* (Georgetown: Argosy Press, 1887), 138-142; Joshua Sprigg, *Anglia Rediviva Englands Recovery being the History of the Motions, Actions, and Successes of the Army Under the Immediate Conduct of His Excellency Sr. Thomas Fairfax, Kt., Captain-General of all the Parliaments Forces in England / Compiled for the Publique Good by Ioshua Sprigge* (London, Printed by R.W. for Iohn Partridge, 1647), 69-76; Lanaghan Flannigan, *Antigua and the Antiguans: A full Account of the Colony and its Inhabitants, From the Time of the Caribs to the Present Day, Interspersed with Anecdotes and Legends. Also, An Impartial View of Slavery and the Free Labour Systems, the Statistics of the Island, and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families, in Two Volumes* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844), 138-140.

The struggle for control of Barbados in 1650 was the culmination of the lengthy process of West Indian adventurism that began when Sir Walter Ralegh navigated the Orinoco in 1595. Metropolitan adventurers were slow to take interest in colonizing Guiana, and the colonial adventurers who tried failed because of a lack of competence, authority, and capital. Sir Thomas Roe's Amazonian adventurers benefitted from his competence and the abundant natural resources found along the great river's banks, but the lack of authority proved to be an unsolvable problem and the English eventually left the Amazon Delta to the Portuguese. Carlisle's patent for the Caribbean changed everything. He could provide the order and permanence needed to attract enough capital to finance the development of a productive plantation industry. As Carlisle and the adventurers associated with him succeeded, the planters became wealthier and more prominent. When Hawley formed the assembly in 1640, he changed the way authority worked in the Caribbean. Without authority, adventurers were just investors, colonists, or both depending on where they resided. Sovereignty no longer came from the agents of the proprietorship or the crown, but from a political arrangement that combined the authority of the governor and the assembly into a single Barbadian state. There was little the crown or Commonwealth could do to intervene in Barbadian politics. Carlisle and his agents were gone, and neither king nor Parliament could muster the forces necessary to reduce Barbados to fealty.

Over the 1640s, the shared institutional sovereignty within the Barbadian state became the accepted mode of governance for bigger planters and by 1650 they had become used to this political arrangement and recognized it as legitimate. When the English Civil War finally spilled over into Barbados after the king was put to death, the bigger planters' fear that the Commonwealth would impose a new political and social order played out in the assembly. There was little constraint over what laws the assembly could pass, and the majority preferred the

imposition of hefty fines, imprisonment, or exile for anyone who would not swear allegiance to the Barbadian government. When banished Parliamentarians like Drax returned to London, they started agitating for Parliament to intervene and restore their property. This reversed the direction of authority yet again, as the metropole emerged from its civil war and the Barbadians descended into theirs. It was the Barbadians who were distracted now, and the Commonwealth was finally able to reassert a degree of its sovereign authority over them. Still, Parliament did not have the authority that the Carlisle proprietorship had once wielded, and it had to come to a new political arrangement when the assembly proved too resilient and too strong to overpower without occupying the island and destroying its productive capacity. From that point forward, governors sent by either the Commonwealth or the crown had to reckon their metropolitan authority with the power of the colonial assembly, which created an ongoing negotiation over sovereignty between metropolitan and colonial authorities that lasted throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The concept of sovereignty permeates through this chapter, not only because the Barbadian state was taking shape, but because the entire concept of sovereignty in England was changing. It began with the English Reformation and the Tudor suppression of the nobility following the Wars of the Roses, and by the Stuart era the idea that sovereignty should be vested in the crown was something James and Charles assumed. That assumption was shared by statesmen like Gaspar de Guzman, Count-Duke de Olivares in Spain, who saw royal supremacy as the best adaptation to the cutthroat European politics of the early seventeenth century. Yet this form of sovereignty lacked institutional cohesion; royal authority might have been supreme, but crown governed through the authority of its representatives. To the Stuarts and the Tudors before them, the centralization of authority and power did not mean the royal prerogative was

implemented by public institutions. It was theirs to delegate or sell to men like Carlisle and other American adventurers, in the same manner of governance by aristocracy that defined the feudal era. By the time Charles died and the Commonwealth formed, thinkers like Thomas Hobbes began to see sovereignty as a collaborative and institutional effort that did not necessarily require a monarchy. Under that theory, sovereignty could be monopolized or shared, and that meant that colonial governments could negotiate a place for themselves within the institutional framework of the English state. That could never have happened under the proprietary government, where all authority and power emanated from Lord Proprietor and his royal sovereign. Autocrats do not negotiate, they dominate; to do otherwise invites their government's collapse.[394]

The evolution of the ideology of English sovereignty began with the 1533 Henrican Act of Appeals and the 1534 Act of Supremacy. The Act of Appeals defined the state's ecclesiastical and temporal roles and created a historical narrative intended to legitimize the fusion of church and state that included some of England's great monarchs as well as the Parliaments that collaborated with them. England was formally declared an empire, one where the state was sovereign over the land and its people. This new all-encompassing imperial framework laid claim to royal subjects' bodies and souls and concentrated a vast amount of power and authority into the institution of the crown. The synthesis of church and state created legal contradictions that proved difficult to reconcile, but the two could be unified by obedience to the king as the head of both church and state. Still, this did not make royal authority absolute. After all, the Act of Appeals was a law enacted by Parliament, as was the Act of Supremacy passed in 1534 with explicit legalese regarding the importance of Parliamentary authority: "Be it enacted by authority

[394] Jack P. Greene, *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial, Political, and Constitutional History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 11; Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, Or, the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Common Wealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civil by Thomas Hobbes* (London, Printed for Andrew Crooke, 1651), 88-89; Georgio Agamben, *The Omnibus Homo Sacer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017), 231-242

of this present Parliament that the King our sovereign lord … shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in Earth of the Church of England."[395] The king's ecclesiastical powers derived from Parliamentary authorization, which implied that what Parliament gave it could take away. If a monarch failed in their spiritual duties to uphold the tenets of the church, then resistance to the crown was legitimate if sanctioned by Parliament. Obedience united the earthly and heavenly realms of England, but it could never completely merge royal and Parliamentary authority.[396]

The religious conflicts of the sixteenth century never amounted to a conflict between royal and Parliamentary prerogatives, partly because the Tudors could not afford to ignore Parliament and the legitimacy that English law helped confer. By the Elizabethan era, the institution had developed a keen sense of its own strength, and even the beloved virgin queen never held a Parliament that did not bicker with her on certain issues. By her death, which was also the end of the domineering Tudor dynasty, Parliament rightly considered itself an important organ of the English state. What facilitated the increasing strength of Parliament was the changing social status of the MPs in Commons. The suppression of the nobility that had taken place from Henry VII's accession forward left room for the rise of a new class of English gentry, which took advantage of seismic shifts in the English economy and the power vacuum left by the debased peerage. They were men of learning who developed rural political bases and served in local offices, and their ability to link the English body politic gave Parliament power and authority that it had never known before. Its importance in England had been refined by the changes in its membership, who demanded a greater hand in shaping England's policies.

[395] G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 355.
[396] Charles W. A. Prior, "Religion, Political Thought and the English Civil War," *History Compass* 11, no. 1 (2013): 27-31; G.R. Elton, *The Tudor* Constitution, 344-347, 355-356.

Parliament was no longer satisfied with implicit rights; by the coronation of James I, it demanded respect and recognition from the monarch.[397]

Throughout James's reign, crown and Parliament suffered from a mutual inability to understand each other. James believed sovereignty was located in the person of the monarch alone; a king was above the law and could disregard it if he needed to preserve the kingdom. Therefore, as the pinnacle of regal and legal power, and his word on religious and political matters was final. It was this imperious attitude that kept the king from ever finding a proper stride with Parliament. It did not help that James was boorish and obnoxious. His table manners were atrocious, and his sense of himself as a scholar was irritating. Parliament resented being lectured by the "great Schoole-muſter of the whole land" as to the relationship between the king and the law.[398] The most heated confrontations were between ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdictions within the English state. Writs of prohibition sought against the episcopal Court of High Commission annoyed a king who believed that allowing civil magistrates to stay proceedings robbed him of his prerogative to differentiate between ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdictions. This was more than a technicality. In a state where the crown was the intersection of the religious and secular institutions, the royal prerogative had to be supreme for the crown to retain its sovereign authority. It was for that reason that the king championed the rights of episcopal courts and advisers; he could choose them rather than have them foisted on him. James thought of himself as the safeguard of common law and the English Church, but Parliament saw

[397] Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*, 385-389; David Harris Wilson, *King James VI and I* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956), 244-245.
[398] James Stuart, *The Trve Laww of Free Monarchy, or the Reciprocall and mutuall duty betvvixt a free King and His natural Subjects* (London: Printed, and are to be ſold by T.P. in *Queenshead-Alley* in Pater-noſter Row, 1642), 10.

the law as a constraint on the royal prerogative and the power of appointed bishops. This problem of contested sovereignty plagued James until the end of his reign.[399]

The royal prerogative over foreign policy was one of the more acute conflicts over sovereignty during the years of quarreling between Parliament and the House of Stuart. Unhappy with their inability to intervene directly in matters of war or dynastic succession, the MPs attacked the crown's purse to gain a measure of influence. When James ordered his third Parliament, assembled on January 30, 1621, to request the money he needed to muster an army to assert his son-in-law Frederick V's claim to the Bohemian throne, Parliament was baffled. Influential Parliamentarians like Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, had recently seen their investment in the Amazon Company –a project that would have helped to fill the king's depleted coffers– squashed by the king because of Spanish pressure. They were amazed that the king believed he could fight a limited war in Europe while still preserving the viability of the Spanish Match. Nevertheless, the Commons granted the king the small sum of £160,000. This was not enough to maintain an army. The problem was that James had been dishonest about the actual cost of the war, which would have been over a million pounds in the first year. Rather than admit that the smaller amount was insufficient, the king took the money on offer. Parliament likely understood that such a sum would greatly limit England's ability to make war, and that may have been the point. The Commons did not trust the fickle pro-Spanish monarch in a war against the Spanish, even one in defense of Protestantism. The law could not restrict the crown's power over foreign policy but making the king return to them repeatedly to ask for more taxes gave Parliament some leverage.[400]

[399] Ibid, 10; Wilson, *King James*, 130-132; 258-261; 416-419
[400] Ibid, 10; Wilson, *King James I*, 416-421.

Frustrated with the king's incoherent plans for war, Parliament ratcheted up the pressure on the king by investigating his domestic policies and those benefitting from them. It was especially interested in the controversial monopolies and patents granted to royal favorites, which included James's favorite George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and Carlisle. Buckingham had funneled several unpopular monopolies to family members, and Carlisle had used a patent to reclaim lands whose use had been concealed from the king as a virtual license for extortion and bribery. The duke and the earl emerged from the investigations relatively unscathed, but the same cannot be said for Francis Bacon, the Lord High Chancellor of England, who found himself ensnared by the Commons' investigation for bribery and later sentenced by the Lords to a brief imprisonment, a fine of £40,000, and permanent banishment from office. In his desperation to hang on to office, Bacon counseled James that an attack on his chancellor was an attack on the king. James was not persuaded. The king had a stern view of justice and had no patience for lawbreakers but allowing Bacon's downfall was also politically advantageous. He wanted to mollify Parliament and if giving the MPs Bacon and thanking them for cleansing the government of corruption, then it was a price he was willing to pay. After a gracious speech and a few patents recalled, an optimistic Parliament adjourned for Easter.[401]

Parliament's hope to return to a productive session aided by better relations with the monarch proved unfounded. James continued to badger them for additional revenue to conduct his war in defense of the Palatinate without explaining how exactly he intended to spend it or how he reconciled the seemingly contradictory aims in his foreign policy. Parliament responded by granting a far lesser amount than the king wished, but in turn demanded a greater say in

[401] Wilson, *King James I*, 416-421; Roy E. Schreiber, "The First Carlisle Sir James Hay: First Earl of Carlisle as Courtier, Diplomat, and Entrepreneur, 1580-1636," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 74, no. 7 (1984): 142, 171.

English foreign policy. It was especially concerned with the hated Spanish Match, an issue that perfectly encapsulated the deep contradiction between religion and law that troubled the English state. The idea that the king could successfully suppress traitorous Catholics while marrying the Prince of Wales to the Spanish Infanta was absurd, and the possibility of Spain buying outsized influence with the English king was unconscionable to the English political class and dangerous to the national interests. For James, Parliament's intrusion into his negotiations for a dynastic alliance was insulting. In a fit of royal pique, he accused those who questioned the Spanish Match of high treason and launched into an invective that threatened their privileges of freedom of speech and freedom from arrest. Parliament reiterated its insistence on debating matters of foreign policy and asked the king to protect their lawful privileges. James admonished them to keep to their domestic purview. When Parliament protested further, the king dissolved it. By using such a heavy-handed approach, James had irreparably damaged an already tenuous relationship between himself and the chief institution in the English state. The king's constant bickering with Parliament weakened the crown's sovereignty and increased Parliament's confidence in its ability to undermine royal policy through control of the purse strings.[402]

In 1624, James reluctantly agreed to call what was his final Parliament, which was like no other in his reign. The ailing, moody, and dotty king opened the session with a confusing speech full of self-pity. He made another overture to the MPs to consider how best to broker an alliance with Spain, and in the following days Parliament recommended ending the treaty negotiations completely. He was all but ignored by Parliament and outright defied by Charles and Buckingham, who exploited the anti-Spanish fervor in the Commons to seize control of the government. This was not just an insult to royal dignity; the king was quite aware of

[402] Willson, *King James I*, 421-423, 440-443.

Buckingham's incompetence and Charles's softness, and he feared what would happen when his son adopted an anti-Spanish foreign policy after taking the throne. Antagonizing the most powerful nation in Europe could have catastrophic results, and the king knew it. Worse, Charles and Buckingham were inviting debasing the royal sovereignty and inviting future challenges to it from Parliament. Any lessening of the monarch's authority ensured that its continued erosion. James tried to protect the prince by reasserting his pro-Spanish foreign policy as a challenge to Parliament, but after the impeachment of the king's pro-Spanish Lord High Treasurer, Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex to break the king's control over the Privy Council James ceased to be politically relevant.[403]

One of Charles and Buckingham's goals for the 1624 Parliament was to find a scapegoat for the failure of the Spanish match, and they found one in Middlesex. The earl had utterly failed to adapt to the change in the political winds and was not shy in sharing his belief that war with Spain would empty the royal coffers. In doing so, he sided with a sickly king whose health deteriorated by the day. After he offended Charles, Middlesex found himself impeached by Parliament for corruption and mismanagement. Frantic to save himself, Middlesex pointed out that one of those offices he was accused of misusing, Master of the Wardrobe, had previously belonged to Carlisle. When Middlesex accused his predecessor of an untoward transaction, Carlisle reminded his accuser that he had been paid that money by Middlesex himself by order of the king. Middlesex apologized to Carlisle, but the damage was done; here was no longer any way for Middlesex to avoid the judgment of Parliament. A few days after his confrontation with Carlisle, Middlesex was stripped of his offices, fined £50,000, and sent to the Tower. James did try to save his councilor, but he was too feeble to overcome Charles and Buckingham. In an

[403] Ibid, 442-445.

intense argument the exasperated king shouted at Buckingham "By God, Stenny, you are a fool and will ſhortly repent this folly" before sternly warning Charles that he "would live to have his belly full of Parliament-Impeachments … You have contributed to the Weakening of the Crown."[404] Helpless to do anything about the catastrophic future he foresaw, the king shuffled off to Theobalds in early 1625 to spend the last of his days as the possibly the most unpleasant patient his unfortunate doctors attended in their lifetimes. James died on March 27, 1625, after suffering numerous complications that added a final indignity to the humiliations he had endured since Charles returned home from Madrid in disgrace.[405]

Charles's preference for an anti-Spanish foreign policy slowly changed the royal approach to the problem of West Indian colonization. Soon after his coronation in 1625, Charles commissioned Warner to colonize St Christopher, and in 1627 he began issuing patents to courtiers like Carlisle or Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery. He chartered the Puritan Providence Island Company, which landed settlers in Providence Island[406] in 1630 and incorporated the small settlement on Association Island into its holdings.[407] Both islands were provocatively close to Spanish territory. From the king's perspective, there was everything to gain and nothing to lose by allowing metropolitan and colonial adventurers to waste their own money on expensive enterprises that could add revenue to the royal coffers and irritate Spain. Yet Charles was also neglectful, and if the patent did not go to someone like Carlisle who was connected to all the courts of western Europe then a West Indian colony had little protection from Spanish ships patrolling their territories on the Spanish Main and the Greater Antilles.[408]

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[404] Edward Hyde, 39.
[405] Willson, *King James*, 442-447; Hyde, 39; Charles Carlton, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch, Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 1995), 51-52; Schreiber, "The First Carlisle," 57-58.
[406] Today Providence Island is known as Santa Catalina.
[407] Today Association Island is known as Tortuga.
[408] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island: The Other Puritan Colony, 1630-1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 16-18, 85.

In 1635, Spain cleared the English from Association Island. The Puritan grandees in the Providence Island Company had asked the king for help after Association Island fell, but the monarch responded by granting them privateering commissions –something Carlisle had been able to authorize or rescind on his own. This was different from protection. There was an informal recognition on behalf of all European nations that treaty obligations did not apply in the Americas, it was also understood that American problems could be solved in Europe if officials there had the will and the authority to do so. The Amazon Company's failure in 1623 or Carlisle's intervention with the Spanish ambassador after St Christopher and Nevis were sacked in 1629 proved that. Because Carlisle could negotiate directly with the Spanish ambassador, his islands were left alone. The Puritan grandees like Warwick in the Providence Island Company could not or would not follow Carlisle's example, and so Providence Island failed in 1641 when the Spanish chased the English colonists off the island. By then the king had greater things to worry about.[409]

Charles's called his first Parliament shortly after his father's death in 1625, and soon found himself in an argument over the toleration of Catholic recusants that continued in some form throughout his reign. The legal concept of toleration was based on the idea that freedom of religion was a privilege and not a right, and therefore the English state had the right to suppress offensive or heretical doctrines in whatever way it saw fit. Elizabeth, far more moderate than Parliament in her policy preference, had maintained her authority over the issue of toleration by choosing when to enforce anti-Catholic legislation. She was content with Catholic recognition of her authority that came paying the recusancy fine, and of course she found the money from the fines useful as well. James had a similar policy towards the enforcement of toleration laws, but

[409] Ibid, 16-18, 197-198, 338-340; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves,* 12.

he found that moderate policy harder to maintain than Elizabeth had due to Parliament's increasing power. His objections to Catholic recusancy –the refusal to attend the Church of England's services– were primarily political. James was interested in preventing rebellion, and he preferred a policy of containment over persecution. If recusants took an oath of allegiance that recognized his sovereignty and affirmed their loyalty to him, he was generally content to allow them to exist so long as they did not attempt conversions. It was this view of recusancy as a political rather than a religious problem that made James think a Spanish Match would have ever been viable, and his attempt to marry the prince into the Hapsburg dynasty had cost him dearly in England. Charles and Buckingham's performance in James's 1624 Parliament did little to alleviate Parliament's concern that Charles's policy on the enforcement of Catholic toleration statutes was as soft as James's had been. Until the king agreed to take a harder line on Catholic toleration, the MPs had no intention of granting the crown the funds it requested.[410]

Like James, Charles did not understand the intensity of anti-Catholic sentiment in Parliament or the effect it had on legislation. When he raised the issue of tonnage and poundage, he found that the MPs were more interested in debating the evils of popery. This befuddled the king. Since the early fifteenth century Parliament had granted English kings the right to collect tonnage, a subvention on each imported cask of wine, and poundage, a tax on all imports and exports. Despite the king's declaration that he intended that money to find a war against Catholic Spain, his Catholic French wife and inconsistent policy towards enforcing recusancy laws made Parliament suspicious of his commitment to true religion. For Charles, such an insinuation was tantamount to calling him a liar. He reiterated his demand for more revenue to pay for his war, an ultimatum that created an impasse to resolving the dispute. At the urging of advisers like William

[410] Carlton, *Charles I*, 67-70; John J. LaRocca, "Who Can't Pray With Me, Can't Love Me: Toleration and the Early Jacobean Recusancy Policy" *Journal of British Studies* 23, no. 2 (Spring, 1984), 22-26, 35-36.

Laud, a rising star in the episcopacy, Charles dissolved his first Parliament and raised his own revenue through forced loans. When he called a second Parliament in 1626, it was even less cooperative and ended abruptly before it could impeach Buckingham. It granted no additional revenue, prompting the crown to issue more forced loans to fund the foolish Cadiz expedition.[411]

The disagreement over religious ideology and forced taxation did Charles more damage than he realized. The Henrician Act of Appeals and Act of Supremacy had been intended to resolve internal contradictions within the state through obedience to the king as head of both church and state. To doubt the king's commitment to religion or the validity of his ecclesiastical policies was to question his legitimacy as the rightful sovereign. Trying to depose his chief minister was a direct attack on the king's right to appoint the main administrative offices of state, particularly the Privy Council. This threatened the king's right to commission officials, the legal mechanism on which all West Indian adventurism depended. Most dangerous to the king's authority was his inability to convince Parliament to fund his military misadventures. It did not trust the king's judgment. Money mattered; granting new taxes was to consent to the current state of the crown's governance and to recognize royal sovereignty, and Parliament had no intention of doing either until their grievances were addressed. The 1627 Five Knights case was about more than just the king's right to collect money without Parliamentary authorization or even his rights to imprison without allowing bail. It was about his legitimacy as a sovereign who could step outside the law to protect state institutions and the national interests, and they did not believe Charles had the competence or military strength to do so. For his part, the king never understood that consent the governed could not be taken by force from a powerful Parliament,

[411] Carlton, *Charles I*, 67-70. For a lengthier discussion of forced loans, see Chapter 3 above, 19-23.

and his inability to persuade the MPs to accept the royal supremacy resulted in a series of missteps that eventually led to his execution.

After Charles's attempt to raise revenue during his 1626 failed, he called a third Parliament in 1628 to again request financial assistance for his war with Spain. This Parliament was no less interested in its grievances over religion or the abuse of the royal prerogative than the previous two. It immediately passed the Petition of Right, which that declared taxation without consent, military trials of civilians, quartering troops in in civilian households, or imprisonment without cause to be unlawful. Their assertion of universal rights deserves more than a cynical evaluation; but it was the only argument that held any merit against the monarch's claim to a direct connection with the divine. The rights claimed in the Petition were innate and held by every man, and to violate them was to attack the divine will that was evident in nature. His office as head of the church and infallible interpreter of God's will meant that king inherently understood and respected those rights, and so his appointees and commissioners alone bore the fault for misrepresenting the king's instructions. Parliament had not only invoked the power of the universal to match the authority of the divine, but it had also chipped away at the king's right to appoint officeholders or commission agents to conduct the executive functions of government. The legal argument was as clever as it was profound, and the contestation of royalty never violated the underlying principles in the Henrician Acts: obedience. Unsurprisingly Charles chafed at its implications even though he somewhat unenthusiastically agreed to receive it. When he then tried to turn the discussion to the issue of taxation, Parliament brought up the tonnage and poundage Charles had been collecting without Parliamentary consent since 1625 and the king closed the session. When Parliament reconvened in January of 1629, the king launched a careful charm offensive to coax it into granting the controversial tonnage and

poundage. The MPs were moved by the king's sudden deference to them and agreed to settle for a law underscoring the Elizabethan settlement and a royal proclamation of a national religious holiday. Charles took it as a not-so-subtle charge that he had been derelict in his responsibilities to the church and announced that there would be a delay in proceedings. After a violent outburst in the Commons, the king dissolved Parliament, and did not call another one until eleven years later when another war required him to do so.[412]

The long interim between Charles's third and fourth Parliaments from 1629 to 1640, known as the Personal Rule, gave Carlisle the freedom he needed to rule his colonies with an iron hand. Parliamentary oversight would have made it more difficult to authorize Hawley and Warner to execute disobedient English colonists with impunity. Without Parliamentary interference, however, there was no need to worry about anyone accusing the earl of condoning and profiting from extortion and murder. The Personal Rule fixed the location of sovereignty, and by virtue of patent and proximity to the king Carlisle was sovereign over his islands. The earl also benefitted from royal disinterest. Charles saw patents as a reward for loyal service to the crown while delegating a responsibility that he did not care to manage himself, and so long as Carlisle did not bother him the king was content to let the earl have his way. For a monarch famous for vacillation and indecision, Charles's disinterest in West Indian adventurism during the Personal Rule made his colonial policies remarkably consistent.

In addition to his colonial policy, Charles was also constant in matters of religion. Presbyterianism annoyed the king greatly, and in 1635 he ordered a new prayerbook to be written by the Scottish episcopacy and modeled after the one used in England. In 1636, he expanded the power of the bishops and implemented rituals that struck the Scots as surreptitious

[412] Carlton, *Charles I*, 100-119; Edmund S. Morgan, *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988), 23-26.

Catholicism. Charles did not just intend to convert the Scots; he wanted their obedience and conformity to the Anglican church of which the king was the supreme head. Although Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, originally supported this idea, he also believed that the king greatly underestimated the ferocity of the Scots' reaction. Laud's fears proved correct, but in 1638 he advised the king to stand firm against Scottish protests. In this recommendation, the archbishop was wholly incorrect. The Scots chose war instead of obeisance, the Scottish bishops fled the country, and the conflict known as the Bishops War broke out. Unable to score a quick victory, the English found themselves in an inescapable quagmire that drained money and men, and by 1640, the Scots were invading England. Out of money and facing a disaster, Charles reluctantly called Parliament.[413]

Parliament had no intention of levying any further taxes without serious governmental reform, and the king had little choice but to accede to its demands. It purged the government of several officials it found objectionable, mandated that the king summon a Parliament every three years, and ended the ecclesiastical Court of High Commission. Archbishop Laud to the Tower, ting symbol of the crown's unpopular religious policies, was impeached and sent to the Tower where he languished for four years before his execution. Despite Charles's conciliatory attitude, or perhaps because of it, Parliament continued to press for further reforms and eventually overreached itself as it had in 1629. A rebellion erupted in Ireland in October, and fear of Popish hordes ravishing the English countryside swept through the land. Instead of uniting behind the crown, Parliament chose to present the king with a long and often petty list of grievances known as the Grand Remonstrance. Of all the listed complaints, the most offensive to the king was the insinuation that the Church of England was in danger of being sabotaged from within. Charles

[413] Ibid, 194-197, 214-216.

bristled at the suggestion, and admonished Parliament to rally with him in common defense against the Irish menace. The terrified English populace agreed with the king and rallied around him. Sensing that poor behavior in the Commons had once again made Parliament unpopular, Charles decided the time was right to move against the men he saw as the greatest troublemakers. It proved to be one of his greatest mistakes. On January 3, 1642, his attorney general charged five MPs of Parliament with treason, and the following day Charles marched to Westminster with a retinue to personally arrest them. Doubtless he intended a grand triumph when he stepped into the House of Commons, but he left the house a weak despot easily thwarted by his enemies who had fled shortly before the king arrived. Public opinion turned overwhelmingly in favor of Parliament.[414]

As both sides prepared for war, religion became the ideological language that served, as Conrad Russell observes, as "an explanatory tool for imposing order on an otherwise unintelligible mass of material."[415] There were Lords like Warwick who were committed Calvinists, but most of the peers that favored Parliament did so because they wanted to control who advised the king. This was less true in the Commons, but even in that house there were Parliamentarians who did not share the religious outlook of the majority in their faction. This political nuance was not shared by the commoners who had embraced the idea of universal rights and the oppression of Catholics, which was yet another example of political contradictions resolved by obedience. Englishmen who defended their natural rights from evil councilors misleading the king had not been disobedient, but Catholics who refused to take oaths of

[414] Ibid, 213-225, 231-235; John Nalson, *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State, From the Beginning of the Scotch Rebellion in the Year MDCXXXIX to the Murther of King Charles I, Wherein the firſt Occaſions, and the whole Series of the late Troubles in England, Scotland, and Ireland Are faithfully Repreſented, Vol II* (London: Printed for *A. Mearne, T. Dring, B. Tooke, T. Sawbridge,* and *C. Mearne,* 1683), 708-711.
[415] Conrad Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford, 1987-1988* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 21.

allegiance such as the one required by the Protestation of 1641 were. Still, no matter how supple this legal view was, it did not contest the royal sovereignty over the English state.[416]

Parliament's view of sovereignty evolved rapidly, and by 1642 it had contested royal sovereignty with the idea of popular sovereignty. The MPs believed that popular sovereignty offered a new theory of legitimacy for Parliament's claims over the English state by virtue of its claim to represent the people. As Edmund S. Morgan observes in *Inventing the Sovereign People,* Parliament realized that invoking a theoretical monolith it called "the people" meant persuading actual people to fight and die for its right to wield sovereign authority. The peoples' universal rights had come from God and as such had always existed, so a monarchy could only exist if it were created through the people. This again skirted the issue of royal divinity, and justified Parliament's claim to authority as the peoples' representatives. This ideology had to be taken on faith as much as the idea that the king was God's representative on Earth, and that meant inspiring belief. It was crucial then to speak a language that could inspire regular Englishmen to accept and defend Parliament's authority, and the language of true religion offered the best medium for motivating them. Easier still was appealing to popular religious biases; all the problems in England, whether they be cultural, economic, or political was the fault of treasonous Catholics and Parliament was the bulwark that protected Protestants from popery. Terrified by rumors that the king intended to lead an army of Irish Catholic barbarians against his own people prompted a new religious fervency among Protestant Englishmen of all classes and motivated them to take up Parliament's call to arms. Understanding the fault lines dividing the political elite, particularly the disagreement over where sovereignty lied, was not necessary for

[416] Ibid, 21-22; Ian Gentles, *The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638-1652* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), 51-52.

regular Englishmen who took up arms to understand the nuances of conflict. All that mattered was that they believed they were justified in resisting royal authority.[417]

Prior to 1650, Barbadians managed to keep the political schisms in England from spilling over into the colony. Whatever their political identity in England, Barbadian colonists believed in money most of all. Governor Philip Bell had been instrumental in retooling the Barbadian political system to preserve order and further commerce. Bell's policy was to work with the assembly instead of against it, a decision that made him instantly popular. The institution at the heart of the new government was the assembly, which was "the ſupream Court of all, for the laſt Appeals, for making new Laws and aboliſhing old … in nature of the Parliament of *England*."[418] The governor's council sat in the assembly in a role similar to the peerage in the House of Lords, while the two assemblymen elected from each parish thought of themselves as analogous to the gentlemen sitting in the House of Commons. The governor's authority was still paramount, and he served in a capacity that combined the power of the chief executive with that of the still uncreated office of the speaker of the assembly. The Barbadian political class may have thought of its assembly as analogous to Parliament, but that was a comforting fiction. Parliament was not made up of colonial adventurers turned planter magnates whose sole concern was profit. For men like Warwick who had once had interests in metropolitan adventurism, there were weightier matters to consider even if personal fortune was always forefront in their minds Still, the English

[417] Gentles, *The English Revolution*, 135-140; Morgan, *Inventing the Sovereign People*, 55-60.
[418] Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of Barbadoes: Illuſtrated with a Map of the Iſand, as alſo the Principal Trees and Plants there, ſet forth in their due Proportions and Shapes , drawn out by their ſeveral and reſpective Scales. Together with the Ingenio that makes the Sugar, with the Plots of the feveral Houfes, Rooms, and other places , that are ufed in the whole procefe of Sugar-making; viz, the Grinding-room, the Boyling-room, the Filling-room , the Curing-houſe, Still-houſe and Furnaces; All cut in Copper* (London: Printed, and are to be ſold by *Peter Parker*, at his shop at the *Leg* and *Star* over againſt the *Royal Exchange*, and *Thomas Guy* at the corner Shop of Little *Lumbard-ſtreet* and *Cornhill*, 1673), 101.

MPs and the Barbadian assemblymen did share one common goal of suppressing the sovereignty of the crown or its agents with their own supreme authority. [419]

Shortly after Bell's arrival in 1641, the newly constituted Barbadian government enlarged the regulatory bureaucracy but limited its authority by passing acts that standardized legal documents, created administrative offices and archives, set fees, and required that all officers be bonded to ensure against the endemic corruption of the proprietary years. Laws enacted during the previous years were affirmed –the most important being Hawley's 1636 edict that the enslavement of Indians or Africans was permanent– and proprietary abuses were repealed. Like the English Parliament, the Barbadian assembly claimed the right to direct "all Criminal, Civil, Martial, Eccleſiaſtical, and Maritime affairs."[420] While the secular and sacred were again combined into a single colonial state, their relationship was nowhere near as controversial as it was in England. There was nothing in the way of episcopacy, no ecclesiastical courts for the governor to lean on when civil courts rendered verdicts with which he did not agree. Indeed, clerics had little to no say in the governance of the island. As William Duke reported, obligatory laws regulating "the Uniformity of Common Prayer" and "Morning and Evening Prayers in Families" were "*entirely forgotten or diſregarded.*"[421] The assembly was less interested in the questions of church and state that rocked England's politics, but it did not completely ignore religious matters. For example, it required each parish to pay the minister in tobacco annually but did not prescribe a punishment for those who did not comply. The church could only seek the

[419] Ibid, 100-101; William Rawlin, *The Laws of Barbados Collected in One Volume by William Rawlin, of the Middle-Temple, London, Eſquire, and Now Clerk of the Aſſembly of the Said Island* (London, Printed for William Rawlin, 1699), 4-6.
[420] Ligon, *A True Exact History of Barbados,* 100.
[421] William Duke, *Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Iſland of Barbados, and other the Carribbee Iſlands, with the Succeſſion of the Governors and Commanders in Chief of Barbados to the Year 1742* (London: Printed for E. Owen near *Chancery-Lane, Holborn,* 1743), 23.

same civil remedies just like as any other individual or corporation; it could confiscate and sell property to recover debts it was owed.[422]

Even if the Barbadian government did not resort to fines or imprisonment to collect debts owed to the church, allowing ministers to foreclose on a man's plantation was not trivial. Private property had been an especially prickly issue since Sir William Courteen attempted to settle Barbados. Carlisle had been willing to rent the land instead of treating the settlers as employees as Courteen had done, but the earl did not shy from eviction or seizing property if the proprietorship did not receive its due. Once the assembly took power, the planters worked quickly to undo the metropolitan schemes that had plagued the colonists since their arrival. Land ownership was confirmed in fee simple, ending the planters' chief complaint against the proprietorship. If a planter did not own the land, he had little reason to improve it during the tobacco and cotton years when profits were more elusive. Freeholding improved a planter's credit, but it also allowed for merchant houses and family businesses to maintain their investments over time without concern that a landlord might not renew a lease. Most importantly, landowning bestowed enfranchisement as only a man who owned ten acres or more could vote. There were few men who met that qualification, which put political power solely in the hands of bigger planters. Since there were only two representatives allotted per parish, this meant that only a few rich men elected an even fewer number of assemblymen to the central institution of the Barbadian state. This decidedly illiberal body was the cornerstone of the oligarchy that dominated the assembly for years to come.[423]

The formation of the Barbadian government could not have happened at a more fortuitous time, and the years that followed were prosperous. Once Drax and James Holdipp

[422] Ibid, 100-101; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados*, 23 *Laws of Barbados*, 4-6.
[423] Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 24.

introduced sugar making to the island in 1643, adventurers took a renewed interest in Barbados. The inability of either crown or Parliament to assert any control over English colonies allowed the formation of free markets that brought swift and easy fortunes to those with the competence and credit to invest in sugar manufacturing. Newer colonial adventurers Modyford made the most of the situation by investing in already developed plantations. He spent £7,000 to partner with William Hilliard, one of Henry Hawley's compatriots brought to fealty by Henry Ashton in 1640. Hilliard's plantation sported five hundred acres, two hundred of which were dedicated to sugar. It was fully equipped with the proper sugar works and staffed with thirty indentured servants and one hundred enslaved Africans. Richard Ligon, another displaced Royalist who accompanied Modyford to work as an overseer on the latter's plantation, estimated that the buy-in cost for a new colonial adventurer in Barbados would be roughly £14,000. Despite that expense, wealthier men like Modyford or Walrond began snapping up as many tracts of land as they could find –well over half of the total number of tracts purchased from 1639 to 1650– and over 10,000 acres changed hands in the last part of 1647.[424]

As big planters expanded their plantations and production capacity, changes in land ownership and capital reserves accelerated and the wide chasm between wealthy and poor became visible. The island still had several small planters, and the conditions on their plantations were becoming increasingly reflective of the social stratification taking place. The homes on the small plantations were still generally dilapidated and of such basic construction that they became hotboxes in the midday sun. The main addition most planters had made to their residences was a sturdy stone wall to hide behind in case of a slave rebellion. Many of the planters considered building houses with high ceilings and stone walls to promote air circulation, with windows

[424] Ligon, *A True & Exact History of Barbadoes*, 22, 84-96, 109-116.

facing east to take advantage of the breeze. Many of the bigger planters like Drax had done this, and the large manor he called Drax Hall still stands in Barbados today. Those with less disposable income could not follow his example, especially after realizing how much of their workforce they would have to dedicate to the project.[425]

By the time Modyford arrived in Barbados, adventurism had become more capitalistic and less political. Adventurism involved political authority as well as financial resources because settling in the unfamiliar and dangerous tropics required strongmen to hold a settlement together until it could become ordered and productive. Not only did merchants like Maurice Tomson no longer need proprietary authority or protection to create profitable colonies, autocrats like Carlisle, Warner, or Hawley were an unwelcome interference. They preferred administrators like Bell who did not smother trade while they prevented anarchy, and they were much happier when contested sovereignty distracted the crown or Commonwealth from regulating their activities. Colonial adventure was also changing. Modyford represented a new kind of colonial adventurer, one whose wealth allowed him to buy into preexisting plantations already in operation instead of enduring the hardships that early settlers experienced when they fought Indians, felled trees, or worked underperforming tobacco plantations. Adventurism had become something different, a concept that became less associated with state authority than it was during the proprietary years. Even so, the term "adventure" continued in use throughout the colonial era although it became no less nebulous than it had been in Sir Walter Ralegh's day. According to David Narrett, by the end of the eighteenth century, adventurers were "enterprising colonists, military conquerors, or as overseas roustabouts behaving in a cavalier or ruthless manner." Narrett's definition suggests

[425] Ligon, *A True & Exact History*, 22, 29, 40-42, 88, 103, 116.

that there were some aspects of adventurism that metropolitan and colonial adventurers in the early English West Indies would have recognized, and some that they would not.[426]

Tomson and the other merchants who had once adventured with Carlisle and his proprietorship had since sided with Parliament in hopes of recovering the money loaned to the Lord Proprietor. That never happened, but wealthy magnates like Tomson had not stopped betting on Barbadian success. By the 1640s, that risk had been rewarded and no expense was spared in consolidating every aspect of their operation. They could outfit their plantations with the pricey equipment needed for mills and boiling houses, consolidating several facets of an operation into a single process that kept all the profit in their hands. The finished product could be shipped to European markets through their own networks, wringing further profits out of their commodities through greater transportation efficiency. B.W. Higman argues in "The Sugar Revolution" that it was the invention of this proto-industrial process that made sugar the commodity that transformed Barbados in the 1640s, not necessarily anything inherent to the crop itself; indigo processing is also labor intensive and requires large capital outlays.[427]

Keeping every aspect of production contained within a single plantation brought a greater demand for labor to the Caribbean than had existed in the tobacco era. Tomson and his colleagues were already heavily involved in the slave trade, and the ever-growing need for bound laborers to work the increasingly large cane fields enabled them to surpass their Dutch competitors in the number of slaves imported to the West Indies. McCusker and Menard estimate that in 1640, there were 500 enslaved African out of a total population of 14,000. By 1650 there were 12,800 Africans out of a total population of 42,800. That means that while the total

[426] David Narrett, *Adventurism and Empire: The Struggle for Mastery in the Louisiana-Florida Borderlands, 1762-1803* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 5.
[427] B. W. Higman, "The Sugar Revolution," *The Economic History Review* 53, no.2 (May, 2000): 228-230.

population grew by 300% over the 1640s, the total number of Africans increased by 2,560%. Whereas Africans were only 3% of the total in 1640, by 1650 they comprised nearly 30% of the people living on the island. By 1654, Drax had over 200 enslaved Africans working his Drax Hall and Drax Hope plantations. McCusker and Menard speculate that Drax may have invented labor gangs as well as the consolidation of sugar making into a single plantation, but that conclusion seems to be extrapolated from the substantial number of unfree laborers that he owned.[428]

Sugar brought a slow but steady change in the unfree population of Barbados. By 1647, Africans were imported to the island in larger numbers than previous years. The sudden influx of enslaved laborers prompted unofficial systems of control, but not they were not implemented in a systematic way. In this time of political and legal experimentation, the responsibility of controlling a large population trapped in enslavement or servitude fell generally to the plantation household. In Dunn's view, this meant that most of the early West Indian slave codes were products of reaction instead of foresight, such as the codified prohibitions against interracial sex on Antigua. While this observation is broadly true, the example Dunn provides –Hawley's 1636 proclamation that slavery was inheritable and for life– ought to be considered a major exception. Since the moment when Hawley murdered Sir William Tufton, the advocate for abused servants, the planters' arbitrary authority over their servants and slaves had been the bedrock of the Barbadian political economy. Any attempt to regulate it, even by the planters in the assembly, necessarily weakened that authority.

[428] Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 59-70; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, "The Sugar Industry in the Seventeenth Century: A New Perspective on the Barbadian Sugar Revolution," in *Tropical Babylons" Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680* ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 291-300.

Edward B. Rugemer argued in *Slave Law and Resistance in the Early Atlantic World* that the colonial state was the main tool of slave repression throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the West Indies, and that planter anxieties about the dangers of slave rebellions are reflected in the plethora of slave codes and offices that systematically repressed enslaved Africans. This was not true of the Barbadian assembly in the 1640s, which concerned itself with relations among Englishmen and the minutiae of economic regulation. That is not to say the planters were not concerned with slave rebellions; that fear could be seen in the architecture of small plantation homes with protective walls. They simply did not see managing their bound laborers as something the state itself should do. Hawley's proactive proclamation had nothing to do with slave rebellions. He was appealing to the planters' desire to commodify humans and preserve private property to shore up his own position after Carlisle died. The assembly that followed him did the same and concerned itself far more with the preservation of property and individual authority than it did with regulating the behavior of enslaved Africans.[429]

Even if the Barbadian planters thought their personal authority over their bound laborers should be paramount, they did recognize rebellion as an island-wide problem. Inconsistency in the way individual planters managed their plantations could endanger everyone, and a plantation torched in a revolt could quickly become an island-wide problem if the fire escaped the planter's ability to extinguish it. Aggrieved servants who spoke English and understood English society had become dangerous. Ligon was present when Holdipp's servants set fire to his fields and wiped out £10,000 worth of cane, a disaster that ruined the man who had introduced sugar

[429] Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 226-229; Edward B. Rugemer, *Slave Law and the Politics of Resistance in the Early Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 1-35; Rawlin, *The Laws of Barbados*, 1-8.

making to Barbados. Shortly before Modyford and Ligon landed, a servant revolt had been discovered through an informer that resulted in the hanging of eighteen men.[430]

These servants, who were generally young males, were not the "inscrutable population" of enslaved Africans described by Jason T. Sharples in his 2015 "Discovering Slave Conspiracies."[431] Nor were they the voluntary Irish migrants who flocked to Barbados in the early proprietary years, as that labor source had all but disappeared by the 1640s. To meet their labor needs, the planters purchased servants from England, Scotland, or Ireland that were bound involuntarily, and unsurprisingly the quickly became resentful and rebellious. As Hilary McD Beckles argued in his 1989 *White Servitude and Black Slavery*, "Barbados servitude was shaped not by the moral and social ideas of mutual obligation and responsibility, but by clearly defined contractual arrangements determined by market forces"[432] They were often treated horribly, so much so that Ligon remarked "The Commodities theſe Ships bring to this Iſland, are, *servants* and *slaves,*"[433] a statement that convinces Newman that servants were a possession like enslaved people. Still, Newman admits that technically it was their labor that had been commodified. That is an important distinction and may not be one that Ligon intended. Ligon's statement that "I have seen ſuch cruelty there done to servants, as I did not think one Chriſtian could have done to another" strongly suggests that at there were Barbadians who saw servitude as a condition somewhere between the categories of free and unfree. Walrond treated his servants far better than his slaves. He and bought them hammocks and bedclothes so that they would not have to

[430] Ligon, *A True & Exact History of Barbadoes,* 44-45.
[431] Jason T. Sharples, "Discovering Slave Conspiracies," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 3 (June 2015): 813.
[432] Hilary McD Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1989) 79.
[433] Ligon, *A True & Exact History of Barbadoes,* 40.

sleep in their sweaty work clothes and fed them meat two to three times a week. He did not do the same for his chattelized Africans.[434]

Ligon was less ambivalent about the status of enslaved Africans, who he thought were "Very good ſervants, if they be not ſpoyled by the English."[435] Ligon related three disadvantages that kept Africans from organizing effective resistance. They were never allowed access to weapons, they spoke different African dialects and had difficulty understanding each other as well as the English, and they were immediately subjected to terror so that "their ſpirits are ſubjugated to ſo low a condition, as they dare not look up to any bold attempt."[436] Drax enjoyed humiliating his Africans for sport and spent a balmy Sunday afternoon with Ligon forcing them to swordfight and chase ducks for his guest's amusement. Walrond did worse. Africans believed that they would return to their homeland after their death, and Walrond, frustrated with the high rate of African suicides, took grotesque action. He mutilated the corpse of an African who had hanged himself and foisted the severed head on a twelve-foot-high pole. After he compelled the other Africans to parade around it, he told them that "they were in a main errour" until they accepted that they belonged to him; alive or dead their body would never leave Barbados. Despite his desire to be in the company of such magnates, Ligon regretted the stigma and subjugation of the Africans and lamented that "There be a mark ſet upon these people, which will hardly ever be vvip'd off." Drax and Walrond may have clashed over which Englishmen had authority over other Englishmen, but no one questioned English mastery over Africans they regarded as base and inferior.[437]

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[434] Ibid, 40, 44-45; Sharples, "Discovering Slave Conspiracies," 813; Newman, *A New World of Labor,* 72-74; Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados,* 79.
[435] Ibid, 44.
[436] Ibid, 46.
[437] Ibid, 43-53, 82; Kupperman, *A True and Exact History of Barbados,* 5-7.

Though at a much greater disadvantage than servants, enslaved Africans did try to rebel. Just as with the servants, enslaved informers frequently told their enslavers about the rebels' plans before they came to fruition. After one such incident, some enslaved Africans led by a man named Sambo who had reported the conspiracy to the masters declined an offer of extra food and leisure time. It was an attempt at manipulation. For Sharples, informants tried to find "rough correspondences between masters' apparent interests, their own experiences with Barbadian social structures, and guides from the frames of reference that they found relevant."[438] When the masters asked why they had refused the reward, Sambo answered that "they would not accept any thing as a recompense for doing that which became them in their duties to do." However, they would be willing to accept "a voluntary boon .. be it ever ſo ſlight."[439] Sambo may have been referring to Christianity. In a previous incident, he had asked Ligon to speak to his master about allowing his conversion, but when Ligon did the master told him that "by the Lawes of *England* … we could not make a Chriſtian a Slave."[440] When Ligon protested, he was told "once a Chriſtian, he could no more account him a Slave." Sambo equated Christianity with freedom, and he was only too right in that estimation. His misunderstanding came from his ignorance of the concept of English law; likely his master would have permitted Sambo's conversion if it had not changed the man's legal status as a commodity.[441]

Despite the rapid pace of social and economic change, relations between Royalist and Parliamentarian prior to 1649 were surprisingly cordial on the surface. The Barbadians committed themselves to a neutrality and neighborliness that created a better atmosphere for conducting business. Until the tense months that followed the king's execution in 1649, they had

[438] Sharples, "Discovering Slave Conspiracies," 815.
[439] Ligon, *A True & Exact History of Barbadoes,* 54.
[440] Ibid, 50.
[441] Ibid, 44-54. Sharples, "Discovering Slave Conspiracies," 813-816.

observed an unspoken agreement that any man who cast aspersions about either side had to throw a feast for everyone that heard him say it. Just as important to commerce was the English government's inability to regulate it. No overture from the metropole could convince them to declare for Commonwealth or king. In 1645, when Charles heard that James Hay, second Earl of Carlisle, planned to sell his proprietary interests to the Parliamentarian Warwick the king tried to retake control over the West Indies. Charles decided to revive the patent rights that James Ley, first Earl of Marlborough, sold to the first Carlisle two decades earlier in hopes that Marlborough could restore proprietary and royal authority over the English Caribbean to what it once been. When Marlborough reached Barbados in 1645, a referendum of all eligible voters voted overwhelmingly to refuse his government and politely asked him to leave after making the excuse that they were uncertain about whether it was Carlisle, Marlborough, or Warwick who owned the patent. Including Warwick, a Parliamentarian whose claim to Barbados came from the Montgomery patent that had been judged faulty in 1629, was a laughable bit of creative legal thinking. There was nothing Marlborough could do. Royal authority no longer held the same currency, and he had no real financial support from metropolitan adventurers. The Barbadians were no longer drunken stragglers in a tropical borderland, and Marlborough did not have the power to force their submission.[442]

Undeterred by his rebuff in Barbados, Marlborough sailed on to the Leewards where he had a little more luck. Warner welcomed the earl to St Christopher, either in deference to Marlborough's royal patent or because he had previously enjoyed Marlborough's support. Anthony Briskett, presiding over the large Irish-Catholic population in Montserrat, signed on

[442] *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 7, 1644*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1767-1830), 578; *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 9, 1646*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1767-1830), 51; Bodleian Tanner MSS ff. 209; Bennett Papers; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 160.

with the new proprietor as well. Governor Jacob Lake of Nevis turned Marlborough down, as did Governor Ashton of Antigua. Ashton was sympathetic to the Royalists but loyal to the second Carlisle above all, whom he hoped would come to Antigua and make it the proprietary capital. The earl was amenable to that plan, but the proprietorship's creditors persuaded Parliament to refuse him permission to leave England. Ashton's proposal was well-considered, but it was a longshot. Likely he felt that backing Carlisle was his best chance to establish his own pre-eminence over the English Caribbean as Warner or Hawley might have done. Whatever the Antiguan governor's reasons for encouraging Carlisle to move to the Caribbean, it is not likely that the earl's presence would have made any real difference. Barbados, the most valuable prize in the 1640s, was no more apt to capitulate to the weak Carlisle any more than it was willing to bow to Marlborough no matter who held the patent. Without that island, the weight of the proprietorship's precarious finances would have crushed Ashton's scheme.[443]

In 1645, Ashton presented a rather complex business plan to Carlisle that included everything from proper organization of his master's household to the basic components of statecraft. He thought, despite the recent evidence to the contrary, that Barbados might return to the proprietary fold if the earl was prepared to forgive some debts. Warner might change sides again if properly induced. If not, the earl should be sure to bring enough armed men to enforce submission where it was not given freely. Ashton listed several occupations he thought essential to a vibrant West Indian economy, but he thought the most important professional deficiency was in the church. Like most West Indians, his views on the subject were practical. Carlisle had previously written about the importance of ministers, and Ashton wanted to implement his master's wishes. In addition to the improvements in morale and quality of life, ministry was a

[443] Carla Gardina Pestana, "A West Indian Colonial Governor's Advice: Henry Ashton's 1646 Letter to the Earl of Carlisle," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (April 2003): 387-388; Bennett Papers.

practical necessity in a place where the high death rate meant frequent burials. Like the Barbadians, Ashton did not associate religion with any theory of the colonial state. For him, any hint of Royalism or Parliamentarianism would only bring political instability. He did not care where the ministers hailed from and believed that preachers from New England were the best choice, so long as they were moderate and neutral men. If ministers made his boss happy, made the Antiguans less abrasive, and helped society function properly than so much the better.[444]

Ashton's designs for a renewed proprietorship with Antigua as its capitol came to naught. By 1647, the same year that Tomson and some of his fellow merchants pressed Parliament's Committee for Foreign Plantations for redress. The former proprietary adventurers wanted their loans to first Carlisle paid, but their greater concern was that the growing independence of West Indian governments –not the least of which was rich Barbados– threatened their property and all the investments made during the previous two decades. Cognizant of his predicament, the earl secretly leased his patent to Francis, Lord Willoughby, for a period of twenty-one years. Willoughby was officially made Lieutenant-General of the Caribbee Islands, Warner's position, although his contractual rights were much great er than the current occupant's. A separate deed of revocation allowed Willoughby to commission his own governors and replace Warner, Bell, Ashton, Briskett, and Lake if he saw fit. Carlisle evidently agreed with Ashton's prescription for restoring the ailing proprietorship, so much so that he was willing to deed away half of the income to a lesser noble who could managed the Caribbean colonies locally. The transfers to Willoughby were completed in February, and by March Carlisle's request to travel had been stalled and his creditors had successfully petitioned for a Parliamentary committee to investigate the proprietorship. Tomson and the other twenty-eight signatories to the petition failed to break

[444] Pestana, "A West Indian Governor's Advice," 391-392; Bennett Papers.

the patent, but they were able to prevent Carlisle from leaving England. By 1648, the political situation in London was deteriorating and neither the Commonwealth nor Carlisle possessed the authority or power to move the West Indian colonies from their position of benign neutrality.[445]

The English state's unclear authority was ended by a regicide fomented by extremists in the Commons and its New Model Army, created in 1645 to circumvent the aristocratic commanders who wanted to make peace with the Royalists. Unsurprisingly, the New Model Army recruited men who were committed supporters of the Commons and opposed to the peerage, and by late 1648 many of the soldiers were adamant that the monarchy should end. The problem for the hard-liners in the army and in Commons was that there had to be a trial even if the result was to be a foregone conclusion, and Charles had been a troublesome defendant. His defense relied on two basic arguments deriving from the imperial crown that combined the church and state in his person; to murder an anointed king was sacrilegious, and the hastily invented High Court of Justice had no jurisdiction to try or sentence him. Such a miscarriage of justice would destroy the English state and the sovereignty that legitimized it. The MPs in Commons, under the influence of the charismatic Oliver Cromwell, understood that their position was precarious and that their survival depended on the end of the monarchy. The whole thing had gone too far, and only death could bring it to an end –whether it was Charles's or themselves. Cromwell had many reasons to worry; not only was he on the wrong side of the crown, but he had also mustered an army filled with bellicose men who learned to hate the

[445] Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 120-130; CUL, RCMS 15/2, ff. 1-13; BNA CO 29/1 ff. 66-70; *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 8, 1645-1647*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1767-1830), 664; "House of Lords Journal Volume 9: 2 March 1647," in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 9, 1646*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1767-1830), 49-54.

Royalist forces after several years of war. If he failed to take the king's head, there might have been a place on the scaffold for him instead.[446]

The king spent his last days in reflection and prayer, and attended in his final hours by William Juxon, Bishop of London, Laud's successor. Charles, like his father, had always protected and championed the episcopacy in his last moments it did not desert him. In the morning of January 20, 1649, Charles woke in Whitehall Palace and prepared for death. The weather was bleak, the Thames frozen, and the dread throughout the city was palpable. Realizing that the scaffold would be cold, he asked his servant to give him an extra shirt so that he would not shiver and make his captors think him frightened. He averred "I would have no such Imputation … Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepar'd."[447] When it was time for Charles to take his last walk, Juxon fell to his knees and kissed his master's hand before his condemned master helped him up. The king comported himself with accustomed royal dignity, and once on the scaffold he gave a quiet speech that only the guards could hear. When the axe swung a collective scream erupted from a crowd ready to riot after their seeing their monarch's head struck off. Parliament's soldiers poured out of the sides streets, surrounded the crowd, and dispersed the crowd before it could become a mob. None of the men who ordered Charles's execution were there to see that the king had not shivered.[448]

Charles's death obliterated the royal sovereignty that had been codified during the reign of Henry VIII, and the Commons moved quickly to the vacuum of authority and power that followed. Shortly before the king's execution, the army had targeted nearly a hundred MPs for

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[446] Ian Gentles, *Oliver Cromwell: God's Warrior and the English Revolution* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 40-42, 80-83.
[447] Thomas Herbert, *Memoirs of the Last Two Years of the Reign of Charles I, by Sir Thomas Herbert, Groom of the Chambers to His Majesty, to Which is Added, A Particular Account of the Funeral of the King in A Letter From Sir Thomas Herbert to Sir William Dugdale* (London: Printed for G. and W. Nichol, Booksellers to His Majesty, Pall-Mall; By W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland Row, St James, 1815), 184-185.
[448] Ibid, 184-195; Gentles, *Oliver Cromwell*, 82-83; Carlton, *Charles I*, 351-353.

arrest and managed to capture forty-one and consigned them to Hell –a pub commandeered for the purpose. The remaining MPs, all supporters of Cromwell and the army, abolished the contumacious House of Lords and formally ended the monarchy and established the Commonwealth. Governance was to be overseen by the Council of State with Cromwell as its titular head instead of the Privy Council. The nature of Cromwell's authority differed greatly from anything that had previously existed in early modern England. His legitimacy did not come from authority as head of the church or head of state. It came from his ability to dominate the Council of State either through charisma or the threat of his military power. Under Cromwell, that central institution became the sovereign body in the government, capable of breaking or suspending the law in order to protect it.[449]

Changing political demography added to the political tension on the island, but the Barbadian political elite did its best to maintain the façade of neutrality. The Royalists had suffered numerous defeats in England, the most serious of which was the Battle of Naseby in 1645. After that loss, the Royalists retreated to a nearby fortification at Bridgewater. When Bridgewater fell, several of the officers –including Walrond– were taken to London as prisoners and briefly incarcerated. Many chose exile after they were released and left for the Americas with whatever money and property they had left. They resented their new Parliament-supporting Barbadian neighbors, and that feeling was returned. Still, as most of those Parliamentarians came from the powerless lower classes, the big planters found money to be a common political denominator that outweighed considerations of crown or Parliament; the gains to be made from sugar papered over a lot of ill will. Besides, the Royalists were outnumbered and very few of them managed to become assemblymen during the 1640s. While they focused instead on

[449] Gentles, *Oliver Cromwell,* 64-84, 104-107.

recouping lost fortunes, more Royalists like Modyford adventured in Barbados, the Barbadian state's ability to maintain political stability continued to strain. The "Treaty of Turkey and Roast Pig," as Davis referred to the unofficial agreement between big planters to avoid political discussion, was becoming untenable.[450]

The Royalists in the assembly began dragging their Parliamentarian allies towards an open confrontation with Drax's faction. After some of the leading Royalist assemblymen who claimed to be acting in the name of the governor formed a "Committee to Conſider of the Safety of the Iſland," they crafted an Act of Extirpation to banish the Parliamentarians from the island.[451] This was so politically explosive that when the committee members met with the governor and assembly to present the act, they swore everyone to secrecy in case it failed to pass so that no one would know who had authored it.[452] The act of extirpation was passed, but while another committee considered the best way to implement it, the moderate Modyford proposed an act of toleration that swayed the assemblymen to change their votes. This setback did not deter the more extreme Royalists led by Walrond, who managed to insert two porcupine provisions into the toleration act: all Barbadians had to take an oath of allegiance to the Barbadian government, and to "ſtop the mouthes of all ſuch as ſhal make Religion … the cloke of their miſchievous actions" and all Puritan religious activities were proscribed.[453] This was James and Charles's toleration policies turned upside down. Like the Stuarts, the Royalists were more concerned with outward conformity and loyalty to the Barbadian state than they were with the complete suppression of a religious doctrine.[454]

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[450] Davis, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados,* 40, 137; Puckrein, *Little England*, 106-108.
[451] A.B., *A Brief Relation of the Beginning and Ending of the Troubles of the Barbados*, 3
[452] Ibid, 1-3; Foster, 6-12
[453] Foster, *A Briefe Relation of the Late Horrid Rebellion*, 9.
[454] Ibid, 6-12; A.B., *A Brief Relation of the Beginning and the Ending of the Troubles of the Barbados*, 1-3.

Parliament's supporters among the Barbadian political elite could either conform to the laws it passed or abandon everything they had spent years building. They vehemently opposed these harsh measures and pressed the governor to set the new law aside and call for a new assembly. Control of the island's military and his position in the assembly effectively gave Bell a veto over legislation, and when it appeared Bell might exercise that authority Walrond blamed the offending proposals on a clerical error and had all the copies of it recalled. This excuse did not satisfy the Drax faction, who feared that the Royalists might try to pass a similar act. Drax petitioned Bell to dissolve the assembly and call for a new one, which the governor did at the next council meeting. This action backfired spectacularly. The act of toleration might have been unjust, but it was a law passed through the assembly. When Bell overrode the law, he asserted a sovereign authority that he did not possess. Over his tenure as governor, the assembly became the actual source of gubernatorial authority instead of the crown or Commonwealth, and Walrond had no intention of recognizing the governor's authority without the consent of the assembly. Bell had stumbled into a constitutional crisis and inadvertently gave the Walrond faction permission to respond with violence. An outraged Walrond began a propaganda campaign intended to justify the Parliamentarian's total ouster from the island.[455]

While its structure might have been modeled after Parliament, the ideology of popular sovereignty that mobilized Parliament's supporters in England was not found among Barbadian assemblymen. The Barbadian state existed to control and codify, not to engage in the often self-importantly momentous discussions of social contract or obligations the state and its officeholders owed to the people. The Barbadian assemblymen were unconcerned with anyone's freedom but their own, nor were they interested in government services inessential to economic

[455] Foster, *A Briefe Relation of the Late Horrid Rebellion*, 18-24; A.B., *A Brief Relation of the Benning and Ending of the Troubles of Barbados*, 3-4.

necessity or political stability. Part of that derived from the autocratic proprietary politics that characterized the island's government until 1640. In a place where the economy and order keeping depended on violence, fear worked much better than trying to organize drunken squabblers around principles they did not understand. Besides, Carlisle would never have tolerated talk of popular sovereignty, and anyone that showed such inclination was likely to find themselves in the pillory.[456]

The Barbadian assembly –as well as those in St Christopher and Nevis that formed afterwards– was the product of evolution, not a negotiated metropolitan sanction. Unlike John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay, Hawley had not arrived in Barbados with a prewritten charter that provided for an assembly. The Virginia Company had not originally intended to create an assembly, but by 1618 it had realized that was the only way to govern the colony without the confusion and incompetence that came from misguided metropolitan attempts to overmanage the colony. The fact that that the Barbadians formed an assembly against the will of the Lord Proprietor already showed an independence that troubled metropolitan authorities, particularly those who supported the crown. Codifying political ideas inimical to the crown was a needless provocation, especially when the outcome of the English Civil War was anything but clear. For that, they needed a state that supported capitalism and its tendency to categorize and commodify everything it touched. Most of all, they wanted the permanence that strong local institutions could provide. When Bell imperiled that by vetoing an act of the assembly, he left it with a choice; surrender or claim sovereignty. Walrond and his faction decided on the latter.[457]

Walrond accused Drax of manipulating the governor into overriding the law when he vetoed the act of toleration, and of being an agent for nefarious agitators beholden to a false

[456] Morgan, *Inventing the People*, 125-128
[457] Ibid, 125-128.

government. Parliament's supporters would be the ruin of the island and the good men loyal to the king, and the governor's upholding of Drax's petition signaled an end to representative government and a return to the gubernatorial despotism of Barbados's early years. Walrond spoke plainly:

> *Drax … is factor for the Rebells in England, and here is to vent his trade of diſloyalty, Rebellion, and Ruine; and to cleare this, if you looke upon the late Petition, there is the height of his charge of Roguery, not onely with a party to overthrow our Aſſembly, but impeaching the judgements of all the Iſlanders. Sirs, pray take notice, and dreame not, if the Devill can performe for you any good, then expect it from thoſe Imps of the Devill, not otherwiſe: for my owne part if no puniſhment extend to theſe Traitors, I must to exerciſe at Armes, to which I deſire there may be a redineſſe in you all.*[458]

This call to arms listed connected the Commonwealth to local political grievances and engender further distrust of Parliament. Disloyal Parliamentary rebels had destroyed good government in England, and now they were going to do the same in Barbados. Walrond assured his supporters that all was not lost, that they numbered in the hundreds, and he would gladly lead them in the fight for liberty and king. Every letter ended with "VIVAT REX."[459]

Expelling Parliament's supporters from the island was something the more extreme Royalists had always wanted, but Modyford's proposal for toleration had prevented them from implementing the "Monſter called *Preſent Baniſhment.*"[460] Now that Walrond had mustered a militia, he intended to go through with the expulsion of the Parliamentarians. Many of his targets believed he and his faction wanted to seize the windfall of valuable land, expensive sugar works, and a supply of unfree laborers that their exiled enemies would be forced to leave behind. When the deported Barbadian Parliamentarians began to arrive in England, they accused the Royalists of cynically fomenting the rebellion for that reason. As Nicholas Foster eloquently put it:

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[458] Foster, *A Briefe Relation of the Late Horrid Rebellion,* 26-27.
[459] Ibid, 24-34.
[460] Ibid, 6.

> The Biſops (in their time) were content with part of all, but theſe men will have all; all Bodies, all Eſtates, and nothing ſounds well with them but all; Oppreſſion, Tyranny, Slavery and Cruelty; whileſt they pretend reedome and liberty[461]

There was more than an element of truth to Foster's allegations. Many Royalists had overextended themselves in their recent adventures; buying into an already productive plantation was not cheap. No matter the veracity of Foster's claims, Walrond's fundamental objective was to achieve independence from the Commonwealth. Stripping Drax and his cohorts of their property was more than an act of political injustice, it was an unofficial declaration of a rebellion in support of the king and a direct challenge to the Commonwealth's sovereignty. The big planters in the assembly believed that Charles, the exiled Prince of Wales, would not hesitate to reward their loyalty by approving of their actions once they had delivered Barbados to him and recognized him as Charles II.[462]

Bell realized his political mistake too late. Alarmed by Walrond's machinations, he commissioned Drax to raise an army for the defense of the government against the growing troop of veteran Royalist horsemen. Walrond had gone from commanding one hundred to five hundred troops, and the violent rhetoric reached a fevered pitch. Foster reported that one of the Royalists said "*God Damne'm* they will ſheath their Swords in the hearts of all thoſe that will not drink a health to the Figure of II. and another to the confuſion of the *Independent* dogs."[463] The governor ordered Walrond's arrest, which committed the Cavalier leader to action. Although Walrond's first engagement ended with a disastrous assault on Bridgetown that resulted in his capture, his soldiers outnumbered the governor's men there. After Walrond agreed to negotiate favorable terms of surrender in return for his freedom, the governor allowed him to rejoin his men. With

[461] Ibid, 13.
[462] Ibid, 6, 12-13; A.B., *A Brief Relation of the Benning and Ending of the Troubles of Barbados,* 2.
[463] Foster, 36.

Walrond distracted, Bell sent word to the Windward Regiment commander Modyford to mobilize against the rebels. Modyford might have been a Royalist, but he was a businessman with moderate sensibilities whose primary concern was peaceable commerce. Once he received Bell's orders, he sent a force twice the size of Walrond's to bring them to heel.[464]

Modyford's split with Walrond divided the Royalist majority that once been united by their mutual resentments, but the compromise that resulted in an act of toleration instead of an act of extirpation shows that even at that time there were disagreements over how the minority of Parliamentarians should be handled. That Modyford deferred to the governor's authority instead of siding with Walrond suggests that there were also political divisions regarding the question of sovereignty, and it was not clear at all where Barbadian sovereignty was located. Was it invested in a metropolitan Commonwealth or in a colony that recognized the crown, in the office of the governor, or the institution of the assembly? The hopelessly fractured Barbadian state proved no more able to answer those questions without resort to violence any more than crown and Parliament had been able to nearly a decade earlier.

Desperate to prevent his own arrest as a traitor, Walrond threw himself at the governor's mercy, tearfully pleading that he only meant to protect the governor's person from nefarious Parliamentary machinations. The ruse worked. Bell dismissed Modyford's Windward Regiment, and with no one to stop them the Royalists returned to Bridgetown and captured him . With the governor in his custody, Walrond insisted that Bell consent to several propositions intended to lock the Roundheads out of power. The assembly was to be dissolved and reconvened by "ſuch men as are known well affected to His Majeſty."[465] Drax and his supporters were to be disarmed and hastily tried before an assembly made up of Royalists. Bell consented to every demand but

[464] Ibid, 35-39; A.B., *A Brief Relation of the Beginning and Ending of the Troubles of the Barbados*, 4-5.
[465] Foster, *A Briefe Relation of the Late Horrid Rebellion,* 43-44.

one; he would not agree to declare the island for the king. That would have been in open defiance of Parliament and an invitation for a naval invasion, and the governor could not bring himself to do it. The governor's refusal did not matter. When Walrond's assembly convened and tried its enemies, it levied heavy fines on them to be paid in sugar and exiled them from the island. That was sufficient to arouse Parliament's ire.[466]

The Walrond coup lasted for several months until Willoughby took possession of the island in August of 1650 after he leased the proprietary patent from the second Earl of Carlisle. He managed to oust Royalist Walrond, who had little choice but to accept a royal patent after declaring the island for the crown. The problem for Willoughby was that Parliament did not recognize the patent as valid, and without a separate commission from the Commonwealth his authority carried little weight. Willoughby wrote to England asking for a commission, but Parliament was not interested in granting any such request. By June 1650 it had learned exactly what had transpired before Willoughby's arrival. It had had its fill of adventuring intermediaries and had determined that its authority could not be contested by the colonies without a direct response. Parliament passed the Navigation Act of 1650 that cut Barbados off from trade, ordered all ships bound for the Caribbean to remain in port, and authorized a fleet to retake the island. Word was sent to Willoughby to expect nothing but "Fire and Sword, no Terms to be granted, and the great preparations of Force to ſubdue this place."[467] Willoughby was in a dilemma. The clash with Parliament again split the governing Royalist faction into moderates and extremists; the former wanted a reconciliation with England, whereas the latter wanted complete separation until Charles II was restored to the throne. Any chance for Willoughby to

[466] Ibid, 39-50; Ligon, *A True & Exact History of Barbadoes*, 100-101; Nicholas Darnell Davis, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados,* 151-176; A.B., *A Brief Relation of the Beginning and Ending of the Troubles of the Barbados,* 4-8; British National Archives CO 1/11 ff. 37-40.
[467] A.B., *A Brief Relation of the Beginning and the Ending of the troubles of the Barbados,* 7.

assert his claim depended on Barbados's independence from the Commonwealth, so he sided with the extremists ready to achieve separation through violence and led the island's defense against the English navy.[468]

The Navigation Act went much further than simply addressing immediate problems and included provisions that left no doubt as to the Commonwealth's sovereignty over all the English colonies whether they had sided with the king or not. It voided all patents and charters, including those from colonies like Massachusetts who were not in revolt, and declared Parliament to be the sovereign body over all adventurer corporations and colonial governments. The royal license to regulate trade and maintain order that royal patents and charters had given metropolitan and colonial adventurers disappeared as colonial governments were placed firmly under the authority of Parliament. Foreign merchants had to receive permission from Parliament to trade with England or its colonies, a measure that won the approval of metropolitan adventurers like Tomson and the scorn of the colonial assemblies. This sweeping legislation ended the remnants of Stuart colonial policy, but it proved not to be the ferocious upheaval that the language of the Act promised. A second Navigation Act was passed in 1651, but its restrictions on trade were not onerous and it did not restore the authority or metropolitan adventurers over the colonies. Crucially, it left the question of who would enforce the Acts and how open, which in practice meant that merchants and planters could continue their business unmolested if they did not provoke Parliament to action.[469]

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[468] Ibid, 6-9; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*121-134; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 1, 1574-1660*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1860), 341-345; Cambridge University Library, RCMS 259/15/2 ff. 1-18.

[469] Robert M. Bliss, *Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 57-66.

Walrond's rogue assembly angered other parties besides Parliament when it confined several prominent Roundheads to James Drax's house, including Maurice Tomson's brother Edward. His brother's treatment was infuriating enough, but Maurice had other reasons to side with Parliament. The proprietorship no longer functioned as it had under the first Carlisle, and its debts were beyond anything its revenues could pay. He and his fellow merchants who had once adventured with the proprietorship had long since abandoned it, but the patent technically remained in force. Parliament could dissolve it. Besides, Parliament was in charge and the proprietor was not. Tomson and the merchants wanted business to proceed, and they found disorder on Barbados intolerable and offered to help Parliament put an end to it. The merchants agreed to help enforce the moratorium on trade with the islands and suggested that they send their own ships alongside the naval warships commanded by Sir George Ayescue scheduled to leave London in late 1651. They asked Parliament to allow them to try to talk some sense to Willoughby and his cohorts before the fleet departed England, but Parliament refused to allow any negotiation before its fleet menaced the Barbadian coast. Submission to its authority meant that surrender could only take place under Parliamentary arms, although it did not follow that actual violence needed to precipitate the surrender. Ayescue was permitted to engage in conquest or diplomacy, whatever he thought best. To accomplish the latter, some notable Roundheads including Drax accompanied Ayescue. Perhaps the big planters who had enriched themselves without rancor just three years earlier could resolve their disagreement before everyone's wealth was destroyed.[470]

The Parliamentary fleet appeared near Barbados in October of 1651 and found a sizeable army of angry Royalists determined to let mastery over the island be decided by battle.

[470] Ibid, 6-9; Foster, *A Briefe Relation of the Late Horrid Rebellion,* 86; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 167-172; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial,* 341-345.

Parliament's victory was no foregone conclusion. Ayescue held the technological advantage, but he had less than a thousand men. Willoughby and his Barbadian army five thousand strong were prepared to wait out the ship's cannons, knowing that any attempt to storm the island would be easily repulsed. Locked in a stalemate, Ayescue and Willoughby engaged in correspondence while Ayescue quietly reached out to Modyford and former governor Hawley –now back in Barbados– to persuade or force Willoughby to surrender the island. While many of the Royalists had worked themselves into a froth over the confrontation with Parliament, a group of disaffected Parliamentarian and Royalist moderates grew concerned that an invasion would result in financial disaster. That Hawley, who had once tried to upend London's authority over Barbados, thought that a negotiated surrender was the best option shows how truly desperate the situation had become. Between an extreme faction of drunken Royalists and the ever-present threat of servant or slave rebellions, the island was primed for an explosion. After receiving assurances from Drax himself, Modyford quietly consolidated command over a third of the Barbadian militia and presented Willoughby with a *fait accompli.* Without a third of his forces, Willoughby was no match for Modyford and Ayescue together. He surrendered Barbados on January 11, 1652, and Antigua and Nevis followed soon after. Walrond and his supporters were banished from the island and could not return until they received permission from Parliament.[471]

Carla Gardina Pestana covers the Walrond coup and the Commonwealth's polite invasion of Barbados in *The English Atlantic in the Age of Revolutions* and argues that the king's execution was the main cause of the sudden political tension and the violence that erupted in 1650. According to Pestana, demographic and social conditions were not the direct cause of the

[471] A.B., *A Brief Relation of the Beginning and Ending of the Troubles of the Barbados,*, 4-10; Duke, *Memoirs of Barbados,* 28-29; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 1, 1574-1660*, ed. W Noel Sainsbury (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1860), 390-392; Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands,* 175-176, 185

contest over the assembly, but political and economic interference from the metropole like the passage the Navigation Act of 1650 intended to regulate taxation and trade. This fits with Puckrein's contention that the Walrond coup was primarily about Barbadian independence. Pestana argues that economics and monarchism were intertwined and nearly inseparable, and that "Royalism and free trade were closely linked after the act." This argument places the origins of the Barbadian confrontation squarely in the metropole.[472]

There can be no doubt that Charles's demise ended the peaceable relations between neighboring big planters on the island who identified as Royalist or Parliamentarian, but there were significant economic and social pressures in the colony that also made the Barbadian political elite anxious. Demographic changes –including the influx of Royalist immigrants– mattered, as did social stratification by race and class. Outright greed motivated some of the men pushing for independence; Pestana admits that many of the Royalists like Walrond wanted to redistribute the estates of wealthy Parliamentarians like Drax. Conversely, many of the poorer whites and indentured servants saw the advent of the Commonwealth as an event that portended sweeping social change. Still, despite the importance of local causes, the Royalists and Parliamentarians in Barbados saw metropolitan involvement or the lack of it as the solution to their problems. That meant that the rivals on either side described their own motives in the language of political and religious identity, but it did not mean that their local concerns were irrelevant or a secondary motivation. The moderate big planters and more extreme Royalists wanted independence to allow them to control the island, while the Parliamentarian big planters, poor whites, and servants who supported the Commonwealth did so for the same reason.[473]

[472] Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640–1661* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 100-109; Puckrein, *Little England*, 105-111.
[473] Pestana, 100-109

The Commonwealth, now in possession of the English Caribbean, found it difficult to control. Ayescue installed Daniel Searle as the new Barbadian governor before the fleet departed, but the Commonwealth's man was no more able to subjugate the Barbadians than Henry Huncks or Philip Bell. Willoughby had managed to preserve the assembly in his official surrender, and it had retained its independent spirit. Worse, Parliament had forgotten to authorize the governor to choose his own council when it commissioned him. The Barbadians remained bellicose and pigheaded, and used the council and assembly to frustrate the new governor at every turn. When Searle received a new commission in 1653 that allowed him to pick a new council and dissolve the assembly, the newly elected assembly proved even more intractable.[474]

That stance did not last long. Cromwell formed the Protectorate that same year, and as Lord Protector he was the undisputed sovereign over the English state, instead of the institution of Parliament. Although the West Indians recognized that he was not someone to antagonize, his government was far less autocratic and dangerous than the proprietorship had been. Not because Cromwell was a better man than Carlisle, but because the earl did not have to contend with powerful local institutions that consolidated the authority of big planters into one body. For much of Cromwell's tenure Barbados and the Leewards continued to be a headache, and the Protector saw no end of squabbling between adventurers on both sides of the Atlantic or contests to his authority. In 1655, he authorized an expedition to the West Indies with the intention of taking Spanish territory led by General Robert Venables. Cromwell ordered Venables to sail before the supply ships were ready and to stop at Barbados and demand provisions, arms, and men for an attack on Santo Domingo. This policy of confiscation was intended to punish the Barbadians for their continued murmurings of independence and their attempts to bypass trade

[474] Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands*, 178-171

regulations. The Barbadians vigorously opposed having their servants and supplies taken from them, but the assembly managed to resist Venables long enough to handicap his planned invasion. Venables finally stopped waiting on his supply ships after realizing that his army was devouring the provisions it had seized from the planters. He sailed on without about 4,000 of Barbados's servant population and lost most of them to a failed invasion of Santo Domingo and a subsequent plague outbreak in Jamaica. Far from successfully imposing the Lord Protector's authority, Venables had weakened it by subordinating Searle and confusing gubernatorial authority, and when Venables left he took the governor's authority with him.[475]

The Barbadians' uneasy relationship with the Protectorate continued throughout Oliver Cromwell's lifetime, and after his successor Richard Cromwell resigned in 1659 the fragile governing Council of State received a smoothly worded letter of congratulations from Searle and his advisory council –whose membership included Hawley. Searle had gone a bit native over his years in office and had long since sided with the Barbadian assembly over Parliament. It was clear to the governor and his council that the Protectorate was collapsing, and the return of monarchy was a highly likely possibility. The Barbadians were pleased to officially recognize the ineffectual Council "who, we have good cause to believe, will retain the native lustre and beauty of government."[476] This missive suggests a greater unity on the part of those who wrote it

[475] Harlow, *A History of Barbados*, 106-115. Williamson, *Early English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon, 1604-1668* (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1923), 157-166, 174-176. Cromwell had similar difficulties in controlling the colony of Suriname, but the historical record is so incomplete regarding that colony during the interregnum that little is known about what transpired there. It was founded in 1652 under James Holdipp, the Commonwealth's appointed governor. He evidently conducted himself as a tyrant, and after he fled the colony in 1654 Cromwell never replaced him. There was no attempt to restore Suriname to metropolitan control until it was patented to Willoughby after the Restoration. By that time, the colony had its own assembly, which resisted Willoughby fiercely.

[476] *Calendar of State Papers Colonial*, 475-477.

rather than those to whom it was addressed; the big planters had reformed their previous consensus from the 1640s, one that saw politics as the means to economic ends.[477]

The degradation of Searle's commission shows that the problem of unclear authority continued long after the adventurers who attempted colonies in Guiana and the Caribbean disappeared. Lack of royal license prevented any of the English enterprises in Guiana during James's reign from succeeding, even when they already as productive as Roe's Amazonian settlers. That problem was not immediately resolved when Charles took the throne, and he spent four years from the time he commissioned Warner in 1625 to his final confirmation of Carlisle's patent in 1629. Once that happened, everything changed. The earl's sovereign authority gave his colonies the legal recognition his metropolitan adventurers wanted and the physical control that his ruthless governors and colonial adventurers brought to the Caribbean colonies at sword point. Governors like Warner and Hawley kept order so well that they unintentionally laid the groundwork for colonial state formation and local institutional stability. Hardnosed adventurers had succeeded in gaining the permanence and control they wanted, but in achieving the former they lost the latter.

After Carlisle's death, proprietary sovereignty became unclear at a time when local institutions came into existence. This was worse for London authorities than simple royal disinterest; the proprietorship had forfeited sovereignty when it proved unable to muster any real power to match its dwindling authority. While the English Civil War distracted crown and Parliament, the Barbadians enjoyed an informal sovereignty created by basing gubernatorial authority on the power of the assembly. This arrangement ultimately failed because the social, political, and economic changes that occurred between 1641 and 1649 outpaced the immature

[477] Ibid, 475-477.

Barbadian government's ability to reconcile them. Still, even the violent conflict over the issue of sovereignty that defined the Walrond coup attempt did not destroy the institution at the heart of the conflict. When the conflict abated and the assembly reconvened, it changed its approach to the contested sovereignty between the metropole and colony by trading an aloof posture for an antagonistic one. Barbadian state power effectively prevented the metropole from restoring its sovereignty without outright military occupation that could not be conducted indefinitely –as Venables discovered. After the Commonwealth finally restored metropolitan sovereignty after Willoughby surrendered Barbados in 1652, it lost that sovereignty three years later when the incompetent Venables blundered his way through the Caribbean before returning to England in disgrace. From that point forward, the continual contest over the balance of metropolitan authority and state power continued to be a defining feature of West Indian politics for the rest of the colonial era.

Conclusion: Ralegh and Doncaster

On October 29, 1618, James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, and later Earl of Carlisle, took his seat with the other lords behind a window overlooking Tower Hill to witness Sir Walter Ralegh's execution.[478] Although he was not officially under suspicion, Doncaster may have felt compelled to attend after he and George, Lord Carew, were accused by Ralegh's jailer, Sir Lewis Stukely, of attempting to help Ralegh flee to France. The viscount had known Ralegh for some time. The previous year Doncaster had married the daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, against the latter's initial objections. Ralegh and Northumberland had been neighbors in the Tower, and it is possible that Ralegh had helped smooth things over with Doncaster's angry father-in-law. Doncaster had aided Ralegh's 1618 misadventure to the Orinoco, and his relationship with the French king made him one of the few Englishmen who could secure permission to shelter Ralegh in France. Curiously, French agents visited Ralegh while he was confined to house arrest under Stukeley's supervision, which the latter immediately reported. Likely they were not sent by Doncaster, who would not have been so foolish as to send French agents to visit a man under constant surveillance, but they may have acted on their own initiative after the viscount confidentially contacted them. If Doncaster did try to save a friend from a death sentence, it was an incredible deviation from his pattern as someone as the king's man and dependent on royal favor for his income. Ralegh, who once envisioned an imperial collaboration between Englishman and Indian, ironically and unknowingly saved the man who countenanced the execution of Englishmen and the enslavement of indigenous Americans.[479]

[478] Doncaster later became the Earl of Carlisle in 1623.
[479] Vincent Todd Harlow, *Ralegh's Last Voyage: Being an account drawn out of contemporary letters and relations, both Spanish and English, of which the most part are now for the first time made public, concerning the voyage of Sir Walter Ralegh, knight, to Guiana in the year 1617 and the fatal consequences of the same* (London: Argonaut

Ralegh walked towards the scaffold smiling. When he turned to address the small crowd present to witness his execution, he first acknowledged the lords behind the window and told them that "I thanke god that I am delivered out of darkness to die in the Light."[480] He then spoke to all present and swore he had never planned to abscond to France nor consented to the French agents' overtures to help him flee. He fiercely denied that Carew or Doncaster contrived to aid his escape, which may well have been a benevolent lie. Ralegh was a man with a code; he was loyal to his friends, and he did not want to die as some pitiful wretch willing to say anything or turn on anyone to save himself. Like Charles in 1649, Ralegh died with such dignity that even the Spanish agent observing praised his bravery. The public outcry that followed the execution was intense, and Sir Walter Ralegh was mourned throughout the land. As for Sir Lewis "Judas" Stukeley, he was accused soon afterwards of "clipping coin" and incarcerated in the Tower.[481] The king pardoned him, but the English people did not. They finally hounded him to Lundy Island, where he died in 1620 as a broken man suffering fits of lunacy. When the Earl of Carlisle, as Viscount Doncaster was later known, died in 1636, his procession through London was so sparsely attended that even his own son was absent. There is no better contrast between Ralegh and Carlisle than the public response to their deaths[482]

Adventurism in the West Indies began as an ill-defined enterprise, and there was little separation between metropolitan and colonial adventurers. Ralegh saw himself as both explorer and colonizer; a man who could secure royal license for an adventure, acquire the necessary funding, and then lead it himself. He did not have a clear business plan with defined goals

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Press, 1932), 90-91, 306; Arthur Cayley, *The Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, Knt, In Two Volumes, Vol. 2* (London: Printed for Cadell and Davies, in the Strand, 1805), 78-82; BL Harley 39 ff. 361-364.

[480] BL MS Harleian 39, ff. 361.

[481] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reign of James I, 1619-1623 Preserved by the State Papers Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office,* ed. Mary Anne Everett Greene (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858), 8.

[482] Ibid, 2, 8, 19; BL MS Harleian 39, ff. 360-364; Harlow, *Ralegh's Last Voyage,* 90-91, 314-315.

beyond an Elizabethan preoccupation with gold and glory, and he struggled to adjust his purpose when they were not forthcoming. Even after Dutch and English merchants approached him with schemes for trading or planting, it took Ralegh a few years to warm up to the idea that commerce was more likely to bring Guianan wealth instead of a fanciful golden city. After his 1595 conquest of Trinidad received little fanfare from a queen disappointed by the absence of gold, he could not abandon his belief –even twenty-three years later– that the Orinoco could fulfill all personal and political ambitions. His high intelligence disguised an absence of practicality; Ralegh would have made a poor proprietor and even poorer proprietary governor. Carlisle and his adventurers did not contribute their own resources to plant West Indian colonies for the benefit of the English state, they used state resources to plant West Indian colonies that primarily benefitted them. They had individual schemes for planting colonies, not grand designs for empire. Ralegh was a generalist at a moment where the pressures of early-modern capitalism rewarded specialists, and he failed because he could not adapt. Carlisle succeeded because he created a network comprised of two types of individuals competent in their individual tasks; metropolitan adventurers with recourse to investment capital, state power, and royal authority from London, and colonial adventures who wielded those resources overseas.

The process of specialization took decades of experimentation to refine, and the failures in Guiana were a part of that development. Sir Oliphe and Charles Leigh separated themselves into metropolitan and colonial roles for their 1604 Wiapoco adventure, but they badly misjudged the number of men it would have taken to build a plantation in the middle of a Guinan jungle, and the capital they raised was nowhere large enough to provide sufficient finance. Until he died from disease in 1605, Leigh had reconciled himself to operating a trading factory instead of planting. Robert Harcourt's 1609 scheme to place trading factories on the Wiapoco and the other

river mouths in the Amapa region was more practical, but lack of investor interest eventually killed the project. Like Ralegh, Leigh and Harcourt did not have precise plans for achieving their objectives. They lacked the authority and power that came from partnership with metropolitan adventurers with connections to the crown who were willing to invest men and material into a new colony. Without that support their adventures were necessarily limited in scope. There was money in trading tropical commodities to be sure, but there was a great deal more in planting tobacco, cotton, or sugar.

Sir Thomas Roe's settlers in the Amazon were the first to establish profitable tobacco plantations in 1611 –five years before tobacco came to Virginia. Roe kept the merchant ships like his own *Lyons Clawe* returning regularly to exchange a cargo of fresh supplies for a cargo of tobacco and other tropical commodities like annatto. The environment was healthy, the land was plentiful, and the local economy provided their labor needs, and because of that the Amazonian settlers operated for nearly a decade without metropolitan power or authority transmitted through Roe. That meant that settlements organized around their own leaders, men like Charles Parker or Bernard O'Brien who tended to be men of charisma and ability and exercised a form of negotiated authority that was far less oppressive than the coercive authority of the later Caribbean societies. Yet without commission or patent, the Amazon settlements could never be permanent colonies. Roe's lack of authority was also a lack of protection, and his quiet planting activities ended when the Portuguese finally decided to oust the English, Irish, and Dutch settlers from the Amazon.

The colonial adventurers most responsible for settling the early English Caribbean –Sir Thomas Warner and Henry Powell– began their adventures in St Christopher and Barbados the same way they had in Guiana. They had few resources and succeeded in the first year of

settlement through their own charismatic and forceful personalities. Adventurer power and proprietary authority changed everything. Sir William Courteen and his rivals like Maurice Tomson, Marmaduke Royden, and Ralph Merrifield transformed West Indian adventurism with their access to investment capital, transatlantic shipping networks, and state authority. Money meant men and material sufficient for state formation, which was what these major investors had in mind; they intended permanent colonies rather than the short-term settlements that had existed in Guiana. Material resources were critical to colonial projects. A lack of settlers could doom the project from the start by creating a labor shortage, and inadequate supplies could lead to hunger, widespread disease, mutiny, Indian attack, or death. Even if a project was properly staffed and supplied, there was still the problem of control. Metropolitan adventurers were sinking huge sums into their enterprises, and they needed competent management to ensure that their money would not be wasted. They also wanted guarantees of legal permanence that could only come from the king, or from those like Carlisle who were closest to him.

Royal license could only come from a commission, charter, or patent, and it made the bearer an agent of the crown and the English state. Of the three, commissions granted the least authority although the exact nature of that authority was usually clearly delineated in the language of the commission. Warner's 1625 royal commission gave him very extensive authority, including the right to create his own offices appoint the men to fill them. He possessed "full power and authority … as our Lieuetennant … to governe rule and order … our naturall borne Subjects as the Natives and Savages" and "to chastise correct and punish" at his discretion.[483] In other words, Englishmen could expect the same violence for rule breaking that Kalinago could if they were captured during a guerilla attack on an English settlement. Despite

[483] BNA, C.O. 1/3 ff. 222.

Warner's authority, there were weaknesses in a commission that made it an unsatisfactory basis for founding a colony. It did not confer ownership. Warner and his metropolitan partners only possessed the rights to profit from St Christopher, not ownership of the land on the island. It did not give them the same right to regulate taxes in the colony and the metropole. Most importantly, it did not grant the same level of authority that a patent did. Although Warner's commission charged him with the governance of the entire English Caribbean, it is unlikely Warner would have tried something as spectacular as kidnapping or executing another colony's governor with only the commission to protect him from consequences in England.[484]

Patents bestowed a much greater level of authority than a commission, even one like Warner's. The difference in the two depended on the recipient. A patent was generally granted to a company, while patents were intended to ensure permanence through inheritability. In the Caribbean, granting patents to aristocratic courtiers was Charles's preferred method for authorizing colonial projects. A proprietor was more than a commissioned officeholder; he owned the colonies and the land on which they stood. As property, the colonies went to a proprietor's "Heirs, and Assignes of the aforesaid Region, … as he to whom the propertie doth belong."[485] The complete ownership of the land commodified it and turned it into legally recognized real estate, which conferred the permanence that both metropolitan and colonial adventurers wanted from their association with a proprietorship. As a proprietor owned the colony as well as the land, it followed that he could set policy, regulate taxation, and create whatever courts or office a functional government required. The problem was that functionality depended on context. A government on a rustic island inhabited by a few poor, rambunctious, and often drunken men trying to eke a living out of muddy tobacco plantations required a

[484] Ibid, 222.
[485] CUL RCMS 259/15/2 ff. 60

different approach from a government of a colony that boasted rich sugar plantations and a sizeable population of unfree laborers. The former required an able strongman to impose order, the latter required local institutions and a capable administrator to maintain political stability.[486]

The patent had the standard legalese forbidding actions that were "repugnant or Contrary … to the Lawes, Statutes, and Customes of the Kingdome of England," but the king had full power to decide if a proprietor's actions violated that clause.[487] Charles never rescinded a patent for that reason, in part because he did not care about the justice of a freeholder's cause. It was only when a patentee fell out of favor that the king rescinded a patent and gave it to another courtier, which made retaining the king's grace the proprietor's chief responsibility to his fellow adventurers. Keeping order was his second most important obligation, and like Charles, Carlisle was happy to delegate the chore to someone else and then ask no questions about how they got the job done. Placing such broad authority in the hands of men like Warner, Henry Hawley, Henry Ashton, or Anthony Briskett was necessary for a government that had to settle for keeping order on a wild frontier where strong local institutions were normally built on a foundation of violence. Carlisle's patent allowed him to authorize brutal actions intended to impose order on the colonists; and that order eventually enriched and empowered those colonists until they were strong enough to form an assembly that codified law.[488]

Even with the rudimentary and violent beginning of colonization in the English Caribbean, the network formed by metropolitan adventurers operating in tandem with proprietary authority facilitated a specialization in monoculture that the Wiapoco adventurers could not achieve and that the Amazonian adventurers could not keep. Still, during the hard first years of

[486] Ibid, ff. 60-63; BNA CO 29/1 ff . 3-5.
[487] CUL RCMS 259/15/2 ff. 63
[488] Ibid, ff. 60-63; BNA CO 29/1 ff . 3-5.

crop experimentation and spartan living conditions that emphasis could not always be maintained. There are examples in the early 1630s of the Barbadians selling foodstuffs, as when Deputy Governor Richard Pearce took the opportunity to gouge Leonard Calvert's settlers by raising the price of the corn. This was possible at that time the Barbadian population was small and did not require as much food, but as time went on and more people immigrated to the island tobacco and cotton replaced foodstuffs as the key exports. It took just over a decade for the Barbadians to develop the skills and the credit to construct large-scale and capital-intensive sugar plantations. As proprietary authority declined and the crown and Parliament warred over sovereignty, the power of the assembly and the authority of the men in it filled the vacuum. The economics of West Indian colonization also moved from the general to the specific as the English adventurers slowly gave up on their Guianese schemes to pursue Caribbean ones instead. Improvements in the capitalistic process began a slow transition to modernity as the adventurers moved away from trading with the Indians for tropical commodities, and towards increasingly sophisticated forms of monocultural planting.

West Indian political authority developed in tandem with the refinement of capitalism, beginning with traders who bought and sold whatever tropical commodities in a space governed by negotiated authority to the more specific planting activities regulated through coercion. That evolution continued until the Barbadian assembly broke proprietary authority and decoupled it from capitalism's further advancement on the island. In Guiana, negotiated or occasionally contested authority brought more just outcomes, and that in turn kept peace between Englishman and Indian. Although English incompetence, environmental conditions, and Yao power kept the Wiapoco colonies from succeeding, the fact remains that Englishmen did not use violence against the indigenous inhabitants. The Amazonian settlers' experience is even more telling.

They built profitable tobacco plantations without resorting to enslavement and enjoyed an elaborate economy that linked manufactures produced in England to bales of tobacco cultivated in the Amazon. Like the Yao, the Amazon tribes like the Supanes were interested in military alliances for mutual protection, which suited settlers who were always fearful of Portuguese incursions. Conflict was more likely between European nations or in intertribal warfare than it was between Europeans and Indians. The Amazon settlements together created a society with slaves –with the Dutch being the primary enslavers– but enslaved Africans were never imported in high number. Bartering for Indian labor was cheaper and easier and did not require constant surveillance of or violence against bound laborers.

Environmental, social, economic, and political conditions changed frequently on the journey from Ralegh's navigation of the Orinoco to the rise of the assembly in Barbados, but whether Englishmen could adapt to those shifting circumstances well enough to create permanent colonies depended on an adventurer's access to the crown's sovereign authority. James could have resisted the Spanish ambassador more resolutely, or not sent the Prince of Wales and the incompetent George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, to oversee negotiations that would have changed English history had the discussions been more fruitful. If the Amazon Company had been allowed to plant in the Amazon –and the tobacco produced there was considered extremely high quality– the history of the English Atlantic could have been different. The English were capable of colonizing Guiana had the king been more interested; even less healthy environments could have been overcome if metropolitan adventurers had access to the greater capital pools and royal authority that the Virginia Company possessed. Colonies tended to be successful when enough resources and settlers were invested under the watchful eye of a

capable despot, no matter how insalubrious the environment, how unfriendly the Indians, or how drunken and lazy the settlers.[489]

The beginning of colonization in the Caribbean was fraught with contingency. Warner's conquest of St Christopher and Henry Powell's settlement of Barbados were both risky decisions taken without royal license. Charles's own decision to back the smooth-talking Carlisle over his rivals invalidated Powell's claim and ratified Warner's, which brought the autocratic rule of violent men to the Caribbean, which had severe consequences for Englishmen and Indian alike – though much more terrible for the latter. Had Hawley not created the assembly, had Bell refused to work with it, or had Willoughby not preserved it as a term of surrender, the eventual political settlement in 1652 between the Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados might have been throughout the 1640s, or that eventually There is no way to know without delving too deeply into the counterfactual, but what is certain is that the way capable or incapable men face contingency had consequences that moved larger forces. The move from general to the specific seems inexorable or inevitable, but it was not until the Barbadian assembly came into its own that the power of laws finally suppressed the dictatorial authority of the metropolitan and colonial adventurers whose authority and capital brought an oppressive permanence to the colonies in the English West Indies. When these wild places were finally kept in order long enough, they invariably found a renewable resource they could exploit at great profit. When the planters –the former colonial adventurers taking a different sort of risk– acquired enough wealth and influence, they formed an assembly that consolidated their authority and power into an institution strong enough to force the relocation of sovereignty to the connection between metropole and

[489] Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1975), 44-92.

colony and usher in a new phase in the social, economic, and political developments that took place throughout the English Atlantic.

Epilogue: The Fall of an Autocrat

As an old man in his late seventies, Henry Hawley could look back on a protracted career. As a governor he had browbeaten and bullied Barbados into submission to proprietary authority, and then ruled an island of drunken and desperate men until political stability became the norm. Even after the dramatic end of his governorship in 1640 and the scrutiny he endured during the Parliamentary hearing in 1647, he had walked away unscathed and continued to operate at the highest levels of Barbadian politics. He had helped deliver Barbados from Francis, Lord Willoughby, the man who tried to reassert proprietary authority and replace the new Commonwealth's claims of sovereignty over English colonies. When Willoughby returned after the Restoration, Hawley served in a joint governorship while Willoughby undertook a mission in 1666 to defend the English islands from the French. He did not return to public life after that and retired at roughly sixty-six years old to his sugar plantation where he enjoyed the extravagance and depravity of Barbadian society until his death in 1679.[490]

The ten years Hawley governed Barbados were some of the most transformative the island ever experienced. He overthrew two governors, kept order in a rough island frontier at the edge of the Spanish empire, proclaimed enslavement to be a permanent and inheritable condition, and founded the assembly that upended proprietary authority. The colonial state the Barbadian assembly constructed fostered a new economic and social order whose main products were sugar and sadism. Of all the adventurers who trafficked through the West Indies, Hawley bears as much responsibility for the onset of Caribbean slavery as slave traders like Maurice

[490] James Alexander Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 91, 212-214; Edward C. Papenfuse, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789 Vol. I, A-H*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 426.

Tomson or Carlisle himself. Barbados exported enslaved Africans as well as the legal and managerial theories that controlled them to its sister colonies in Virginia and later the entire U.S. South, changing the nature of slavery throughout the English Atlantic in the process. For this reason, Hawley deserves to be accounted as one of the most infamous adventurers and enslavers of the seventeenth century.[491]

Hawley was the last of the proprietary adventurers that had governed the island as an autocrat who could guarantee permanence when no one else could. By 1670, the wily ex-governor had outlived them all. His old master James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, had been dead for over forty years and his rival Sir Thomas Warner for thirty. Henry Ashton disappeared shortly after Warner's passing, probably the victim of an uprising after Willoughby surrendered Barbados. During the Protectorate he styled himself as Colonel Hawley, the leader of a slave-catching regiment. Willoughby himself was lost at sea when he returned to the Caribbean after the Restoration, while Hawley served as a co-president in Willoughby's absence. Humphrey Walrond had returned to Barbados in 1660 and died around ten years later. Perhaps it was only Thomas Modyford whose career as a colonial adventurer eclipsed Hawley's own. Modyford had supported the Commonwealth after betraying Willoughby, and then changed loyalties once again after the Restoration. He became the governor of Jamaica in 1664 before he died in 1679, likely outliving Hawley by a few months.[492]

Although Hawley had outlived nearly everyone still in Barbados from his early days, there were still some old planters that remembered the judicial murder of Sir William Tufton.

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[491] April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 140-145.
[492] Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 79-80; Aubrey Gwynn, "Documents relating to the Irish in the West Indies," *Analectca Hibernia* 4 (October 1932): 234.

William Duke, author of *Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Iſland of Barbados*, reported a rumor that the sorry event had left Hawley a cursed man who eventually died for his crime at the hands of an angry God. If so, the deity forgot to punish him for quite some time –but then again Hawley's audacity always matched his ability to avoid consequences. The rumor Duke recorded attested to the hold that Governor Hawley had once held over Barbados, a man imbued with such authority that he could execute anyone for any reason. Perhaps he still so frightened the planters that no one dared to attempt retribution even now, or possibly he was still esteemed as the popular governor who started the assembly. Maybe the institution that Hawley hoped would preserve his authority made him irrelevant instead. The Barbadian state had offices, institutions, and its own authority now, and since the assembly formed, no governor had been violently overthrown; they simply faded away. At the end of his life, the governor was just an old man in a Bridgetown tavern telling stories of long-ago adventures forgotten by nearly every other West Indian in the former Islands of Carlisle Province. Like Philip Bell, there was no need to execute Hawley. He was irrelevant, and his autocracy had been dead for some time.[493]

[493] William Duke, *Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Iſland of Barbados, and other the Carribbee Iſlands, with the Succeſſion of the Governors and Commanders in Chief of Barbados to the Year 1742* London: Printed for E. Owen near *Chancery-Lane, Holborn*, 1743), 17-18.

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