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Introduction

From the wooden chambers where they read the latest travel news to the ship cabins that carried them across the world, Elizabethan and Jacobean Inns men frequently engaged with real and imaginary travel, fuelled by the growing availability of travel literature, trade reports, and colonial letters. The buildings of the Middle Temple were located on the edge of the Thames, filling lawyers' rooms and the adjacent gardens with the sounds of the river. These liquid highways connected the Inns to other districts within the metropolis, but also to other ports and cities, bringing in knowledge and objects from places ranging from Paris to Mexico. The *Golden Hind*, the ship Francis Drake captained during his circumnavigation of the globe (1577 – 1580), remained docked a short walk away, publicly accessible to curious visitors who wished to view the vessel that had taken the captain and his crew around the world. This ship captured the imagination of the Gray's Inn student Thomas Campion, who envisaged its travels: 'Drake's *Golden Hind* lies in a sandy hollow, / That traveled all your realm, lovely Apollo; / In which that brilliant man circled the globe'.¹ In August 1586, recently returned from a voyage to the West Indies, Drake entered into Middle Temple Hall and was applauded with 'great joy' by the benchers who had gathered there.² In the months before his return, news circulated about how Drake had conducted a series of raids against Spanish settlements in the Caribbean and Florida, freeing a large number of captive 'Turks' from Cartagena, and stopping by the struggling English settlement in Roanoke to bring its surviving colonists back home.³

¹ Thomas Campion, 'Concerning Fran. Drake's *Golden Hind*', from *Epigrammatum Liber Primus*, tr. Stephen Ratcliffe, *Poetry Magazine* (May 1977), p. 91.

² *The Middle Temple Records, Vol. 1: 1501–1603*, ed. Charles Henry Hopwood (London: Butterworth & Company, 1904), pp. 285–6.

³ Walter Bigges, *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian voyage* (1589; STC 3056).



Map by Baptista Boazio of 'The famous West Indian voyage made by the Englishe fleete' captured by Francis Drake in 1585–1586, showing the outward and return journey, including stops in South America, the Caribbean, Florida, and Roanoke. (London, 1589?). Yale Center for British Art/Public domain [CC0 1.0].

The enthusiasm with which Middle Temple gentlemen greeted Drake generates a series of questions. What kind of knowledge did those who rose to cheer him possess about exploration and conquest? How did such Atlantic voyaging enter into the literary culture of the Inns? What role did the settings of the Inns play in helping gentlemen foster their global interests on a day-to-day level? Although the multivalent language of 'empire' was widely discussed in late sixteenth and seventeenth-century England, the practical administration of territorial expansion into the Atlantic was only just beginning.⁴ In their positions as lawyers, secretaries, and clerks, often serving in the employ of councillors of

⁴ Matthew Dimmock, *Writing Tudor Exploration: Richard Eden and West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Ken MacMillan, 'Discourse on History, Geography, and Law: John Dee and the Limits of the British Empire, 1576 – 1580', *Canadian Journal of History*, 36 (2001), pp. 1-25; Nandini Das, Joao Melo, Haig Smith, and Lauren Working, *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021); Nicholas Canny, 'The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30 (1973), pp. 575-98; Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Pimlico, 1975).

state, Innsmen directly contributed to this practical administration in a variety of ways, from legal debate to drafting charters.⁵ At the same time, professional responsibility or hopes for advancement existed alongside real desire, even compulsion, to travel beyond the bounds of Europe and endorse projects in the Americas.

In her exploration of the intellectual topography of the early modern Inns of Court, Jessica Winston draws on the work of Pierre Bourdieu to examine communality at the Inns through the idea of ‘habitus’, where a ‘collective set of styles, habits, and tastes’ helped create ‘a “system of dispositions”’ acquired through shared experiences and “schemes of perception, thought and action”’.⁶ Literary play was central to this habitus, and, by extension, to the identities of these gentlemen who came to learn about the legal profession and to partake in the literary culture these institutions had to offer.⁷ Satires often targeted the ostentatious Inns man, newly arrived in London: ‘[y]oung hopefull Gentlemen, that doe resort / By Art and learning to the Inns of Court’.⁸ This chapter examines how travel knowledge impacted the literary and material sociability of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Inns, focusing on the Middle Temple and its members’ growing investment in colonialism. While members of Lincoln’s Inn, Gray’s Inn, and the Inner Temple also exhibited interests in global travel and expansion, each institution, though overlapping and closely connected, has a distinct culture that requires sustained research into its place within, and expression of, these networks.⁹ The Middle Temple, given the variety of textual, material, and performative expressions that this interest took, serves as a primary case study. Members had personal links to various members of the Virginia Company and the fast growing merchant communities of London,

⁵ On the emerging role of lawyers in legal imperial administration, particularly from the reign of Charles I, see Holly Brewer, ‘Creating a Common Law of Slavery for England and its New World Empire’, *Law and History Review*, 39 (2021), pp. 765-834; Christopher L. Tomlins, *Freedom Bound: Law, Labour, and Civic Identity in Colonizing English America, 1580 – 1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁶ Jessica Winston, *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558 – 1581* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 32.

⁷ Lorna Hutson, ‘Introduction: Law, Literature, and History’, in *The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature, 1500 – 1700*, ed. Lorna Hutson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 1-20; *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Wilfred R. Prest, *The Inns of Court Under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts, 1590 – 1640* (London: Longman, 1972); Penelope Geng, *Communal Justice in Shakespeare’s England: Drama, Law, Emotion* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021).

⁸ William Hornby, *Hornbyes hornbook* (1622; STC 13814), sig. C3r.

⁹ For the significance of the Middle Temple as a place of colonial promotion, see Lauren Working, ‘Locating Colonization at the Early Modern Inns of Court’, *Historical Journal*, 61 (2018), pp. 29-51.

and, through members such as Richard Hakluyt the Elder, William Crashaw, and Robert Ashley, access to a vast number of manuscripts and printed texts engaging with the latest travel knowledge. The terrestrial and celestial globes made by Emery Molyneux in the early 1590s were some of the first to be created in England, and remain on display in Middle Temple Library today. Extant supper bills catalogue the sugar, spices, and tobacco consumed by benchers in the hall.

When they came to ‘resort’ at the Inns of Court, where did such ‘young hopeful gentlemen’ spend their time, and how did these settings generate various forms of encounter with the wider world? In a volume on mapping the Inns of Court, this chapter looks at the macrocosm of the world as it was experienced in the microcosm of several key spaces. The interpersonal spaces of the Middle Temple — here discussed through private chambers and libraries, the hall, and Temple Church — and the intellectual and social pursuits they encouraged can be viewed as ‘small spaces’ in London where ideas about colonialism, refinement, and status developed in relation to each other.¹⁰ The architectural historian Swati Chattopadhyay’s study of the ‘small spaces of empire’ focused on micro-spaces such as bookshelves, staircases, and medicine cabinets, but the questions she poses can be applied to places within the Inns: how did such small spaces furnish the imagination? How do they ‘sit in relation to empire?’¹¹ Focusing on space also helps to emphasise ‘the materiality of social exchange’, demonstrating how Inns gentlemen, through their ‘possessions, backgrounds, networks, and imaginations’, could share ‘overlapping yet idiosyncratically constituted worlds of their own’.¹² The way these spaces fostered various forms of knowledge-sharing, conversation, and performance offers additional perspectives on the ‘habitus’ of the Inns while presenting a multi-layered understanding of how transoceanic commercial and colonial projects shaped a generation of gentlemen and their literature.

I: Chambers and libraries: the world on a table

Private chambers and libraries played a primary role in shaping imperial interests at the Middle Temple. In her article on social identity and space at the Inns of Court, Amanda

¹⁰ On architectural theory around the ‘small spaces’ that made ‘empire possible’, see Swati Chattopadhyay, *Small Spaces: Recasting the Architecture of Empire* (London: Bloomsbury, 2023).

¹¹ Ibid., p. 6.

¹² Beat Kümin and Cornelia Osborne, ‘At Home and in the Workplace: A Historical Introduction to the “Spatial Turn”’, *History and Theory*, 52 (2013), pp. 305-18, at p. 317; *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

McVitty cautioned against over-emphasising a homogenous collective identity at the Inns, focusing instead on the tensions that emerged when elite laymen, often with little interest in the law, lived at the Inns alongside lawyers and law students.¹³ This, combined with the way the Inns ‘buoyed their finances by charging for privileges relating to members’ use of space’, including ‘the right to occupy select chambers’ and to choose amenities and bedfellows, created various bonds of association relating to status, taste, and professional interests that went beyond legal study.¹⁴ The competition, interpersonal relations, and displays of status that emerged from this context played a direct role in how gentlemen engaged with global travel with their peers.

When Francis Drake made his entrance into Middle Temple Hall in 1586, the only library to speak of was a room containing a small collection of legal books that were regularly being stolen.¹⁵ This changed in 1641, when Robert Ashley bequeathed his books to the society, leading to the official founding of the library.¹⁶ Admitted to the Middle Temple in 1588 and called to the bar in 1595, Ashley’s large collection of some 5,000 books were gradually collected during his long residence at the Inn.¹⁷ In his will, he reflected on this life spent largely within the Middle Temple, where ‘I have addicted myselfe to the general studdy of the great booke of the world’.¹⁸ This study had been punctured by ‘short excursions to acquaint myself with our neighbouring nations’, including travelling to Madrid in 1618 to meet Sir Robert Shirley, then Persian ambassador at the Spanish court.¹⁹ Ashley’s book collection included language manuals, romances, collections of sonnets, cosmographies, and treatises about travel and trade. He was captivated by how ‘no one soyle or territory, yeeldeth

¹³ E. Amanda McVitty, ‘Strange Bedfellows: Lawyers’ Social Identity and the Politics of Space at the Premodern Inns of Court’, *Law and History*, 7 (2020), pp.1-27.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁵ Middle Temple students in the sixteenth century could only ‘attaine to the knowledge of diverse learning but to their great charges by the buying of such bookes as they lust to study’, while the ‘simple library...stood alwayes open...[and] it was at the last robbed & spoiled of all the bookes in it’, quoted in Michelle O’Callaghan, ‘Contexts for Circulation: Universities, Inns of Court, Households and Professional Circles’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of the Book in Early Modern England*, ed. Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 474-92, at p. 479.

¹⁶ John Ferris, ‘Ashley, Robert (1565–1641), Translator and Book Collector’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/763>>

¹⁷ Renae Satterly, ‘Robert Ashley and the Authorship of Newberry MS 5017, *The Book of Magical Charms*’, *Manuscript Studies*, 6 (2021), pp. 268-99, at p. 272.

¹⁸ Quoted in Virgil B. Heltzel, ‘Robert Ashley: Elizabethan Man of Letters’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 10 (1947), pp. 349-63, at p. 354.

¹⁹ Heltzel, ‘Robert Ashley’, p. 354.

all fruits alike, so no one Climate or Region affordeth all kind of Knowledge in full measure', and expressed a belief in the value of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas' immense volumes on English traffic and colonialism.²⁰ More than a collection of books, Ashley's collection and the shelves on which they were kept become part of 'a larger geography of social relations that it supports and mediates'.²¹

Other members' studies and chambers served as miniature libraries in their own right, demonstrating their owners' status, taste, and access to knowledge. Building them involved buying and collecting books – many of which could be purchased by the booksellers within the precincts of the Temple – but also studying other objects often found in sixteenth-century libraries, such as maps and globes.²² The importance of these spaces to the developing imperial culture of the Middle Temple in the 1560s and 1570s can be seen in an anecdote recounted by the travel writer Richard Hakluyt in the first edition of his seminal work, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589). Hakluyt spent his childhood in London as one of the Queen's Scholars at Westminster School, and appears to have regularly visited his cousin, Richard Hakluyt the Elder, in his rooms at the Middle Temple. On one of these visits he happened to notice 'lying open upon his boord certain books of Cosmographie, with an universal Mappe' which his cousin, 'somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance', pointing to 'all the knowen Seas Gulfs, Bayes, Straits, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied'.²³

This map had been produced by the Antwerp mapmaker Abraham Ortelius to precise specifications. In a letter written between 1567 and 1568, Hakluyt the Elder requested Ortelius make him a map with a 'length of twelve feet, and a height of three or at most four feet', and included sketches for how the map would be rolled and unrolled with a set of

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 356, 359.

²¹ Chattopadhyay, *Small Spaces*, p. 254.

²² Philip J. Finkelpearl, *John Marston of the Middle Temple: An Elizabethan Dramatist in his Social Setting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 26; Renae Satterley, 'The Libraries of the Inns of Court: An Examination of their Historical Influence', *Library History*, 24 (2008), pp. 208-19; O'Callaghan, 'Contexts for Circulation', p. 479.

²³ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589; STC 12625.), p. 2.

rods.²⁴ By doing so, he wrote that Ortelius would be performing ‘a most acceptable service to a number of English lawyers, to the students of both Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and to the citizens of London’.²⁵ This was to be done ‘at the request of Richard Hakluyt, gentlemen and lawyer, and of John Acheley, a well-known merchant of the city of London, with the approval and approbation of several merchants and students of that city and elsewhere’.²⁶ This dual request, as well as the elder Hakluyt’s comment that the map would prove useful to multiple groups, suggests that the occasion Hakluyt the Younger described in *Principal Navigations* was not the first time his cousin had delivered such a comprehensive lecture. The Middle Temple chamber where this considerable map was housed appears to have been a focal point for educational visitors interested in travelling.

As well as these physical visits, the chamber was a place of work, serving as an important node within a thickly connected epistolary network. Hakluyt’s letter to Ortelius was one of many shared between the two men, connecting him to an even wider network. Within England, Ortelius’s connections included the mathematician and astronomer John Dee, the antiquarian William Camden, and several members of his extended family who had fled religious persecution on the Continent. This included Jacob Cool (or Cole, also known as Ortelianus), and Emanuel van Meteren, the consul for the Dutch merchants in London, who played a vital role within the republic of letters as the Dutch postmaster.²⁷ Anything sent from Ortelius to London, or from London to Antwerp, made its way through Van Meteren and his network of merchants, travellers, and sailors. The presence of Ortelius’ map in Hakluyt the Elder’s chambers, then, did not demonstrate an abstract or purely intellectual interest in geography, but rather represented its place within the wider transnational networks that linked London to European exploration on a more global scale.

Hakluyt the Younger’s interest, having begun at the Middle Temple, would eventually feed directly into its new library. Among the first books present in the newly founded library in 1641 was *De Missione Legatorum Japonesium* (‘A dialogue concerning the mission of the Japanese ambassadors to the Roman curia’), one of the first books printed in Macau in 1590. Written in Latin, it took the form of a series of humanist dialogues which offered an account

²⁴ *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by Eva Germaine Rimington Taylor, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935), I, pp. 81-2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁷ Deborah Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 25.

of the Tenshō embassy to Europe, a trip taken by four Japanese boys and their companions between 1582 and 1590. Written by the Portuguese humanist Alessandro Valignano and fellow Jesuit Eduardo de Sande, the text offered its readers information on European cities, modes of dress, architecture, and military practice. *De Missione* was not widely available in England. The most famous copy belonged to Hakluyt the Younger, who had obtained it from the English capture of the Portuguese vessel the *Madre de Dios* in 1592. He described the work in *Principal Navigations*, writing that he held it to be ‘the most exact of those parts [Japan and the northern parts of China] that is yet come to light...printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thousand five hundred and ninetie...intercepted in the great Carack called Madre de Dios two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped up almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had beene some incomparable jewell’.²⁸ *De Missione* was such a ‘jewel’ for Hakluyt, more valuable for its information than the amber and musk aboard the wreck. The copy of *De Missione* in Middle Temple Library contains annotations by Ashley, alongside other marginalia by an unknown hand, and the rarity of the text within England during Ashley’s lifetime suggests that his copy was the one Hakluyt took from the *Madre de Dios*. These patterns of engagement with the Ortelius map and *De Missione* show how material produced outside England was parsed and processed by English readers: discussed in overlapping and shifting groups, annotated and translated.

Gentlemen’s lodgings in the Middle Temple also appeared in networks of print, connecting Inns coteries to courts and territories elsewhere. Writing from ‘the Court of the great Mogul’ Jahangir ‘in the Towne of asmere [Azmir]’, the traveller Thomas Coryate prefaced his text by naming a range of gentlemen associated with the ‘Sirenical Fraternitie’ of wits, many of them Inssmen, who met at the Mermaid Tavern on the first Friday of every month. In his dedication to the Middle Templar Edward Phelips, Coryate sent greetings to ‘M. Martin’ and ‘M. Christopher Brooke’, along with ‘M. *Equinoctiall Pastirust* of the middle Temple, M. *William Hackwell*, and the rest of the worthy gentlemen frequenting your Honourable table’.²⁹ Coryate’s greetings included women, too: ‘your Honour’ Phelips and his ‘virtuous Lady’ Margaret [née Newdigate], and Phelips’ son, Robert, and ‘his sweet Lady’ Bridget [née Gorges]. Coryate’s earlier travels and his connections to the ‘sireniacs’ had also inspired a

²⁸ Derek Massarella and J. F. Moran, *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe: A Dialogue Concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia (1590)* (Abingdon: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), p. 18; *Japan on the Jesuit Stage: Transmissions, Receptions, and Regional Contexts*, ed. Haruka Oba, Akihiko Watanabe, and Florian Schaffenrath (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

²⁹ *Thomas Coriate traveller for the English wits: greeting from the court of the Great Mogul* (1616; STC 5811).

range of poems published in 1611 by over fifty contributors including Ben Jonson, Richard Martin, Christopher Brooke, Michael Drayton, and John Donne, which humorously likened Coryate to 'Columbus, Magellan, and Drake'.³⁰

The spaces of the Inns were more concretely tied to plantation in texts such as John Brereton's *A briefe and true relation to the discoverie of the north part of Virginia* (1602), a publication that included 'Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia...written 1585 by M. Richard Hakluyt the elder, sometime student of the Middle Temple', or the Jamestown secretary William Strachey's presentation copy of his 'Historie of the travail into Virginia Britannia expressing the cosmographie and comodities of the country', dedicated to the lord chancellor Francis Bacon.³¹ Bacon held lodgings at Gray's Inn for most of his life, and remained, as his chaplain William Rawley commented, 'much revered and beloved by the readers of the house', and often brought gentlemen to his chambers and gardens to discuss politics and philosophy.³² Strachey's acknowledgement that Bacon was a recognised supporter of 'the Virginian plantation' was bound up in his sense of service to his patron, 'being bound to or by observance, by being one of the Graies-Inn Societie'.³³ At the same time, Strachey's manuscript, which included a dictionary of Algonquian words and phrases that he encountered while living in Tsenocommacah (the Algonquian word for their homelands), may have been precisely the kind of document that Bacon might have shared with the Innsmen who visited his chambers.

Within these spaces, gentlemen transcribed texts, kept diaries, and wrote poetry that demonstrated their engagement with global trade and plantation. As Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton outlined in their essay, 'How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', sixteenth and seventeenth-century readers were active, not passive, recipients of knowledge. Scholarly reading was 'always goal-orientated', 'conducted under conditions of strenuous

³⁰ Prefatory verse by Rowland Cotton in Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities* (1611; STC 5808), dr. On Coryate's relationship to London drinking clubs, see Michelle O'Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2007); L. E. Semler, 'The Caroline Grotesque in Verse: Robert Herrick, Richard Flecknoe, and John Taylor', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 44 (2014), pp. 137-55; Julian T. S. Neuhauser, 'Sireniacks, Guilds, and a New Coryate Manuscript', *The Review of English Studies*, 74 (2023), pp. 31-46.

³¹ John Brereton, *A briefe and true relation of the discoverie of the north part of Virginia* (1602; STC 3611), p. 25; William Strachey, 'The historie of travaile into Virginia Britannia expressing the cosmographie and commodities of the Country', early seventeenth century, British Library, Sloane MS 1622, f. 2.

³² Quoted in Paula Henderson, 'Sir Francis Bacon's Essay "Of Gardens" in Context', *Garden History*, 36 (2008), pp. 59-84, at p. 69.

³³ Strachey, 'The historie of travaile'.

attentiveness' and 'designed for efficient absorption and processing of the matter read...a public performance'.³⁴ Studies on commonplace books and manuscript circulation indicate how Renaissance literary culture involved this active sense of sharing, transcribing, and adapting such material in highly specific contexts.³⁵ Harvey read the classics, but he was also captivated by the reports 'of the worthy Western discoveries' by Humphrey Gilbert and Martin Frobisher; he commended the 'brave West-Indian voyage by the conduction of Sir Frauncis Drake' and the 'politique discovery of Virginia, by the Colony of Sir Walter Raleigh'.³⁶

Examining the Inns through space also highlights the multidimensionality of the experience of reading, where interests in maps and globes, or the visits of friends entering chambers with travel books or a tobacco pipe, inflected the way such material was encountered and analysed. A surviving commonplace book for the diplomat and MP Edward Hoby, who had entered the Middle Temple in the 1570s, may have begun in such a setting. Hoby transcribed information on 'How the Crowne of England hath most right to all the mayne land & Islandes alongest the coste [sic] of America from the Cape of Florida to 58 degrees northwardes', 'Estimates of the cost of provisions for a voyage of discovery across the Equator', French sonnets, and the Lord's Prayer in Turkish.³⁷ He included a series of letters and reports relating to Guiana, drawing on Spanish and French intelligence, and from networks by George Popham, who would go on to found a short-lived colony in Maine along the Kennebec River.³⁸ Performances such as the 1597/1598 Prince of Love revels, with their bawdy nautical *double entendres* and application of classical rhetoric in defence of tobacco, were manifestations of the kind of knowledge that gentlemen absorbed and assimilated through these public and private practices of humanist learning.

³⁴ Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), pp. 30-78, at pp. 30-31.

³⁵ Michelle O'Callaghan, *Crafting Poetry Anthologies in Renaissance England: Early Modern Cultures of Recreation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Victoria E. Burke, 'Recent Studies in the English Renaissance', *English Literary Renaissance*, 43 (2013), pp. 153-77; Fred Schurink, 'Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature, and Reading in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73 (2010), pp. 453-69; Arthur Marotti, *The Circulation of Poetry in Manuscript in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021).

³⁶ Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces supererogation* (1593; STC 12903), pp. 48-9.

³⁷ Edward Hoby's commonplace book, c. 1582-1596, British Library, Add MS 38823, ff. 5v-7r, 8v, 86v.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, ff. 93v-95v.

John Donne's satires and elegies from the 1590s were also written in such environments, where allusions to 'th'Indias of spice and mine' and the 'new-found-land' made their way into erotic fantasies of desire and possession.³⁹ In 'Satire I', the narrator reluctantly leaves his chamber at the Inns to follow his companion through the streets of London, encountering a host of types along the way, from captains to the 'briske perfum'd Courtier', and 'one (which did excel / Th'Indians, in drinking his Tobacco well'.⁴⁰ At the start of the satire, Donne's narrator humorously compares his chambers to a prison and a coffin:

Away thou fondling motley humorist,
Leave mee, and in this standing wooden chest,
Consorted with these few books, let me lye
In prison, and here be coffin'd, when I dye.⁴¹

At the same time, the wooden chambers, and the ensuing language of risk and adventure – leaving constancy to 'follow headlong, wild uncertain thee' – also likens the chamber to a ship's cabin, while calling into question the project for expansion. Donne collapsed these spaces – cabin, chamber, coffin – in multiple poems, including 'The Storm', a poem addressed to Christopher Brooke which recalled the disorientation of sea travel in the ill-fated Cadiz voyage of 1597, conducted by the English who sought to capture the treasure ships coming from the Spanish West Indies.⁴² Rather than celebrate the expedition, Donne conveyed a sense of profound dislocation ('East, west, day, night'), wondering if seeking 'a foreign grave' was right for England's sons.⁴³ For Donne, and other Innsmen, 'venturing' and hazard were closely linked to a sense of masculinity and honour: 'dar'st thou lay / Thee in ships, wooden sepulchres.../Dar'st thou dive seas, and dungeons of the Earth?...Hast thou courageous fire to thaw the ice / Of frozen North-discoveries?'⁴⁴ They were also connected to literary craft and to the experience of reading: 'Sooner than you read this line did the gale...our sails assail'.⁴⁵

³⁹ See, for example, 'Elegy XIX', 'The Sunne Rising', 'Epithalamium Made in Lincoln's Inn', and many others, in *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. Robin Robbins (London: Routledge, 2010); Achsah Guibbory, 'Erotic Poetry', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Donne*, ed. Achsah Guibbory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 133-48.

⁴⁰ *Poems*, by J[ohn]. D[onne] (1633; STC 7045), sigs. Tt3r, Tt4v.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, sig. Tt3r.

⁴² John Donne, 'The Storm', in *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, pp. 67-8; Jane Hwang Degenhardt, *Globalizing Fortune on the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

⁴³ Donne, 'The Storm', pp. 68, 66.

⁴⁴ Donne, 'Satire 3', in *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, p. 388.

⁴⁵ Donne, 'The Storm', in *ibid.*, p. 68.

In 'Satire I', the light comparison of a chamber to a ship's cabin is a place of security in the midst of the tempestuous social arena of 1590s London. As his mention of the gentlemen who excelled 'Th'Indians' suggests, tobacco had become a widespread practice among gentlemen at the Inns. Satirising the follies of tobacco smoking in 1613, Samuel Rowlands conjured the smoky spaces where friends met to discuss travel: 'When *Thraso* meetes his friend, he swears by / Unto his Chamber he shall welcome bee', where 'hee present most kind, exceeding franke, / The best *Tobacco* that he ever dranke'.⁴⁶ By the Jacobean period, tobacco – an Indigenous plant that had been central to Native social relations, diplomacy, and spirituality for thousands of years – entered into the pipes and pockets of Londoners from both the Spanish Americas and the fledgling English plantations in North America.⁴⁷ The gentleman in Rowlands' epigram sought to enhance his connections to the plant by placing himself within the narrative of exploration: 'Such as himself did make a voyage for, / And with his owne hands gatherd fro[m] the ground'.⁴⁸ Chambers were now smoky dens full of that 'rare compound' of 'English Fire, and of India Smoke', part of a sociability that was enhanced by personal fantasies of voyaging.⁴⁹

The proliferation of smoking in the chambers of the Inns influenced literary production beyond brief mentions in satires. Several years after being admitted to the Inner Temple, John Beaumont wrote *The metamorphosis of tobacco* (1602), an early example of a poem dedicated entirely to the intoxicant. As the title suggests, the mock encomium drew heavily on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, comprising part of an efflorescence of Elizabethan literature written in the Ovidian vein.⁵⁰ Beaumont's poem opened by offering a paean to the Indigenous plant, and offered various histories of tobacco, set in the classical world of Prometheus, Apollo, and Jove. In one instance, 'Virginia' is figured as a nymph whose beauty drives Jove to pursue her. Juno changes the nymph into a plant to protect her, and Jove gives her mystical powers that triggers the golden age. Elsewhere, Jove jealously hides the plant but the Muses find it in Montezuma's palace, causing the muses to leave Europe for the gilded West Indies. Beaumont's poem ends with a reference to 'Wingandekoe', which the marginal gloss specifies is 'a country in the North part of America', and with England

⁴⁶ Samuel Rowlands, *The letting of humors blood in the head-vaine* (1613; STC 21397), sig. A5r.

⁴⁷ Lauren Working, 'Tobacco and the Social Life of Conquest in London, 1580 – 1625', *The Historical Journal*, 65 (2022), pp. 30-48.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Liz Oakley-Brown, *Ovid and the Cultural Politics of Translation in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

extending its might to 'Virginia, and the New-found-land'.⁵¹ The reference to 'Wingandekoe' seems to reference the 1590 edition of Thomas Hariot's account of his months spent among the Algonquians in Roanoke.⁵² Like the desire for tobacco itself, it served to tie literary fantasy to actual plantation projects in the Atlantic.



Johann Neander, *Tabacologia* (Leiden, 1622). By kind permission of Middle Temple Library/Image © Lauren Working.

Even before the development of plantation economies in English America, these networks of taste, supply, and demand were entangled in practices of slavery. At the time of Beaumont's writing, and until James I granted English colonies a monopoly on tobacco in 1624, Londoners smoked tobacco sourced from the Spanish-occupied West Indies, grown and picked by enslaved African and Indigenous labourers.⁵³ A pamphlet from 1615 complained of the corrupted commodity that Spanish and Portuguese merchants sold in London, where the 'blacke colour which it hath, and for which our Shoppe-keepers praise it, is Arificiall', dyed with 'tawnie Berries, with which the Indians paint their bodies, and their beds'.⁵⁴ Berries that Native people in the Caribbean had long used for a variety of practical purposes were deployed to mask the 'rotten, withered, & ground-leaves' of the tobacco Londoners ingested, and that enslaved people thousands of miles away had tended with their hands. Several

⁵¹ John Beaumont, *The metamorphosis of tobacco* (1602; STC 1695).

⁵² Working, *The Making of an Imperial Polity*, p. 43.

⁵³ Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (New York: Cornell, 2008).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

engravings from Johann Neander's *Tabacologia* (1622), a book in Robert Ashley's collection, reflect the sanitised, pastoral world Protestant gentlemen evoked when they sought to distinguish their plantation projects from Spain's *encomienda* system of enslavement and tribute. Within arcadian landscapes dotted with towers and fertile nature, cherubic Native people wearing cloth or strings of feathers around their waists gathered tobacco plants from small plots. Like the tobacco in Rowlands' epigram, 'such as himself did make a voyage for', the engravings of tobacco cultivation removed the mass system of exploitation and enslavement that made tobacco accessible – and palatable – to gentlemen.

II: The hall: 'to Quivera by the West'

The Inns' halls were vital places for dining, sociability, and performance. Building and renovation projects in the second half of the sixteenth century not only demonstrate the rising professional status of lawyers in England, but also the value they placed on communal spaces. Gray's Inn began rebuilding its communal hall in 1556; Middle Temple began building its new hall in 1562, though it took a decade to complete; Lincoln's Inn added a gallery to its older hall in 1565; and the Inner Temple embellished its hall, adding a large carved screen, in 1574.⁵⁵ These projects 'suggest members' sense of authority and grandeur in their profession', while the Middle Temple Hall in particular, Wilfred Prest wrote, stood 'as a monument to the material well-being and social aspirations of the Elizabethan Inns of Court'.⁵⁶ At the same time, or perhaps because of this, revels and 'commoning', which 'has its ceremonial expression in acts of commuting and eating together in the commons', could turn the hall into a competitive and 'fraught social space' offering an at times aggressive or transgressive 'ritualised space of play'.⁵⁷ Modelled on practices at the royal court, the Inns appointed an annual Master of the Revels, and professionals were often paid to provide entertainment for feasts and revels that also 'caused divers ladies and gentlewomen, and others of good condition, to be invited to our sports'.⁵⁸ Masques were performed from the fifteenth century, reaching their peak in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ Stages

⁵⁵ Winston, *Lawyers at Play*, p. 222.

⁵⁶ Quoted in *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ O'Callaghan, *The English Wits*, p. 34.

⁵⁸ Alan H. Nelson and Jessica Winston, 'Drama of the Inns of Court', in *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, Vol. I, ed. Michael Hattaway (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 94-104 (pp. 95, 98).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

were erected to turn halls into theatrical spaces, further reinforcing these spaces as one of spectatorship and display.⁶⁰

The use of halls for performances reinforced the Inns' connections to public theatres and London's literary world. An Inns man who moved through the lanes and alleys around Fleet Street in 'silken garments' 'hath so often visited the Globe' and 'better loves *Ben: Johnsons* booke of Playes' than law books.⁶¹ This connection was not just with Jonson's work, but with the poet and playwright himself. In her study of Jacobean wits, Michelle O'Callaghan explored how Jonson's literary exchanges and 'legal play' with Inns coterie enabled him to legitimise his place 'in an increasingly diverse and theatricalised metropolitan culture', as did his involvement with the 'Worshipfull Fraternity of Sireniacal Gentlemen' at the Mermaid Tavern.⁶² Inveighing against plays and actresses, William Prynne, who entered Lincoln's Inn in 1628, asked his fellow Innsmen not to live up to the '[c]ensure which some English Writers in the printed Workes have passed upon Innes of Court Students...that this is one of the first things they learne as soone as they are admitted, to see Stage-playes, & take smoke at a Play-house...[and] quickly learne to follow all fashions, to drinke all Healths, to weare favours and good clothes...and to forget that little learning, grace, and vertue which they had before'.⁶³ Despite Prynne's concerns with the damage that the theatre's 'enchantments' might have on impressionable gentlemen who were 'created for...more sublime employments', his critiques of their obsession with play-going also suggests the influence of the commercial theatre on the culture of the Inns.⁶⁴ High literary style jostled with the cry of street vendors, clinking of coins, and the multilingualism of London's diverse communities.

Late sixteenth and early seventeenth century performances indicate how an attention to global mobility began entering into performances at the Inns. In December 1594, Gray's Inn Hall provided the backdrop for a performance of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, a play that explored 'the alienation that attends migration and displacement at a global scale'.⁶⁵ The first

⁶⁰ Ibid.; Robert E. Burkhart, 'The Playing Space in the Halls of the Inns of Court', *South Atlantic Review*, 56 (1991), pp. 1-5.

⁶¹ Francis Lenton, *The young gallants whirligig* (1629; STC 15467), p. 16.

⁶² O'Callaghan, *The English Wits*, pp. 1, 36.

⁶³ William Prynne, *Historiomastix* (1633; STC 20464a). sig. **3v.

⁶⁴ Ibid., sig. **4r.

⁶⁵ Jane Hwang Degenhardt and H.S. Turner, 'Between Worlds in Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*', *Exemplaria*, 33 (2021), pp. 158-83, at p. 58; Margaret Knapp and Michal Kobialka, 'Shakespeare and the Prince of Purpoole: The 1594 Production of *The Comedy of Errors* at Gray's Inn Hall', in *The Comedy of*

recorded performance of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* took place in Middle Temple Hall in February 1602.⁶⁶ The comedy begins with the drama of a shipwreck that separates the twins Sebastian and Viola, while the character of Sir Toby Belch takes delight in causing havoc through his revelling and excessive drinking. Drawing on popular metaphors in late Elizabethan love lyric, he greets the gentlewoman Maria by calling her 'my metal of India' (*Twelfth Night*, 2.5.13), comparing her to the glittering bounty of South American wealth. The global aspect of these tales might have been enhanced by the presence of maps in halls: in 1580, several months after Drake's circumnavigation, Gray's Inn hung 'a Mapp of the whole world' in the interior of their hall.⁶⁷

Transoceanic travel and imperial expansion informed the 'Prince of Love' revels of 1597/8, from the presence of travellers in the audience, to the source material the performance drew on. These revels appear to be one of a cluster of mid-to-late performances from the 1590s that exhibited English refinement through the metropolitan elite's interests in plantation and conquest. In 1595, a councillor of war in the Gray's Inn 'Prince of Purpoole' revels had advised his prince to 'embrace the Wars', for 'How can he think any Exercise worthy of your Means, but that of Conquest?'⁶⁸ To open 'your Coffers, like the *Indian Mines*', and to stretch out 'your Navy like to an huge floating City' would 'eternize your Name, and leave deep Foot-steps of your Power in the World'.⁶⁹ The same performance praised the 'prince' for making 'a Voyage Royal against the *Amazons*, to subdue' them.⁷⁰ In the following year, a court device staged for Queen Elizabeth, perhaps at the behest of the Earl of Essex, picked up this theme. In the performance, a blind 'prince' from South America, clad in feathers,

Errors: Critical Essays, ed. Robert S. Miola (New York: Routledge, 1997); John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁶⁶ Henk Gras, 'Twelfth Night, Every Man Out of His Humour, and the Middle Temple Revels of 1597/1598', *The Modern Language Review*, 84 (1989), pp. 545-64.

⁶⁷ R. M. Fisher, 'William Crashawe and the Middle Temple Globes 1605-15', *The Geographical Journal*, 140 (1974), pp. 105-12, at p. 107.

⁶⁸ *Gesta Grayorum, or, The history of the high and mighty prince, Henry Prince of Purpoole...who reigned and died, A.D. 1594* (1688; Wing C444), p. 33. The rhetoric and linguistic fashions of the performance may have been modelled on similar entertainments made for Elizabeth during this time, commissioned and managed by some of the same individuals – see Francis Bacon and the Earl of Essex's speeches and entertainments in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, Vol. 3: 1579-1595, ed. Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁶⁹ *Gesta Grayorum*, p. 33.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

arrived at the English court seeking the protection of Queen Elizabeth who might, according to an ancient prophecy, restore his sight through her magnificence.⁷¹

When the 'Sirenical gentleman' and wit Richard Martin played the Prince of Love in 1597/8, his movements in the performance signalled a kind of *translatio imperii*, a traversing from eastern lands to Atlantic conquests. The prince was 'Chief General of all *Venus* forces from *Japan* to *Quivera* by the West...*Japan* is an Island in the furthest part of the Longitude of the earth by the East, where his Excellency first began his exploited, and so marched up continually till he came to the uttermost point Westward, where he ended in *Quivera*'.⁷² Quivira was part of the south-western region of North America that fell under the designation of 'Florida', mentioned in numerous cosmographies and Continental texts, including Richard Hakluyt's translation of the Huguenot René de Laudonnière's travels to Florida.⁷³

The mock knighting ceremony in the performance was interrupted by an *ex tempore* 'Fustian speech' by John Hoskins that included a short defence of tobacco.⁷⁴ This may have been inserted into the performance in part because Raleigh himself seems to have been at the revels, and pressured Hoskins, along with Martin, to deliver the oration.⁷⁵ Raleigh, a Middle Templar himself, had recently returned from his first voyage to Guiana, bringing several Tupi interpreters and samples of gold ore back with him.⁷⁶ As a whole, and not unlike Raleigh's recently-published *The discoverie of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana* (1596), the revels blended chivalry and masculine bravado, where the language of sexual desire and lover-knights melded with 'exotic' geographical coordinates. Just as Raleigh recounted how, with the help of 'my Indian interpreter' in the tropical forests of Greater Amazonia, he 'made [the Tupi] understand that I was a servant of a Queene, who was a great *Casique* of the north', the Middle Temple's chivalric codes elevated the sovereignty of 'my

⁷¹ 'A device by the Earl of Essex for the Queen's entertainment' [written by Francis Bacon?], 17 November 1595, The National Archives, SP 12/254, f. 139r.

⁷² 'The Revels of 1597/8', p. 127.

⁷³ René de Laudonnière [tr. Richard Hakluyt], *A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French captaynes unto Florida* (1587; STC 15316); Thomas Blundeville, *M. Blundeville his exercises containing sixe treatises* (1594; STC 3146).

⁷⁴ 'The Revels of 1597/8', pp. 143-4.

⁷⁵ O'Callaghan, *The English Wits*, p. 32.

⁷⁶ Alden T. Vaughan, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Indian Interpreters, 1584 – 1618', *The William & Mary Quarterly*, 59 (2002), pp. 341-76.

Lady and Mistris [who] is the true Princess *d'Amours*...civilizing her subjects, whom time past accounted barbarous".⁷⁷

Raleigh's presence in the hall, and the reveller Sir Toby's reference to 'my metal of India' in *Twelfth Night*, point to an under-explored area of Inns' members' global interests: silver and gold mining in the Americas. Travel news and exchanges between friends melded lucrative possibilities with the thrill of 'discovery'. 'Last year I wrote to you about one Frobisher who, rivalling Magellan, has investigated the strait which, he thinks, washes the Northern part of America', Philip Sidney, who had enrolled at Gray's Inn, wrote to the French reformer Hubert Languet in 1577.⁷⁸ Sidney followed with the story of 'a certain youth' from Frobisher's crew who 'picked up a piece of rock which he saw glitter', though the captain 'did not believe that there could be precious metals so far North'.⁷⁹ Returning to London, 'the youth' showed his 'young friends' the sample, who 'remarked that it really did glitter very brightly', and soon found 'that it consisted of exceedingly pure gold'.⁸⁰ Languet wrote back to Sidney advising him to consider instead whether those regions might be suitable for agricultural settlement, warning him that 'those golden islands have possessed your mind too deeply'.⁸¹ Sidney, however, retained ambitions for more dazzling feats of exploration. Against the wishes of Queen Elizabeth, he attempted to join Drake on the West Indies expedition that ended with Drake's triumphant visit to Middle Temple Hall.⁸²

The feverish excitement for golden mines became a focal part of *The memorable masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*, performed on the night of 15 February 1613. This masque, staged in Whitehall Palace's Great Hall, began with a torchlit procession through Chancery Lane and down the Strand. The procession consisted of fifty 'Virginians' parading in a riot of rich fabric embroidered with gold and silver thread and in multicoloured feather ruffs. The processors, all students of Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn, brought their colonial interests to a royal audience that included the king and queen and their daughter, Elizabeth. The staging of *The memorable masque* was equally flamboyant. It centred around 'an Artificiall Rock, whose top was neere as high as the hall it selfe', around which was a set of winding stairs for the actors to climb up and down. The rock was 'run quite through with veines of

⁷⁷ Walter Raleigh, *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtifull empire of Guiana* (1596; STC 20634), p. 7.

⁷⁸ Quoted in Roger Kuin, 'Querre-Muhau: Sir Philip Sidney and the New World', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51 (1998), pp. 549-85, at p. 562.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 564.

⁸² Ibid., p. 576; Fulke Greville, *The prose works of Fulke Greville*, ed. John Gouws (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), p. 42.

golde' and topped on one side with 'a silver Temple' surrounded by silver statues and a cupola armoured with silver plates. The temple was hung with 'festones wreath'd with silver' and finished with a pedestal with a 'round stone of silver from which grewe a paire of golden wings'.⁸³ After the god of riches, Plutus, delivered his first speech, the rock broke into pieces and 'vanisht', with the upper part turned into a cloud, 'discovering a rich and refulgent mine of golde' where the masquers were seated. There was so much gold, in fact, that even when hidden by the rock's structure and lit only by torch bearers, 'the least spangle or spark of [their] rich habites might with ease and cleerenesse be discerned'.⁸⁴ The character of Capriccio then entered, carrying a pair of bellows, a spur, and a 'peece of golde Ore'. While admiring the mines, Capriccio conflated the various geographic spaces within the masque, referring to the 'isle' adjacent to Virginia and 'this Ile' which is 'divided from the world...[and] stands fixt on her owne feete, and defies the Worlds mutability'.⁸⁵ The wealth of the mine, 'this rare accident of the arrivall of Riches, in one of his furthest-off-scituate dominions', proved England's strength and the spread of its global power.

The mines in *The memorable masque* serve as the focal point connecting disparate elements — feathered garments, silver statues, lumps of golden ore — into one overwhelming display. This link between South American mines and the Chesapeake had been made by Hakluyt the Younger in his dedication in *Virginia richly valued* (1609), where he wrote of the 'rich mines of gold reported to be in the province of Yupaha' and the 'rich and famous golden mines of Chisca'.⁸⁶ Closer to Virginia, Hakluyt reported how 'Thomas Heriot, a man of much judgement in these causes', knew of a 'rich mine of copper or gold', 'a great melting of red mettall just west of the former colonie of Roanoke'.⁸⁷ Reports of these mines also appeared in Brereton's *A briefe and true relation of the discoverie of the north part of Virginia*, which included 'testimonies touching sundry rich mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, in part found and in part constantly heard of, in North Florida, and the Inland of the Maine of Virginia'.⁸⁸ In citing 'Richard Hakluyt the elder, sometime student of the Middle Temple', the work acknowledged the role of the Middle Temple as a centre of information about these mines. By 1613, however, the English had already begun to significantly devalue the economy of copper among Algonquians in the Chesapeake by using cheap copper for trade, and it was

⁸³ Chapman, *The memorable masque*, sigs. A5r-v.

⁸⁴ Ibid., sig. A6r.

⁸⁵ Ibid., sig. B3r.

⁸⁶ Richard Hakluyt, *Virginia richly valued* (1609; STC 22938), sig. A2v.

⁸⁷ Ibid., sig. A3r.

⁸⁸ John Brereton, *A briefe and true relation of the discoverie of the north part of Virginia* (1602; STC 3611), p. 47.

clear that Virginia was not a gold-rich location to rival the mines of South America or Raleigh's fantasies of El Dorado.⁸⁹ Staging the mine and linking it to Virginia regardless allowed gentlemen to promote the Inns as a centre of colonial pursuit, bound by 'Eunomia', or the law', while creating a dazzling vision of English sovereignty that celebrated knightly adventure and access to colonial wealth.

While revels and masques might licence more extravagant celebrations, everyday interactions in hall equally involved social performance. Drake's entrance into the hall, including the applause sparked by his arrival, combined elements of the theatrical and social performances which were conducted there on a regular basis. Even today, the Middle Temple holds two items linked to his voyage. New barristers enter their names in the Inn's books on 'Drake's cupboard', a table reputedly made from a fore-hatch cover taken from his ship, when called to the bar.⁹⁰ 'Drake's lantern', which hangs over the entrance to the hall, is reportedly taken from the deck of the ship, though the original was destroyed in bombing raids during World War II and has since been replaced by a replica, showing the almost totemic importance of the item to the Inn.

Meals at the Middle Temple were another opportunity to display the conspicuous consumption of expensive goods. A supper bill from 1613, for example, lists regular expenditure on 'hard sugar', 'allmonds', 'reasones' [raisins] and 'tobacco' alongside more extravagant items such as 'blewe figges' and 'orringes', and quotidian expenditure on 'butter', 'flouer' and 'mutton'.⁹¹ These goods were sourced from across the globe: the raisins likely part of the 'great store of corrwants [currants]' which came from Tripolis to England, the focal point of many trading agreements; the oranges brought with lemons and 'great ynnions [onions]' from Portugal; almonds and sugar from the Levant.⁹² These could be fraught with political concerns alongside the practical: the licence for the trade of raisins, for example, had originally been given by Elizabeth I to the northern Italian merchant Acerbo Velutelli in 1575, but as more merchants joined the Levant trade they put pressure on

⁸⁹ Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1572 – 1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 119–63, at pp. 133–4.

⁹⁰ 'Elizabethan & Jacobean Times | Middle Temple' <<https://www.middletemple.org.uk/about-us/history/elizabethan-and-jacobean-times>> [accessed 31 August 2023]; Louise McCarthy and Ladan Niayesh, 'Cartography as Propagandist Design: From Company Maps to Virginian Masques (1613–14)', *Revue de la Société d'études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, 78 (2021) [online].

⁹¹ Supper bill, Hilary term (1612/13), Middle Temple Library, MT7/SUB/1.

⁹² 'A direction for trades of marchandize', transcribed by Conyers Read, 'English Foreign Trade under Elizabeth', *The English Historical Review*, 29 (1914), pp. 515–24, at pp. 519, 523.

the queen to recall the licence, which she did in 1583. The trade was then fought over by two trading companies, the Venice Company and the Turkey Company, before they were combined into the Levant Company in 1592.⁹³ Even something as simple as a raisin was part of complex histories and negotiations.

The consumption of these goods was the end result of long processes of growth, production and transport which relied on the exploited labour of people across the globe. In his tale of the fallen gallant seduced by the pleasures of the Inns of Court, Francis Lenton wrote of 'bowles of Nectar, fill'd up to the brim', but also 'Oysters, Lobstars, Caviare, and Crabs, / With which he feasted his contagious drabs; / Oringoes, Hartichoakes, Potatoe pies, / Provocatives unto their luxuries'.⁹⁴ Aphrodisiacs pile up at 'Bacchus shrine', including '[p]otatoe pies', a sweet dish flavoured with East Indies spices such as nutmeg, and relying on access to colonially-sourced potatoes.⁹⁵ In the early seventeenth century, (sweet) potatoes were available to the English from the Peruvian Andes via Spain, and were widely considered to provoke lust.⁹⁶ In Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, potatoes were wrapped up in a discourse about hospitality but also sexual violence. Writing of the depravity of the Spanish towards Indigenous women, Raleigh reported that 'I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations to much as a *Pina*, or a *Potato* roote, without giving them contentment, nor...so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters', though he had to 'confesse it was a very impatient worke to keep the meaner sort from spoile and stealing'.⁹⁷ Along with pineapples, potatoes were 'of the nations' of the region, their acquisition often gained through theft and violence.

⁹³ Emily Stevenson, 'Mapping Principal Navigations in the Levant', *Cultural and Social History*, 19.4 (2022), pp. 353–70, at p. 353.

⁹⁴ Lenton, *The young gallants whirligig*, p. 19.

⁹⁵ 'To make a potatoe pye', manuscript cookbook of L. Cromwell, seventeenth century, Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.8, pp. 16–17. On Dutch East India and English East India competition in the Moluccas, see Carmen Nocentelli, 'Spice Race: *The Island Princess* and the Politics of Transnational Appropriation', *PMLA*, 125 (2010), pp. 572–588.

⁹⁶ Edward McLean Test, 'Transatlantic Tubers: New World Potatoes in Early Modern English Literature', in *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400 – 1800*, ed. Claire Jowitt, Craig Lambert, and Steve Mentz (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), pp. 469–90, at p. 469; *Sir Walter Raleigh's Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. Joyce Lorimer (London: Ashgate, 2006).

⁹⁷ Raleigh, *The discoverie of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana*, p. 52.



Silver spice box made in London by 'W.R.', 1602. Met Museum/Public domain [CC0 1.0].

The objects that displayed or encased these goods added further networks of global trafficking to the table. The owner of the scallop-shaped box pictured above is unknown, but such boxes would have been used by London gentlemen to carry those spices, or perhaps sugar, that Inns members catalogued in lists of ships' cargoes, while the silver likely came from the mines of Potosí.⁹⁸ Silver tobacco boxes likewise brought together plantation goods and elite sociability. A list, compiled in the mid-1630s, of the Middle Temple's silver plate indicates the Inn's large collection of silver, much of it consisting of gifted or donated display objects or tableware that might be used in ceremonial occasions such as banquets.⁹⁹ The presence of such silver objects, brought out at mealtimes or for special events, might have made reading about silver mines, or penning masques about the Americas, seem all the more tangible, where 'th'Indias of spice and mine' brought together in love poems equally appeared in objects on the table.

III: Temple Church: 'this sermon, spoken and published for incouragement of Planters'

This final section examines the role of Temple Church as a space for fostering pro-imperial expansion at the Middle Temple, focusing on the church as well as the activities of the

⁹⁸ 'Spice box' by W.R., 1602/3, Met Museum, accession number 68.141.277; Allison Margaret Bigleow, *Mining Language: Racial Thinking, Indigenous Knowledge, and Colonial Metallurgy in the Early Modern Iberian World* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

⁹⁹ 'List of silver plate of the Middle Temple', 1637 – 1638, Middle Temple Library, MT.2/TAS/1.

preacher William Crashaw. Crashaw's position as preacher of Temple Church gave him access to one of 'the most prestigious pulpits in early modern London', but in a space with 'less political oversight than [those at] court or Paul's Cross'.¹⁰⁰ As a result, those studying the law for the sake of profession, and those frequenting the Inns as 'a convenient base from which to launch themselves into the social and administrative life of the City and royal court', were exposed to Crashaw's strongly anti-Catholic, pro-colonial stance.¹⁰¹

The church was the spiritual heart of the Middle Temple, and its history as a space for intersecting points of faith, travel, and legal history makes it a key site within the Inns for the ongoing conceptualisation and theorisation of colonialism. Jointly owned by the Middle Temple and Inner Temple, Temple Church had a rich history, built by the Knights Templar in the twelfth century as their English headquarters. Its design was derived from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, notably in the context of the crusades to 'reclaim' the Holy Land from Muslim rulers.¹⁰² The church was a religious space but also a physical place of security, where funds for Templar causes could be kept along with valuables and legal and governmental records.¹⁰³ Following the dissolution of the Templars in 1307, Temple Church was given to the Knights Hospitaller, though ownership passed to the Crown after the Hospitallers were suppressed in 1540. Lawyers continued to pay rent for the space until 1608, when they were granted freehold.¹⁰⁴ From its beginnings the Church played a multifaceted role within the Inns: a spiritual institution but also a commercial and legal centre.¹⁰⁵ This history was important to contemporary framings of the Church, which was celebrated in a petition in 1637 as having been 'a church of eminency...exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and first subject to the Knights Templars, then after to the Hospitallers, and now immediately to your Majesty'.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ Emma Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues: Architecture and Auditories', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 99-119, at p. 109.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹⁰² Anne-Françoise Morel, *Glorious Temples or Babylonian Whores: The Culture of Church Building in Stuart England through the Lens of Consecration Sermons* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), p. 309.

¹⁰³ Helen J. Nicholson, 'At the Heart of Medieval London: The New Temple in the Middle Ages', in *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*, ed. Robin Griffith-Jones and David Park (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), pp. 1-18, at p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁶ Petition of Paul Micklethwaite, Master of the Temple, and one of his Majesty's chaplains in ordinary, to the King. 9 May 1637. State Papers, SP 16/355, f. 262.

Crashaw was appointed preacher to the Inner and Middle Temple in 1605, a post he described as 'the most comfortable and delightfull company for a scholler that [...] this kingdome yields'.¹⁰⁷ In this post, he invested in and worked closely with the Virginia Company, delivering a sermon in 1610 for Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, the newly-appointed governor of Jamestown. Crashaw used this sermon as an opportunity to promote colonisation in Virginia, calling for the 'Church of God [to be] established in Virginea, even there where Satans throne is', and calling his audience to 'judge what joy is amongst that blessed fellowship [in heaven], when this newes comes to heaven that England hath enterprized the conversion of Virginia: whereby so many thousand soules shall be brought to heaven'.¹⁰⁸

The sermons convey a sense of the intensity with which Crashaw urged his congregation to take part in the Virginia venture in particular. The project to extend English society and religion to America depended on personal, highly individualised relationships. Crashaw wrote that his patron's 'peculiar knowledge' of 'Master *Whitaker*' rendered him 'an honorable witness with me, and an evidence beyond all exception' of the good work happening in the colony.¹⁰⁹ Members of the audience, Crashaw maintained, could be assured of the honour of this venture because of the many 'friends and assistants which this busines hath: which are such and so great'.¹¹⁰ He emphasised the importance of those in his congregation taking action, whether through contributing funds, travelling themselves, or finding other means of advancing and 'encouraging' the project. 'By inclining the hearts of our mighty King & noble Prince [Henry]', Crashaw said, 'to make themselves *fathers and founders* of this plantation and protectors of this royall enterprize', colonial promoters were actively involved in the fate of the nation by urging the Stuart royal family to become 'new Constantines or Charles the great', combining Protestantism with imperial glory.¹¹¹ The most important 'friend and defender' of the project, however, was 'the Lord' himself, 'whose kingdome wee goe to enlarge'.¹¹²

Crashaw's sermon, more so than his other, printed endorsements of colonialism, combined religious fervour with a subtle attention to the law. Appealing to his audience, he praised the

¹⁰⁷ William Crashaw, *Romish forgeries and falsifications* (1606; STC 6014), sig. 3.

¹⁰⁸ William Crashaw, *A sermon preached in London before the right honorable the Lord Lawarre* (1610; STC 6029), sig. K4r, L4r.

¹⁰⁹ William Crashaw, *Good newes from Virginia* (1613; STC 25354), sig. Dr.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. Iv.

¹¹¹ Crashaw, *A sermon preached in London*, sig. I2r.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

role of the law in upholding good governance. Just as a '[s]tate of *long continuance*, which is ripe and rotten for want of reformation, will easily be brought into order in a new government', so 'there is and will be better government, and better execution of lawes in a *little territorie*, then in a great and populous kingdome, and in a new begun rather than an old and settled State: the truth whereof many of you...doe better conceive then I can expresse'.¹¹³ In professing that 'I be not worthy to be thine Apostle, yet doe vow and devote my selfe to be in England thy faithfull factor and solicitor', Crashaw used the language of business and transaction – both the work of the 'factor' or merchant, and the 'solicitor', interceding on behalf of another – to position himself as an agent who might use his position in the church as a node through which the imperial project might be effected.¹¹⁴ In an image reminiscent of the entertainments performed in the hall in its personification of geographical spaces, the sermon ended with a dialogue between God, Virginia, and England, conducted through biblical quotations. It is unclear from the printed text whether Crashaw delivered this dialogue himself or whether it was an addendum to the printed text, but as the tone is decidedly in keeping with the sermon and the text was printed without his leave, it seems likely that it was part of his original delivery.¹¹⁵

Although Crashaw viewed himself as a 'solicitor' or mediator between the Church and colonial planters, his enthusiasm was not only theoretical. A 'William Crashawe, Clerke, Bachelor of Divinity' was listed as one of the people incorporated into the Virginia Company's 1609 charter, and he appears to have contributed £37 10s to the additional subscription of 1610-1611.¹¹⁶ In 1613, Crashaw edited an account of Bermuda, adding a dedicatory epistle which praised God's 'all-governing providence', and in 1614 he published an exhortatory letter from Alexander Whitaker in Jamestown in an attempt to combat criticisms against the colony.¹¹⁷ As with those chaplains employed by trading companies to advance Protestant evangelism abroad, Crashaw's commitment to the colonial project viewed the spiritual mission of plantation as intrinsically linked to its governance over the region.¹¹⁸ His prayers, though they may not have been of immediate use to this governance,

¹¹³ Ibid., sig. Fv.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., sig. L2r.

¹¹⁵ W. H. Kelliher, 'Crashawe [Crashaw], William (bap. 1572, d. 1625/6), Church of England Clergyman and Religious Controversialist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹¹⁶ Fisher, 'William Crashawe and the Middle Temple Globes 1605-15', p. 108.

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸ Haig Z. Smith, *Religion and Governance in England's Emerging Colonial Empire, 1601 – 1698* (London: Springer, 2022), p. 39.

demonstrate the strong interrelation between the success of the Company and the state church.

A large part of his income also went into the expansion of his personal library. Crashaw is notable for owning what he referred to as 'one of the most complete libraryes in Europe', which included around 4,000 printed books and at least 200 manuscripts.¹¹⁹ After having been appointed Temple preacher, he spent over £240 on stairs, rails and a new upper story to the chambers adjoining the church to house his library and compose his lectures.¹²⁰ This extensive 'private' library was 'not private in any restrictive sense', but interacted with 'other sites of exchange within a wider urban terrain', including the antiquarian Robert Cotton's library, nearby printing houses, and parliament.¹²¹ This library contained works focusing on theology and law alongside colonial interests, in addition to what Crashaw described as 'one of the fairest paire of globes in England'.¹²²

These globes, one each for the terrestrial and celestial worlds, were possibly those created by Emery Molyneux, measuring over two feet in diameter and constructed out of flour paste to keep them safe from humidity while at sea. Molyneux was a well-known instrument maker, linked to Richard Hakluyt and Drake, Raleigh, and Thomas Cavendish. The terrestrial globe depicts the extent of English cartographic knowledge in the sixteenth century, updated in 1603 to include the most recent developments. The celestial globe next was based on Gerardus Mercator's 1551 globes, and was updated with the latest astronomical observations. These globes were intended to represent Elizabethan mastery over the spheres, with the world mapped and displayed for future discovery. Along with books and maps, globes brought the world into the Middle Temple, condensing centuries of geographic knowledge into single orbs, but they also represent the Inns' place within a wider global network. Like the ship passing through the pillars on the frontispiece of Francis Bacon's *The Great Instauration* (1620), their position in the library brings the viewer through the known frontiers of ancient and classical knowledge, and into new realms of possibility for human learning and discovery. Their setting within an Inns library turns the room into a site for the

¹¹⁹ Fisher, 'William Crashawe and the Middle Temple Globes 1605-15', p. 105.

¹²⁰ Ibid. As a point of comparison, William Shakespeare and two associates paid £140 in 1613 for Blackfriars Gatehouse. Ernst Honigmann, 'Shakespeare's Life', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 1-12, at p. 7.

¹²¹ O'Callaghan, 'Contexts for Circulation', pp. 481-2.

¹²² Fisher, 'William Crashawe and the Middle Temple Globes 1605-15', p. 106. A sizable proportion of the library is now at St John's College, Cambridge.

creation, dissemination and enforcement of English law within the country and across the world.

The globes in Crashaw's library represents the intersecting ambitions at work within this space: a spiritual fervour for conversion, scholarly interest, and the social networks which were so important to preachers, reflecting in turn the importance of Inn chapels as spaces of conversation and exchange. It was around this time that Lincoln's Inn built its new chapel between 1616 and 1623 at great cost, testifying both to the importance that preaching played within institutional identity and the place that the Inns held within the 'preaching topography of early modern London'.¹²³ As preacher to the Inner Temple John Donne, like Crashaw, would go on to deliver a sermon in defence of the Virginia project, though they wrote at drastically different moments in the colony's fortunes. By 1622, hopes of establishing a godly community with Indigenous converts seemed impossible. 'Whom liberty drawes to goe, or present profit drawes to adventure', Donne insisted, 'are not yet in the right way. O, if you could once bring a *Catechisme*, to bee as good ware amongst them as...a hatchet; O, if you would bee as ready to hearken at the returne of a *ship*, how many *Indians* were converted to *Christ Jesus*, as what trees, or druggs, or Dyes that Ship had brought'.¹²⁴

Donne's criticism against gentlemen scrambling to hear of the commodities that ships carried, rather than news of the salvation of souls, pointed to the many motivations and interests that jostled for space in and around the Inns. Like other churches in London, and in line with its function in the middle ages, Temple Church was a site of worship and congregation that involved other kinds of exchange – financial, social, political. In Jonson's *The alchemist*, the cozening Face and Subtle choose the church as the place where they might gull the extravagant Sir Epicure Mammon: 'I can strike a fine hooke into him now, / The *Temple-church*, there I have cast mine angle'; 'Captaine Face, Sir, / Desires you meete him i'the *Temple-Church*, / Some halfe houre hence, and upon earnest busines'.¹²⁵

Temple Church's interconnections with other sites in the constellation of the Inns is illustrated in a story in Thomas Middleton's *The ant and the nightingale* (1604), a prodigal tale about a country gentleman who loses his fortunes after becoming seduced and corrupted by

¹²³ Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues', pp. 108-9; Emma Rhatigan, 'Donne's Readership At Lincoln's Inn and The Doncaster Embassy', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. Dennis Flynn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 576-88.

¹²⁴ John Donne, *Four sermons upon speciall occasions* (1625; STC 7042), pp. 12-3.

¹²⁵ Ben Jonson, *The alchemist* (1612; STC 14755), sigs. E3v, E4v.

those at the Inns of Court. Addressed to a lady, the tale describes the moment when the gentleman signs away his fortune, and his moral uprightness, through the wiles of a lawyer, mercer, and merchant: 'We at that morning were appointed to meete in the Temple Church, Temple & Church, both one in name, made us hope of a holy meeting: but there is an old proverbe, *The nearer the Church, the farther from God*'.¹²⁶ From Temple Church, the corrupt merchants bring the credulous gentleman to dine in Fleet Street, where he quickly falls into their debt while attempting to adopt the life that the habitus seems to demand. The lawyer instructs him on how 'he must acquaint himself with many Gallants of the Innes of court...his lodging must be about the *Strand*...his eating must be in some famous Taverne, as the *Horne*, the *Myter*, or the *Mermaide*, and then after dinner, he must venture beyond the sea, that is...to the Bank-Side'.¹²⁷ The tale comically brings travel stories and the language of speculation, enticement, and risk into the microcosm of the Inns, where movement between Temple Church, the Strand, and the Thames serve to corrupt the youthful traveller, not least through 'the burning of his Tobacco pipe (as there s no Gallant but hath a Pipe to burne about *London*)'.¹²⁸

Crashaw's zealous endorsement of English colonialism was a distinct feature of the Jacobean Middle Temple. Reactions to his sermon do not survive, but the competing groups within the Virginia Company – many of them associated with the Inns, parliament, other trading companies, and church reform – likely divided opinion and impelled conversation in halls and chambers afterwards. Crashaw promised his audience that they would 'eternize your owne names both heere at home & amongst the *Virgineans*', going so far as to assure those present that they would be 'happy men whether you live or die: if you live, by effecting so glorious a worke: if you die, by dying as Martyrs or Confessors of Gods religion'.¹²⁹ Drawing on the language of friendship, honour, 'encouragement', 'business', and moral standing, Crashaw framed colonisation as a suitable project for the gentlemen of the Inns and their various social and political practices and concerns. But, as Donne and Middleton's texts also indicated, a desire for tobacco, 'libertie', and 'abundance' were 'Characters of kingdomes' – the stuff of politics, commerce, and pleasure, not Protestant piety. Such things, Donne urged, the 'Apostles were not to looke for...nor you in this your Plantation'.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Thomas Middleton, *Father Hubburds tales: or the ant and the nightingale* (1604; STC 17874.7), sig. Cv.

¹²⁷ Ibid., sig. Dr.

¹²⁸ Ibid. sig. C3r.

¹²⁹ Crashaw, *A sermon preached in London*, sig. K4r.

¹³⁰ Donne, *Foure sermons*, p. 13.

IV: Afterlives: The Prince of Love Reprised

When the poet William Davenant was commissioned to write an entertainment in honour of Charles I's nephews to be staged at the Middle Temple during the princes' visit to London, he resurrected the Prince d'Amour. *The Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour* was performed in February 1636, attended by princes Rupert and Charles Louis, as well as Queen Henrietta Maria and some of her ladies.¹³¹ Rupert had already begun to establish a reputation as a militant Protestant prince, and many in London at the time of his visit, including Davenant, encouraged the brothers to advance English interests in the Indian and Atlantic oceans.¹³²

The figure of the Prince of Love not only drew on the Middle Temple's own performance history, but aptly reflected the tastes of the Caroline court. The fashionable neoplatonism and motifs of 'Platonick Love' instigated by Henrietta Maria regularly featured in masques, plays, and poems in the 1630s, setting 'the Wits of the Town on Work'.¹³³ Just as the chivalric codes of Elizabeth I's court had directed the way the Prince d'Amour expressed his power in the 1597/8 revels, the neoplatonism of Henrietta Maria's circle dictated Davenant's tale, in which raucous figures of war were banished by the gentle prince and his refined followers. Like the spices and sugar that flavoured the banquet accompanying the revels, the geopolitics of global travel were present on the stage erected in Middle Temple Hall for the occasion. The scene 'at the upper end of the hall' included 'a Village consisting of *Alehouses* and *Tobacco* shops', fronted by blocks 'on which blacke Indian Boyes sate bestriding Roles of Tobacco, and in the place of Signes, Globes hung up, stuck up full of broken Pipes'.¹³⁴ Plantation industry and labour melded with the pastoral landscape of domestic villages and alehouses.

The Inns' role as foundational legal institutions with strong ties to court and parliament, and as spaces of global knowledge-exchange, continued to develop in tandem as the seventeenth

¹³¹ Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-Century Scenic Stage, 1605 – 1700* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008), p. 52.

¹³² William Davenant, *Madagascar* (1628; STC 6304); Lauren Working, "'Not as a poet, but a pioner': Fancy and the Colonial Gaze in William Davenant's *Madagascar* (1638)", *Renaissance Studies*, 37 (2023), pp. 319-44. On Prince Rupert's later voyage to Guinea, see Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (New York: Cornell, 1995).

¹³³ Quoted in Lesel Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 138.

¹³⁴ William Davenant, *The triumphs of the Prince d'Amour: A masque presented by his Highnesse at his pallace in the Middle Temple* (1635; STC 6308), pp. 1-3.

century progressed. In an 'elegant house in Lincolns-Inn-Fields', the Restoration merchant and politician Thomas Povey penned letters relating to the administration of trade and governance in Virginia and the Caribbean.¹³⁵ Dedicating himself to restoring Virginia's reputation against slanders and 'false reports', the colonial promoter William Bullock offered to give readers 'full satisfaction in the truths that any way concerns this Place': any who sought to solicit news from the colony could be 'directed to my Chamber in the Middle-Temple'.¹³⁶ Not far from his lodgings, women and men flocked to the collector William Courten's chambers to view coconuts, West Indian moss, a 'cup from Surinam', wampum, coral, and 'a habit of an Indian woman made of beads'.¹³⁷ Courten turned his lodgings into a fantastical place of curiosities, containing at least six cabinets, and displaying goods sold or donated by sailors, merchants, botanists, and collectors, including several women.¹³⁸ Though much had changed between the fledgling colonial projects of the Jacobean era and the systems of trade, colonialism, and enslavement that marked Courten's time, his decision to take chambers at the Inn does not seem incidental. Among Courten's surviving papers, which include correspondence with Jacob Bobart the Younger, *hortus praefectus* of the Oxford Botanic Garden, the antiquary Elias Ashmole, and the naturalist Hans Sloane, are a range of documents relating to colonialism, some of them drawing on the vast amount of travel information gathered in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Courten copied information about a 'Project for keeping New England dependent on England', and transcribed notes that referred to Drake and Purchas' geography.¹³⁹

By the time Middle Temple hosted *The Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour* in 1636, many gentlemen had embraced and directly contributed to colonial expansion. Though the Elizabethan and Jacobean fascination with global travel was not exclusive to the Inns of Court, this chapter has sought to draw out some of the ways these environments facilitated conversation and modes of sociability that fuelled these interests in concrete, though by no

¹³⁵ 'Entry book of betters relating to public affairs and to private business in the West Indies, written by Thomas Povey, 1655 – 1660', British Library, Add MS 11411; 'Autograph accounts between [Samuel] Pepys and Thomas Povey and John Povey, 1666 – 1689', British Library, RP 8544.

¹³⁶ William Bullock, *Virginia impartially examined* (1649; Wing B5428), p. 66.

¹³⁷ Sachiko Kusakawa, 'William Courten's lists of "Things Bought" from the late seventeenth century', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 29 (2017), pp. 1-17, at p. 10.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ 'Project for keeping New England dependent on England' and 'A Catalogue of my plants sent from Montpellier February 1678', in William Courten of the Middle Temple, mid-seventeenth century, British Library, Sloane MS 3962, ff. 54r, f. 85r, f. 179r.

means uniform, ways.¹⁴⁰ The ideas about travel and colonialism encountered in these spaces of spirited debate and exchange informed a highly-stylized sense of play and literary innovation that its members viewed as important to their civil self-fashioning. The gentility gentlemen conferred upon commercial and colonial projects was partly what Drake had so valued in the prospect of having Sidney join his West Indies voyage. 'Sir Francis found that Sir Philip's friends', Fulke Greville recounted, 'with the influence of his excellent inward powers, would add both weight and fashion to his ambitions...[and yield] honour to him in this voyage'.¹⁴¹ Material culture, from the rare and expensive Molyneux globes to the gold mine in *The memorable masque*, helps shed light on a further dimension of how gentlemen drew on their studies to create 'works of the imagination', though more work remains to be done on the contentions and varying attitudes towards colonialism.¹⁴²

Over a decade after playing the Prince of Love, Richard Martin wrote from his chambers at the Middle Temple to William Strachey, then in Jamestown, that his commitment to the Virginia plantation bloomed and burned 'like a fire that flames out to the view of every one'. All those who became 'partakers of this promise', he wrote, would 'shine as the stars in the firmament'.¹⁴³ Between hall and chapel, the spaces of the Inns and the associations forged within them had helped shape Martin's trajectory from Prince of Love to impassioned advocate of Atlantic plantation. Martin's belief that Strachey was a fit '*Achates* for such an *Aeneas*, as is our Noble & worthie Generall the lord *Delawarre*', was perhaps cemented some months before, on hearing or reading Crashaw's sermon at De La Warr's sending off.¹⁴⁴ If so, Martin would have been reassured by Crashaw that plantation is 'a most lawful, an *honourable* and a *holy* action'.¹⁴⁵ Further, even in the midst of the wide variety of global projects explored at the Inns – 'of all voiaiges ever attempted in this Nation' – the '*Virginean* *voiage* is the most honourable...therefore every wise man and *morall* man may be allured', and called to act.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2015); Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, p. 58; Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

¹⁴¹ Fulke Greville, 'The Life of the Renowned Philip Sidney', in *The prose works of Fulke Greville*, ed. John Gouws (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), p. 43.

¹⁴² Hutson, 'Introduction: Law, Literature, and History', p. 16.

¹⁴³ Richard Martin to William Strachey, 14 December 1610, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.321, f. 62r.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Crashaw, *A sermon preached in London*, sig. H4v.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., sigs. Ir-v.