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Religious Governance in England's Overseas Companies c. 1601-1698

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This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Kent or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Kent or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text

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Dissertation abstract

This dissertation explores how England's overseas companies between 1601 and 1698 through the use of religious governance regulated the behaviour of their personnel and peoples and developing three models to do so, pastoral, theocratic and ecumenical. It asks three central questions. First, how did corporate flexibility facilitate the establishment of overseas companies as distinguishable bodies that operated as extensions of English government abroad? Second, how did companies develop distinct ways of controlling the religious behaviour of the English settlers and the peoples who came under their jurisdiction, including Native Americans, Muslims, Hindus, Catholics, Armenians and Jews. Third, in what way did the models of governance interact, and how did they influence debate in England?

Chapter one examines the traces the foundational and influential use of religious governance in England's early attempts to colonise Ireland and Virginia between 1606 and 1624.

Chapter two examines the development of corporate religious governance in the Atlantic following the VC, focusing on the Massachusetts Bay Company's (MBC) member's denominational allegiance in influencing the development of the theocratic model of governance that the company would adopt.

Chapter three moves away from an analysis of communities assessing the role of individual agents, in particular chaplains in the East India Company (EIC) and Levant Company (LC) from 1601 to 1660, and how the two companies developed a form of pastoral governance to establish control of their corporate personnel in the religiously diverse environments.

Chapter four returns to the MBC focuses on the role of the individual in transporting theocratic governance across the Atlantic alongside communal responsibility in decline of the MBC's theocratic governance between 1639 and 1684

Chapter five continues to build upon the differences in global corporate governance highlighting how the development of ecumenical governance in the EIC in the post-braganza era (1661-1698) and how through a policy of moderate religious inclusion can highlight how these models could ensure corporate success, rather than failure.

This dissertation provides a new way of understanding government formation and corporate identity in the early modern era, and how religious governance shaped the behaviour of English expansion in the seventeenth century.

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Conventions used in the text

All dates are given in old style, but with the year taken to have started on 1st January.

Contents:

Introduction

When the New East India Company (EIC) received its charter in 1698, the first steps were taken to regulate the organisation and governance of religion over all people within the company's expanding jurisdictions, ending an era of corporate autonomy over religious governance overseas. These provisions strictly outlined the company's relationship with the established church, its responsibility to provide ministers, and its obligation to organize evangelism, thereby entrenching the direction that religion was to take under the new company.[1] The actions taken in this charter highlighted the growing awareness among political and religious leaders in England of religion's role in corporate overseas expansion. Yet the companies themselves had been fully aware of religions importance for much of the seventeenth century. Through varying models of religious governance, English overseas companies established governmental identities that helped their employees navigate the pressures of life in distant lands. If we are to understand English overseas expansion and the foundations of empire in the seventeenth century we need to ask what the relationship was between religion and the formation of corporate government abroad.

Throughout the early modern era, corporations provided the main institutional framework to organise and police the commercial, political and religious lives of their members. Unlike the specificity of the 1698 charter, English company charters for most the seventeenth century gave general religious and social obligations (both domestically and abroad) to advance English Protestantism abroad. Extending Protestantism abroad into religiously cosmopolitan and diverse environments led to attempts to police the religious lives and behaviour of the companies' English personnel. By policing the behaviour of their English personnel abroad the companies leaders' hoped to secure their various religious, political and commercial aims. The commercial and religious aims of the company became entwined as the companies' flexible governments developed various forms of religious governance shaped by local circumstances and global experiences.

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[1] *A Collection of Charters and Statutes Relating to the East India Company* (London, 1817), xv-xvi.

This dissertation investigates how England's overseas companies were able to govern effectively abroad through the use of religious governance. Companies used religious governance as a means for regulating the behaviour and religious practice of their employees and populations oversees. Religious governance came in numerous models, including pastoral, theocratic and ecumenical. The companies developed these governmental models to manage the sending of ministers, writing of laws, evangelism and the administrating of churches. These models helped to form the character and identity of corporate governments both in England and abroad. By assessing the development of corporations through the lens of religious governance, this dissertation asks three central questions. First, how did corporate flexibility facilitate the establishment of overseas companies as distinguishable bodies that operated as extensions of English government abroad? Second, how did companies develop distinct ways of controlling the religious behaviour of the English settlers and the peoples who came under their jurisdiction, including Native Americans, Muslims, Hindus, Catholics, Armenians and Jews. Third, in what way did the models of governance interact, and how did they influence debate in England? By analysing religious governance this thesis answers these questions developing our understanding of how corporations used religious governance to regulate behaviour establish distinct but connected forms of government across the world.

Corporate structures both provided the legal space and protection to establish diverse but connected forms of autonomous English governmental authority across the globe. An assessment of religious governance in England's overseas companies allows further analysis into how overseas companies developed into corporate political bodies that established and advanced their own sovereignty. By understanding religious governance as mechanism through which corporate structures were directed and governed overseas we can not only see how companies were in "their very organization a government over its own employees and corporators" but also how its members, formed the identity of their government.[2] Therefore expanding our understanding into how early modern English people regulated the political and religious behaviour of its employees,

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[2] Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6.

corporators and the communities it governed.[3] Furthermore, an assessment of how religious governance regulated interactions between religious communities under company control we are better able to recognise the role of numerous faiths in the development of English authority abroad. The role of religious governance in companies also helps to define the governmental dialogue between religious communities and leaders that English companies encountered. It highlights what Karen Kupperman has described as attempts by both English and Indigenous peoples "to incorporate... into their own system" various governmental identities.[4] However, this analysis goes further to identify the 'corporate role' in the incorporation and exclusion of people from English company governance in the seventeenth century. In addition, it clearly identifies the "delicate balance of strict hierarchy and consultative government" in companies, but also how various religious groups informed and shaped corporate consultative government.[5] Explaining the corporate regulation of cross-cultural dialogues that incorporated both English and non-English people into adapted forms of English governance in Atlantic, Mediterranean and Indian oceans and how this process was shaped religious governance.[6]

The models help to neatly distinguish and examine the implementation of diverse ideas and forms of governance that were established abroad. Moreover, through individuals in the corporate framework these models filtered back into England eventually affecting domestic religious and political debate. These models illustrate how England's companies became centres for governmental experimentation that provided members with a structural connection to England, which alongside commercial goods, allowed information and ideas to be exchanged across the globe. Although the literature on exchange in the east has been company focused it has emphasised academic and scientific knowledge rather than political debate in England. Furthermore, Atlantic Historians such as Carla Gardina Pestana, Robert Bliss and Jenny Hale Pulsipher have highlighted the influence political experimentation in America on political debate in England. However, both strands of scholarship have been noticeably un-corporate in their

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[3] Edward Cavanagh, 'A Company with Sovereignty and Subjects of Its Own? The Case of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1763', *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, Vol. 61, No.1 (2011), 25-50.
[4] Karen, Kupperman, *Indians & English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 1.
[5] Stern, *Company-state*, 11.
[6] Jenny Hale Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King: Indian, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

focus.[7] By understanding the models of religious governance that companies adopted across the globe a clearer connection can be drawn into the role of governmental expansion and experimentation abroad in influencing religious and political debates in England. This can be achieved by analysing the role of individual agents and members of companies, such as chaplains who became influential figures exchanging ideas of religious governance between India, America, the Ottoman Empire and England.[8]

Government in early modern England, from local to national level, was made up of many corporations: town and city, livery and trading companies, the national church, parliament and even the crown, were all formed within the language of corporations in which religious governance influenced the development of their government. Evolving out of the monastic corporations of the medieval period, religion had long been an element of corporate life in the great overseas companies. Unlike their monastic forefathers for whom religion was the driving force of their corporate existence, the overseas companies of the Stuart age considered religious matters an important but ancillary responsibility to their commercial aims. Christians were all incorporated into Christ's Church and during the medieval period the church consisted "at least in part of a network of corporate entities", which included dioceses, monasteries and cathedral chapters.[9] All of which were self-defined and governed as corporations, through their members' consent and the "web of individual rights" that were granted through a "corporate existence."[10] The pre-reformation 'web' of corporate rights, described by Charles Reid and Bruce P. Frohnen, provided the English church with layers of security from the overreaching power of the

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[7] For knowledge exchange and companies in the east see Simon Mills, 'The Chaplains to the English Levant Company: Exploration and Biblical Scholarship in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century England', in Judith Becker and Bettina Braun eds, *Die Begegnung mit Fremden und das Geschichtsbewusstein*, (Gottingen, 2012), 243-266; 'The English Chaplains at Aleppo: Exploration and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1620-1760', *Bulletin of the Council of British Research on the Levant*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2011), 13-20; G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007); For political influence of western expansion see Pulsipher, Subjects; Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Robert Bliss, *Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 1993).
[8] Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Exploration, 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[9] Charles Reid, 'Rights in Thirteenth-Century Canon Law: A Historical Investigation' (unpublished PhD diss., Cornell University, 1995), 6.
[10] Bruce P. Forhnen, 'Individual and Group Rights: Self-Government and Claims of Right in Historical Practice', in Bruce P Frohnen and Kenneth L. Grasso eds, *Rethinking Rights: Historical, Political, and Philosophical Perspectives* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri, 2009), 111.

Vatican. Furthermore, the Magna Carta in theory (although this was often tested) secured the independence of the pre-reformation English church to appoint its own officers away from crown interference, which stated that the church "shall be free, and have her whole rights, and her liberties inviolable."[11] Obtaining individual corporate rights, medieval ecclesiastical corporations developed their own legal characters which made them more than just the sum of their members. They developed corporate personalities, which they held in perpetuity, possessing their own legal rights, such as corporate seals and a common chest, which was later a characteristic of England's seventeenth century overseas companies.

The rights and roles of members of medieval Catholic ecclesiastical corporations were similarly protected and defined by their corporate involvement. Members could be involved in the election of church leaders and officials, the most iconic moments involving this corporate right included election of the Pope by the College of Cardinals.[12] Other members had a series of rights that ultimately depended on their position within the corporate structure. However, these rights did not look too dissimilar from those of Mayors, or Governors in the urban and trading corporations of the seventeenth century.[13] Corporations were a civic tool unifying groups of people into one commonwealth or society and, thereby, policing their behaviour in a manner befitting that of a commonwealth. Oliver Cromwell's lawmaker, William Sheppard, argued the importance of corporations as numerous "Body Politic" in which men were "fram'd" together.[14] In doing so, Sheppard like many of his contemporaries believed that good government was ensured as the corporations acted to police the religious, political, commercial and social behaviour of its members. Described as "the best of Polities" early moderns believed that the behaviour of the individual and the communities that made up the corporation would be governed in such a manner that would not damage the corporation, and thereby the nation.[15] Phil Withington and others have pointed out the proliferation of corporations in the early modern period, highlighting that England was an "incorporation of local communities into a national society and state."[16] The reason for this was that

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[11] Magna Carta (1215).
[12] Reid, *Rights in Thirteenth-Century Canon Law*, 395.
[13] Frohnen, 'Individual and Group Rights', 112-15.
[14] William Sheppard, *Of Corporations* (London: 1659), 1.
[15] *Ibid*., 1-3.
[16] Phil Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 4; 'Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship and State Formation in Early

corporations, whether commercial, urban, or religious, were established to organise and ensure that the behaviour of its members was not damaging or detrimental to the mission of the whole body politic.[17] Building upon Emily Erikson's work on how networks help to understand the mediation of behavioural patterns, religious governance can be seen as a "micro-level" attempt to police behaviour.[18] Through Religious governance we can then see the development of the "macro-level" social, political and corporate organisation abroad. Through this lens we can see how corporations were organisations that engaged, established and finally policed the behaviour of its members.

In the same way that the seventeenth century jurists Edward Coke had highlighted shared origins between corporations and "*Collegium* or *Universitas*", there was a similar perception towards church congregations, who were seen as "Distinct Corporations *or* Churches of *Christ*".[19] For example the Governor of Madras, Streynsham Master, noticed similarities between the two merging Coke's definition with that of a church congregation describing the company's community. Master's in a complaint to the East India Company (EIC) concerning the 1668 rules and orders, believed that the company's leaders had not done enough to establish control and good government over the English community in India. For this, the Factory according to him needed to be "more like unto the College, Monasteries or a house of Religion."[20] Through the shared characteristics of collectivism and fellowship, the congregation and company, during the seventeenth century, existed within the language of corporations. By 'covenanting' merchants were establishing "Corporationall" bodies whose members congregated together much like a church covenant. Whether the merchants of the EIC who had 'covenanted' together in a joint-stock company or Presbyterians and Conformists whose congregations had "Covenanted to be a Church Body", both formed social entities that were seen as companies of

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Modern England', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 4 (2007), 1016-38; *The Politics of Commonwealth*, especially chapter II; For an insight into the position of urban and town corporations in early modern English state formation, in particular both secular and religious patronage in town corporations see Catherine Patterson, *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England: Corporate Boroughs, the Landed Elite, and the Crown, 1580-1640* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

[17] To understand more about the role of corporations in policing the behaviour of individuals and networks that formed them see Emily Erikson, *Between Monopoly and Free Trade: The English East India Company, 1600-1757* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 22.

[18] *Ibid*., chapter I.

[19] Edward Coke, *An Abridgement of the Lord Coke's commentary on Littleton*, (London, 1651), sect. 412, 413 L. F., *A speedy remedie against spirituall incontinencie Shewing it to be sinfull in any, to heare, a flase ministrie. With a briefe description of a true Church of Christ* (London, 1641); Stern, *Company-State*, 6.

[20] Unsent letter by Strenysham Master, BL IOR. Eur Mss E/210.

people.[21] Furthermore, in broad terms, overseas companies were made up of members of congregations and, as such, both the church and overseas companies were a "Company of Christians" who, as corporate bodies, shared in the "Joint-Stock of religion" in which "all bear a great adventure" both financial and spiritual.[22] As communal organisations corporations acted on behalf of their membership or congregation, providing them with the structural framework "for continuous and systematic public activity" in order to achieve their goals.[23]

The extension of English authority across the globe through the seventeenth century was fuelled by the involvement of English overseas companies. Joint stock and regulated corporations advanced English commercial and colonial endeavours abroad, governing and structuring these ventures. Overseas companies were used to advance English commercial and territorial desires from eastern Canada to Japan. However, their connected place in the development of English overseas expansion has often been overlooked in studies that focus on colonial ventures in the Atlantic rather than the entangled world of corporates overseas expansion in the seventeenth century. [24] Furthermore, the distinction between colonial and commercial enterprises has been misleading, as in both cases the organisational framework of the corporation was used to structure and legally authorise the actions across the globe.

Global corporations were connected both structurally and through their commercial activities by religious governance. English overseas companies had shared structural origins in their charters, which developed in relation to the use of religious governance. However, this did not mean that there were no dissimilarities amongst the many companies and corporations, especially in America, which one nineteenth-century

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[21] *Ibid*.

[22] BL IOR. Eur Mss E/210; Samuel Kem, *An olive branch found after a storme in the northern seas. And presented to his Majesty in a sermon at the court in New-Castle. By Samuel Kem, a little before his Majesties going to Holmbey* (London, 1647), 11.

[23] Phil Withington, 'Public Discourse'', 1017.

[24] For Atlantic history, see David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick eds, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Allan Macinnes and Arthur Williamson eds, *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603-1714: The Atlantic Connection* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Pestana, *English Atlantic*; Bliss, *Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*. For the limitations of Atlantic history see Peter A. Coclanis, Alison Games, Paul W. Mapp, and Philip J. Stern, 'Forum: Beyond The Atlantic' *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 63, No. 4, (2006), 673-776.

commentator described as needing "the talents of an Alfred" or the "arm of the Norman tyrant" to unite them.[25] Despite differences, these overseas corporate enterprises were connected by their shared structural origins. There have been some attempts to address questions surrounding connections in English global expansion in this period. For the most part the literature has been limited in its discussion of its corporate foundations.[26] Amongst the limited discussion, Phil Stern has suggested that these connections were established in the structural inception of companies, both Eastern and Western, highlighting that their charters ensured that they were formed out "of the same ilk."[27] Both in the East and the West, companies such as the Massachusetts Bay Company (MBC), Virginia Company (VC) and EIC, shared the same legal origins through their corporate charters to govern over their members, trade, towns and inhabitants.[28] However, through their corporate framework these companies shared more than just a structural similarity as each company developed forms of religious governance as a means to regulate its governmental identity and the religious behaviour of their populations abroad. The VC and EIC called upon "classical rhetoric", ideas of civic humanism and religious support to establish polities and encourage domestic backing for their temporal and spiritual missions.[29] Companies were linked by their use of religious governance, highlighting how their differences not only divided them, but also united them.

The confused nature of English Protestantism spawned a variety of opinions and forms of domestic religious authority in England which, when placed abroad by overseas companies, mingled into complex governmental arrangements. Just as English corporate entities abroad were formed in religiously pluralistic environments, the early Stuart church in England was spawned from dispute and discussion in an "arena of lay activism

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[25] St. George Tucker, *Blackstone's Commentaries: With Notes of Reference, to the Constitutions and Laws, of the Federal Government of the United States; and of the Commonwealth of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1803), 1: 405.

[26] Huw Bowen, Elizabeth Mancke and John G. Reid eds, *Britain's Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, c. 1550-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Games, *Web of Empire*; Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[27] Philip Stern, 'British Asia and British Atlantic: Comparison and Connections', *William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol.63, No. 4 (2006), 700.

[28] Stern, 'British Asia and British Atlantic', 703.

[29] Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 58-62; ''Everyman, that prints, adventures': the rhetoric of the Virginia company sermons' in Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough, *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Stern, British Asia and British Atlantic, 700-01, 704-705.

and, at least potentially heterodox, doctrinal debate." [30] Across England, varying Protestant communities defined in differing ways how religion should be governed. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religious governance in England began to undergo radical changes as moderate Protestants sought further reform in the church alongside the political and religious life of England.

An important factor in the development of the governmental personality of England's overseas companies was the religious identities of its members. Like in England, religious heterogeneity, dispute and denominational difference was a common place characteristic of the English corporate communities abroad. To varying degrees and size, these communities contained the variety of factions that had developed in the Church of England in the years after the reformation. As Peter Lake as pointed out the Church of England from the Elizabethan to restoration periods was made up of a "polyphony, indeed at times of crisis, a veritable cacophony" of various groups who manoeuvred to "claim that church as their own." [31] This fractured unity that defined the early Church of England was no different in England's overseas companies. [32] Various groups lived and worshipped together as members of the Church of England (in its broadest possible definition), whilst mirroring the same communal debates surrounding the theology and the church in England. [33] As Patrick Collinson has illustrated in his work on Puritanism,

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[30] Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'Heterodoxy' and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 5.

[31] Peter Lake 'Introduction: Puritanism, Arminianism and Nicholas Tyacke', in Fincham & Lake, *Religious Politics*, 12.

[32] For lack of uniformity and unity amongst the Church of England see Judith Maltby, 'From Temple to Synagogue: 'Old' Conformity in the 1640's-1650's and the Case of Christopher Harvey', in Peter Lake & Michael Questier, eds, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2000), 88-120.

[33] For the broad spectrum of Protestantism in seventeenth century England see also Peter Lake & Michael C. Questier, eds, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Kenneth Fincham & Peter Lake eds, *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2006), particularly Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Latitude of the Church of England' 41-59 and Paul Seaver. 'Puritan Preachers and their Patrons' 128-42; Leo F. Solt's work offers a more traditional approach to church history, but nevertheless includes a broad definition of the varying Protestant, Puritan and Catholic groups in England, arguing that to view these groups as just homogenous blocks "obscures the rich religious diversity" of the Elizabethan and Stuart ages: *Church and State in Early Modern England, 1509-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 83, 82-87; For a discussion of different strands of Puritanism and debate and discussion see Randall J. Pederson, *Unity in Diversity: English Puritans and the Puritan reformation, 1603-1689* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Carla Gardina Pestana offers a distinctly un-corporate account of the effect of Protestant diversity in England, alongside European, African and Native American religious diversity on the development of the "multiplicity of religious faiths and practices that eventually characterized life at the margins", in *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

it represented "not so much an insurgency against the Reformed Church of England" but rather a "vigorous and growing tendency within it."[34] However, in some cases England's overseas companies such as the MBC offered the opportunity for groups to establish their own churches whose structure was distinct from Church of England, and more importantly place its authority above that of the English church.

Therefore, it is important to briefly identify and outline the terms used in this thesis to describe whom these various religious groups and denominations were, particularly, Conformist, Anglican, Nonconformist and Puritan. Throughout the thesis, Conformist and Anglican are often used interchangeably to refer to those individuals and groups who broadly remained and worked within the framework of the Church of England. Wary that Anglicanism has been described as "an anachronistic nineteenth-century term, and its use tends to obscure the firmly Reformed character of the Church of England" it is mostly used to describe someone who represented or operated within the parameters of the Church of England between 1601-1660.[35] Unless stated otherwise, 'Anglican' functions merely to differentiate from groups such as Congregationalists in the MBC who separate themselves from the broad religious community that the Church of England represented in this period.

The use of terms such as nonconformist and puritan are used interchangeably in this thesis to refer to various groups who wished to either reform, distance or separate themselves (in the case of the MBC) from theology and episcopal authority of the Church of England. These terms encompass the various nonconformist protestant groups that emerged during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers and Anabaptists. However, having illustrated the various groups mentioned, it is vital to stress that it is not always evident in the historical records to which group individuals belonged. Furthermore, the sheer variety of protestant ideologies that arose in this period, and their overlapping beliefs means that it is often difficult to place an individual with any confidence.[36] For many of the individuals

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[34] Patrick Collinson, 'Antipuritanism', in John Coffey & Paul C.H. Lim, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 22.
[35] John Coffey & Paul C.H. Lim 'Introduction', in Coffey & Lim, *Puritanism*, 4.
[36] Natasha Glaisyer, *The Culture of Commerce in England, 1660-1720* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 74-75.

discussed in this thesis, these problems make it difficult, even impossible, to trace which group they belonged to other than to know that they were nonconformists or puritans.

It is also worth pointing out that not all the individuals who can be labelled as nonconformist and puritan were schismatic. Many of the individuals in the MBC and Plymouth Company were extreme examples of those groups of nonconformists who due to ecumenical, confessional and theological differences wished to separate totally from the Church of England.[37] By separating from the Church of England and establishing their own church governance, they highlight the adaptability of terms such as conformist and nonconformist in this period. Its members became both conformists to their own governing church and nonconformists to the English church they left.[38] However, many puritans in England's overseas companies chose to remain within the fold of the Church of England. For example, George Downing, John Haynes and John Angier all returned to England after being ministers in the MBC and entered the Church of England conforming to various degrees after the restoration.[39] Similarly, the early EIC chaplain, Patrick Copeland, before becoming a Congregationalist in later life, preached to the company's personnel as a conforming Puritan in the Church of England.[40] Likewise, several chaplains in the VC, such as Alexander Whitaker and Richard Buck, although harbouring puritan sympathies still administered to their congregations as members of the Church of England.[41] Individuals like Downing, Copeland and Whitaker highlight the importance of avoiding simplistic binaries between religious groups, which detract from the complex and overlapping relationships between Conformist and Nonconformist, Anglican and Puritans.[42]

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[37] For information on the differences between conformist and nonconformist groups in this period see Dewey D Wallace Jr, 'Puritan polemical divinity and doctrinal controversy' in, Coffey & Lim, *Puritanism*, 206-222.

[38] For a discussion of how conformity evolved and adapted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Kenneth Fincham 'Clerical Conformity from Whitgift to Laud' in Lake and Questier, *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, 125-157; Peter Lake, 'Moving the Goal Posts? Modified Subscription and the Construction of Conformity in the Early Stuart Church' *ibid.*, 179-205.

[39] William L. Sachse, 'The Migration of New Englanders to England, 1640-1660' *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2, (1948); R.C. Richardson, Puritanism in North West England: A Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 42-43, 50-51, 98, 104, 113; Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 70, 138-39, 145, 153, 159, 163.

[40] Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in* Asia, 2 vols. (Ossining: Oribis Books 2007) II: 237.

[41] Philip L. Barbour, *Pocahontas and Her World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), 133; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 233.

[42] Charles Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); For the pitfalls of using this binary discussion Peter

These terms when defined within the complex layering of religious life in the seventeenth century England, nonconformist, Anglican, conformist and puritan emphasise the cacophony of religious voices and the "tell-tale signs of contest and anxiety" in English communities this period.[43] By understanding these terms within the framework of English overseas companies, we can see how English religious identity and labels were influenced by global expansion. They not only highlight how ideas of conformity and nonconformity evolved across the century but how they were shaped by foreign experiences. An assessment of these overseas corporate communities focuses our understanding of protestant division and unity and how it impacted the formation of governmental identities in this period.

Debates on civil and religious government had been conducted since the mid to late sixteenth century, with various factions in the church forming around theological theory, formation and leadership. As Alison Games has commented, the overseas provided an arena in which religious governance could be conducted through "heterogeneity, dispute, [and] experimentation."[44] It was in the corporate world outside of England that many of the domestic debates were put into action. Overseas companies became the structural frameworks, which implemented political, academic and social debates surrounding religion overseas, and connected them back into England.

Seventeenth century corporate ideas about religious governance overseas had their foundations in the domestic debates on the relationship between the church and the English state. Recent discussion concerning the dynamic between English expansion overseas and the debates surrounding the monarchy, church and state, the episcopacy, sacraments and religious liberty, have often been centred in the Atlantic world. Described by Michael Winship as an "umbilical connection", the focus in much of the literature has been on the manner in which English peoples on a broad spectrum of Protestantism were able to act upon religious debates in England through expansion into the Atlantic.[45]

Lake, 'Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice', in Fincham & Lake, eds, *Religious Politics*, 80-97, 90; Lake & Questier, eds, *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, xii, xviii.

[43] Lake, 'Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice', 90.

[44] Games, *Web of Empire*, 253.

[45] For role of religious debates in the formation of American political government see Michael P. Winship, *Godly Republicanism: Puritans, Pilgrims, and a City on a Hill* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 46; *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636-1641*

Influenced by these debates, English communities formed religious polities and commonwealths that developed ideas of 'godly republicanism' and go on to influence the religious and political conflicts in England in the middle of the century, whilst others would eventually, through subtle differences, adapt the established church for their own purposes.[46] However, notably lost in the discussions on religious debate in the Atlantic world is the influence of the corporate structure that was foundational to the establishment of many of these religious polities.

Furthermore, the absence of any in-depth discussion of the corporate personality of these Atlantic religious polities has led to a disconnection between the role of religion in the formation of English communities in the east and west. Subsequently the influence religious life amongst non-Christian peoples has been overlooked, especially concerning the significant impact they had on ideas of governing over religion in these English communities overseas. As Sanjay Subrahmanyam highlighted how ideas and mental constructs "flowed across political boundaries" connecting English overseas expansion in geographies across the globe.[47] Similarly the development of political models of government connected English corporate expansion abroad. By understanding the connected development of companies and how religious governance regulated the behaviour of communities and individuals within them historian are able to avoid what Simon Potter and Johnathan Saha have described as "the simplification encouraged by the planetary scale analysis that absorbs Global historians."[48] A connected history of English governmental expansion through corporations provides the space to recognise the agency of communities and individuals.[49] Moreover, by interpreting the role and place of corporations in how people in the past "understood (and sought to influence) patterns

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); 'Godly Republicanism and the Origins of the Massachusetts Polity', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (2006), pp. 427-62; J.S. Maloy, *The Colonial American Origins of Modern Democratic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[46] For Atlantic imperial activities and links to radicalism see John Donoghue, *Fire Under the Ashes: An Atlantic History of the English Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013); Pestana, *English Atlantic*; Bliss, *Revolution and Empire*; For discussion on the evolution of the established church in Virginia see James B. Bell, *Empire, Religion and Revolution in Early Virginia, 1607-1786* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2013).

[47] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian* Studies, Vol. 31, No. 3 (1997), 748.

[48] Simon Potter and Johnathan Saha, 'Global History, Imperial History and Connected Histories of Empire', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2015).

[49] Michael Adas, 'Comparative History and the Challenge of the Grand Narrative', in Douglas Northrup, ed., *A Companion to World History* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell), 229-243, 238.

of long distance interaction" we can see how companies were integral to the development of experimental ideas in government and how they connected distant geographies in the seventeenth-century.[50] By investigating religious governance in England's overseas companies' we are better able to develop our understanding of expansion English authority abroad as connected enterprise across the east and west.

This does not mean that England's companies trading to the east, in particular the Levant Company (LC) have not attracted interest for their involvement in English religious discussion and debate, both at home and abroad.[51] Although the communities of English people who travelled East under the companies would never number those who settled in the Americas, they, like their corporate brethren in the Atlantic world, transported across the Mediterranean and Indian oceans political and religious debates that "mirrored" those in England.[52] The diverse but small Protestant communities that ventured east would take with them the religious conflicts surrounding church service and sacraments, refusing at times to preach from the Book of Common Prayer "in or contempt of the publick service of God."[53] Leaders in both the EIC and LC lamented the variation of the Protestant community abroad, complaining that just as in England, the divisions between Protestants created discord in the lives of the English people who lived in factories and territories.

Officials also protested that the divergent Protestant theologies that were represented amongst the companies' personnel, especially their religious officers, placed in danger any opportunity of evangelism in the religiously cosmopolitan environments in which they operated.[54] Yet, conflict and conversion was largely confined to internal Protestant issues, which was fuelled more-often than not, by denominational diversity rather than the varied religious geographies that they entered. Moreover, the diverse

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[50] Potter and Saha, 'Global History'.

[51] Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*; Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998); Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*; Gerald M. Maclean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2004).

[52] Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire,* 5.

[53] Forster, *English Factories*, XIII: 284.

[54] See chapters 3 and 5; Streynsham Masters to Samuel Masters, 9 December, 1678, in Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio, Lawrence M. Principe eds, *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle, 1636-1691* (*BC*) 6 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004) VI: 446; The Earl of Winchilsea to the Earl of Southampton, August 13, 1664, *Report on the Manuscripts of Allan George Finch,* Vol. I, (*Finch Mss.*), (London: 1913), 326; Stern, *Company-State,* 110-11.

religious environments entered by company personnel also provided intellectual links between faiths that would encourage religious debate in England. Companies such as the LC and EIC were crucial in establishing networks between religious leaders, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. Furthermore, many individuals who travelled abroad used their positions and experiences to establish links that would put the companies at the centre of a flourishing exchange of religious knowledge. Individual agents, in particular chaplains, became influential figures in developing an exchange of knowledge through their experiences, writing in pamphlets, tracts and books about the religious communities and forms of religious governments they encountered.[55] Not only did these works inform readers back in England of religious governance abroad, but they did so by constructing "a new global geography of empire" at the heart of which were merging and evolving forms of religious governance.[56] An investigation into the complex diversity of English Protestantism, as well as the religious environments these companies operated in, allows us to better understand the various forms of religious and political ideas that shaped debates on governance, both in England and abroad.

Central to understanding the development of religious governance in England's overseas companies is to recognise and explore the figure of the corporate chaplain. As historians, have convincingly pointed out early modern chaplains "were the versatile, ubiquitous … supporting actors of early modern cultural life."[57] However, in studies of the early modern period they have often been considered marginal figures. Kenneth Fincham has suggested that the reason for this neglect is due to "their sheer ubiquity" alongside "relative invisibility in the formal record, and performance of very diverse

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[55] For works relating to the religious knowledge exchange see Henry Lord, *A display of two forraigne sects in the East Indies vizt: the sect of the Banians the ancient natiues of India and the sect of the Persees the ancient inhabitants of Persia· together with the religion and maners of each sect collected into two bookes by Henry Lord sometimes resident in East India and preacher to the Hoble Company of Merchants trading thether* (London, 1630); William Biddulph, *The trauels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and the Blacke Sea And into Syria, Cilicia, Psidia, Mesopotamia, Damascus, Canaan, Galile, Samria, Iudea, Palestina, Ierusale,, Iericho, and to the Red Sea: and to sundry other places. Begunne in the yeare iubile 1600* (London, 1609); For the theories of knowledge exchange and the establishment of political power England seventeenth century companies see Ogborn, *Indian Ink.*
[56] Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, 22.
[57] Hugh Adlington, Thomas Lockwood & Gillian Wright, 'Introduction', in Hugh Adlington, Thomas Lockwood & Gillian Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England: Patronage, literature and religion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 8.

roles."[58] Others have noted this absence in the historical record, however, as Erica Longfellow has illustrated through family archives it is possible to "test the limits of the chaplain in this period."[59] Like family archives, the archives of overseas corporations also provide the opportunity to further our understanding of the position of early modern chaplains in English society. Moreover, they offer a unique opportunity to investigate the role of the chaplain beyond their religious functions. They highlight how they were not only involved in religious matters but also influenced commercial, political, and social decision abroad helping to shape the governmental character of English overseas expansion in the seventeenth century.[60]

Through their various responsibilities whether teaching, preaching, advising, policing or writing, chaplains were influential figures that influenced almost every aspect of daily life inside and outside of England. As important figures in households, embassies, royal courts, universities and overseas companies, they were employed and could exert influence in almost every level of English society enjoying "a surprisingly extensive degree of influence and agency."[61] This is particularly the case for chaplains in England's overseas companies who were influential figures in framing, enforcing and expanding English religious, commercial, diplomatic and eventually political authority abroad. In his work on Daniel Featley and his time as chaplain in the embassy in Paris, Hugh Adlington, has convincingly illustrated the significant sway, both directly and indirectly, chaplains had in diplomatic proceedings and debates.[62] According to Adlington, the embassy chaplain can be seen as the senior diplomatic figure who actively engaged in foreign disputes and interactions and should be understood as "something far more strategically significant than a mere adjunct to diplomacy."[63] Their responsibilities included preaching, providing divine guidance to ambassadors, offering communion within the Church of England whilst abroad, secretarial roles and providing a much

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[58] Kenneth Fincham, 'The roles an influence of household chaplains, c. 1600-c. 1660', in Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England*, 11.

[59] Erica Longfellow, 'The Isham family and their clergy', in Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England*, 161; William Gibson, *A Social History of the Domestic Chaplain, 1530-1840* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997), V.

[60] Hugh Adlington, 'Chaplains to embassies: Daniel Featley, anti-Catholic controversialist abroad', in Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England*, 98.

[61] Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, 'Introduction' in Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England*, 4.

[62] Adlington, 'Chaplains to embassies', in Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England*, 83-101.

[63] *Ibid.*, 84.

valued connection to England for ambassadors. Furthermore, they were a prominent part of the embassy's display of English religious and political state.[64] In his study, Adlington has answered the call to develop our understanding of "associated figures and processes which require rehabilitation within the diplomatic landscape." [65] Similarly, an investigation of chaplains in overseas companies can further our understanding of not only their position within the institution, but also their significant role in English diplomatic interactions outside of the embassy in India, America and the Middle east and their part in overseas governmental expansion in these geographies.

England's overseas companies recognised the importance and influence of chaplains in their organisations, implementing strict selection processes for the position to ensure the right type of individual took on the responsibility. In the case of the EIC, LC and VC most vacancies arose when the incumbent chaplain returned or requested to return home, was ill or as was often the case died. Occasionally in the case of the LC chaplains would return home with the ambassador. Once the company received news of a vacant position, they would advertise the post, sometimes sending letters to both Oxford and Cambridge universities.[66] Candidates would then apply or make themselves known to directors for support, a practice that in the EIC lasted throughout its history.

In the EIC and VC two to three candidates were selected, and LC often as many as four and five to give a sermon before the company members.[67] These sermons were occasionally open to the public and were often very popular. In 1662 Samuel Pepys although himself dismissive of the sermon, described seeing "many strangers and coaches coming to our church" because a sermon was "to be preached by a probationer of the Turkey Company, to be sent to Smyrna."[68] On most occasions the company chose the text for these sermons, and although Alison Games has suggested that they "do not

[64] Gibson, *Domestic Chaplain,* 56-9; Adlington, 'Chaplains to embassies', in Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England*, 85.
[65] R. Adams and R. Cox, 'Introduction' in R. Adams and R. Cox eds, *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 8.
[66] Daniel O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company 1601-1858* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 17.
[67] British Library (hereafter *BL*) India Office Records (hereafter *IOR*) B/5 24 March, 1613; John B. Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch of Chaplains to the Levant Company, Maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna, 1611-1706* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1883), 9; Games, *Web of Empire*, 225.
[68] R. Latham & W. Mathews, eds, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols. (London: Bell & Hyman, 1970-84), III, 259-60.

demonstrate any clear connection to the unique trials of ministering overseas" they were often evangelical in tone.[69] For example, the LC set one candidate 1 Peter 3:19 "By the which he also went, and preached unto the spirits that are in prison". Additionally, in 1622, the VC "appointed" Mr. Leat Isaiah 9:2 "The people that walked in darkness, have seen a great light: they dwelled in the land of shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined."[70] However, occasionally candidates, such as John Covel, were allowed (in this case by the LC) to select their own texts.[71] Impressive sermons were often printed at the expensive of the company; the LC often provided the £5 for the printing of 500 copies of the sermon doing this on fifteen occasions.[72] The purpose of these sermons was to assess the ability of the candidate to administer to the English communities abroad. Many years after he had given his trial sermon before the LC, the then Bishop of Gloucester, Robert Frampton was said to have recalled that its purpose was to provide "a specimen of his ability to instruct young men of which the factory generally consists."[73] The trail sermon or 'Rehersall Sermons' as the VC styled them, were a major part in the selection of ministers in the VC, LC and EIC during the seventeenth century. However, in the EIC this changed with the 1698 charter, which instead of a sermon required that a minister had the approval of the Bishop of London and be licensed.[74]

For most of the history of the EIC and LC in the seventeenth century, denominational affiliation, although a factor, did not factor too heavily into the selection or choice of ministers. In the case of the EIC, this was most probably a policy of necessity to fill positions left due the high mortality rate. Of the ninety-nine known chaplains sent out across the seventeenth century, just over 26 per cent died either on route or in India.[75] As discussed later in this thesis, this did not stop company leaders from complaining about the presence of nonconformist groups.[76] However, despite occasional grumblings,

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[69] Games, *Web of Empire*, 225.

[70] Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 71; 'At A Court Held for Virginia', 16 January, 1621, Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London: The Court Book, From the Manuscripts in the Library of Congress* (hereafter *RVC*) 4 vols. (Washington: 1906), I, 575.

[71] Eliab Harvey to John Covel, 17 March, 1669, BL Ms Add.22910 f.19; Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 71

[72] Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 73; Games, *Web of Empire*, 225.

[73] T. Simpson Evans, ed., *The Life of Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester* (London: Longmans, 1876), 23.

[74] Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 74; O'Connor, *Chaplains EIC*, 18.

[75] Figures calculated from S J. McNally, *The Chaplains of the East India Company* (London: India Office Records, 1976).

[76] See chapter V.

for much of the seventeenth century EIC officials were aware of the necessity of filling chaplain's positions and so, were willing to turn a blind eye to denominational difference. The LC relationship with denominational difference was often determined by internal political and religious conflict, making chaplain selection slightly more chequered. At various points, the company both became a hotbed for support of nonconformist or ultra-conformist causes. Both Gary De Krey and Glaiyser have pointed out this was often to do with who was in power in England and how it affected the leadership of the company both at home and abroad. During the interregnum, the LC became a haven for chaplains who had been royalist supporters, and following the restoration it similarly harboured a small group of vocal nonconformists.[77] For both companies, the denominational leaning of its leadership was often reflected in the selection of chaplains. However, often successful selection was down to the ability and reputation of the candidate rather than their theological affiliation, as the companies were often keen to fill positions quickly.

Another way in which the EIC, LC and VC assessed the ability of candidates, was through often calling for detailed testimonials for senior ministers and notable individuals. Although not always true, the aim of these testimonials was to find out further if the candidates were men of "known Ability, Orthodox in Religion, and well affected to the present Government" and whose qualities included learning, sobriety, orthodoxy and piety.[78] For example, Mr Robert Staples, a minister in London, applied to the VC with testimonials "from many Divines resident in this City" claiming that he was "of honest conversation and a good Scholler."[79] One EIC applicant in 1614 despite being "no great scholar" was given a position due to testimonies describing him as an "esteemed and honest man and a good teacher."[80] In the LC and similarly in the EIC following the trail sermons, these testimonials were read out before the members of the company who were present at a general court, and a vote was cast by show of hands and eventually a chaplain was selected to administer to the company's personnel abroad.[81] This rigorous process was not always successful in selecting the right candidate as occasionally the company

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[77] Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 74; Gary de Krey, *A Fractured Society: Politics of London in the First Age of Party, 1688-1715* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 102.
[78] SP 105/156 f.90; Company to Consul Rycaut, 1 Sept 1670 SP 105/113 f. 119r; William Hussey and others to Consul Metcalf, June 1688, SP 105/114, p.432; Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 74.
[79] 'Meeting of the Committee 30 October, 1621' Kingsbury, ed., *RVC*, I, 544.
[80] Court Minutes of the East India Company, 27 January, 1614, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan, 1617-1621* (1870), 273.
[81] SP 105/152 f.241; SP 105/154 f.270; Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 72.

officials received information the chaplain did not live up to their standards. In 1617, EIC officials in England were horrified to receive information that their selection for a chaplain to spar with the Jesuits at Surat had turned out to have the "most licentious, ungodly liver" and that he preferred "his epicurism, drunkenness and intolerable insolent pride before the divine worship of God."[82] Likewise in 1607 the LC warned Mr Biddulph, their chaplain at Aleppo, that he was too argumentative and threatened him with dismissal.[83] Although accounts of rogue chaplains are littered throughout the individual company archives, they were the minority of cases and although their time as chaplains could be considered a failure they help to illustrate the importance the company placed when selecting chaplains to go abroad, and ensuring that they carried out their important responsibilities successfully.

Alongside ability and reputation there were several other deciding factors that company officials considered when selecting chaplains, these included their age, marriage and education. Age was often a concern as company officials worried about the "gravitie" of the individuals they sent out.[84] One EIC candidate was rejected due to his age as the company believed that it would be "unsavoury to have a young man reprove ancient men, especially of such vices as may reign in themselves."[85] Similarly, there was no firm marital policy in any company, although the most successful candidates tended not to be married. However, in one case in the EIC a married candidate was successful as he wished to distance himself from her. He confessed openly to the company that "his chief cause desiring this employment" was that "she is a woman whose life and conversation is incompatible and not to be endured and with whome he never intends to have any conversation or fellowship."[86] Another factor in the selection of chaplains was their education. In the clear majority of cases successful candidates were educated at Oxford or Cambridge universities. In the LC, approximately 14 per cent of the chaplains sent out held BD degrees and 32 held or would go on to hold doctorates in divinity, well above the average for local parish ministers in England.[87]

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[82] Attestations against William Leske, minister to the English factory at Surat, 8 January, 1617, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan, 1617-1621* (1870), 9.
[83] Games, *Web of Empire*, 226.
[84] 12 January 1608, BL IOR B/3 f. 70*vr*
[85] Quoted in O'Connor, *Chaplains EIC*, 18.
[86] Court Minutes of the East India Company, 5 January 1629, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan, 1617-1621* (1870), 603-4.
[87] Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 71.

The selection of religious personnel in the MBC shared some similarities with its counterparts in the east, however, the choice of minister remained firmly in the hands of individual church congregations. Unlike in the EIC and LC where the company conducted the selection of the chaplain, their church congregations elected ministers in the MBC. This had its foundations in the nonconformist traditions that the MBC members rigidly enforced in Massachusetts. However, the process, which involved a sermon and religious testimony, did share some similarities with the corporate trail sermons of the EIC and LC. Unlike its counterparts to the East who had to select religious personnel back in England, in the MBC the founding of Harvard College could educate and train religious personnel locally.[88] The anonymous author of *New England's First Fruits* recalled how the MBC in its early days " longed for" educated ministers to "advance Learning and perpetuate it to Posterity" dreading that if they did not do this they would "leave an illiterate Ministery to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust."[89] This served two purposes, firstly in theory it secured a constant supply of religious personnel, although as will be shown later this was not always the case. Secondly, it was a way of maintaining religious uniformity, an issue that plagued the selection of chaplains in England's eastern companies. However, despite establishing several fellowships and other financial and social incentives for Harvard graduates to stay in Massachusetts, it often proved hard for the MBC to prevent these godly young men from migrating to England to minister there.[90] For the MBC the selection of religious ministers was an equally important task and required a rigorous system of selection. Although the process of selection in the company had different foundations to its eastern brethren they shared similar characteristics. Moreover, MBC ministers and EIC, VC and LC chaplains shared the same responsibilities; they policed and governed the companies' members, providing spiritual and social security to their communities.

The positon of company chaplain carried with it several spiritual, financial and professional incentives that were seen as attractive to certain groups of people. In the case of the MBC, the incentive was the establishment and maintenance of a godly republic.

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[88] Mark A. Peterson, 'Puritanism and Refinement in Early New England: Reflections on Communion Silver', *William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 58, No. 2, (2001), 325-26.
[89] Quoted in *ibid.*, 325.
[90] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 75, 82, 92, 103.

Those who wished to be ministers in the company's jurisdictions shared its members Congregationalist faith on which the project had its religious foundations. Throughout the century, many chose to migrate to Massachusetts and administer to the church there for religious and political reasons. Often fleeing what they believed as persecution in England to engage in a godly project across the Atlantic.[91] This was not always a uniform migration of ministers and the MBC reacted harshly, punishing and often banishing anyone who wished to preach a doctrine that was not in line with their Congregationalist theology. Throughout its history the MBC used banishment to "keep their community free from undesirables" but this proved futile in trying to ensure religious and social unity. Between 1630-31 Boston, Salem and Charlestown alone banished 1.4 per cent of their combined population. This included the merchant Thomas Morton, a drunkard Thomas Grey and Henry Lynn who was given the sentence for "writing into England falsely and mallitiously against the government."[92] However, it was through the interactions with local peoples and the possibilities of evangelism that Chaplains in all of England's overseas companies were connected by a similar spiritual incentive. From America to India, Japan to the Middle-east, non-Christian peoples provided a religious incentive for some chaplains to go abroad and spread the gospel. Although the zeal for this cause varied across the century, it remained a constant incentive for both individuals and companies across the period.

In the case of the EIC and LC, there were also more temporal incentives for individuals to seek employment as chaplains in overseas commercial companies. Firstly, the pay was attractive often as good if not better than a parish living. For much of the century, pay varied between £50 to £100 a year, in addition to accommodation and often a stipend to acquire books and other materials.[93] In the English communities abroad, this positioned them as second to the President of the Factory, above factors, surgeons and others. In the EIC, chaplains although unable to trade privately could invest in the joint-stock, whilst in the LC they could invest and trade and often did so to great success.[94] According to his biographer, Edward Smyth whilst chaplain in Smyrna between 1689 and

[91] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 16-31; T.H. Breen, *Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 9-13.
[92] Nan Goodman, 'Banishment, Jurisdiction, and Identity in Seventeenth-Century New England: The Case of Roger Williams', *Early American Studies*, Vol.7, No. 1, (2009), 109-110.
[93] O'Connor, *Chaplains EIC*, 18-19.
[94] *Ibid.*, 19; SP 105/156 p.175.

1692 was involved in successfully trading in the company, so much so that he made "great Advancement of his Private Fortune."[95] A chaplaincy in England's overseas companies also offered certain individuals such as Edward Pococke, Robert Huntingdon and Henry Lord the ability to engage in academic pursuits and establish contacts that would "advance his own interests."[96] As one LC chaplain wrote, "I am confident that there are no such advantages for study to any other Englishmen abroad in all the world, as I have here."[97] Through their positons as company chaplains, many individuals gained "access to networks of power at an early stage of his career" in doing so they acquired patrons and contacts across the globe that would later help them advance their own careers.[98] Many individuals saw the position of company chaplain and the governmental opportunities it provided to advance their own professional and financial standing positively, whether this was in politics, army, academia or the church.

Several historians have examined the role of religious evangelism in the expansion of English authority in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but very little attention has been given to its role in the foundation of English government abroad, in the seventeenth century.[99] For example, Penelope Carson's work on religion in the EIC investigates how the company "dealt with religious issues from its early mercantile beginnings to the bloody end of its rule in 1858."[100] However, apart from the last two years of the 1690s, the seventeenth century is excluded from her discussion. Similarly Rowan Strong, in his work on the character of imperialism and its association to Anglicanism, argues that a conscious concern for empire emerged in the eighteenth

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[95] Quoted in Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 77.
[96] Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, 'Introduction' in Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England*, 4; See also chapter III.
[97] Quoted in Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 77.
[98] Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, 'Introduction' in Adlington, Lockwood & Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England*, 4.
[99] For work on evangelism and the expansion of English governmental authority overseas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see Penelope Carson, *The East India Company and Religion, 1698-1858* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2012); David Hempton, *The Church and the Long Eighteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011); Norman Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May, ed., Missionaries, Indigenous People and Cultural Exchange (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010); Laura M. Steven, *The Poor Indian: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Edward E. Andrews, *Native Apostles: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c.1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Joseph Hardwick, *An Anglican British World; The Church of England and the Expansion of the Settler Empire, c. 1790-1860* (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 2014).
[100] Carson, *Company and Religion*, 2.

century with the formation of evangelical societies.[101] Although the work of Wilson, Strong, and many others, has provided "concrete ingredients" for the evolution of imperialism, the focus of much of the historiography on the eighteenth century has meant that the empire's seventeenth-century concrete foundations have often been ignored. Through an investigation of seventeenth century English corporate expansion, which focuses on the role of religion in framing the development of governmental authority overseas.

Similarly, the connection on religious involvement in overseas expansion has often been centred on its spiritual and evangelical rather than governmental role. The discussion concerning English overseas expansion and religion has often been focused on the role of imperial evangelism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which the religious interaction, embodied in the Christian minister or missionary and evangelical societies, followed in the wake of seventeenth-century merchants.[102] This does not mean that historians have not investigated the link between evangelism and commercial and territorial expansion in the seventeenth century. As Gabriel Glickman has pointed out in relation to the New England Company (NEC), evangelical corporations did attempt to change colonial strategies in north-east America, encouraging the association between conversion and commercial and territorial expansion.[103] David Armitage has argued that, whilst evangelism did not necessarily equate to rights of sovereignty, it in conjunction with commerce, plantation and territorial permanence, it was a factor in justifying the expansion of English territory.[104] By examining the role of evangelism in England's overseas companies, it is therefore possible to reassess evangelism's function as more than just the spiritual conversion of a soul but also as part

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[101] Strong, *Anglicanism*, 6.
[102] Brent Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); Samuel Clyde McCulloch, 'The Foundation and Early Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (1945), 241-258; Laura M. Stevens, 'Why read Sermons? What Amercianists can learn from the Sermons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts' *History Compass*, Vol. 3 (2005), 1-19; Andrews, *Native Apostles*; Carson, *Company and Religion*; Strong, *Anglicanism*; William Kellaway, *The New England Company, 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians* (London: Longmans, 1961).
[103] Gabriel Glickman, 'Protestantism, Colonization, and the New England Company in Restoration Politics' *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (2016), 376, 365-391.
[104] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 95-97.

of the governmental acquisition of territories and authority over peoples and their behaviour.

This dissertation divides religious governance into three distinct but interconnected models; pastoral, theocratic and ecumenical governance all defined below. Evolving from the dual desire to secure the government of corporations abroad, and to evangelise with the aim of expanding the corporations' spiritual and territorial jurisdiction, these models of religious government can be traced across England's overseas companies around the globe. Religious governance across these companies, through differing methods, served both to police the behaviour of those who fell under it, and too advance its jurisdiction over those who would traditionally be considered beyond its authority. The models of religious governance that each of the companies established indicate the ways in which its members believed their mission could and should be achieved. Whether that was political, spiritual, commercial, or a mixture of all three, religious governance became an important structural component of governance that can be seen to have globally connected English overseas expansion in the seventeenth century.

Pastoral governance was founded in the expansive authority given to corporate chaplains to govern over not only the Christian lives of corporate personnel, but also their day-to-day activities and interactions.[105] In the context of the religious governance of England's overseas companies, it can be seen as the governance of the corporate flock as a whole. Used in the LC and EIC before its territorial acquisitions, pastoral governance focused on policing the behaviour of the companies' Protestant personnel. Obsessed with securing their commercial mission in these early years, company leaders sought to minimise the prospect of harmful behaviour through the chaplain. They did this by establishing a form of clerical police force, which governed over the spiritual and everyday behaviour of company personnel. In doing so, officials hoped to alleviate the risks of apostasy, drunkenness, prostitution, gambling and all manner of perceived vices, thereby securing their good reputation amongst the local peoples. Furthermore, through pastoral governance, the chaplain would police diplomatic, intellectual and religious interactions; meanwhile, it was hoped, securing the good behaviour of company personnel would begin a process of passive evangelism.

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[105] For studies of corporate chaplains see O'Connor, *Chaplains EIC*; Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch*.

Theocratic governance in overseas companies followed the traditional definition in which God was recognized as the supreme leader, and religious law absolute. In a corporate setting, this meant the company obtained its governmental ideology from its religious and political leadership being entwined. Furthermore, companies that adopted theocratic governance sought to secure and perpetuate their governments by aggressively enforcing a policy of exclusivity. Gaining access to political and civil privileges of the company meant that an individual had to confess to sharing the same theological creeds and beliefs that were shared by the company collective. Political membership and participation in corporate life was reserved solely for those who followed the same religious ideology. Those in the company's jurisdiction who did not conform or follow its members' religious governance often faced persecution, forced conversion, banishment and even execution. For England's overseas corporations, theocratic governance in its most extreme form emerged in the MBC.

Ecumenical governance represented a consolidated response to religious government in which company officials begrudgingly accepted diversity and worked with it. For England's overseas companies in the seventeenth century, the variety of peoples and faiths they encountered and governed meant that, for some, ecumenical governance was the only way they could secure their commercial positions. Whether in the freedom to practise religion and trade or the inclusion of these religious groups in the government of the corporations, ecumenical government offered the closest possible representation of a corporate religious government that included multiple faiths.

By using these models, it becomes possible to more effectively assess the differing roles of religious governance amongst several of England's seventeenth century overseas companies and the distinct governmental agendas connecting these companies across the globe. These discrete models of government across the globe illustrate how through similar foundations companies developed administrative frameworks to control the religious behaviour and practices of those under its authority. Just as in England, religious governance of England's companies could both divide and connect those it sought to bring together. In company jurisdictions in different environments, religious governance, at times, broke down, highlighting the fractious nature of religious life in the seventeenth century.

By understanding the role of religious governance in policing the behaviour of English corporate 'congregations' overseas, we are better able to assess the evolution and connection between domestic and external ideas of authority, identity and government in England. This thesis places the experiences of religious governance in overseas corporations at the centre of early modern ideas of English state formation. An assessment of how each corporation refined ideas of authority offers a more accurate picture of the varied and complex experiments that influenced the varying directions of English governmental expansion, both at home and abroad.

Chapter one traces the foundational and influential use of religious governance in England's early attempts to colonise Ireland and Virginia between 1606 and 1624. It assesses how, in these initial steps to establish English authority abroad, religious governance embraced multiple forms – pastoral, theocratic and ecumenical – that would later be used as separate and distinct models of governance by successive companies. The VC and Irish Society (ISoc) experimented with religious governance to secure their control over English personnel abroad. Moreover, it became an instrumental tool in the companies' attempts to expand their jurisdictional authority over Native American and Irish peoples' traditions considered beyond the bounds of English governance. Finally, it examines how the experiences and memory of religious governance in the VC and ISoc provided the groundwork for future forms of corporate religious governance to evolve.

Chapter two examines the development of corporate religious governance in the Atlantic following the VC, focusing on the company's member's denominational allegiance in influencing the direction and model of governance that the company would adopt. Building upon this the chapter illustrates how the members of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay companies established authoritarian governments through corporate foundations, by manipulating charter privileges to forming model theocratic governance in New England. It examines how the leaders and members of the MBC as a corporate body established and nurture a distinct form of religious government. By tracing the development of the MBC's congregational theocratic governance in Massachusetts it assesses how the joint stock corporation offered its members the legal and structural framework that would dogmatically police the religious behaviour of its members to secure and establish a godly republic. Moreover, by mapping the origins of corporate

theocratic governance in New England, the chapter explains how religious governance not only secured the governmental identity of overseas companies, but would also weaken them and ultimately lead to their downfall.

Chapter three moves away from an analysis of communities to instead assessing the role of individual agents, in particular chaplains, in the EIC and LC from 1601 to 1660. Investigating how the two companies developed a form of pastoral governance to establish control of their corporate personnel in the religiously diverse environments. This chapter examines how corporate chaplains became instrumental figures in establishing corporate authority, and thereby commercial success in this period. Furthermore, it reveals the essential role chaplains played in the corporate exchange of religious knowledge overseas, not only by policing company personnel's religious, commercial and diplomatic interactions, but also through their own pursuits. As individual agents, chaplains engaged in a culture of knowledge exchange in the environments in which they operated, affecting the development of religious governance, both abroad and in England. Finally, this chapter highlights how, throughout much of its existence, the LC and, for a small period, the EIC's pastoral government helped to inform the flexible process of how companies established corporate governance abroad and how they interacted with peoples, faiths and cultures.

Returning to Massachusetts, chapter four focuses on communal responsibility in decline of the MBC's theocratic governance between 1639 and 1684. Firstly, like the chaplains in chapter 3, this investigates the transportation of political knowledge and ideas through corporate membership assessing the role of individual MBC members in the formation of religious governance in England in the years surrounding the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Building upon this, the chapter assesses the evolution of corporate evangelism, in England and America, illustrating how concepts established by the Virginia Company remerged in the MBC's theocratic governance with the formation of the New England Company (NEC), highlighting a shift in central religious governance that would later affect the East India Company, with the creation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in 1698. Furthermore, the chapter assesses how evangelism became a justification for territorial expansion and further encroachment on local peoples' rights, which has often been associated with missionary practice in Asia and Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The chapter concludes by offering

an analysis of the downfall of the MBC, emphasising how models of governance strengthened and established out of corporate flexibility could at the same time made brittle and weakened. By placing the MBC's theocratic governance as the principal agent of both the creation and demise of the company's autonomous government, this chapter illustrates its role in the end of corporate religious governance in north-east America. Moreover, it also highlights the stark differences that separate the company from the success of flexible corporate governance in the East over this same period.

Chapter five continues to build upon the differences in global corporate governance highlighting how these models could ensure corporate success, rather than failure by continuing the story of the EIC's evolving religious governance in the second half of the century. It investigates how, following the acquisition of Bombay in the 1660s, the company developed ecumenical governance to deal with its new governmental jurisdiction over a growing variety of peoples and faiths. This chapter analyses how, following 1662, in the post-Braganza era of the EIC, the flexibility of the corporate form was accentuated as a result of its adoption of the ecumenical model of governance, which allowed it to establish government over not only English Protestants but also Catholics, Armenians, Hindus, Muslims and Jews. Unlike the MBC, the EIC's religious governance focused on a policy of sufferance, which heightened the flexibility of its corporate government allowing it to adapt to its new position. The chapter also investigates the role of passive evangelism in the EIC's religious governance and how control of the English personnel, through harsh civic and moral governance, was seen as a possible way to encourage conversion. In doing so, the company hoped to bring local Indians not only into the Protestant faith, but also firmly into the fold of English civil government. Given the flexibility to experiment with its governmental form, through its corporate identity, the EIC used religious governance to establish this government abroad, and to refine it, highlighting its flexibility to adapt to its environment, whilst also solidifying its authority. The chapter goes further to discuss how sufferance unlike the MBC policy of uniformity, was used by the company leadership in the last decades of the century, to firmly establish and secure EIC civic governance through broad religious involvement.

The companies that I have researched have been chosen to cast a wide geographic net, covering Protestant religious governance in joint stock and regulated corporations in four oceans. It covers almost the entire seventeenth century, starting in 1601 with the

chartering of the EIC and ends before 1698 chartering of the new EIC and SPCK to examine in depth governmental changes over the period. It, however, is still a partial study of religious governance and corporate expansion in the seventeenth century, as it does not cover every English overseas company in this period. This study provides a new way of understanding government formation and corporate identity in the early modern era. It also shows how religious governance shaped the behaviour of English expansion in the seventeenth century.

Chapter I: The Virginia Company and the Irish Society (1606-1624): Religious and the Foundations of Religious Governance in the English Commercial Expansion

In early November 1622, preaching from the book of Acts, John Donne gave a sermon to the Virginia Company's members highlighting the importance of religion and religious governance for the success of the corporation.[1] A long-time supporter of the Virginia Company (VC), Donne had been interested in its endeavours since its early days, writing about them in letters to an acquaintance in 1607. Following the company's second charter in 1609, he put himself forward as secretary for the colony.[2] Donne, in his sermon, sought to reinforce the biblical reasoning for commerce by ordering the VC's members, through their activities, to be "a Light to the Gentiles, that sit in darkness."[3] Like the famous preachers and promoters of overseas commerce, Richard Hakluyt (Elder and Younger) and Samuel Purchas, who had advocated that by "planting of religion among those infidels" English overseas expansion was to the "glory of God," Donne also firmly promoted the evangelical possibilities that overseas trading companies offered English Protestants.[4] For Donne settlement overseas was only strengthened when the "principal end is not gain, nor glory, but to gain Souls to the glory of God."[5] Donne saw companies' presence amongst non-Christians as an opportunity to advance the Protestant faith and English religious governance abroad. Prior to formal provisions, advocates of the Protestant expansion, such as Donne, courted the company by connecting the success of the commercial mission to active participation of companies in the formation of religious governance abroad.

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[1] John Donne, 'To the Honorable the Virginia Company', November 13, 1622, in *Fiue sermons vpon special occasions (Viz.) 1. A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse. 2. To the Honorable the Virginia Company 3. At the consecration of Lincolnes Inne Chappell. 4. The first sermon preached to K. Charles at St. Iames, 1625. 5. A sermon preached to his Maiestie at White-hall, 24. Febr. 1625* (London, 1626), 2: 1-65.

[2] For Donne's letter see 'To the Worthiest Lady Mrs. Magdalen Herbert', July 11, 1607, in Edmund Gosse ed., *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols. (London, 1899), I: 164-65; For more on his involvement in the VC see Stanley Johnson, 'John Donne and the Virginia Company', *English Literary History*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1947), 127-138.

[3] Donne, 'A sermon Preached at St. Pauls Cross', September 15, 1622, in *Fiue sermons* 34; Donne, 'To the Honorable the Virginia Company', *ibid.*, 2; For Edward Coke's description of corporations see Steve Sheppard ed., *Selected Writings of Sir Edward Coke*, Vol. I (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003), 120-196, particularly 181.

[4] Richard Hakluyt (elder), *Pamphlet for the Virginia Enterprise* (1585), in E. G. R, Taylor, ed., *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts,* 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, 327.

[5] Donne, 'To the Honorable the Virginia Company', in *Fiue Sermons*, 28.

Just as Edward Coke had described corporations as an invisible body, Donne suggested the Virginia Company was an unseen celestial being, whose religious mission was the corporation's conscience, its moral backbone, to which the temporal "*Seales*, and *Patents*, and *Commissions*" were the company's "wings." By merging a religious mission with the constitutional authority of a corporation, Donne believed the VC could "fly the faster" towards success.[6] In the eyes of Donne, trade and commerce were "Gods own Invention" and, as such, should not obstruct the company's religious obligation to both establish and spread Protestant religious governance abroad.[7] As a result of clear religious governance over their English personnel and the peoples over whom they claimed jurisdiction, overseas companies would not only ensure the spread of Protestantism and English government, but accordingly provide an "example of a just Government to other Companies."[8] This chapter will illustrate the foundational development of religious governance in the Atlantic world as a mechanism companies could use to regulate the behaviour of their personnel and people through the establishment of godly and "just government."

Both in Virginia and Ireland the structure of English governmental expansion had its foundations in corporate entities and their ability to regulate the religious behaviours of their jurisdiction. Established by a royal charter in 1606, the VC obtained the right to settle on a hundred miles of coastline, which stretched approximately between Cape Fear and Long Island Sound. By 1607, the company established the first permanent English settlement in North America, situated on what was named the James River. Jamestown was to be the urban foundation from which the company and nation's hopes of riches, glory, and religious expansion would develop in what one historian has described as the "great Virginia adventure."[9] Ireland on the other hand had been the site of aggressive English colonisation under the Tudors. Yet under James I, and the supervision of the London-based corporation, much like in Virginia, English plantations were established. The idea of the Honourable Irish Society (ISoc) was first floated amongst the London

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[6] Donne, *ibid*, 28.
[7] Donne, 'A sermon Preached at St. Pauls Cross', September 15, 1622, in Donne, *Fiue sermons*, 34.
[8] *ibid.*, 35.
[9] For more see Samuel M. Bemiss's introduction, 'The Three Charters of the Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624', in *Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet*, No. 4 (1957).

livery companies in 1609, and was chartered in 1613 planting the town of Londonderry as part of the Ulster plantation.[10]

Historians have often considered the undertakings of the VC and ISoc to be tightly intertwined, considering them as contemporaries whose members learnt from each other's experiences. As Andrew Hadfield suggested "when the Jamestown Colony was established in 1607, colonial experience in Ireland formed the only serious precedent and means of making sense of the New World." [11] Audrey Horning and others have highlighted this connection, illustrating how the two companies "occurred essentially at the same time, involved many of the same personalities, and crucially, were financially intertwined."[12] Yet noticeably missing from the connected history of the two companies is an assessment of their use of religious governance by their shared personalities securing their intertwined financial aims.

For the leaders of these two companies, religious governance presented its leaders with a broad model of governmental authority that would police how the companies and their personnel would behave in relation to their leadership and polities that they controlled. Furthermore, in England, the religious governance of these two companies would reinforce what was perceived to be their spiritual and evangelical destiny in

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[10] For the first formal public discussion on the creation of an Irish corporation linked to the City of London see His Majesty to the City, *Motives and Reasons to induce the city of London to undertake the Plantation in the North of Ireland* (July 1609). For the general history on ISoc see, Ian W. Archer, 'The City of London and the Ulster Plantation', in Éamonn Ó Ciardha and Micheál Ó Siochrú eds, *The plantation of Ulster: Ideology and Practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 78-97; James Stevens Curl, *The Londonderry Plantation 1609-1914: The History, Architecture, and Planning of the Estates of the City of London and its Livery Companies in Ulster*, (Chichester, West Sussex: Phillimore, 1986); Raymond Smith, *The Irish Society, 1613-1963* (London: The Honorable Irish Society, 1966).

[11] Andrew Hadfield, 'Irish Colonies and America' in Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet, ed., *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 174, 172-193; There is a substantial amount of research on the Atlantic connection of English expansion into Ireland, Virginia and America initiated by Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1988); 'The permissive frontier: social control in English settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650', in Andrews, Canny and Hair, *Westward Enterprise*, 17-44; Audrey Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea; Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); James B. Bell, *Empire, Religion and Revolution in Early Virginia, 1607-1786* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2013) 15-24; David Beers Quinn, *Ireland and America: Their Early Association*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992); Rebecca Anne Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2012), 13-19, 42, 49; David Thomas Konig, 'Colonization and the Common Law in Ireland and Virginia, 1569-1634', in James A. Henretta, Michael Kamman, and Stanley N. Katz, eds, *The Transformation of Early American History: Society, Authority and Ideology* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1991), 70-92; W. J. Smyth, 'The Western Isle of Ireland and the Eastern Seaboard of America, England's First Frontiers', *Irish Geography*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1978), 1-23.

[12] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, 4.

Virginia and Ireland amongst indigenous peoples. Andrew Fitzmaurice in his research on sermons and "humanistic vision and ideology" of the VC, has highlighted the role of religion as the company's "principal means of promotion."[13] Combining both sermon and print as a form of oratory in England, Fitzmaurice argues that a clear connection can be made between their successful use and the "foundation of the new commonwealth" in America.[14] Although Fitzmaurice tackles the theoretical formation of commonwealth through sermons, he does not consider the practical application of religious governance as a means of securing the aims of the company. Similarly work on the religion and evangelical mission of VC and ISoc has often focused on its role as a justification for the companies' activities in Virginia and Ireland, rather than its governmental implications.

Investigations into the modes and moments of evangelism in Ireland and Virginia have often simplified or even ignored the companies' governmental aims of the policy to spread Protestantism. This chapter develops the governmental understanding of "cultural evangelism" defining the implications of religious conversion and conversion as a tool of governmental control of behaviour.[15] Central to discussion on evangelism is Anglo-indigenous interaction, whether that is Native American or Irish Catholic. This has taken the approach of discussing the civilising influence Protestantism could have on Native American and Catholic Irish peoples.[16] This has included an assessment of

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[13] Andrew Fitzmaurice 'Every man, that prints, adventures:' the rhetoric of the Virginia company sermons', in Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough eds, *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and history 1600-1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 24, 24-42; *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 58-67, 138-140. The link between sermons, evangelism, public support and the financial success of the VC in England has been well examined by historians, see Francisco J. Borge, 'Prayer for Purses: The rhetoric of compensation in the Virginia Company sermons', in *Prose Studies: History, theory, Criticism*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (2010), 204-220; W. Moelwyn Merchant, 'Donne's Sermon to the Virginia Company, 13 November 1622', in A. J. Smith eds, *John Donne: Essays in Celebration* (London: Methuen, 1972), 437-452; John Parker, 'Religion and the Virginia Colony 1609-10', in K. R. Andrews, N.P. Canny and P.E. Hair eds, *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1979), 255-262.

[14] Fitzmaurice 'Every man, that prints',24.

[15] Edward L. Bond, *Damned Souls in a Tobacco Colony: Religion in Seventeenth-Century Virginia* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2000), 76.

[16] There is an extensive historiography that is dedicated to discussing evangelism and Anglo-Indigenous interaction in this period for Virginia see David R. Ransome, 'Pocahontas and the Mission to the Indians', in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (1991), 81-94; Bond, *Damned Souls*; Perry Miller, 'The Religious Impulse in the Founding of Virginia: Religion and Society in the Early Literature', *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 5, No. 4 (1948), 492-522; Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough: Three Indian Lives Changed* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2006); Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia*; Sacks, 'To Deduce a Colonie', 206-212; Karen Kupperman has discussed how evangelism did not necessarily mean wholesale cultural and spiritual conversion instead it

the competitive religious origins of English imperialism based in evangelically spreading the Protestant faith preventing Catholic and Iberian expansion.[17] Another avenue of evangelism often discussed is the companies' policy of forced education of children belonging to local non-Protestant peoples. In her analysis of Jamestown, Karen Kupperman compares the VC's education policy with that of the late seventeenth-century evangelical society for promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) suggesting that its main role was to obtain financial support for the company.[18]

Although Kupperman is correct in her assertion that the VC's educational programme encouraged financial support in England, it doesn't attempt to explain the governmental implications of its imposition in Virginia. This is especially important when considering the company's aims to establish authority through its religious governance were dashed in part due to Native American anger towards the company's educational programme. Despite providing an insight into the mechanics of evangelism, much of the discussion centred on education has not looked beyond the 'civilising' mission of this policy. Thus, the company's governmental aims to police the religious behaviour of all those under its jurisdiction has not be adequately examined.[19] By

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was fusing of Native American and European religious practice. As such indigenous conversion to Christianity did not always follow the strict desire of English settlers, for further information see *Indians & English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); *Settling With the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1980); For the Elizabethan and Jacobean evangelical justification for English settlement and expansion as a counter to both the religious and political threats of Catholicism in Ireland and the Highlands and Islands see Jane H. Ohlmeyer, ''Civilizinge of those Rude Partes': Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s', in Nicholas Canny, eds, *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 124-147; Aiden Clarke and R. Dudley Edwards, 'Pacification, Plantation, and the Catholic Question, 1603-23', in T.W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne eds, *A New History of Ireland: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 187-232: R. J. Hunter, 'The Bible and the bawn: an Ulster planter inventorised', in Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer eds, *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 116-134.
[17] For Civilising mission of Protestant evangelism see Phil Withington, 'Plantation and civil society', in Ciardha and Ó Siochrú, *Plantation of Ulster,* 55-77; Raymond Gillespie, 'Success and failure in the Ulster Plantation', *ibid.*, 98-118; H. C. Porter, *The Inconstant Savage: England and the North American Indian 1500-1660* (London: Duckworth, 1979), 339-359; Anti-Catholic and Anti-Iberian origins of English evangelical expansion see David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 62-67, 83-84, 91-96; David Sacks Harris, 'Discourses of Western Planting: Richard Hakluyt and the Making of The Atlantic World', in Mancall, eds, *The Atlantic World*, 410-453; Francisco J. Borge, 'We (Upon Peril of My Life) Shall Make The Spaniard Ridiculous To All Europe: Richard Haklut's 'Discourse' of Spain', in Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt eds, *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 167-76; David Harris Sacks, ''To Deduce a Colonie': Richard Hakluyt's Godly Mission in its Contexts, c. 1580-1616', *ibid.*, 197-218.
[18] Kupperman, *Jamestown*, 324.
[19] Wesley Frank Craven, 'Indian Policy in Early Virginia', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1944), 65-82; James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Conquest of Cultures in Colonial North America*

examining the company's religious policies as calculated governmental actions, designed to achieve much broader aims than just spiritual salvation or financial success, helps to address important questions about how these earlier companies tried to secure their governments. Understanding the reasons why the VC and ISoc employed religious governance in order secure their government overseas are explored in this chapter.

This chapter illustrates the foundational attempts by the VC and ISoc to use religious governance as a mechanism to control the religious behaviour of English and local people under its control. Moving away from much of the traditional literature, which has focused on the many "different hopes for profitable undertakings— some of them commercial, some agricultural, and some industrial" responsibility of the VC, this chapter investigates the foundational moments that English overseas companies sought to regulate more than the commercial behaviour of its personnel.[20] In doing so it develops our understanding of religious experience of English and local peoples in Virginia and Ireland through economic structure of the company.[21] Furthermore, it does not reinforce the "seemingly well known narrative" of Virginia as a sole beginnings of Empire, it highlights its importance as a foundational figure in evolution of religious governance as a means regulate behaviour.[22] Moreover it established precedence for future companies to develop models that would regulate and connect across the globe the religious, political and social behaviour of personnel and populations.

The first section of this chapter will consider the English attempts to settle in America prior to the VC, exploring the role of Roanoke in influencing the future of corporate expansion and religious governance in Virginia and Ireland. Raleigh's early attempts to settle America's eastern seaboard provided both companies with foundational governmental experiences for their future missions overseas. Furthermore,

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(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Alden T. Vaughan, 'Powhatans Abroad: Virginia Indians in England', in Applebaum and Wood eds, *Envisioning and Empire*, 49-67; 'Sir Walter Ralegh's Indian Interpreters, 1584-1618', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (2002), 341-76.

[20] Wesley Frank Craven, *The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624* (Virginia, 1957), 25; *The Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932).

[21] Peter C. Mancall, ed. *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[22] L. H. Roper, *The English Empire in America: Beyond Jamestown, 1602-1658* (London: Routledge, 2009).

Roanoke also developed the first intellectual steps that connected evangelism with understanding Native American language and culture. By briefly analysing the Roanoke venture, we can better understand the context for the use and evolution of religious governance in the VC and ISoc.

Second, the chapter will investigate how the need to populate their settlements encouraged the swift development of strict religious laws and codes for the pastoral policing of English populations. It considers how religious governance became a symbol of the companies' authority as the leaders of both the VC and ISoc tried to govern over what they saw as unruly populations of English and local peoples. It also examines the role of evangelism as policy that was enacted in opposition to spread of Catholicism and Iberian power in the Atlantic. Furthermore, it also expanded the companies' jurisdiction and religious governance over Native American and Irish Catholic populations, as well as ensuring continued support in England. Moreover, the chapter explores the organisation of the church and evangelism in Virginia and Ireland and how religious governance structured the formation of church and educational programmes in these environments monitored behaviour and conversion. Building upon this the chapter assesses how the company sought to develop methods to enforce its religious governance that were often linked to its evangelical and commercial aims and the perception of local religious governance.

The chapter concludes by examining the part played by VC's religious governance in the events surrounding the 1622 massacre, highlighting its long-lasting repercussions in the evolution of corporate religious governance across the globe. These sections will establish a key theme of this thesis: by examining the use of religious governance in England's overseas companies during the seventeenth century a connected history is revealed. For many of those involved in either or both schemes, their success (in relative terms) was insured through the adoption of religious control over both the spiritual and temporal aims of the company, which manifested in the company's use of religious governance. The VC and ISoc were foundational in the establishment of English governance abroad marking the first substantial moments that English overseas companies would employ religion to secure their positions at home and abroad. Chartered to control the commercial behaviour of English people abroad, these companies marked

a moment in which corporations would claim authority over the daily lives of English and local communities abroad.

Roanoke

Raleigh's Roanoke venture marked the first substantial attempt to colonise North America and, although ultimately a failure, it provided one of the first substantial attempts by the English to interact with, and establish religious governance over, Native Americans. England's first major oceanic plantation project, Roanoke was a substantial failure.[23] A vain attempt to establish a permanent presence in America, its misfortune did however prove to be theoretically significant in influencing expansionist ideology and practice in England. By far the most successful American element of the Roanoke project involved the investigations of the Native American culture by the mathematician Thomas Hariot and artist John White. Hariot's interests in astronomical navigation led to him finding employment teaching the arts of navigation to Raleigh and his captains, as well as helping otherwise in any of the preparations for the Roanoke expedition. Unlike his employer, Hariot was to join the colonists in Roanoke and, in further preparation for this, spent some time with two captive Indians learning the Algonquin language. The Croatan Manteo and the Roanoke, Wanchese, had been 'enlisted' during the surveying ventures of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, and had returned to England with the expedition.[24] From them, Hariot studied elements of their culture and language, and by the time he left for America he had developed a rudimentary alphabet to help inform others of their language. On top of this, Hariot's account offered insights into Algonquian religious life and customs; and more importantly, to his English readers, raised the possibility that Native Americans were ripe for conversion to Protestantism, and subsequently English government.

Hariot's interest did not come from scientific curiosity alone, as his work sought to justify Raleigh's Virginian adventure and encourage future English settlement there. In *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, first published in 1588, he

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[23] Karen Ordhal Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*, 2nd ed (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).
[24] 'Arthur Barlowe's Discourse of the First Voyage', in David Quinn, eds, *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590*, Vol. 1 (Hakluyt Society, 1955), 96-116.

wrote he wished to "imparte so much unto you of the fruites of our labours, as that you may knowe howe iniuriously the enterprise is slaundered," and to encourage the number of "adventurers, favourers, and welwillers" of the Virginia enterprise to grow.[25] He discussed how Virginia offered a bounty of agricultural and commercial opportunity, alongside a remarkably sympathetic account of local Algonquian culture and beliefs. However, his *A Brief and True Report* none the less helped to develop a pragmatic solution for the establishment and extension of English power over Native Americans far past the lifetime of the Virginia Company.[26] Wanchese and Manteo returned with Hariot to Virginia, where they acted as cultural intermediaries, translating for the English in their dealings with the Native Americans. Manteo's conversion to protestantism in 1587 reinforced the conception that Native Americans were not only open to Christian evangelism, but had been waiting for English Protestantism to do so. However, Wanchese's decision to return to his people, and the subsequent conflict with the English, reinforced perceptions that despite some success at conversion, Native Americans still served the "divell" out of "feare."[27] English perceptions of Native Americans recognised both a "barbarous and most treacherous" people, whilst at the same time, despite this, they were "verye Desirous to know the truthe" of the Christian religion; so much so that, they "went abowt to imitate us [English Protestants]" in their religious devotions.[28] Wanchese and Manteo would fuelled developing English tropes and stereotypes that would come to be associated with religious evangelism and English interactions with Native Americans well into the seventeenth century.

From their time in Roanoke both Hariot, and the artist and future governor of Roanoke John White, provided in their works the most detailed account of the Carolinian Algonquin culture, albeit through an English cultural lens. Whilst White's watercolour paintings offer insight into the material and architectural practices of the Algonquin people in the Roanoke regions, Hariot, through his *Briefe and True Report* offers an extensive description, from an Anglo-centric perspective, of the religious, political and

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[25] Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London, 1590) 5.
[26] Vaughan, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Indian Interpreters', 341-76.
[27] Whitaker, *Good Newes*, 24.
[28] William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647* (Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912), 169-170; Image XXI, Thomas Hariot, *Briefe and True Report*, D 2; For Alan Rome in his recent article nuances the discussion of English perceptions of Native Americans in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, arguing that they rather than being either negative or positive, being based in natural law highlight a collective idea of humanity, 'Being human in early Virginia', *Renaissance Studies*, Vol 29, No. 5, (2015), 701-19.

social structure of Native American society. Hariot's main priority was to promote the aims of the company through his writings, offering descriptions of financially lucrative opportunities in America by dismissing any possible worries of a hostile native population. Instead, offering a picture of a cooperative and amiable population, whose culture, like the Irish, specifically their monotheistic faith, was illustrative of a shared Semitic heritage with the English. Hariot wrote that the Carolinian Algonquins worshipped "one onely chiefe and great God," who, like the Biblical God, had "been from all eternietie" despite the fact that he had written, perhaps unwittingly, about numerous other deities worshipped by the Native Americans.[29] This was taken by Hariot as an opportunity to advertise the spiritual pillars of the Roanoke venture, offering the chance for the English to exploit what he mistakenly saw as a religious similarity converting Native Americans to Christianity.

Hariot further encouraged the English evangelical missions at Roanoke by offering insights into moments where Native conversion seemed as if it had been divinely ordained. Recounting a drought and famine that was affecting the region of which Roanoke was situated (present-day North Carolina), Hariot described what would become a common tale in conversion narratives across North America throughout the seventeenth century: the local people offering their harvest in supplication to the Christian God. To the Englishman, it was still further proof of the Roanoke Indians' readiness to convert to the truth faith, for when Hariot described the local Indians promising their harvest, offering that when it "was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruite."[30] The spiritual metaphor of the 'the fruite' would have been an obvious one to his readers, highlighting how the Native Americans were no longer religiously excluded by the consumption of the forbidden fruit, but were equal shareholders in the Christian faith and in the shared fruit of the Holy Spirit.[31] The early cultural encounters during the Roanoke venture between the Native Americans and the English served to lay the ideological foundations for future exchanges, particularly, firmly establishing and practising the evangelical aims of future English overseas ventures.

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[29] Hariot, *Briefe and True Report*, 25; Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, 130.
[30] Biblical reference from KJV *Galatians* 5:22-23; "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith; Meekness, temperance: against such there is no law".
[31] Hariot, *Briefe and True Report*, 28.

Roanoke would influence the direction of English corporate expansion, and religious governance overseas well into the first quarter of the seventeenth century, in both the VC and ISoc. The failure of Raleigh's venture in North America sparked the corporate response to English Atlantic settlement in the seventeenth century. The first attempt to settle, and establish permanent English government, in both America and Ireland following Roanoke was done so through two companies. For both the VC and ISoc, religion and its governance was to play a crucial role in foundations of their companies' governments abroad. It influenced the direction of companies' missions, how they would deal with social issues such as law and order, and it also informed the companies' responses and interactions with local peoples.

Population

The companies' leadership, particularly those abroad, were conscious of the need to ensure that their populations were governed effectively in accordance with English religious and secular customs, and so adopted a form of religious government to ensure this. Company officials adapted different aspects of English authority to secure control of their English population in Virginia, one of which was religious governance. This does not mean, however, that companies did not also draw on governmental experience from other areas, such as the military, Privy Council, Parliament and Ambassadors. In the case of both companies, the influence of military men in the governing and running of their daily business has often been the centre of discussion, particularly on the character of governance and authority in their plantations. Out of the eleven men who held varying positions of authority in Virginia between 1607 and 1624, seven came from military backgrounds, having either served in Ireland or seen action in several conflicts within Europe.[32] In Ireland, many who had served in the Nine Years Wars, such as Sir Thomas Philips and Barnabe Rich, became actively involved in the governing of plantation life. The transition from military leadership to governing over a civilian population was no doubt difficult for these men. This was further made worse by the fact that many of the

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[32] Governors Wingfield, Smith, Percy, De La Warr, Yeardley, Deputy Governors Dale and Gates all had military careers before entering service in the Virginia Company whilst Governor Ratcliffe and Lieutenant Governor Argall had naval careers either before or after service in the Company. Furthermore, De La Warr also served as a Privy Councilor to both Elizabeth I and James I, whilst Wingfield sat as a Member of Parliament and Gates was Ambassador in Vienna prior to VC service. For the individual biographies see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13745, accessed 3 Jul 2016].

civilians they governed over were more prone to evading authority than following it. Due to high mortality rates, and stories of hostile native populations, companies struggled to populate their settlements. As they became increasingly desperate, convicts became a source to ensure the populations were maintained in company lands. The by-product of this was that settlements in Ireland and Virginia became associated with undesirable, morally ambiguous populations, whose presence put at risk the companies' religious missions. Whilst recalling his time in Virginia, John Smith wrote exactly of this, complaining that in England the colony's leadership and the company were blamed for "not converting the Savages". Smith defended this allegation by pointing to the population of the colony, writing that the leadership cannot be blamed "when those they sent us were little better if not worse."[33] Likewise, in Ireland, the 100 workers, tradesmen, and artisans that the society sent from London were "for the most part, ill-chosen for workmen", and due to the conditions of the plantation, often demoralised and drunken.[34] For both the VC and ISoc these populations placed strain on the religious governance of the companies, and spiritual mission to evangelise, as their behaviour risked bringing the Protestantism and the religious governance of the company into disrepute.

For several of the Virginia Governors, the solution was to adopt 'Lawes divine, morall and martiall', in other words, a code of laws that incorporated religious governance with militaristic order in its enforcement. For many, this form of martial law was the only way to ensure success and good governance; as Lieutenant Governor Thomas Gates declared, "no good seruice can be performed, or warre well managed, where militarie discipline is not observed."[35] Gates, on behalf of the absent Governor Thomas West, Lord De La Warr, saw his role as the company's leader in Virginia. He concerned himself primarily with establishing and maintaining good godly governance over those English settlers who migrated to Virginia. To do so, he ensured that those who were sent by the company into his jurisdiction observed the laws and religious customs of England, and what he saw as an Englishman's true charge, the "principall care of true Religion."[36] Of

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[33] John Smith, *Advertisement For the unexperienced Planters of New-England, or any-where* (London, 1631), 5; James Sevens Curl, *The Londonderry Plantation 1609-1914: The History, Architecture, and Planning of the Estates of the City of London and its Livery Companies in Ulster* (Chichester, West Sussex: Phillimore, 1986), 43.
[34] Sir Oliver St. John to Salisbury, April 12, 1610, SP 63/228 f. 226.
[35] William Strachey, *For the colony in Virginea Britannia. Lavves diuine, morall and martiall, &c* (London, 1612), 1.
[36] *Ibid*.

the 37 laws that Gates set down, the first seven articles directly involved the church or its ministers, whilst over a third of them in some way contained religious connotations. For Gates, "the word of God" tied "every particular and private man, for conscience sake to obedience," to the authority of the company's leaders.[37] Along with articles reinforcing laws and punishments against recognisable crimes such as murder, theft, embezzlement and slander, Gates continued provision to ensure harsh punishments against blasphemy and Sabbath-breaking. Further, he set down strict and regular religious observation in the colony to twice daily, seeing routine communion to ensure, through the individual, a civil society. He wrote that, "by preparing themselues at home with priuate prayer, that they may bee the better sitted for the publique."[38] The priority for the leaders of the Irish Society was to bring into line its Catholic population through forceful religious governance. For company officials, both in Virginia and Ulster, enforcement of strict religious observation was a necessity. This was not only because the Christian God demanded it, but also because religious governance provided the moral framework from which civil society could be established and governed.

Contemporary with the settlement of Virginia, the Ulster schemes in County Coleraine and Derry followed similar religious and economic frameworks as their American counterpart.[39] These schemes were both established and London's livery companies could choose to allow their lands to be managed through a new body known as the Irish Society, whose aim was to attract "mercantile capital into the plantation scheme."[40] By trying to present the Ulster scheme as profitable enterprise, its backers, such as Sir Arthur Chichester, sought to encourage civic subsidies, not only to emulate the successes of the Virginia Company in attracting merchant capital, but also to reflect failures of the Roanoke venture in relying solely on private finance. Chichester outlined this approach in a letter to the Lord President of Munster in 1609, declaring that he was worried to see the project be conducted "upon private men's undertakings," and that rather, "such an act must be the work of a common wealth, and upon the common charge, towards which a subsidy or two were well given."[41] The reluctance of Chichester to rely

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[37] *Ibid.*, 7.
[38] *Ibid.*, 4.
[39] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea.*
[40] Gillespie, *Making Modern Ireland*, 49.
[41] Davies to Salisbury, September 12, 1607, in Russell and Prendergast ed., *CSPI of the Reign of James I*, Vol II: 272.

entirely on private funds no doubt came from information he had garnered through his friendship with the leader of the Roanoke colonists, Ralph Lane, who, since returning from America, had taken the position of muster-master general of Ireland.[42] Lane was presumably appointed to this position in 1586 with his American experiences (of which he would later be critical) in mind, possibly in the hope that they would inform his decisions and secure the religious mission of the Irish plantations.[43] For King James, and the society's members (many of whom had some connection to the Virginian adventure), their corporation, like the Virginia Company, was going to make new head way into Ireland through Ulster. Both corporations, in America and Ireland, were to be vehicles, not only for profit, but also to establish religious governance and transplant the English Protestant faith, thereby civilising the lands inhabitants.

Quickly company officials in both the VC and the ISoc established governmental control, structuring religious governance in their plantations in Virginia and Ulster. However, despite this neither company was seen as an enterprise of prosperity or commercial success, instead they were known as financial quagmires based on commerical "fayre tales and hopes", associated more with death, conflict and unsavoury populations.[44] The reasons for the corporations' apparent slow progress to achieve their initial promise of substantial financial gain would have been a familiar topic of conversation to contemporaries, and one that the companies' leadership were acutely aware of. For ministers, such as Patrick Copland, who were employed by the VC to generate fresh support for the company, the answer was obvious. They had abandoned the "principall ends of the Companies in following the business of the Plantacons."[45] Amongst the many groups that disputed ideas in the VC, ministers and preachers formed their own both distinct but connective group offering, "a mode of prolitical advice"

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[42] For friendship and support between Chichester and Lane particularly in relation to the latter's plantation see Chichester to Cecil, May 12, 1602, *Calendar of State Papers for Ireland during the Reign of James I,* (*CSPI*), XI: 505; Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea,* 82-3, 119.

[43] For Ralph Lane's account of the venture see Richard Hakluyt's, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589).

[44] John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton August 1, 1613, Norman Egbert McClure ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain* 2 vols. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), I issue 2: 407.

[45] 'A relation of the late proceedings of the Virginia and Sumer Ilandes Companies, in answere to some imputacons laid vpon them, together with the discouery of the groundes of such vniust obieccon, and a Remedy proposed for the better auyoding the like inconveniencies herafter; Humply present to the Kinges most Excellent Majestie by the said Companies, April 12, 1623', in Kingsbury, ed., *RVC*, II: 362.

through sermons and religion.[46] Not surprisingly for these preachers, the principal aim, for both companies, was the orderly religious governance of both English settlers and indigenous peoples who fell in their jurisdictions.

Whether local Algonquin Indians, or Irish Catholics, the VC and ISoc had been given responsibility to convert them under the company's religious governance; thereby assimilating them into the English fold, and securing English *dominion* there. Conversion became an element of what Ken Macmillan has described as the *corpus* that secured *dominion* or *imperium*.[47] Just as forts, and a strong physical presence in an area, demonstrated to foreign powers geographic and administrative permanency so too did conversion, which symbolised not only spiritual prestige, but also permanent sovereignty over local populations. Akin to a form of early modern defection, conversion required the state to respond by providing the religious protection that men and women were offered back in England, which would require the permanent presence of English governance abroad. However, for many, the two companies had failed in their principal mission to establish Protestant religion abroad as their leaders had been more concerned with commercial and political motivations. For ministers and preachers who advocated corporate expansion the events surrounding the 1622 massacre in Virginia, and slow progress of native conversion in Ireland, proved that the companies had abandoned what they believed to be the corporations' primary aim. The ramifications led to the companies coming under increasing criticism, much of which was aimed at their religious governance.

Whilst some criticism of the companies was aimed at their apparent inability to secure consistent profits, ministers and preachers linked financial criticism to the companies' lack of vigour in pursing their religious aims, which, it had been hoped, would lead to the permanent establishment of Protestant English government abroad. As one

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[46] Fitzmaurice 'Every man, that prints', 35; For more on faction and dispute in the VC see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement: Maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 323-7; Roper, *Beyond Jamestown*, 29-31, 87-92, 208-111; Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 216-220.
[47] Ken Macmillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 186-7; Macmillan builds upon the ideas and themes given by Anthony Pagden in *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500– c.1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), and David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

petition to King James put it, through "propagating of Christian Religion in those Barbarous parts for the enlargement of your kingdome for the increase of your Revenue for the inrichinge of your people and for the future strength this State."[48] However, by 1624 it was becoming apparent that in both geographies the companies had failed, at least at face value, to combine religion and trade sufficiently. Public criticism of the VC's failure would eventually lead to the company's dissolution. The ISoc continued to exist, albeit under careful observation of authorities in both England and Ireland. The history of both companies in the first two decades of the seventeenth century offered the leaderships of contemporary companies instances of religious governance abroad from which they could mould, replicate, or ignore altogether.

<u>Protestant Evangelisms in Opposition to Catholicism</u>

Before the explosion of overseas corporations in the seventeenth century, religious governance, and English expansionist policy, had for the most part been centred on Protestant and Catholic religious tensions. These moments of expansion included aggressive policies of internal colonisation in Ireland, and the Highlands, buccaneering against Spanish shipping, and small-scale, privately funded colonial attempts in North and South America. During the sixteenth century, English overseas expansion had remained somewhat small scale, and even if the charting of the Muscovy and Levant Companies are included as the high point of English commercial expectations in this period, the reality was that they would not be formidable commercial entities till the following century.[49] The focus of English and Scottish expansion in this period had been internal, as both the Tudors and the Stuarts had sought to secure their internal frontiers in both Ireland and the Highlands. In doing so, the Protestant monarch, and the governments of the two kingdoms, believed they were combating the threat of a Catholic menace dangerously close to their shores. Similarly, Elizabethan foreign policy, centred on the legalised corporate piracy of Francis Drake and Walter Raleigh against Spain and Portugal. This, however, did not mean that England or, more precisely, Englishmen made attempts to take English religious governance abroad and colonise areas of land further afield.

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[48] 'Relations of the Late Proceedings', April 12, 1623, in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, II: 362.
[49] The Muscovy Company was chartered in 1555, whilst the Levant Company, as will later be discussed, was formed out of a merger between the Turkey and Venice Companies in 1582; see chapter II.

James, upon obtaining the English throne, brought to the table ideas which he had cultivated in Scotland, in his attempts to tame Gaeldom; these concerned the use of religious governance to ensure the successful transportation of Anglo-centric civility abroad. In doing so, James placed English expansion into the far more international perspective of "Protestant godliness versus Catholic ungodliness."[50] Early imperial theorists, such as the Hakluyts and Purchas, were "propagandists for militant Protestantism," who argued for an English equivalent to Atlantic Spanish colonisation as a method to enhance the standing of Protestant rulers.[51] Richard Hakluyt the Elder had advocated this as one of the reasons for overseas expansion, writing that it was a national obligation for "Princes of the refourmed relligion" to spread the Protestant faith abroad, thereby preventing the spread of Catholicism, and with it the territorial advances of Spain and Portugal.[52] This would not only increase the international prestige of the monarch, and nation, but would also maintain the "providential role… to defend the achievements of the Reformation and to oppose the power of Spain, which was identified as the bulwark of papist superstition, both in Europe and beyond."[53] Expansion overseas and religion had long been firmly connected, mutually encouraging each other, whilst also enhancing national prestige. However, James's accession to the English throne firmly established the place of religious governance as a governmental tool to help in the success of overseas expansion.

The perception that religious governance and Protestantism, inspired civility had long been spearheaded as an expansionist ideology by James and other colonial thinkers in the previous decades. Through both the VC and ISoc's charters, the propagation of Protestantism and the desire to establish permanent English authority abroad subsequently meant that, specifically religious, governance became a crucial tool in

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[50] Alison Cathcart, 'Scots and Ulster: the late medieval context' in William P. Kelly & John R. Young, *Scotland and the Ulster Plantations: Explorations in the British Settlements of Stuart Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 72.

[51] Nicholas Canny, 'The Origins of Empire: An Introduction' in Nicholas Canny, William Roger Louis and Alaine M. Low eds, *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Origins of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 4; Richard Hakluyt eds, *Divers Voyages Touchinge the Discoverie of America* (London, 1582); Richard Hakluyt, *A Particular Discourse Concerning the Greate Necessitie and Manifolde Commodyties that are Like to Growe to this Realme of Englande by the Weasterne Discoveries Lately Attempted… Known as Discourse of Western Planting* (1584); Samuel Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, 5 vols. (1625).

[52] Hakluyt, *western planting* (London, 1584); See also Hakluyt, *Reasons for Colonization* (London, 1585).

[53] Canny, in Canny eds, *Origins of Empire*, 20.

securing corporate expansion overseas. In the Roanoke-esque 1606 charter religious governance not only worked as a tool to spread the Protestant religion "to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God", but could also be utilized as a tool to establish effective governance over those who conventionally lay outside of the jurisdiction of the English state.[54] Similarly when the VC received its second joint stock charter in 1609 religious governance would continue to work towards the "Conversion and Reduction of the People in those Parts unto the true Worship of God and Christian Religion."[55] Furthermore, it would also prevent "the Superstitions of the Church of Rome" from establishing itself in Virginia.[56] By establishing the Protestant church in Ireland and America, with the aim of evangelizing, James and others hoped that both the Irish and Native Americans, "the Infidels and Savages, living in those parts", might in time be brought "to human Civility." In doing so, those who had been brought into Protestant 'civility' would find themselves incorporated in the wider "settled and quiet Government" of the English church, state and corporation.[57]

Almost exactly three years after leaving Scotland to be crowned King of England, James VI and I continued his colonial endeavours, looking beyond the Gaelic fringe of his kingdom and to a New World setting, as the scene for the newly charted Virginia Company of London to advance the civilising effect of the reformed Protestant faith. Unlike in the charters granted by Elizabeth and James I to the EIC in 1600 and 1609, the Virginia charter included a clause on religion, or more appropriately, evangelism, positioning it as an obligation of the company. Propagation of the gospel was seen as a divine obligation of the Company, whilst in the charter of the ISoc, James noted that "there was nothing more kingly" than the obligation to "establish the true religion of Christ among men hitherto depraved and almost lost in superstition."[58] The advancement and establishment of Protestant English governance over English, Native American and

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[54] *Virginia Company Charter*, 1606 [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va01.asp accessed 3 May 2016].

[55] *Virginia Company Charter*, 1609 [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va02.asp accessed 3 May, 2016].

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Virginia Company Charter*, 1606, *ibid.*

[58] Charter of the Irish Society 29 March, 1613 in *A Brief Historical Narrative of the Origin and Constitution of 'The Society of the Governor and Assistants, London, of the New Plantation in Ulster, within the Realm of Ireland', Commonly Called The Honourable Irish Society* (London, 1916), 214.

Irish Catholic peoples was the desire of the monarch and the nation, and a key responsibility delegated to the companies. The propagation of Christianity was seen as "so Noble a Work" in the case of Virginia, and portrayed as a Protestant duty in Ireland, to "stir up and recall the same province from superstition." Seen as securing the 'civilising effect', the advancements of the Protestant faith and the establishment of religious governance were to be cemented into the language and ethos of both the ISoc and VC.[59]

From the companies' inception, the local native populations in America and Ulster played a prominent role in the public image of the corporation as the agents for promoting the spread of Protestant civility to the indigenous peoples. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the company's mission of Protestant evangelism amongst Native American and Catholic Irish peoples was considered integral from the outset, enshrined as an obligation in both corporate charters. By spreading Protestantism amongst the Irish and Native American populations, company religious leadership were not only concerned with their immortal souls, but through conversion, bringing them into the company's jurisdiction, and under its religious governance. Very quickly, many from all ranks and elements of the corporations, sought to get to work on fulfilling this "most pious and noble end of this plantatcon."[60]

For the Irish Society, the presence of Catholicism in Ireland was both the foundational reason for its mission to establish English Protestant governance there, as well as its biggest obstacle. From the beginning, the religious mission of the corporation faced serious problems. Although in 1606 reports form the Attorney General for Ireland suggested that in Ulster there was "not one recusant" in the province, Catholicism was in fact alive and well in the North of Ireland.[61] In the aftermath 1605 gunpowder plot English officials sought to influence the King away from attempts to create a Spanish alliance through marriage by relaying information about possible Catholic threats to the

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[59] *The First Virginia Company Charter*, (April 10, 1606); Charter of the Irish Society (March 29, 1613) can be found in the appendix of, *A Brief Historical Narrative of the Origin and the Constitution of 'The Society of the Governor and Assistants, London, of the New Plantation in Ulster, within the Realm of Ireland', Commonly Called the Honourable Irish Society'* (London, 1916), 214-215.
[60] 'Virginia Council, Instructions Orders and Constitucons… To… Sir Thomas West Knight Lord La Warr, 1609/10', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 27.
[61] Observations made by Sir John Davies, Attorney of Ireland, after a journey made by him in Munster, May 4, 1606, SP 63/218 f.154.

monarch.[62] Ireland and its Catholic population provided a natural environment to develop such rumours. In 1605, Chichester reported a "number of priests all ordained by foreign authority" and "holding difinities and pregends by the bulls of Rome" had been found in Armagh.[63] Several years later in the autumn of 1611, Chichester wrote back to London, "the king's intention of bringing the colonies out of Great Britain does not go forward as is to be wished."[64] Chichester then related back a list of issues that had beset the plantation civilising mission, including the inability to populate Ulster with godly Englishmen due to the fact that there had been no church established, nor had "Jesuits, seminary priests, and other seditious ministers" been banished.[65] Not only did Chichester wish for Catholic Church leaders to be banished from the plantations, but also for the banishment of the native Irish Catholics who lived within the urban areas of the Ulster plantations. The Articles establishing the Society had envisaged that the Native Irish would, upon the establishment of Derry and Coleraine, be removed and resettled on church lands, or allocated to the deserving Irish (Protestant converts.)[66] Chichester believed that only by moving the local Irish Catholic population outside of urban areas, could the security of the Protestant population be ensured from men like anti-English, Catholic preacher Trylogh M'Crodyn. In doing so, local landlords would effectively be able to encourage them to reform and accept Protestantism and English Protestant governance. However, as previously discussed, this mass eviction did not happen on the scale that Chichester and others had hoped for. Instead, the Society took steps to ensure, for its own profit, as well as the stability of the province, that many native Irish remained in their urban jurisdiction. However, in both urban and rural areas, evangelism and the planting of religious governance proved difficult for several reasons. The most pressing of these was the presence of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

In the years that followed, Chichester's fears seemed to become reality. First, in 1612, when the Catholic Maurice Rieder was given permission to travel through Ulster after his good behaviour was promised by a priest and Franciscan friar. Then, in the following year, a priest and a Franciscan friar drew a crowd of a thousand people to hear

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[62] David Coast, *News and Rumour in Jacobean England: Information, court politics and diplomacy, 1618-25* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 29-30, 104.
[63] Lord Deputy and Council to the Lords, September 30, 1605, *CSPI, 1603-6*, 317.
[64] Sir Arthur to the Lords of the Council, October 12, 1611, *CSPI, 1611-14*, 146.
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] Warrant concerning the removal of Natives of Ulster, October 11, *CSPI, 1611, 1611-14*, 137.

a rural sermon.[67] The reports of this sermon, given by M'Crodyn, suggested that Catholicism was not only present in Ulster, but that its church leaders were active in trying to oppose English religious governance. One report said that M'Crodyn encouraged Catholics to rebel against the English, declaring that they should "suffer death by hanging, drawing and quatering" rather than converting to the "damnable doctrine" of English Protestantism.[68] Another report of the same incident seemed to confirm the company's worst fear: the threat of Spanish intervention in Ireland. The suggestion was that the exiled Earl of Tyrconnell had obtained 18,000 men "sent by the King of Spain" and that "England had only two years more to rule in Ireland."[69] Although the reports were likely exaggerated if not entirely made up, they highlight not only the strength and size of Catholicism in the North of Ireland at the time, but also that the presence of Catholics in Ulster still fuelled long-held fears of international Catholicism. However, many believed that through the company the English would be able to establish an opposition to Catholicism in Ireland, establishing English religious governance based around the Church of England's episcopal structure. In his report, Davies had suggested that the Bishop of Derry would "be a new St Patrick among them" converting the native Irish to Protestantism and English reformed government.[70] Despite the strong presence of the Catholic Church, many believed that civilising the society was achievable through Protestant structures that the company's religious governance established.

Presence of an ecclesiastical structure

Unlike in Virginia, the apparent success of the ISoc's religious governance in Ireland was partially down to the presence of the visible episcopal authority, the Bishop of Derry, who served to support the corporations' religious governance. Appointed as the first Bishop of Derry in 1607, George Montgomery not only had a substantial ecclesiastical jurisdiction (covering also two other Bishoprics), but also held the rights to a generous amount of land. The grants of land the Bishop received often placed him at odds with the members of the Society, who sought to obtain them for themselves. The 1610 Articles of the corporation firmly secured the Bishop's lands, ordering that the company was not to

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[67] Credentials if Maurice Rieder, June 20, 1612, CSPI, 1611-14, 269.
[68] Deposition of Teag Modder M'Glone, October 21, 1613, *ibid*., 429.
[69] Examination of Shane M'Phelomy O'Donnelly, October 22, 1613, *ibid*, 432.
[70] *CSPI, 1603-6*, 317.

undertake any business upon them. Although the London companies agreed to the articles, they were alarmed when further amendments ordered them to share fishing rights in Lough Foyle, as well as the corn in the parish, with the Bishop.[71] Unable to prevent the expropriation of land to the Bishop, members of the corporation, such as John Rowley, turned to renting lands from the Bishop to reap their benefits. Often, this renting was perceived to be at the church's expense, as was the case with Rowley. He had obtained a lease at a fraction of its value and made a substantial profit from timber on the land. In 1612, Rowley was ordered by the Lord Deputy of Ireland to give back the lands he leased from the Bishop, and was later recalled to England to face disciplinary measures for this, along with several other infractions.[72]

However, despite the turbulent relationship between the corporation and the bishopric, the position of the society in relation to the religious governance of the plantations was plainly established through the appointment of ministers. Previous articles between the King and the City of London gave the city control of the "patronage of all churches as well within the city of Derry and town of Coleraine as in all land undertaken by them."[73] Company officials further encouraged the foundational position of religion and its governance, requiring people to observe the spiritual superiority of the church and its leadership through the law. At the same time, they ensured that the laws also kept ministers and church leaders in line so they did not forget their spiritual obligations. Furthermore, company leadership, through these codes, also ensured that ministers and churchwardens worked towards the company's goals, establishing civil society by enforcing the corporation's laws. Although this took on different forms for each of the two corporations, the ends were the same. As agents of English law, governance and authority, both the church and the corporations reinforced each other's positions. In Ireland, this was a slightly more complex relationship than in Virginia, as the Irish Society was not always as forthcoming in reinforcing religious governance. Although the episcopal structure of the established church in Ireland proved to be at times a little fractious, it provided foundational to the establishment of the ISoc's corporate

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[71] Clause 6 SP 63/228 f.32; See T.W. Moody, *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609-1640: The City of London and the Plantation of* Ulster (Belfast: Mullen & Son, 1939), 88-89.
[72] Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, *CSPI, 1611-14*. 300-301; For more on the incident see Curl, *Londonderry Plantation*, 59-60.
[73] Articles between the King and City of London for the Plantation for the City of Derry and the County of Coleraine, January 28, 1610, SP 63/228 f.32.

religious governance in Ireland. Furthermore, it presence proved valuable in ensuring support not only the evangelical mission of the company but also its more recognisable corporate aims of the ISoc's members alongside the desires of the English crown.

Similarly, but without the clerical hierarchy, so did the clergy in the VC who, throughout the company's history, would be called upon to support its religious mission in Virginia. It was in the early period of its existence however, that the clergy in England played their most vital role in securing support for the company. Fitzmaurice has pointed out that the sermon was crucial in pushing the "humanistic vision and ideology of the new colony."[74] Between 1609 and 1612, the company embarked on a publicity campaign that was centred on the use of sermons reinvigorating the waning support for the Company. In 1609 alone, the VC funded eight orations to encourage public engagements, seven of which were sermons, of which only three publications are available.[75]

Between 1610 and 1622, a further nine sermons were preached before the company, including one by John Donne and another by EIC minister Patrick Copland.[76] Ministers from amongst the humanistic community including names such as John Donne and future Bishop of Durham, Thomas Morton, called for support of the company's religious and secular mission in America. They blamed the difficulties that the company was facing on its financial focus rather than spiritual gain. These sermons combined the evangelical mission of the company with that to that of financial success, suggesting that only through the former could the latter be achieved. The Dean of Ely Cathedral, Robert Tynley, argued that the principal mission of the company was to remove, through Christian evangelism, "the chaines of error and ignorance" that the Native Americans lived under.[77] According to Tynely, in doing so, the company would "assuredly expect the fruits which usually accompany such godly enterprise."[78] Similarly, the minister William Symonds, whose patron was Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby, compared the work of the English to that of the biblical patriarch, Abraham. He wrote that it was only in fearing God, as Abraham

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[74] Fitzmaurice 'Every man, that prints', 24.
[75] *Ibid.*, 25-6; The sermons preached at Paul's Cross: Richard Crakanthorpe, March 24, George Benson, May 7, and Daniel Price 25 May; At Whitechapel: William Symonds *Virginia*, April 15; Unknown: Robert Grey, *God Speed to Virginia*, April, Dean of Gloucester, Thomas Morton (later Bishop of Durham), preached of the lawfulness of colonizing, and Robert Tynely, *Two learned Sermons* (London, 1609).
[76] For John Donne see introduction; Patrick Copland, *Virginia God be Thanked*, April 18, 1622 (London, 1622).
[77] Tynley, *learned Sermons*, 67.
[78] *Ibid.,* 68.

had done, that the Virginia Company's planters would receive the blessing of God and "grow into a nation formidable to all the enemies of Christ."[79] The humanistic vision of the clergymen and the company's leadership continued throughout the company's existence, in which the mercantile aims of the company were bonded with its religious governance.

Ensuring that enough ministers were being sent out to secure the VC's religious governance and "Comfort of the soules of the inhabitants" of Virginia (whether English or Native American), the company attempted to offer incentives to encourage ministers to travel there.[80] This involved a lucrative stipend of up to £200 a year, as well as the offer of substantial lands, sometimes amounting to 100 acres, with a guarantee of six tenants to work the land.[81] Alongside these financial rewards, the VC ensured that their ministers were protected under the company laws. After reiterating that no man could "blaspheme Gods holy name" nor "se any traiterous words against his Majesties Person", Gates, in the fifth of his codes, ensured protection under the law for the companies' ministers in Virginia.[82] The law required that all Company workers "hold them [ministers] in all reverent regard" under the threat that if they did not, they would be publicly whipped three times and forced to ask for forgiveness.[83] Both royal and company authorities sought to ensure that those in Ireland and Virginia duly respected the ministers of the established church. By firmly backing the authority of church ministers, they aimed to ensure that the VC's own religious authority and religious governance was observed.

Furthermore, a strong church leadership provided the foundations to extend the company's evangelical agenda and Protestant call to arms, which continually re-emerged in the subsequent charters of the Company. In each case, it reinforced the importance of religion and religious governance in the development of the corporation. The 1612 charter of the Virginia Company reminded its members of their obligation in the "reclayminge of people barbarous to civilitie and humanitie" through Protestant evangelism. It was the perception of the English governmental leaders that the VC would bring back into the

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[79] William Symonds, *Virginia. A sermon preached at White-Chappel, in the presence of many, honorable and worshipfull the aduenturers and planters for Virginia* (London, 1609), 35.
[80] February 22, 1620, in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, I: 314.
[81] Virginia Company, Instructions to George Yeardley, November 18, 1618, in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, II, 102; Feburary 22, 1620, in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, I: 314.
[82] Strachey, *Lavves diuine, morall and martiall*, 3.
[83] *Ibid.*

Christian family those who had, through geography, been lost. As with the lost thirteenth tribe of Israel, the Protestant members and leaders of the VC would reclaim the Native Americans from their "defection from the true knowledge of God", as they shared the same biblical "discent and begynninge."[84] It was believed that the presence of the English corporation and its reformed Protestant government could transform an environment and its people, whether Catholic or Animist, from "superstition, rebellion, calamity, and poverty" into one of "religion, obedience, strength, and prosperity."[85] For those concerned with the evangelism of the Native Americans, this involved coercing them away from their chief deity, whom they believed to be the devil incarnate. Crashaw lamented that "Satan visibly and palpably raignes there," so much so that it was not comparable to "any other knowne place of the world."[86] The company further saw connections between Okee and the Devil in the practices of their powerful priests. They saw the eradication or the erosion of their power in the Native American communities as the first step to achieving the evangelical mission of the company, and establishing English religious governance.

Evangelism and Education

To evangelise successfully and secure the company's religious governance over Native Americans, VC officials instituted a programme of Christian education aimed at eradicating, from a young age, Native American religious and cultural customs, and replacing them with Protestant English ones. As previously discussed in the case of Manteo and Wanchese, Indians had been educated both in England and Virginia. However, from an early stage, the company sought to bring Native Americans under its religious governance through the introduction of a formal education programme amongst the indigenous children in the colony. Whitaker described this mission as a direct order from God and, as such, the prime goal of the colony. By comparing the Native Americans to the Britons prior to the arrival of the Gospel on the English shores, he argued that the local Algonquins needed the charity of Christianity, like the fatherless, and the widows, of England. He then legitimised this action by pointing out that all people are the biblical descendants of Adam. Due to this, he believed that Native Americans had "reasonable

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[84] William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* (1612), 45.
[85] Charter of the Irish Society, (1613), 215.
[86] Whitaker, *Good Newes*, IX.

soules and intellectual faculties as well as wee" and so were susceptible to conversion, especially through education.[87] The use of biblical descent or origin to sanction evangelism was not uncommon. Popular contemporary theories on the origins of the Native American peoples were that they descended from one of the lost 13 tribes of Israel or Ham.[88] William Strachey argued that, as descendants of Ham, the Native Americans had been neglected from the paternal religious guidance of Noah, and that from Ham "the ignorance of the true worship of God tooke beginning, the inventions of heathenisme, and adoration of falce god, and the devill; for he himself, not applying him to learne from his father the knowledg and prescribed worship of the eternall God."[89] Taking the place of Noah, the VC would offer the opportunity for Native Americans to learn the knowledge of the Christian faith and thereof 'eternall God.' To many, the VC was a vehicle for evangelism, a corporate St Augustine, continuing his works as apostle to the English by spreading the Christian faith he brought to England, and taking it as "Apostles to Virginia."[90] For Strachey, the paternal responsibility of Noah had now fallen to the English, to evangelise and teach the Native Americans prescribed worship of the Christian God. Similarly the long-time supporter of the Colony, Alexander Whitaker, wrote in his foreword to *Good newes from Virginia* that he had received a calling from God to evangelise to the Native Americans in Virginia.[91] By converting Algonquin, men, women and children, Whitaker and Strachey were extending the spiritual boundaries of the company's religious governance and in doing so were solidifying the jurisdictive controls of the English company over those Protestants who fell within its geographic control. If achieved successfully, evangelism not only secured religious governance of the company, but it also visibly affirmed the permanence of English civility abroad.

For many contemporaries, the conversion of Powhatan's daughter, Matoaka, whilst also affirming Whitaker's calling, was proof of the success of educational evangelism and company religious governance. More famously known as Pocahontas, Matoaka converted to Christianity after several years in captivity under Whitaker's tutelage. Her

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[87] *Ibid.*, 24.
[88] For more on theories of the Lost Tribes of Israel see chapter III; For more on the ideas of a shared religious history between Native Americans and English see John Corrigan, 'Amalek and the Rhetoric of Extermination', in Chris Beneke & Christopher S. Grenda ed., *The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America* (Philadelphia, University of Philadelphia Press, 2011), 53-72; Kupperman, *Facing Off*, 118-120.
[89] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile*, 46, 45-47.
[90] Whitaker, *Good Newes*, IV.
[91] William Crashaw, forward, in Alexander Whitaker, *Good newes from Virgina* (London, 1613), 3.

conversion, and subsequent marriage to John Rolfe, as well as the birth of her child Thomas Rolfe, led to a request from the Company in 1616 for her to accompany her husband and son back to England. Upon her arrival in England Matoaka, or Lady Rebecca Rolfe, as she became known, was thrust into public life, attending receptions and masques hosted by both the King and Queen, as well as being entertained by the Bishop of London at Lambeth Palace.[92] In the lead-up to her voyage to England, John Smith wrote to Queen Anne asking that she treat Matoaka with kindness, recalling how she saved his life. Smith suggested that it would be crucial for the Queen to meet Matoaka as she was the "first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a childe in marriage by an Englishman" and as such God had made "her his instrument."[93] For Smith, any refusal to meet her would have been detrimental to the fate of the English and Christian mission in Virginia, as "her present love to us and Christiantie, might turne to such scorne and furie, as to divert all this good to the worst of evill."[94] Following from Smith's assertion that Matoaka had been converted in some divine plan, the company, in agreement with John Rolfe, ordered that they both should return to Virginia. Matoaka was to work to spread Christianity amongst her fellow Native Americans.[95] However, the prospect of being used as an agent of the English to convert her fellow Native Americans to Christianity, and thereby erode their sovereignty, must have been unbearable for Matoaka.[96] Historians suggest that this could have been what left her weak and vulnerable to whatever diseases killed her in 1617.[97] Matoaka's story is illustrative of the much wider policy of evangelism that the company adopted. This was grounded in the education of Native American children who were taken from their parents and taught English customs and Christianity. Although this was to prove far from effective, the company's leaders hoped that they would return to their families after their education, as agents themselves

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[92] On the masque that Matoaka saw see 'The Vision of Delight' in Stephen Orgel, eds, *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1970); For Pocahontas' meeting with the Queen see *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, II:49-50; For Matoaka at Lambeth Palace Samuel Purchas, *Hakluyt Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 19 vols. (Glasgow: Maclease, 1905) XIX: 118; Dagmar Wernitznig, *Europe's Indians, Indians in Europe: European Perceptions of Native Americans Cultures from Pocahontas of the Present* (Lanham: MD; University of America Press 2007*), 18.
[93] Karen Ordahl Kupperman ed., *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 69-71.
[94] *Ibid.*, 71.
[95] Warrant of Edwin Sandys and John Wrote to Thomas Smythe, 10 Mar, 1617, in David R. Ransome, 'Pocahontas and the Mission to the Indians', in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 99 (1991), 94; Kupperman, *Facing off*, 203; Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 87-90.
[96] Kupperman, *Facing Off*, 200.
[97] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Facing Off*, 199-203; For more on the company's plans for Motoake see Ransome, 'Pocahontas and the Mission', 81-94; For her life see Barbour, *Pocahontas*.

of the company's religious governance. Firmly anglicised, they would be taken back by their people and would slowly encourage others to replace the religious governance of Native customs with that of Protestant corporate civility.

By the time that Matoaka was leaving for England, the company's leadership had become wary of the power of the Native religious establishment, keen to present itself at home as achieving its goals to establish religious governance. The company was right to be alarmed when Matoaka's uncle and influential priest, Uttamatomakkin, accompanied her to England. Apprehensive about allowing Matoaka to travel to England, Powhatan eventually gave his permission, provided that her father's priest, Uttamatomakkin, accompanied her – an arrangement that made Thomas Dale uneasy.[98] Company officials were wary of allowing Uttamatomakkin to accompany Matoaka due to his reputation for being extremely dedicated to his faith. Uttamatomakkin presented a risk to the Company, highlighting the limitations of its religious mission, and thereby presenting the possibility of unfavourable public scrutiny. This was not a valid recognition of the priest's zeal. When interviewed by Samuel Purchas, he proved to live up to all the company's expectations, refusing to engage with anyone who wished to convert him, leading Purchas to describe him as being "very zealous in his superstition, and will heare no persuasion to the truth."[99] The priest's devotion to his faith should have sent alarm bells ringing amongst the Company's leadership, as his visit provided him the opportunity for Uttamatomakkin to acquire intelligence that would later risk the stability of the company's religious governance.

Returning after the death of Matoaka in 1617, Uttamatomakkin immediately sought to convince Powhatan's successor, Opechancanough, of the dishonesty of the English, using evidence from his time in England to do so. Worried about the effect of this, Argall wrote that "Tomakin [Uttamatomakkin] rails against England" and the English people, Argall's good friend, Thomas Dale. Argall tried to play down how Uttamatomakkin's reports were received by Powhatan and Opechancanough, writing that by his actions "Tomakin is disgraced." [100] Although Argall's account would suggest that

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[98] Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough: Three Indian Lives Changed* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 178.
[99] Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, IV:954-955.
[100] Governor Argall, 'A Letter probably to His Majesty's Council for Virginia, June 9, 1617', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 73.

Uttamatomakkin had not been fruitful in wooing Opechancanough, he had been more successful than Argall thought. By acquiring alarming information on the size of the English population, as well as reporting that, at a reception with King James, he had been treated poorly, unbefitting of an ally, Uttomatomakkin provided damning reports of the English, putting the Colony's security in jeopardy. Altogether, the priest painted a disparaging picture of a nation that could not be trusted and who were not serious about their alliance.[101] On top of Uttamatomakkin's news, were the efforts of Argall and the Company to negotiate a treaty in which Thomas, Matoaka's son and Powhatan's Grandson, would have usurped Opechancanough right to the throne. Uttamatomakkin's report about treaty negotiations and the treatment of allies was to be a likely factor in Opechancanough's decision to attack the English in 1622. However, Uttamatomakkin's own motives have received very little attention in the historical discussion.[102] By reporting that the company and cettlers could not be trusted, Uttamatomakkin was not only serving his nation, but also moving to preserve his own faith from the religious governance of the VC. His position as a priest placed him in a position to influence and inform the decision of Powhatan's successor. In doing so, Uttamatomakkin set in motion events that would lead to the dissolution of the Company and end plans to place the Native American peoples under its religious governance.

Despite the tragic fate of Matoaka, religious education continued to be the focus of the VC's religious governance of Native Americans, the result of which would lead them to discuss the establishment of colleges to evangelise and train them in what they believed to be English civility. One year after the death of Matoaka in 1618, formal provisions for the VC's evangelical educational programme called for a college to be established for the "training up of the Children of those infidels in true Religion moral virtue and Civility and for other godly uses."[103] However, the earliest that can be traced of a formal dialogue concerning education in the Colony was two years after Jamestown was planted. In a set

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[101] As Kupperman points out Uttamatomakkin's indignation came from the custom that a "lack of generosity in relationships was despicable" and compares King James' behaviour in not giving him a gift to the story of Powhatan receiving a white dog from Smith "which Powhatan fed as himself" concluding that "our King gaue me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog." See Kupperman, *Facing Off*, 214; Smith, *Generall Histoirie*, 123.

[102] Jeffrey Glover, *Paper Sovereigns: Anglo-Native Treaties and the Law of Nations, 1604-1664* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014) 115.

[103] *The Third Virginia* Charter, (March 12, 1612); Although not a technical charter the letter sent to George Yeardley is sometimes called 'The Great Charter' see 'Instructions to George Yeardley, November 18, 1618', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 102.

of instructions sent to Gates, the company's council in England ordered him to not only seize farmland from the Weroances peoples, but also "those which are younge and to suceede in the government."[104] The hope was that through education, they would come to adopt English "Manners and Religion", and eventually all "their people will easily obey you and become in time Civill and Christian."[105] At the same time, the council also sent more extensive instruction to absentee governor De La Warr, explaining to him that they wished him to work towards "the conversion of the natives and savages to the knowledge and worship of the true god". They further recommended he obtained from the Amerindians "some children to be brought up in our language and manners."[106] Despite actively instructing Virginia planters to evangelise through education, ten years were to passed by before company leadership made any formal arrangements to establish a college in Virginia. This task was considered so essential that, in England, Bishops were requested by the Crown to be "willing to give all assistance and furtherance" in the 'education' based evangelism of the Virginia company.[107] The members of the VC believed their religious governance not only prevented local Native Americans from eternal damnation, but also expanded English civility and Protestantism abroad, thereby thwarting expansion of the Iberian nations in North America.

Whether through offering spiritual guidance or giving financial help for the "training and bringing up of Infidells children to the true knowledge of God & understanding of righteousness", the church in England was mobilised to help this mission.[108] Between 1618 and 1622, moves were made to establish two centres of education in Virginia by the company. The first was a college at Henrico and the second was the East Indian School at Charles City.[109] At the forefront of the mission was at least one minister in every borough in the colony. Across its existence, the VC sent out 22 ministers to administer to both the Native Americans and English settlers in Virginia.[110]

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[104] Virginia Council 'Instruccons order and Constitucons to Sir Thomas Gates Knight Governor of Virginia, May 1609', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 19.
[105] *Ibid*.
[106] 'Instructions Orders and Constitucons, 1609/10', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 27.
[107] The King. Order to Archbishops of Canterbury and York, 1623 or 1617, in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, IV: 1-2.
[108] Court held for Virginia May 26, 1619, in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, I: 220.
[109] William and Mary, despite receiving its charter in 1693, asserts that although it is the second oldest college in the United States, it was originally supposed to establish in 1619 thereby through a claim of ancestral lineage putting it above Harvard, see [http://www.wm.edu/about/history/index.php accessed May 5, 2015].
[110] Bond, *Damned Souls*, 128.

Ministers were required to "allure the Heathen people to submit themselves to the Scepter of Gods most righteous and blessed Kingdome, and so finally to joyne with them in the true Christian profession."[111] The invocation of royal imagery through the sceptre alongside, even as a necessary step to conversion, highlights how VC leadership perceived the role of the company in spreading both secular and spiritual authority of the English state. Not only did conversion account for the soul of the individual but it also asserted the company's authority over the converted. However, just as with many of the other settlers, epidemiological and environmental factors resulted in a high mortality amongst the clergy. Moreover, by 1620 the mortality rate lowered, whilst the presence of church leadership rose, as half of Virginia's 11 boroughs at any one time contained a minister.[112] Despite the increase, the number was not as high as the company had hoped, and so it requested that the Bishop of London send more ministers to the colony. Not only did the Bishop oblige, but he also contributed significant sums to the establishment of a college to ensure that the VC could train its own ministers, as well as convert and educate Native Americans.[113] By maintaining the clergy's presence in Virginia, the VC hoped to solidify its religious governance by providing the spiritual leadership needed to educate and convert.

On top of claims to sovereignty and the soul, advocates of educational evangelism amongst Native Americans continued to suggest that religion was a route not only to spiritual but also commercial profit. For example an anonymous letter read out by Sir Edwin Sandys at a company meeting in 1620 gave a charitable donation of £500 to the education of Native American children in the Christian faith in the belief that such work would bring "many casting guifte into the Treasury."[114] The Company also went on to gift substantial amounts of land and manpower to the school and college to be worked on for the school and college to sustain itself.[115] Such actions further highlighted the company's support for the religious governance being enacted in Virginia; furthermore it

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[111] A Broadside, May 17, 1620, in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 276.
[112] William Stith, *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* (New York, 1747), 173.
[113] *Ibid*.
[114] Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, I: 307-308.
[115] Virginia Company, Instructions to George Yeardley, November 18, 1618, in Kingsbury ed., *RVC* II: 102; Virginia Company. 'A Note of the Shipping, Men and Prouisions Sent and Prouided for Virginia… in the Yeere 1621', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, II: 640.

illustrates how the VC's religious governance was being keenly observed and supported back in England, by both members of the company and non-members.

The gifting of books to the colleges and churches, as well as other items, also became common practice in England, as many people in and outside of the Company sought to be benefactors to the evangelical project in Virginia. The VC's minute books log several occasions when items were requested to be sent by the company to the churches and colleges in Virginia; from Bibles to table cloths and two books – St Augustine's treatises and the works of the Puritan leader William Perkins.[116] The choice to send these two books to the college in Virginia is revealing. The presence of St Augustine of Hippo treatises epitomised the evangelical mission of the English company seeing themselves as walking in Augustine's footsteps. Just as he had championed education in the process of conversion, so the VC would evangelise and convert Native Americans through education. Similarly, the choice of Perkins offers an insight into the theological, as well as educational, foundations for the evangelical mission in Virginia. Perkins, as a Calvinist, had doctrinal leanings towards supralapsarian evangelism, believing that it was a necessity to secure those whom God had preordained and bring about the day of judgement. In his writings, he argued that those who were not reformed Protestants should be informed of their vices and be told of Gods laws so that their "afflicted conscience heare the voice of the Gospell" and their souls be saved.[117] For Perkins, Puritan theology was "the science of living blessedly forever" and for him this salvation, although predestined by God, was obtainable by all. He described faith as a mustard seed and argued that even something that small is itself evidence of God's work, and so is assurance of salvation.[118] For the Company, education was its way of expounding this 'science', moving the Native Americans conscience away from what the English settler perceived as irreligious vices and thereby planting not only Perkins's

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[116] For an extensive list of gifts see 'A Memoriall of Religious Charitie Exercised on Virginia to the Glory of God and Good Example of Men, These Three Last Yeares, 1619. 1620. 1621', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 576-577; For notice of books in minutes see 'At A Quarter Courte held for Virginia November 15, 1620', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, I: 421.

[117] William Perkins, *The arte of prophecying, or, A treatise concerning the sacred and onely true manner and methode of preaching*, Translated, Thomas Tuke (London, 1607), 121-122.

[118] William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine, in The Whole Works of… M. William Perkins*, 3 vols. (London, 1636), 1:11; Perkins, *A case of conscience the greatest taht euer was, how a man may know, whether he be the son of God or no* (Edinburgh, 1592), 53; for more on William Perkins see Raymond A. Blacketer, 'William Perkins (1558-1602)', in Carter Lindberg ed., *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 2008), 38-51

mustard seed of spiritual salvation, but also what the Company hoped was a conversion to English civility and societal salvation.

Both educational centres at Henrico and Charles City were established through similar fundraising schemes and charitable donations, by way of which both offered 'free' education to children of Native Americans. The latter was the brainchild of the Copland, who, upon returning from Japan, raised funds to establish a school for Indian children in Virginia. Copland, who will be discussed further in this thesis, had developed somewhat of a name for himself during his time in the EIC, becoming a celebrity after his conversion of an Indian boy, who was later named Peter Pope by King James.[119] Obtaining support from both the EIC and the Virginia Company, Copland entered the service of the latter, being made a freeman of the company in 1622 and the rector elect of the college at Henrico. He championed from his own experiences, the cause of education and evangelism at company meetings. In fact, by 1622, Copland was held in such high esteem by the company that they pleaded with him to go to Virginia as a minister, writing "Upon the earnest desire of divers Adventurors that Mr Copland would please goe to Virginia and applie himselfe to the Ministry there."[120] Through charitable donations, the Company offered practical support for educational programmes, seeing the necessity of the work, writing that the "eyes of God, Angelle, and men were fixed" upon it.[121]

However, despite moves to formalize the evangelical process in Virginia, company settlers had, for some time, been taking and educating Native American children in the Christian faith. For its part, the Company was keen to make it seem as if "the Indyans very loving, and willing to parte with their children", seeing the arrangement as similar to the European practice of warding.[122] Yet, the practice did not create a brotherly bond between the Native Americans and the English. Instead, the taking of children, along with the systematic attempts to eradicate local customs and culture through education, did more to cause distance and resentment than cultural and religious harmony.

Enforcement

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[119] For more on Copland see chapter II.
[120] 'At a Virginia Court Held the June 19, 1622', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, II: 49.
[121] 'A Quarter Court held for Virginia, January 30, 1622', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, I: 588.
[122] 'Rolfe to Sir Edwin Sandys, June 8, 1617', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, I: 71, 70-73.

As the VC entered the 1620s, the same policies that made up its religious governance placed it at risk, as local Native American populations grew increasingly hostile towards the encroaching presence of its religious government, and ministers tried to ensure religious and social unity amongst the English population. One of the minister's key responsibilities in the plantations was to maintain religious unity and thereby social cohesion, acting to prevent any infraction that could escalate into religious or civil unrest. Throughout its existence, the Virginia company's servants, both in America and in England, consistently called for "wante of wourthie Ministers here."[123] The Company was very clear on its minister's traditional role in the religious life of the plantation, just as in England they were to provide "the service of Almighty God" for "the spiritual benefit and comfort of the people."[124] However, ministers in both Ulster and Virginia were also required, through religious governance, to establish or reinforce company governance in environments outside of traditional roles of the English parson. Ministers, as well as other church officials, were not only required to administer to the spiritual wellbeing of the planters, but also to act as enforcers and arbiters of the company's law. This was a deliberate move by the leadership of the company to utilize the centrality of the church in the colony to firmly entrench both spiritual and temporal law in Virginia. Churchwardens were ordered to police their communities and present to the commanders of each plantation anyone who was drunk, whilst in 1619, John Pory ordered that ministers and churchwardens seek out and present any "any ungodly disorders", specifically prostitution.[125] The Company further ordered that, just as in England, ministers, particularly Conformist chaplains, were to "bee respected and maynteined" according to the laws of the company.[126] To establish civil unity, company leadership dictated that ministers needed to settle the "usuall forme and discipline of the Church of England."[127] By such actions and careful religious governance, the company would avoid "all factious and needlesse novelties tending onlie to the disturbance of peace and unitie."[128] As church leaders, ministers were the enforcers of religious governance,

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[123] Council in Virginia, 'Letter to Virginia Company of London, January, 1621/22', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 583.
[124] 'Instructions, November 18, 1618', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, II: 102.
[125] *Ibid.*, 583; Manner of Proceeding, July 30, 31, August, 2,3,4, 1619, in Kingsbury ed., RVC, III: 172.
[126] Virginia Company, 'Instructions to the Governor and Council of State in Virginia, July 24, 1621', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 469.
[127] 'Instructions to the Governor and Council of State in Virginia, July 24, 1621', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 468.
[128] *Ibid.*

employed to preserve religious unity and thereby establish social harmony and God's favour.

Traditional religious punishments were also used to attempt to ensure societal cohesion in Virginia, as VC leadership further engrained religious governance in the company's way of life. Leadership utilized the religious practice of excommunication, turning it into not only a form of spiritual punishment, but also a governmental sanction. Ministers from all parishes were required to meet every quarter next to the Governor's mansion to list and discuss those who had been suggested for excommunication. Upon agreement, they would recommend a list of names to the Governor who would then order for them and their property to be seized.[129] By not only placing the individual's eternal soul at risk, but also making them a social pariah, the risk of excommunication assisted both the spiritual and temporal submission to the colonies laws. They would otherwise be marked out and left to fend for themselves, not only against the prospect of the Virginian wilderness, but also against a growing hostile Native American population.[130]

The leadership of the company in Virginia pointed out that, in the spiritual teachings and governance of the church, its ministers were required to plant, encourage and enforce the "doctrine, rightes, religion, and eclesiasticall forme of government now professed and established in England."[131] Religious governance had its foundations in the familiarity and authority of the Church of England. Company officials in both Virginia and Ulster, just like many political and religious leaders in England, sought to create a unified Anglican society abroad. Captain John Bargrave advocated religious homogeneity to encourage societal cohesion and harmony, comparing the effects of doctrinal division between the biblical prophets Moses and Aaron, and that of religious tension amongst the Virginia planters. He concluded that doctrinal disunity was a leading cause of social discord in the colony. Seeking to preserve the religious unity of its planters, officials commanded that anyone "whoe shall professe any doctrine contrarie to oures" would not be allowed to "remaine or abide within our sayde plantacions", facing

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[129] 'Instructions to the Governor, July 24, 1621', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 468.

[130] For excommunication and spiritual censure in Early Modern Europe see Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); David Cressy, *Travesties and Transgression in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) particularly chapter 8.

[131] Captain John Bargrave, 'A Form of Policy for Virginia, Before December 7, 1623', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, IV: 412.

banishment or worse, excommunication.[132] For Bargrave, the effect of this religious disunity not only led to scandal, but also threatened the supremacy of government. He wrote that, without unity in the religious governance of the colony, "the soveraignetye must needs goe to wracke."[133] For Bargrave, whether in Virginia, Ireland or England, it was only through religious unity that the interests of the crown, state and company were ensured. Each body was both independent of, and interdependent on, the other for commercial, political and financial support; however, all were, in his opinion, reliant on cohesive and unified religious governance for governmental success. Bargrave further reinforced the ties between the church and the governance of the company plantations, claiming that anyone who refused to be "governed by our eclesiasticall government" should be considered as a "resister of our soveraigne power."[134] Here, religious governance enforced the companies' authority through both spiritual and temporal powers. By resisting the religious governance of the company, individuals resisted the sovereign powers of both the crown and church, which had delegated their jurisdictive authority in the company when abroad.

Although reluctant to cause further divides in Ireland through its religious governance, the ISoc did attempt to impose some form of religious cohesion in its jurisdictions, under threat of punishments. As previously discussed, the society was unwilling to evict native Irish tenants from corporate lands, citing financial reasons alongside those of political stability. It did, however, promote the primacy of the English Church amongst the native Irish, threatening that those who refused to conform would face banishment. After long negotiations, a compromise was reached in 1622 with Chichester's successor, and strong supporter of the Protestant civilising mission, Sir Oliver St. John. The compromise allowed for the native Irish tenants to remain on the Society lands in Londonderry so long as they were "conformable in religion and come to church."[135] If they did not conform and join the Church of England, they would face eviction out into rural Ulster. For the Society, and the authorities in Ulster and Ireland, conformity to the Anglican Church and its religious governance signified acceptance of

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[132] *Ibid.*

[133] Bargrave was most likely referring to Exodus 32:1-26 in which Aaron as High priest forges the golden Calf and leads the Israelites in worship of the idol and in the process is later accused by Moses of letting the people run wild due to allowing religious dissension amongst the ranks of the Israelites.

[134] 'A Form of Policy, December 7, 1623', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, IV: 413.

[135] Propositions to the Undertakers for the Plantation in Ulster in case of yielding their patents, 1622, SP 23/236 f.162; Curl, *Londonderry Plantation*, 74.

English authority. Although religious conformity was required of all peoples in Ulster, it was specifically aimed at establishing religious governance over the native catholic Irish, and thereby bringing them into the realm of English Protestant civility.

Perceptions of local religious practice

The company's religious governance was based on fear, much as it was evangelism, as it sought not only to bring Native Americans to Protestant civility and governance by saving their souls, but also to protect the eternal lives of its planters by eradicating certain religious and social practices that they associated as devil worship. Smith recalled, in some detail, the times when he witnessed Native American religious customs. He described one occasion when he witnessed a *Powwow* and felt that to be amongst them was as "if neare led to hell, Amongst the Devils to dwell."[136] A mix of wilful ignorance and mistranslation provided the English with an unrepresentative picture of Native American religious practices, serving to legitimise their evangelical mission. Just as Hariot had wrongfully based one of his arguments for evangelism on a misinformed connection of monotheism, so too did the VC develop justification for evangelism based on the information provided by their own settlers misguided assumptions and connections. Rumours of ritual sacrifice were persistently circulated in the early years of the Company's settlement. This was mostly through Smith's confused reporting of the Algonquin male rite of passage, the *Huskanaw*, in which English settlers reported, "in some part of the Country they have yearely a sacrifice of children."[137] The events symbolised the death of childhood, in which mothers would publicly grieve for their children, making funeral pyres, whilst their young sons were thrashed with bundles of sticks by the men of the tribe. Following this, the children were taken into the woods by the men and taught the skills required to be 'adults'. Despite Smith himself going through a version of this ritual, the English settlers failed to see the symbolism of the death of childhood and rebirth into adulthood, instead reporting having seen children sacrificed and lying lifeless under trees whilst women grieved. Smith did acknowledge that some of the children did not die, but he painted an imaginative picture of their fate, writing that for those still alive "Okee or Divell did sucke the bloud from their left breast, who chanced

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[136] John Smith, *Generall Histoirie of Virginia New England and the Summer Islands* (London, 1624), 48.
[137] *Ibid.*, 36.

to be his by lot till they were dead."[138] Smith's colourful account highlights the combination of fear and ignorance that, when added to the Christian zeal, provoked many in the company to further their attempt to impose the company's religious governance over the Native Americans through evangelism.

Furthermore, to many contemporaries, the practice of the *Huskanaw* reinforced the need for the VC's religious governance as it perpetuated the cycle of Native American heathenism by supporting and recruiting their priests who, according to Whitaker, were "a generation of vipers even of Sathans owne brood."[139] Fear of the supernatural power of the native priests, especially in effecting changes in the weather, often preoccupied the imaginations of English settlers. Just as Native Americans approached the English faith to seek supplication from the Christian God during times of harsh weather, English settlers sought to blame extreme weather and ecological events on the powers of Native priests. Witnessing an English attack on the Nansemond Indians, Whitaker wrote of a *Powwow* taking place and how, being led by a priest, the Nansemonds were a "mad crewe dauncinge like Anticks, or our Morris dancers," and that his Indian guide, watching this, warned the English that there would be much rain to come.[140] The Captain of Jamestown fort, George Percy, who led the attack, described the event vividly and concluded that the Native Americans "makeinge many dyabolicall gestures with many nigramntcke spelles and incantacion" were trying to make it rain in order "to extingushe and putt out our mens matches, and to wett and spoyle their powder."[141] The reason Europeans wrote so extensively on the failure of the *Powwows* was "precisely because they took those powers very seriously" and that they often fearfully included, in their writings, those moments when the priests had been successful and rivalled the power of the Christians.[142]

The religious and secular leadership of the Company were fearful of the Native priests' spiritual and social powers, against which they would ultimately fall short, and their evangelical mission to establish religious governance over the Native Americans, considered a failure. Not only did the Company's settlers view the deities of the Native

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[138] *Ibid.*
[139] Whitaker, *Good Newes*, 26.
[140] Quoted in Kupperman, *Jamestown*, 179.
[141] George Percy, *Trewe Relaycon, of Proceedings and Occurentes of Moments which have happened in Virginia* (London, 1612), 259.
[142] Kupperman, *Jamestown*, 180.

American faith as the devil, but also the same label was often thrown against the spiritual leaders of their faiths. Even after settlers noticed children returning from the *Huskanaw* and questioned whether sacrifice was indeed taking place, they continued to be alarmed by the ritual, seeing it as a religious occasion when taken children were further pushed down a path of spiritual savagery. Seeing the returning children as successfully having been initiated into the Native priesthood, Smith pointed out that, when they returned, they were destined to become their "priests and conjurers."[143] However, the reverse can also be said, as Europeans also recalled the failures of Native American religious practices, and the supremacy of their own faith. The fear of the indigenous faith encouraged settlers to obediently respect and follow their own faith for protection, whilst epidemiological and environmental events, "invisible bullets" that decimated local Indian populations were seen as divine intervention in support of the settlers' aims.[144] The effect of this reinforced the company's religious governance and further encouraged its leaders to zealously oversee the implementation of its evangelical and religiously governmental aims.

Religious governance and Downfall of the Virginia Company

By 1622 relations between the VC and the local Native American populations had reached boiling point as the evangelical tenets of the company had continued to fuel resentment on the part of the later. Still considered by the VC leadership as "the first institution and profession of this companie" its members had further been ordered to do their utmost for "reclaiming of the Barbarous Natives; and bringing them to the true worship of God, civilitie of life, and virtue."[145] The continuing zeal of company officials to propagate the gospel amongst the Native Americans substantially contributed to the decline in relations between the company's English settlers and the Native Americans. The consequences of this breakdown in relations would ultimately lead to the attack and massacre of one third of the Europeans on March 22, 1622. Across the Colony,

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[143] Smith, *Generall Histoirie*, 36.
[144] Hariot, *Briefe and True Report* 29; For subversive role of religion in establishing power in the New World see Stephen Greenblatt, 'Invisible Bullets' in Michael Payne ed., *The Greenblatt Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 121-60.
[145] 'Orders and Consitution collected by Treasuror, Counseil, and Companie of Virginia, 1619-1620', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 348.

settlements were attacked and it was those commonly associated with the Company's religious governance and evangelical mission that bore the brunt of the aggression.

Both the settlements of Henricus and Smith's Hundred had strong connections with the education of Native American children and adults in the Christian faith, and were hence abandoned. Similarly, when the attack reached Wolstenholme Towne, the church was the focus of that the Native Americans' aggression and only a part of it was left standing. Despite a lack of written sources on the side of the Native Americans as to their motivations behind the attack on the English Colony, it can be inferred from the focus of destruction in areas that where more closely associated with evangelism and religious governance that, at least in part, the uprising was in response to the religious agenda of the Company. As the company's principal spokesperson for its colonists Edward Waterhouse belied that the VC's evangelical was both a consequence and effect of the massacre.[146] In publication five months later Waterhouse declared that although there was still "great worke to doe" it had been the "desire to draw those people to Religion by the careless neglect of their owne safeties, seems to have been the greatest cause of their own destruction."[147]As for the Company's religious mission, its only consolation was that Jamestown had been spared due to a warning from a Native American convert named Chanco. In a declaration of the state of the Colony in 1622, the Company specifically mentioned this incident, thanking God for "the good fruit of an Infidell converted to Christianity", without whom, they suggested they would have lost thousands more.[148] Despite attempts by the company to re-establish religious governance through an education programme, even offering "good and carefull education" as a form of recompense to those Native Americans who warned and supported them during the attack, the Company's evangelical hopes were at an end.[149] Just two years later, unable to heal from the scars of 1622, the Company lost its charter and James seized the Company's lands in Virginia, turning it into a royal Colony.

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[146] Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622); For more on evangelism in before and after the 1622 massacre see Beth Quitslund, 'The Virginia Company, 1606- 1624: Anglicanism's Millennial Adventure', in Richard Connors and Andrew Colin Gow eds, *Anglo-American Millennialism from Milton to the Millerites* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 90-92.
[147] Waterhouse, State *of the* Colony, 18.
[148] *Ibid.*, 555..
[149] Treasurer and Council for Virginia, 'Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia, August 1, 1622', in Kingsbury ed., *RVC*, III: 673.

Ultimately, the outcome of the massacre was the revocation of the company's charter in 1624. However, despite its fate, the VC served to provide a foundational example for ideas surrounding government, religious governance and Anglo-indigenous relations for future English overseas corporations. Simultaneously, throughout the period, and well into the seventeenth century, the Irish Society repeatedly came under fire for its actions or inaction concerning its religious mission to establish a "state church."[150] Both the Virginia Company and the Irish Society, and their methods of governance, became the Anglo-corporate templates from which subsequent English overseas companies drew. Six years after the events of 1622, John Winthrop remembered Virginia's fate when advocating the settlement of New England. He wrote in the *Reasons for the Plantation of New England* that there were three "great and fundamental errors" why the VC had failed. They were interlinked, each one affecting the other, offering a warning to those who wished to settle in New England.[151] For Winthrop, the VC had abandoned its religious mission and populated its lands with a "multitude of rude and misgoverned people", meaning that the company had been unable to "establish a right form of government."[152] The 'right form of government', according to Winthrop and those who joined him as leaders of the MBC, was would be one in opposition to the VC's model, placing what they believed to be the true religion and the establishment of a godly population, first. Whether those involved in England's future overseas companies ignored or learnt from them, the experiences in the Chesapeake Bay and the north of Ireland would influence their plans and actions concerning religious governance.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the VC and the ISoc, in these early years, made the first major attempts to establish English corporate governance overseas, marking a foundational moment in English global expansion in the seventeenth century. At the heart of both organisations was the central mission to establish religious governance to effectively regulate the behaviour of peoples and personnel abroad. This involved the foundational attempts by an overseas company to govern over the English population in

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[150] Quoted in Michael Sheane, *Ulster Blood: The Story of the Plantation of Ulster* (Ilfracombe, Devon: Stockwell, 2005), 30.
[151] John Winthrop, *Reasons for the Plantation in New England* (1628).
[152] *ibid.*

foreign environments, as well as peoples who were outside of English cultural, religious and political milieu. The Protestant religion of England and the corporation's religious governance were utilised as tools to draw people into English ecclesiastical and governmental jurisdiction. By 1624, the establishment of corporate religious governance in both Virginia and Ulster could be seen as a pyrrhic victory. In both jurisdictions, it had been successfully planted. However, the cost of doing so would be hefty for both corporations. In the case of the Virginia Company, it ended with the loss of its charter, whilst in Ulster, it led to centuries of religious conflict and unrest.

However, in the decades that followed the dissolution of the Virginia Company, it was the refinement of corporate religious governance into specific models capable to monitoring the religious, political and social behaviour of a variety of peoples and cultures. The religious governance experimented on and advanced in the Atlantic in the first two decades of the seventeenth century informed the evolution and governmental character of English overseas corporate expansion across the America, the Middle East and India during the seventeenth century. The following chapter will provide a detailed analysis of how the broad religious governance of the VC was expanded upon and evolved into a theocratic model used by the MBC.

Chapter II: The Plymouth Company and Massachusetts Bay Company (1622-1639): Establishing Theocratic Corporate Governance

Two years after the massacre of 1622 James I revoked the VC's charter and Virginia was placed under direct crown rule. Its example served to illustrate to future companies the perils of establishing an ineffective form of religious governance. As John Winthrop wrote in 1629 "those plantations, which have been formerly made, succeeded ill" as they had made "great and fundamental errors" and consequently did "not establish the right form of government."[1] For those who became leaders in the MBC, the VC provided a potent memory of the dangers of establishing the wrong form of religious governance overseas and as such being "unfit instruments" in regulating the social commercial and importantly religous behaviour of English and indigenous people in America.[2] Virginia and the experiences of the VC cemented the place of religious governance as a mechanism of behavioural regulation in companies. However, other than provide the foundations for religious governance the VC did not define the model or character of religious governance that companies' such as the MBC and EIC chose to establish and adapt.

Chartered five years after the dissolution of the VC, the MBC took its charter and government to New England and unlike its southern predecessor established a form of government almost entirely autonomous from England. Uniformly made up of nonconformist communities who had either fled or were currently being subjected to the growing calls for uniformity in the established church, the company developed a form of religious governance that mirrored their beliefs.[3] Through their corporate charter, the MBC's members obtained the structural framework to both legitimise and establish a form of theocratic governance that policed the religious behaviour of its personnel, securing the kind of godly society they had been unable to attain in England.

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[1] 'General Observation for the Plantation of New England', (1629) in *Winthrop Papers*, 5 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929-1947), II: 117, 114.

[2] Ibid., 114; Karen Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 326-27.

[3] For general history of the Massachusetts Bay and list of all initial members and their religious convictions see Francis Rose-Troup, *The Massachusetts Bay Company and its Predecessors* (New York, NY: Grafton Press, 1930); For general histories of the MBC see Alexander Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1623-1636* (Boston, MA: 1846); Thomas Hutchinson, *This History of Massachusetts: From the Settlement Thereof in 1628 Until the Year 1750,* 2 vols. (Salem, 1795); Bremer, Francis J., *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); N. B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay New England*, (*RCM*) 5 vols. (Boston, 1853-54).

As the company's first Governor in New England described its mission as a "citty upon a hill" to which the eyes of the world would watch them establish their godly government.[4] As the MBC established itself in New England, the purpose of its religious governance unlike the VC was to found a form of godly theocratic government, based in the Congregationalist principles of its members, which would be an example not to Native Americans, but to those they had left in England the "purity they could achieve in America."[5] Furthermore the company association to Congregationalism provided it with a supportive network within nonconformist communities in England. Unlike the VC and its sermons, the presence of a financially and vocally supportive religious community in England alleviated the need to cultivate support for their model of religious governance rather it already existed. This chapter examines the formation of theocratic governance in the MBC assessing how the corporate charter both provided and legitimised its authority, and how both these governmental elements of the company worked in conjunction to regulate the behaviour of its English population.

Remaining in the Atlantic world in the years surrounding the demise of the VC, this chapter investigates England's New England companies and how their members developed models of religious governance based on their theological beliefs. If Michael Winship work has laid the foundations to gain a "reliable handle on the explanations that actors gave for their behaviour" this chapter develops our understanding into the corporate framework and model of religious governance that regulate his actors' behaviour.[6] Unlike recent scholarship the focus of this investigation is on how the corporate foundations and the charters of the Plymouth and the MBC provided the structural base for a community to develop a model of governance around their theocratic Congregationalist principles. Furthermore, in comparison with the EIC in chapters 3 and 5 this chapter highlights the impact England's denominational variation had on the character of religious governance abroad. Specifically, it develops a connected understanding into how protestant variation in England when channelled through the framework of overseas companies significantly influencing the foundations of models of

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[4] John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity* (1630), in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, (*MHSC*), (Boston, 1833), VII, 3rd series: 47.
[5] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 45, 45-50.
[6] Michael Winship, *Godly Republicanism: Puritans, Pilgrims, and a City on a Hill* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 11.

religious governance in America and Asia. By investigating the development of corporate government in New England through the formation of the theocratic model of governance this chapter illustrates this. It does so by explaining how corporations offered the opportunity for religious communities to congregate or covenant together to secure their authority and regulate behaviour through uniformity.

Once established in the New England wilderness 3,300 miles from the governmental authorities in London, the membership of the MBC was quick to get to work establishing their Congregationalist model of theocratic government. Fuelled by growing religious and political intolerance in England, those who ventured to Massachusetts did so formally establishing a society based in Presbyterian and Congregational republicanism that had developed in England since the late sixteenth century.[7] In her work on migration to and from Massachusetts, Susan Hardman Moore has highlighted how North East America became a centre for such heterogeneity, dispute and experimentation as nonconformist groups of various theological backgrounds fled from England and were able "to co-exist in the Bay Colony."[8] Despite some divisions the vast majority of those who migrated to Massachusetts from 1630 onwards did so in order to escape the "reach of the long arm of Laud" in order to establish a godly polity that would be governed by broadly agreed upon non-conformist, congregational principles.[9] Although dismissive of the political and governmental ramifications that this caused in the Atlantic world, Moore does acknowledge that the government that was settled in Massachusetts was perceived by many in England to have "turned their backs in the Church of England" establishing a uniquely 'New English' form of religious governance.[10] Michael Winship has convincingly argued that the development of theocratic government in Massachusetts illustrates the transition between "godly

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[7] There is a substantial historiography on the role of Congregationalist theology in shaping the direction of government in New England see Winship, *Godly Republicanism*; 'Godly Republicanism and the Origins of the Massachusetts Polity', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (2006), 427-462; Jason Maloy, *The Colonial American Origins of Early American Democratic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Robert F. Scholz, 'Clerical Consocation in Massachusetts Bay: Reassessing the New England Way and Its Origins', *William and Mary Quaterly* Vol. 29, No. (1972); Stephen Foster, *The Long Argument: English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1500-1700* (Chapel Hill, NC: University North Carolina Press, 1991); J. T. Peacey, 'Seasonable Treatises: A Godly Project of the 1630's', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 113, No.452 (1998), p. 667-679; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion & Domestic Relation in Seventeenth Century New England* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1966).
[8] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 6-7.
[9] *Ibid.*, 20.
[10] *Ibid.*, 7.

ecclesiastical republicanism" and "godly civic republicanism" in the seventeenth century.[11] Similarly, Jason Maloy has highlighted the religious beliefs of Massachusetts settlers, who away from religious persecution in England established the "formal principles of democratic accountability."[12] However, these discussions have not taken into account the corporate origins and framework of the MBC, preferring to see it solely as a settler colony, rather than a company colony. In the process, some of the nuances of the corporate origins of the MBC's theocratic governance have been lost. One such example of this omission is how the MBC's charter provided its members with the legal flexibility for the company to impose theocratic governance "onto the unmapped social and physical" space.[13]

In addition, despite the MBC government's open policing of trade, the focus has often been on its religious settlement and so historians have often dismissed the MBC's 'corporate' credentials in favour of defining it as a colonial enterprise.[14] This chapter addresses this by assessing the corporate origins and charter of the MBC as a joint stock company, which provided it with legal authority and constitutional framework as well as flexibility to establish and solidify the religious order and governance of MBC in New England.

The MBC corporate charter not only provided its leadership with a mechanism of English governance but also a legal constitutional connection beyond the migrant's English birth to government within Old England.[15] Similar to the "financial ties and legal obligations" discussed by David Cressey which connected families in New and Old

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[11] Winship, '*Godly Republicanism*, 10.

[12] Maloy, *The Colonial American Origins*, 123.

[13] Christopher Tomlins, 'The Legal Cartography of Colonization, the Legal Polyphony of Settlement: English Intrusion on the American Mainland in the Seventeenth Century', *Law and Social Inquiry*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2001), 316.

[14] John Fredrick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955); Ruth A. McIntyre, *Debts Hopeful and Desperate: Financing the Plymouth Colony* (Plymouth, MA: Plimouth Plantation, 1963).

[15] Some work has also been conducted on the transferal of English laws, customs and agricultural practices through the MBC to New England see, David Grayson Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and Transferal of English Local Law and Customs to Massachusetts in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); B. Katherine Brown, 'Freemanship in Puritan Massachusetts', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 4, (1954), 865-883; James McWilliams, *Building the Bay Colony: Local Economy and Culture in Early Massachusetts* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2007); David T. Koning, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629-1692* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

England, the charter was a constitutional and legal apparatus of English governance that connected both legislative bodies across the Atlantic.[16] Furthermore, despite relocating themselves politically across the ocean, Englishmen and women through familial, legal and cultural ties "maintained a strong sense of their identity as Englishmen."[17] Although not traditional exiles the men and women of the MBC saw themselves as English expatriates whose religious beliefs had caused them to set out and establish their own autonomous governance. However, they were constantly aware that the autonomy they had obtained was a privilege granted them by the English government through the company's charter and as such could be taken away at any point by that very government. This fractious political and legal connection established through the charter intimately linked both Old and New Englanders and would involve the latter in the workings and conflicts that surrounded English government during the seventeenth century.

Building upon the discussion the VC this chapter examines the MBC members through the corporate structure developed and established a unique form on religious governance. It highlights how the general religious governance of the VC was refined and transformed into a theocratic model, recognising the flexibility of corporations to adapt and establish diverging forms of governments. Through an assessment of the formation and early years of the MBC theocratic governance, the chapter illustrates governmental influence of its body politick in shaping religious governance. In doing so it increases our understanding of how corporations developed governmental identities that successfully policed over the behaviour of its members, and perpetuated its own authority.

Split into two sections this chapter at first examines the origins of theocratic governance both in England and the Plymouth Company. This briefly assesses the regional religious and theological debates and disputes as well as traces the religious lives of the MBC influential members and congregations as they fled England to the Netherlands. Moreover, it also traces earlier corporate attempts by Puritans in the Plymouth Company to settle New England, and the influence they had on the directions

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[16] David Cressey, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 190; see also Tomlins, 'Legal Cartography', 315-372; David Grayson Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1981).

[17] Christoper D'Addario, *Exile and Journey in Seventeenth-Century Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 94.

and foundation of the MBC theocratic governance. Moving on it focuses on the chartering of the MBC and the subsequent foundation of theocratic governance in New England under the company. It investigates the reasons behind the charters omission that allowed its members to remove themselves and establish a corporate governing body outside of the British Isles. Furthermore, this chapter explains how relocation provided the MBC leaders with the jurisdictional evasiveness both locally and globally to establish corporate theocratic governance in America.

The second section concentrates on desires of the religious community and how the MBC's members were able through its corporate foundations to establish and develop a successfully inward governing theocratic model through outward commercial desires. It does this by highlighting the commercial underpinning of corporate life in Massachusetts Bay, investigating the links between the foundations of theocratic governance and commerce. Moreover, it assesses the idea of a uniform corporate congregation, exploring how the MBC's members through its corporate charter could create an infrastructure which regulated communal behaviour to prevent the level of protestant and religious diversity that would be seen in the EIC.

In doing so this chapter traces how the MBC's rocky refuge became the home of autonomous Puritan religious governance. The MBC, once seen as a stopgap for a "far more promising Caribbean location", began to achieve notoriety as a success story of English expansion and the planting of strong religious corporate governance in the Americas North East. [18] It explains how the flexibility granted to participants and members of the company through their corporate charter allowed them space to achieve autonomy and fuse their religious beliefs to the corporate governance of the company. All those Puritan or not, whether English, European and Native American, who fell within their geographic jurisdictions were to be governed, and judged, by the strict codes of the MBC's Congregationalist government. In turn they believed that by their example as a city upon a hill, they would influence godly change in governance (in all its forms) in Old England as well as the New.

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[18] Karen Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1.

The New England way was built around the Congregationalist theocracy and shared religious identity of the founders of the Massachusetts Bay Company and Colony. A shared religious identity and moral goal had helped to obtain the joint stock charter of the company that had established and for 60 years entrenched corporate religious governance in America. The revocation of the corporate charter in 1684 meant that the New England Way "was obliged to become the New England Identity" where its people's Congregationalist religion no longer defined the government, life and eternal direction of their land, but merely described the religious demographic of the colony.[19] From 1629-1684 the MBC's Congregationalist theocratic government was secured, established and maintained by the company's joint stock charter. Through their charter the MBC established jurisdictive and religious control over not only its English members but also thousands of Native Americans, and its leaders would use the powers its charter gave them to dictate to and annex other English colonies. It was this model that acted as a catalyst allowing company members to secure and establish unique experimental governments abroad. This model informed both the governance of external geographies more than 3,000 miles away and debates and conflicts on civil and religious governance in England itself.

Plymouth Company and the foundations of Theocratic governance

The north-east coastline of North America had for some years prior to the chartering of the Massachusetts Bay Company been the focus and scene for English religious nonconformists to be the home for experimenting and planting their ideas of religious governance. The MBC followed in the footsteps of the renowned Plymouth colony whose Puritan founders would share an intimate relationship with the MBC. To understand the political space of the commercial world the MBC entered, as well as the godly New England its members wished to create it is necessary to briefly discuss this background. Assessing the religious and political atmosphere of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England alongside Plymouth and the VC influenced the MBC's creation and its religious and political development.[20]

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[19] Foster, *The Long Argument,* 237.
[20] For more information on the establishment of these companies as individual entities see Rose-Troup, *The Massachusetts Bay Company*, especially chapter, 1,2,3.

The Plymouth Colony established in 1620 when those nonconformists aboard the *Mayflower* landed in New England. The immortalized band of men and women who established Plymouth, glorified in the American imagination as the 'Pilgrim Fathers', have long been associated with religious persecution and governance in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To understand the development and involvement of Puritan religious governance in New England it is important to assess religious governance in England in the early years of James I's reign. Alongside this the evolution of religious governance and joint stock companies will be highlighted in a discussion of the early years of the Plymouth colony's existence. Furthermore, drawing attention to the period between 1620 and 1629 highlights the influence of the Plymouth colonists played in the foundations for the religious government of the MBC.

The accession of James VI and I to the throne of England was greeted by many reformers with the hope of further reformation in the church, but they soon began to realise this was unlikely. James I quickly made it clear to Puritans, Presbyterians and other non-conformists that he did not support their religious reforming agenda, and his actions would help to bring them together. In doing so James's actions set off a chain of events that laid the foundations for the ideas of religious governance that would be established in Plymouth and Massachusetts. James I's comprehensive 1604 reassessment of church law, canons and episcopal appointments alongside supporting the appointment of bishops perceived to be anti-reform by Puritans and non-conformists was met with increasing alarm amongst the puritan population, and would subsequently be one of the causes of their migration.[21]

The future governor of Plymouth and is first historian, William Bradford had been an active member of the Gainsborough and Scrooby congregations who had been the focus of religious scrutiny since 1602.[22] Whilst around the same time as prosecutions of Scrooby and Gainsborough churches, the future founder of Congregationalism and the MBC religious model of governance, John Robinson, made contact with both

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[21] Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, 69; for complexities relating to achieving an alternative scholarly figure see Foster, *The Long Argument,* 99-101.
[22] For his history of the Plymouth Plantation, which ends with a 1651 list of the Mayflower Pilgrims and their Descendants see William Bradford, *Bradford's History of the Plymouth Plantation 1606-1646*, ed., William T. Davis (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1908), hereafter Bradford, *History*.

congregations calling them a "hundred voluntary professors."[23] By 1607 the two congregations at Gainsborough and Scrooby had joined together in a joint enterprise. Bradford later recalled the joining of the two churches with affection writing "they shooke of this yoake of antichristian bondage, and as the Lords free people, joyned them selves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate."[24] Between 1607 and 1608 the events surrounding the visitations and the congregations became public knowledge across the country. The minister Edward James pleaded with "his deare friends" that had "severed youselves from our assemblies," comparing their fate outside the established Church to those who had not entered Noah's Ark.[25] Meanwhile, the Lincolnshire native and nonconformist Henoch Clapham wrote from London that "in farthest parts of Lincoln-shire and Nottingham-shire" many had "flately already separated" their own church and religious governance.[26] It was in this atmosphere of mounting pressure that the two congregations decided to emigrate to the safety of the Netherlands escaping English religious governance and taking their firsts steps towards New England.

After spending over a decade in the Netherlands the congregation of covenanted Englishmen and women decided to remove themselves once again, setting to work at planting a truly godly government in America. Bradford gave four reasons for the group moving to America, each in some way were related to the establishment, development, and propagation of the godly governance and the gospel.[27] However, to achieve this mission, its partakers needed to ensure some form of financial support and recruit further support from the godly in England. As one historian has pointed out, their primary concern would have been to acquire a "'patent' from one of the chartered trading companies" that had been established by the Crown to trade and govern over the new

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[23] John Robinson, *A Justification for Separation from the Church of England Against Mr Richard Bernard, his invective intituled; The Sepratist Schism* (1610), 94.
[24] Bradford, *History*, 31.
[25] "None could be deliuered from the deluge, but such as were contained in *Noabs* Arke: so can none be sa|ued from eternall death, but onely those who keepe themselues within the Church of God" Edward James, *A Retrayt sounded to certain brethren lately seduced by the schimaticall Brownists to forsake the Church* (London, 1607), 1, 5; For more on Edward James and a discussion surrounding a dialogue between nonconformists and Anglicans in 1607 see Suellen Mutchow Towers, *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), esp chp 3.
[26] Henoch Clapham, *Errour on the Right Hand, through a Preposterous Zeal Acted by Way of a Dialogue* (London, 1608), 14.
[27] *Ibid.*, 46-7.

American territories.[28] The Virginia Company of London had started offering patents to plantations that would pay tax to Jamestown to secure financial support for the faltering colony. In February 1619, after some years of negotiation the VC granted the Pilgrims a patent to settle within its jurisdiction of "Northerne parts of Virginia."[29] However things were not to prove that simple; after the *Mayflower* returned to England in April 1621 it reported the news that the Pilgrims had landed and settled north of the VC lands, in the Jurisdiction of the Council of New England (CNE). Formerly the Virginia Company of Plymouth the CNE in 1620 been reformed and re-chartered under the new name, with the purpose of doing what the former company had failed to do, successfully establish a permanent settlement and the "Civil Societie and Christian Religion" of English governance in New England.[30] The Pilgrims sent back a request for the corporation to provide them with a patent to remain where they had settled, which was granted that same year. Known, as the 'Second Pierce Patent', this was a temporary patent, and ensured that if a permanent settlement was not established all the rights given would be reverted to the Corporation. Despite the seven-year clause of the Pierce Patent, it provided the colonists with the constitutional apparatus they needed to establish themselves and their religious government legally in America.

Both this and future patents for the Colony not only provided the legal validity for its existence, it provided the Plymouth colonists with the ability to establish their godly government. The second Pierce patent granted the Pilgrims the powers to govern over themselves and to make all "lawes Ordynaunces and Constitucons for the rule government" needed to "live together in the Feare and true Worship of Allmighty God, Christian Peace, and civil Quietness" or in other words godly government.[31] The second patent contained remarkably little on how the colony should be governed, or on the direction the Council wanted its religious governance to go in. On the subject of religion, the patent mentioned only that colonists were to "build Churches, Schooles, Hospitalls." The religious governance of the colony had been defined a year earlier in the signing of the *Mayflower* Compact on the 11 November 1620. The compact was designed by the

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[28] Although primarily concerned with the cultural and family aspect of the colony, John Demos does offer a brief if not fleeting mention of founding of a Company, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 4-5.
[29] The Patent no longer survives but is known as the 'First Pierce Patent'; Bradford, *History*, 107.
[30] Charter of New England, (1620).
[31] 'Second Pierce Patant' (1621), Pilgrim Hall Museum.

initial migrants to supersede the original patent and to separate themselves further from English governance sought. Signed by 41 of the men aboard the *Mayflower* the compact not only acknowledged that they had undertaken the project "for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith" but also how to establish this faith in their government.[32] Through this formal act the signers sought to bring themselves "togeather into a civill body politick," this civil body politic mirrored a church covenant that bound the settlers religious and political aims together to establish godly governance in America. In doing so they believed they could establish order in the colony and "enacte, constitute, and frame" godly "equall lawes, ordinances, Acts, constitutions, & offices."[33] Although the second patent legally superseded the compact, its wording gave authority to the Mayflower Compact in all matters concerning the governance of the colony.[34] The Plymouth colonists combined the apparatus that provided the legal and constitutional foundations needed to establish governmental authority with their ideas and plans to establish their own godly government.

The structural organization of the colony's government was also linked to its financial arrangements as once they had secured their patent the Pilgrims established a joint stock company.[35] Ruth McIntyre has convincingly argued that the Pilgrims organized themselves into something that was not dissimilar from the Virginia and Bermuda joint stock companies. The Colony's chief governing body was its court, which like many other seventeenth-century corporations was made up entirely of its stockholders. This was then broken into two bodies, the General Court made up of the freemen and a Court Assistants that was an executive body made up Assistants along with the Governor. A similar governmental structure based around the joint stock corporate model was used by the VC and EIC and later by MBC. This consolidation of corporate governance to the planting of godly governance may not have been as explicit as it was with the MBC however, like the VC and ISoc Plymouth colonists established the experimental foundations for the MBC government.

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[32] *Mayflower Compact*, (1620).
[33] *Ibid*.
[34] Eugene Stratton, *Plymouth Colony: Its History & People, 1620-1691* (Salt Lake City, UT: Ancestry Publishing, 1986) 142, 152.
[35] For a brief but in depth analysis of the financial organisation of the Plymouth colony see Ruth A. McIntyre, *Debts Hopeful and Desperate: Financing the Plymouth Colony* (Plymouth, MA: Plimouth Plantation, 1963).

As to the financial structure of the Plymouth enterprise "the entire capital, including lands was to be a joint stock fund, divided into shares." All those who went to the colony over the age of 16 were considered £10 and every share was worth £10.[36] Investors could remain in England, and all those who went to the colony would continue in the joint stock for seven years. Over this seven years all profits from several different industries including, trading, working and fishing would remain in the common stock furnishing and supplying the colony; after the seven years, the profits and capital would be divided equally. However, the Pilgrims had gone into substantial debt to transport themselves to America, borrowing from Merchant Adventurers in London, who were repeatedly disappointed by the lack of profits returning from the colony.[37] Attempts by the colonists in 1621 and 1625 to send back furs and pelts to their investors in London to pay off their debt were beset with bad luck. In 1621 the ship was boarded by the French and its cargo seized amounting to £500, whilst in 1625 the ship was accosted by Barbary Pirates in the Channel.[38]

Only a year before the pirates capture the ship, its captain, Emmanual Altham, was trying to advertise the Plymouth Colony as an investment opportunity as "now they will flourish… which God grant."[39] Altham highlighted the religious morality and ethics of the colonists as a safeguard for investing, linking both the Plymouth brethren's religious governance to commerce; "New Plymouth will quickly return your money again. For on the most part they are honest and careful men."[40] However, the Merchant Adventurers in London did not agree with Altham's suggestion that the Plymouth Colony was a sound investment and that success had been "God grant[ed]" gradually withdrawing their financial and material support. Bradford recalled the reluctance of the Adventurers who through sending fewer migrants and increasing interests rates had left the colony in a difficult situation and left them "deeply engaged" in trying to secure the financial

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[36] William Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*, Vol. II, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 307-8.
[37] Bradford, *History*, 272-3.
[38] Nick Bunker, *Making Haste From Babylon: The Mayflower Pilgrims and Their World: A New History*, (London, Random House, 2010), 307-308, 349; Bradford, *History*, 123.
[39] Emmanuel Altham to James Shirely, May 1624, in John Pory, Emmanuel Altham and Isaak De Rasierers, *Three Visitors to Early Plymouth*, ed., Sydney V. James, Jr. (Plymouth, MA: Plimoth Plantation, 2002), 49.
[40] *Ibid*.

situation of the colony.[41] With some bitterness he wrote, "the Company of Adventurers broake in peeces… and the greateste parte wholy deserted the colony."[42] An agreement was reached in late 1626 between the then Assistant Governor Isaac Allerton and the Adventurers, in which the company bought its debt for £1800 out of the £7000, allowing those families resident in Plymouth advantageous land granting privileges.[43]

The following year eight men in Plymouth, of which Brewster, Bradford and Allerton are listed, and four in England sought to buy the rest of the debt from the Adventurers, and in turn they were granted trading monopolies on fur by the other colonists.[44] These men, who remained in England supported the MBC, were to be known as the 'Undertakers' who according to Bradford agreed to take upon themselves the debt of the whole colony. In the governors' opinion this action had distanced the colony from the financial and governmental scrutiny of England, describing it as "sett[ing] them free" and allowing its members to freely establish the religious government they wished.[45] However to ensure some financial return as well as secure their newly acquired trading monopolies the undertakers also set about acquiring a new patent granting them access to areas known or suspected to be "good trading places."[46] Yet even into the 1640s the town of Plymouth itself would continue to use the Plymouth Company covenant for land distribution, where the distribution of capital assets was based on shares in the company.[47]

The penultimate step to full governmental autonomy arrived in 1629 the same year that the MBC received its charter the Council of New England finally granted the Plymouth colonists a third Patent. The patent provided all the colonists and their "heir and associates" permanent and more extensive rights to the lands in not only Plymouth but also Kennebec Maine.[48] Six years later in 1635 the Council of New England had its

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[41] William Bradford, *Governor Bradford's Letter Book*, ed., John C. Kemp, (Plymouth, MA: Plimouth Plantation, 2002), 38.
[42] Bradford, *History*, 201.
[43] For a succinct discussion of the issues of the Plymouth Colony debt see, K. B. Patten, *Isaac Allerton: First Assistant of the Plymouth Company* (Minneapolis, 1908), 3; Bradford, *History*, 271-274.
[44] For list of the undertakers in both Plymouth and London see the *Articles for Agreement* in Bradford, *Letters*, 40.
[45] *Ibid*., 38; Bradford, *History*, 226-28.
[46] *Ibid*., 39.
[47] Plymouth Mass., *Records of the Town of Plymouth*, Vol. I, (Plymouth, MA: 1989), I: 4-6, 36-37, 62-70; John Fredrick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of the New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 137.
[48] Warwick/Bradford Patent, (1629), Pilgrims Hall Museum; Stratton, *Plymouth,* 141.

charter dissolved yet despite this the Plymouth Colony continued on in splendid isolation, as its patents along with its joint stock model of governance had provided its colonists with the independence needed to successfully establish, maintain and develop their nonconformist form of religious governance.

The constitutional and commercial apparatus that the Plymouth colonists had utilized along with their own brand of puritanism provided a distinct congregational form to the governance of the colony that would later be adapted by the MBC.[49] The religion of the Plymouth colonists permeated all aspects of their lives, and the governmental running of the colony was not apart from this. Founding their civil government through the structure of the Joint Stock corporation, the colonists quickly knitted the secular governance of the corporation to their faith. As early as 1622 both Bradford and Edward Winslow offered advice on how this could be implemented in the selection of government officials to be elected by the colonists. For both, those who were to govern where required to have fused together both a desire for civil good and godliness in their character. The people of Plymouth when electing their governing officials were reminded also not to be blinded by the cult of personality and not to be "like unto the foolish multitude, who more honour the gay coate, than either the vertuous mind of the man" or most importantly "the glorious ordinance of the Lord."[50] For the Plymouth colonists and those who would follow in the MBC success of their mission was often associated with the selection of godly leaders. Unlike in England where the people tired under the government of unelected and ungodly "tyrannous Bishops", governance in Plymouth and Massachusetts would be firstly chosen by those who had "wisdom and godliness" to select those who were godly and recognised "God's ordinance for your good."[51] By this means, the leadership of Plymouth sought to ensure the successful establishment of not only its religious government but also that it could secure who would lead its colonists in its mission.

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[49] For more on the connection of the Plymouth and MBC and the New England way of religious governance see Jason Maloy, *The Colonial American Origins of Early American Democratic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 140-106.

[50] Edward Winslow & William Bradford, *Mourt's Relation or Journal of the Plantation of Plymouth* (1622), xlv-xlvi.

[51] Bradford, *A Late Observation as it Were, by the Way, Worthy to be Noted* (1646); Winslow & Bradford, *Mourts Relation*, xlv-xlvi.

Similarly over the first decade of Plymouth's existence the leadership of the congregational church in the colony underwent a leadership crisis.[52] This crisis was particularly magnified after the death of John Robison an event which left the congregation "to feel the wante of his help, and saw (by woefull experience) what a treasure they had lost."[53] Cracks in the unity of the congregation began to form as the minsters became scarcer to perform sacraments, particularly the two most important to the Congregationalist, baptism and communion. By 1623 the situation was so dire that William Brewster despite not being qualified, although Bradford would later claim he by experience "was qualified above many," would lead his congregation in sermon and prayer.[54] By 1630 the lack of ministers able to perform the sacraments was a cause of deep concern for the Plymouth leadership as people such as Samuel Hicks and John Cooke questioned the existence of "a visible Church and ordinances without a minnestry."[55] Both then demonstrated what the Plymouth leadership feared most, "descension in our Church", as the former became a Quaker and the later described as a "Shallow man and Cause of trouble" an Anabaptist.[56] The reaction of the church was to cast them out of their society to secure that their church congregation remained in and of the influence of the godly. Both the virtue and glorious ordinance they discussed could only be found amongst the godly members of their congregations. The Government and those who governed the colony were then an unbreakable covenant with the Pilgrims Puritan church, as members of both.

Defiantly protective of their puritan faith and church the Plymouth colonists, by fusing congregationalism to their government became equally protective over it. This protectiveness was not helped by a culture of religious and political paranoia. Scholars have studied what has been coined "godly paranoia" in relation to the witch-hunts of the seventeenth century, however very little has been said of the institutionalized paranoia of Puritan corporate religious governance in the New England.[57] Although paranoia is often

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[52] Mark E. Peterson, 'The Plymouth Church and the Evolution of Puritan Religious Culture' *New England Quarterly*, vol. 66. No. 4 (1993), 570-593.

[53] Bradford, *History*, 41.

[54] Bradford, *History*, 379; *Plymouth Church Records 1620-1859* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1920), I: 79-81.

[55] *Plymouth Church Records*, 92-3.

[56] Peterson, 'Plymouth Church', 576.

[57] John Coffrey and Paul C. H. Lim, *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 9; for a brief discussion of paranoia see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Weidenfeld

associated to an individual, work by sociologists looking at millennialism in the modern age has produced a body of research based on game theory that suggest certain forms of paranoia, which can be termed social paranoia.[58] Social paranoia is by its very name derived from social interaction were the paranoid individuals, or a community, feel that they are being conspired against by others and as such "are more aware of social realities, more alive to contingences and nuances, more strategic in their response."[59] This heightened awareness of the social realities of establishing a godly society in a hostile environment, along with the deep rooted effects of religious and political life in England left the Plymouth colonists deeply suspicious of the 'religious others' whether, English, Native American or European who entered their jurisdiction. Gradually over the 1620s, as the Plymouth colonists established a government in New England that encapsulated both its corporate origins and its people's religious ethos also absorbed the religious and political paranoia that surrounded them. The effect of this was that the corporate religious government of the Plymouth colonists became increasingly hostile to those who did not share their doctrinal ethos.

One incident in particular highlighting this surrounded the cavalier Thomas Morton author of the *New English Canaan*, lawyer, colonist and scholar of Native American culture.[60] Described by one historian as "an Elizabethan dandy, a man of the Renaissance, with a smattering of high culture and a hankering for low adventure" Morton stood as an antithesis to the Plymouth colonists.[61] Bedford later remembered him as an "intsrumente of mischeefe" and a "man of more crafte then honestie," whilst according to Bradford's colleague Edward Winslow he was an "arrant knave" and a "serpent."[62] Settling in New England in 1624, Morton was part of a group of adventurers who established the settlement of Mount Wollaston, later named Merrymount, and they very quickly came to

& Nicolson, 1971), 651-2; For interesting links between paranoia surrounding witch-hunts in seventeenth century New England and the political paranoia of McCarthyism and the communists-hunts in 1950's America see Robert S Robins & Jerrold M. Post, *Political Paranoia: The Psychopolitics of Hatred* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997) in particular chapter 8.

[58] John R. Hall, Philip D. Schuyler and Sylvanie Trinh, *Apocalypse Observed: Religious Movements and Violence in North America, Europe and Japan* (London: Routledge, 2000), 189-216.

[59] Stanford Lyman and Marvin B. Scott, *A Sociology of the Absurd* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1989), 105.

[60] For more on the life of Thomas Morton see William Heath, 'Thomas Morton: From Merry Old England to New England', *Journal of American Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1 (2007), 135-68: Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan; or New Canaan* (1632) hereafter *New Canaan*.

[61] Heath, Thomas Morton, 136.

[62] Bradford, *History*, 250-251, 238; Edward Winlsow, in *Winthrop's Papers*, 5 vols, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1944), IV: 428.

be regarded by the Plymouth colonists as religious and governmental enemies. This animosity towards Morton was rooted in religion and relations with the local Native Americans. Relations between the Plymouth Colonists and Native Americans in the area particularly the local Massachusetts, had been tense since the death of Squanto and Plymouth's attack on Wessagusset in 1623.[63] In a move away from the traditional narrative of pilgrim apologists, Heath argues that their Indian policy was not as has been previously suggested "humane and equitable" and that Wessagusset was not part of a plan to "interracial harmony" by the Pilgrims to preserve but would be more accurate to suggest that they "created a desert and called it peace."[64] It was in this environment of animosity between Plymouth colonists and Native Americans, and increasingly on the side of the Native Americans that Morton found himself. Writing some years later he recalled how when he arrived in New England he "found two sortes of people, the one Christians, the other Infidels, these I found most full of humanity, and more friendly then the other."[65] He would also recall how in his commercial dealings with the local native Americans, establishing a moderately successful fur trade where the Plymouth colonists failed, that "the more Salvages the better quarter, the more Christians the worser quarter I found."[66] It could be assumed that being English he would have found a great deal in common with the Plymouth colonists, however beyond country of origin there was not much in common between the two.

The strict Congregationalism of the Plymouth was abstract to Morton so much so that he saw more in common between the England or more so the hedonistic life he had had left and the Algonquian culture of festivity. On the subject he described for each season and events the local Native Americans would "excerise themselves in gaminge, and playing of juglinge trickes, and all manner of Revelles, which they are delighted in."[67] Since Sir Humprey Gilbert's voyages traders with Native Americans had been aware that

[63] Squanto died November 1622. For more on the Wampanoag Indian who helped the Plymouth Colonists establish the colony see Neil Salisbury, 'Squanto: Last of the Patuxets' in David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash, *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1981), 228-246; Anna Brickhouse, *The Unsettlement of America: Translation, Interpretation, and the story of Don Luis Velasco, 1560-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 37-45; For the attack on Wessagusset see Heath, Thomas Morton, 143-48.
[64] Heath, 'Thomas Morton', 143-4; Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1775* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), xiii, 88.
[65] Morton, *New Canaan*, 15.
[66] *Ibid.*, 77.
[67] *Ibid.*, 20.

accompanying commercial deals there was to be expected some form of entertainment.[68] Morton would have been fully aware of the obligation to provide entertainment upon the completion of a business transaction that he fell under the heavy hand of the religious governance and envious Plymouth leadership. In the May of 1627 in preparation for the completion of a business transaction Morton ordered a maypole be erected from an 80 ft pine tree and that they had "brewed a barrell of excellent beer" for all those who came.[69] Indeed there was nothing out of the ordinary about such a festival, as they took place in his native England and in 1622 a precedent had been set when English fishermen in Maine had set up a maypole.[70] Despite what was seen as "harmless mirth" by Morton was perceived to be the idolatrous described as erecting a "Calf of Horeb" by the "precise Separatists" and as such worthy of godly punishment.[71] Jealous of Morton and his men's trading success Bradford scornfully wrote how he "got much by trading with the Indeans" and that they "spent it as vainly, in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong waters in great exsess."[72] Yet Morton invoked more than jealousy in the Plymouth leadership, his presence fuelled their social paranoia, as he seemed to have embodied not only all the reasons why they had left England but also what they worked so hard to establish a religious government against.

For the Plymouth leadership Morton was irreligious, placing immediately at odds with the deeply suspicious congregational colonists, accusing him of directing a "schoole of Athisime."[73] This was likely a sneer at Morton's Anglican faith that Plymouth leadership further imbued with religious connotations by suggesting it was centered around the "idle or idol May-polle."[74] Bradford's clever conjunction drew together Puritan religious ideas surrounding idolatry and idleness. Morton's celebration according to Bradford was an expression of idleness, which was considered a cardinal sin. As one of Bradford's contemporaries pointed out the "industrious man hath no leisure to sin: the

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[68] Edward Haies, 'A Report of the Viyages of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, 1583', in Henry Burrage, ed., *Early English and French Voyages, 1534-1608* (New York: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1932), 192; Heath, Thomas Morton, 150
[69] Morton, *New Canaan*, 90.
[70] Phineas Pratt, 'A Decleration of the Affairs of the English People that First inhabited New England', *Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 4th Series, Vol. 4 (1856), 478.
[71] Morton, *New Canaan*, 90.
[72] Bradford, *History*, 238.
[73] *Ibid*.
[74] *Ibid*.

idle man hath not leisure to avoid sin."[75] In conjunction with idleness Morton by erecting the maypole had also committed idolatry. Amongst puritan circles the maypole had long been considered a symbol of idolatry and were often were the scenes of conflict. In 1641 Puritan students in Oxford attacked a local maypole, whilst during the interregnum parliament passed an ordered that all maypoles be taken down as they were considered "a Heathenist vanity, generally abused to superstition and wickedness."[76] On top of these accusations Morton was further accused of conducting some sort of bacchanalian orgy, to which they invited "Indian women, for their consort, dancing and frisking together."[77] Although it's highly likely that Bradford exaggerated the accusations levelled at Morton, it is very clear that he was considered a threat. Although not anti-arts and music, in many ways he embodied the England of Anglicanism, folk traditions that many Puritans had left behind, and so was an unwanted reminder of an old home.[78]

Morton's friendly trading relations with the Native Americans played upon the Plymouth Colonists fears of their indigenous neighbours, who as a "cruel, barbarous & most treacherous" people were not to be trusted.[79] At a time when Wessagusset was still in the public's memory and the Plymouth colony were still under the belief that colonists were being killed by Native Americans daily, Morton was accused of trading and supplying the Indians with guns and shot.[80] Not only this but Bradford went further to suggest that if Morton and his men could have "could attaine to make saltpeter" they would have taught how to make gun powder, "O, the horiblnes of this vilanie!"[81] Although the fear of armed Indians may not have been totally unwarranted, it was however totally exaggerated highlighting the Plymouth colonist's paranoia towards the Native Americans.[82] Morton was arrested and tried by the Plymouth colonists in what Heath has suggested was a "Kangaroo court" and sentenced to be "sent back to England

[75] Ralph Venning, *Milke and Honey, or a Miscellaneous Collation of Many Chirtsian Experiences, Sayings, Sentences, and Several Places of Scripture Improved* (London, 1653), 25.
[76] Oxford Record Office PAR/207/4/F1/1; C.H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-60* 3 vols. (London, 1911) ii, 1163.
[77] *Ibid*.
[78] For an argument that Puritans neither disavowed nor encouraged arts and music see Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (New York, Russell & Russell, 1962).
[79] *Ibid*., 47.
[80] Ibid., 239-40; Nathaniel Morton, *New England's Memorial*, (1669), 92.
[81] Bradford, *History*, 240.
[82] Nathaniel Morton, of no relation to Thomas Morton illustrates this paranoia further by alluding to the fact that if the Indians did attack in the future Morton would "bear a greater part of the blame and guilt of it to future generations" see Morton, *Memorial*, 92.

as a prisoner."[83] In addition to supplying arms to Indians, which the Plymouth colonists argued was prohibited by a royal prohibition of King James, he was also accused of trying "to advance the dignity of Church of England."[84] Memory of Morton and the events that surrounded him were seen as a triumph for the religious governance and independence of New England and was embedded into the collective memory of the congregational population. The heavy-handed approach of the Plymouth colonists and their leadership towards Morton not only illustrates the paranoia of the congregational population but also how this paranoia became instituted into the religious governance of the colony.

Chartering and charter rights

The case of Morton was merely the foundations for what became and increasingly hostile, suspicious and closed of form of corporate religious governance in New England. Between 1620 and 1629 the Plymouth colonists laid the foundations for the MBC, their corporate religious governance along with their increasingly closed off congregation society would become a building block for the newly formed trading company. Placing the MBC's charter in the religious and political context of the 1620's accentuates the nuances of the company's foundations, and with further scrutiny adds to the initial story of the MBC's charter helping to illuminate the debates and reasons that led to transferal of the company's government abroad. For corporations, their charters were the source of their power. As vestiges of a medieval civic tradition, charters were defined broadly, giving companies and corporations a wide variety of powers to protect, legislate, and govern the lands and those who fell within them under their control.[85] The level of the powers provided to companies by the charters granted them where in themselves extraordinary when considering the fact that over the seventeenth century those often granting these powers were considered arbitrary rulers. Furthermore, it is even more curious when considering the MBC that vocal communities of Puritans were granted these powers by Charles I, who Puritans and Presbyterian inclined MP's within parliament would accuse twenty years later of trying to "introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical

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[83] Heath, Thomas Morton, 156.
[84] Bradford, *History*, 241; Morton, *New Canaan*, 98.
[85] Philip J. Stern, *Company-State*, 10; Phil Withington, 'Citizens, community and political culture in Restoration England', in Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, eds, *Communities in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 138.

government."[86] Indeed the traditional historiography has been based in the age old tale of the Puritans fleeing religious persecution in England during a time when "Parliament, liberty, property, and religion all appeared under attack from a sinister Catholic conspiracy against England with the king a co-conspirator, albeit perhaps unwittingly."[87] Jason Peacey has similarly discussed how the Puritan ties that cemented links within the MBC during the 1630s ensure that the company's fundraising efforts within England would be done so in political and religious opposition to Charles I's personal rule.[88] However, this traditional explanation for the founding of the MBC and its subsequent transferal across the Atlantic provides little justification for the chartering of the company by Charles, nor the convenient absences of certain clauses establishing where the company government should be held from the charter itself.

One hypothesis that attempts to answer these objections is that the events surrounding the chartering of the company and those leading to the transferal of its government abroad involved more cooperation between the crown and the company's puritan founders than previously presumed. The act of granting overseas company charters by Charles to puritan groups whose supporters such as John Pym and Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick opposed his religious and political policies suggests that Charles had his own agenda.[89] Charles's creation of companies such as the MBC and Providence Island Company highlighted the double-edged desire of the Stuart monarchs' expansionist policy, which combined the King's religious, commercial and territorial aims in the Atlantic. Granted by the King, corporate charters legally formalised non-English spaces abroad according to English legal tradition, allowing Charles to deposit pesky religious communities, whilst also advance the financial and territorial aims of the King and country. Unlike the previous charters establishing the companies to settle Virginia and New England, the MBC's charter specifically left out any mention over where the company's government should be held. The 1606 Virginia charter stipulated that "there shall be a Council, established here in England" whilst in 1620 the New

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[86] An Act Erecting a High Court of Justice for the Trial of Charles I (1650).
[87] Winship, 'Origins of the Massachusetts Polity', 439.
[88] J. T. Peacey, 'Seasonable Treatises: A Godly Project of the 1630's', *English Historical Review,* Vol. 131 (1998) 667-679.
[89] See BL, Add. Ms 11692, Mss Letters 1634-89, fo.1 John Pym to Alexander Pym November 21, 1634 and John Wallis, *Truth Tried: or Animadversions on a Treatsies published by the Right Honourable Robert Lord Brooke, Entitled the Nature of Truth* (1642).

England company maintained a presence in England through its council in Plymouth.[90] The omission of the clause stipulating that the company remained in England allowed the MBC to take full advantage of its charter and raise the possibility of moving the corporation and its charter out of the country. Considering that this omission allowed for a collection of people who Charles would have considered to be a thorn in his side to move three thousand miles away it then does not seem too much of a leap to suggest that the ambiguity was deliberate on the part of the crown and the company's Puritan officials. Effectively providing Charles with an outlet for future Puritan opposition groups in 1629, although we know now this was not to be enough, at this point four years into Charles' reign the animosity between factions over religious persecution had not reached the levels it would in the 1630s and 1640s.

The complex relationship between Charles and the community and individuals of the MBC reached new heights in the lead up to the civil war. The Taunton minister William Hooke, who had fled the religious policies of Charles in England and settled in Massachusetts, highlighted this complicated relationship. In 1640 he emotionally appealed to the members of the MBC to recognise the developing conflict in England whilst also emphasising the religious autonomy and separation from this conflict that the people of Massachusetts enjoyed, and had supposedly been secured and enshrined in its corporate charter. Although according to Hooke there was "no Potentate breathing, that wee call our dread Soveraigne, but King CHARLES" and as such no "Lawes of any Land have civilized us, but England's" he also highlighted that in this conflict, which he, like William Hooke's Hartford flock, considered to be an act of apocalyptic judgment against English religious governance or "old England sinnes" and the monarch, which they had fled.[91] Despite Hooke's affirmation of the monarch's position as 'dread Soveraigne' he clearly believed that the MBC had obtained a level of autonomy that went beyond geographic, and could be associated to its charter, however this did not mean that they stood in isolation. Hooke reminded his congregation not to forget the godly in old England who should never be "forsaken in our affections."[92] Hooke's sermon alludes to the early foundations of the concept of dual sovereignty between the king and the charter

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[90] The Charter of New England, 1620.
[91] William Hooke, *New Englands teares, for old Englands feares. Preached in a sermon on July 23 1640, being a day of publike humiliation, appointed by the churches in behalf of our native countrey in time of feared dangers* (London 1641), 16-17, 23.
[92] *Ibid.*, 23.

that protected the colony and company under the laws of England, ideas that later came to define a series of political debates in the colony during the 1660s. Just as company officials were vigilant of the power of the monarch in the latter years of the MBC's 57-year existence, so were its founders.

Further discussion over the possible cooperation between the company and the monarch can be expanded when the role of religious persecution within England under Charles and the established Church is questioned as a motivating reason in the choice to transfer and migrate to New England. The period of religious persecution under Charles' personal rule is often attributed to the rise of William Laud to the position of Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 after the death of the evangelical Calvinist George Abbot. The period under Laud, often known as the 'Great Migration', saw substantial numbers of Puritans flee from religious persecution from nonconformist strongholds in Yorkshire, the West Country and East Anglia as sympathetic Bishops were replaced.[93] Following the appointment of Laud there was a swift change in pace in the religious governance of England. Archbishops and Bishops sought to unify the ministry and theology of the church into a body where there was little room for difference. From 1633 onwards some religious communities across England felt that the church under Laud and other bishops were pressuring, even persecuting, them into conformity. Faced with this threat, people in increasing numbers chose to migrate to New England. Across the decade, 20 ministers fled from London, 17 from Norwich and 11 from the diocese of York and Chester.[94] The scale of clerical migration was so high that even Richard Neile, Archbishop of York complained to Charles in 1639 that "too many of your Majesty's subjects inhabiting in these east parts of Yorkshire are gone into New England."[95]

Although the actions of Laud and his followers in the 1630s provide answers for the reasons for the role of English religious persecution in that decade, they do not account for the MBC's decision to transfer to New England in a period of comparative religious calm in England between 1629 and 1632. Indeed in a pamphlet written upon the eve of his departure to Massachusetts the Governor of the MBC John Winthrop went so far as to suggest that the Congregational church which he was leaving to join saw it as an

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[93] Allen, *In English Ways*.
[94] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 24, 186-7, 191-5, 196-7.
[95] Quoted in *Ibid.*, 24.

"honour, to call the Church of England, from whence wee rise, our deare Mother."[96] He went on further to suggest that the MBC could only succeed if those in the established church "consider us as your Brethren, standing in very great need of your helpe, and earnestly imploring it."[97] Similarly Winthrop in his *General Observations* does not discuss the current state of English religious affairs but turns to Europe for his reason to leave, seeing the events in the Palatinate (1619) and La Rochelle (1627-28) as signs "to avoyd the plauge" that was sweeping over the continent.[98] For Winthrop and his fellows the joint stock company offered the best opportunity to avoid this plague, whilst also providing them with not only geographical space but also the corporate and political arena to establish their theocratic government.

MBC directors were quick to call upon the need for theocratic governance in order for the company to be a success, by merging both the company's trading aims with evangelism and godly governance they believed would provide them with the tools to succeed where others had failed. From the early stages of its existence company officials were acutely aware of the failure of other English corporations, specifically the Virginia Company, claiming that the governors and government of the corporations involved in America had been "unfit instruments."[99] The fundamental reason for their inadequacy was that "their mayne end which was proposed was carnal and not religious" and that "they aymed chiefly at profit and not the propagation of religion."[100] From this position the MBC's investors and officials sought to avoid what they saw as the mistakes of previous companies by placing religion and its corporate governance at the heart company and how it developed. Arguing that by example the company would evangelize and propagate the gospel as its structure and organisation mirrored the very specific Protestant values of those involved not only effectively guaranteeing the company's religious success but also its financial prosperity.

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[96] John Winthrop, '*The Humble Request of His Majesties Loyal Subject, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England; To the rest of their Brethren, in and of the Church of England. For the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of suspicions, and misconstructions of their intentions',* (Boston, 1630), 3

[97] Winthrop, '*Humble Request',* 2-3.

[98] *Winthrop Papers*, II: 113.

[99] John Winthrop, 'General Observations for the Plantation of New England', in *Winthrop Papers*, II: 114.

[100] *Winthrop Papers*, II: 114.

Fusing together religion and trade in the first years of the company's existence, MBC leadership considered them as founding pillars of their corporate structure providing them with the freedom to achieve their specific aims and obtain their goal of autonomous theocratic governance. Much akin to many contemporaries such as the Nonconformists divine Henry Wilkinson, many MBC officials knitted together trade and religion forming a standard seventeenth century link.[101] One official was to write that God had divinely knitted together the need for Protestants to spread "the Gospell to all Nations" and the "intercourse of Trade having opened up a passage, and made a waie for commerce with the East and West Indies" thereby providing a spiritual and financial counter to catholic expansion.[102] Using religion, trade and evangelism to influence and gather the support of particular groups who had very different motives, most important of these groups was the crown. Thus, the company received the protection and freedom it needed to create a unique commonwealth in New England. Eventually allowing the MBC to politically entrench a set of Puritan ideologies and practices in America that stood against everything the Anglican establishment considered 'English.' Yet in the first year of the company's existence a dialogue of its future governance was being conducted that involved both religious and commercial reasoning that would struggle to resemble any of the Puritan zeal and financial redundancy that has come define the MBC's theocratic rule of the colony.

The rapid development over the first decade of the MBC's existence from a trading company to a quasi-independent religious government has wrongfully led to the presumption that trade was initially incompatible with the religious sentiments of the company's founders. However, the developments that saw the move from primarily a trading company were never inevitable, and in fact for the first years of its existence the company continued to maintain or offer the façade that it would trade. For those involved in the leadership of the MBC trade provided two things necessary to firstly obtain their charter and secondly to establish a foothold abroad and eventually lay the foundations of their religious government. Firstly, despite whether a possibility or not the prospects of financial returns, national prestige, and a buffer on Catholic advancement in North

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[101] Henry Wilkinson, *The Debt Book: Or, a Treatise upon Romans 13 ver. 8. Wherein is handled: The Civill Debt of Money or goods, and under it the mixt Debt, as occasion is offered. Also, The Sacred Debt of Love* (London, 1625).
[102] 'Sir John Eliot's Copy of the New England Tracts', in *Winthrop Papers*, p. 145

America were enough incentives for Charles to offer a group of radical Puritans a corporate charter.

Massachusetts Bay Company as Trading Corporation

As can clearly be seen from the company's charter the crown expected to receive some financial return, mainly one fifth of all gold and silver ore mined in the region. In addition, Charles and the MBC's leadership initially hoped that the company and the colony would obtain a foothold in the lucrative fur market, granting the company 50 percent of the Beaver trade as well as encourage the growth in North Atlantic fishing industry. [103] In the years that followed it was the lucrative fur trade, governed by the MBC, which continued to attract a private group of investors such as John Oldham and Matthew Cradock.[104] As Moore has pointed out, London, "supplied the colonies, with Boston merchants as smaller stakeholders in the enterprise."[105] Many of those who chose to migrate to the jurisdiction of the MBC did so "with an eye for new opportunities in Atlantic trade" adding to their mercantile connections in the Caribbean and the east the fur, timber and the North Atlantic fishing grounds.[106] Even after the joint stock was dissolved, the business functions of the MBC did not cease. As late as the 1650s the General Court still used land as a dividend to adventures on who had stock subscriptions offering 200 acres for £50 subscription.[107] Although this does not necessarily mean the MBC was not more of a plantation corporation, it still highlights how the MBC how almost a generation later through the granting of "land as dividend to shareholders" the MBC merged "colony and company business."[108] Through the merging of colony and commercial business, the MBC ably transitioned from a commercial joint stock venture to a politically religious corporation that assured its settlers it would ensure both the religious and commercial aims of its original inception.

Very quickly, the MBC transitioned from a corporate organisation that governed over trade, to a political structure that guaranteed the right to trade freely in the Atlantic

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[103] *RCM*, I: 4, 6, 11 (hereafter RCM); The *Charter of Massachusetts Bay* (1629).
[104] Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA; Havard University Press, 1955), 27-28; *Winthrop Papers*, III: 379; IV: 91-92.
[105] Hardman Moore, Pilgrims, 105.
[106] Ibid., 4, 104-109.
[107] Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness*, 136.
[108] *Ibid.*, 136; Scott, *Constitutions of Joint Stock Companies*, II: 312-15.

world to those who it fell under its theocratic governance. The MBC's leadership ensured this through several means including lobbying to Westminster and actively expanding the colony's European and Caribbean markets. During and following the Civil War Parliament offered through the navigation act along with other legislation "beneficiall ordinance" and trading incentives to MBC, such as trade without paying duties which was jealously watched by other colonies.[109] During the conflict MBC leadership tried to ensure its trading superiority was maintained by asking parliament enforce that Boston harbor be a conflict-free zone.[110] MBC took advantage of conflict to increase its trade, becoming the "very mart of the Land" exporting timber, farm produce, livestock and fish to numerous Europeans who according to Edward Johnson, member of the General Court, came to Boston "for Traffique."[111] Johnson not only argued that Spain, Portugal, France and Holland, "hath all had a mouthful of bread and fish from us" but also Massachusetts commodities had maintained England's Atlantic colonies, as well as the "Grandmother of us all" England itself.[112] John Winthrop some years earlier had noted the success of Massachusetts trade and ship-building was flourishing, nothing how a convoy of five ships had left the harbour for England, three of which had been built in Massachusetts.[113] Unlike the EIC, from an early stage its original commercial mission of the MBC did not remain as prevalent, this did not however, mean that commerce did not play an important part in decisions and religious aims of the MBC's theocratic governance.

For those initial investors both the religion and commercial gain were motivation enough to form and subscribe to the company. Robert Brenner has suggested this, pointing out that the MBC attracted substantial interest from London-based merchants "with serious commercial as well as religious intentions."[114] These merchants had

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[109] *RCM*, II: 34; *Mercurius Britanicus* 60 (2-9 December 1655) 476-477.
[110] *Massachusetts Records*, III: 31-32.
[111] Edward Johnson, *A History of New-England* (London, 1654), 43; For the connection between the War of the Three Kingdoms and the development of ideas concerning free trade in the Atlantic see Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge; MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), chapter V; John J. McCusker, 'British Mercantilist Policies and the American Colonies' in Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States Volume 1: The Colonial Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 337-362.
[112] Johnson, *History of New-England*, 208.
[113] James K. Hosmer ed., *Winthrop's journal: History of New England, 1630-1649*, 2 vols. (New York: Scribners, 1908), II, 490; For more on the flourishing Massachusetts trade and the development of merchant community in New England see William H. Whitmore and Walter K. Watkins, *A Volume Relating to the Early History of Boston Containing the Aspinwall Notarial Records from 1644 to 1651* (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1903), V: 19, 24, 94, 101, 143, 152-54, 172, 229, 294, 301, 318, 356.
[114] Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 149-50.

commercial interests across the globe. The MBC's first governor, Michael Craddock, was an EIC merchant along with Samuel Vassell, whilst Nathan Wright had been involved in the Levant Company as well as arrested for interloping in the Greenland Company's trade. For these men, all of whom were non-conformists, the MBC offered the possibility of a lucrative commercial venture and stock in grander religious undertaking. Although neither Craddock nor Wright relocated with the company to Massachusetts, they maintained the company's interests in London and "played a significant part in the colony's trade throughout the 1630's."[115] During the decade that followed the creation of the company its officials maintained that the commercial role of the company should be managed whether through the migration of specialist artisans and workers or through the raising of stock.[116] Specialist migration was a cornerstone of the MBC commercial plan as they were able to pull from specialist puritan demographics due to the areas mostly populated by nonconformist suffering from almost twenty years of financial hardship.[117] For those who were involved in the company whether its leadership of through migration the majority "were puritans from a highly puritanized culture" thereby strengthening the religious aims of the Company to establish a godly society.[118] However, alongside the religious aims of the company were acute financial reasons for its establishment, these financial reasons although not necessarily religious in reasoning were ultimately used to ensure that the company could secure its goal of establishing theocratic governance.

The joint stock corporate model provided the company directors with the political and religious autonomy it needed to establish its form of theocratic republicanism. Moreover, the corporate model mirrored the Congregationalist Churches and as such was an obvious choice for MBC officials. Historians on the MBC, such as Michael Winship have tended to hone in on the "narrow band" taken up by the Congregationalist migrants on the wide religious spectrum of early modern England, providing an insight into the religious foundations of the colony government.[119] Those who have wished to construct a progressive history of American republicanism have repeatedly turned to the 'democratic' make-up of the congregational church, and its covenants, which provided the primary model for republican governance in Massachusetts. For the

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[115] Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, 151.
[116] *RCM*. I: 147 II: 56-7, 68.
[117] Allen, *In English Ways*, 163-69.
[118] *Ibid*., 163.
[119] Phil Withington, 'Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship, and State Formation in Early Modern England', The *American Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 4 (2007), 1026.

Congregationalists that relocated to Massachusetts the line between civil and ecclesiastical governance were blurred driving the church to the centre of all civic life, breaking from the traditional Presbyterian ideology which saw church and state as separate spheres.[120]

The Corporate Congregation and foundations of Theocratic Governance

For the founders of the MBC it is then not illogical to suggest that they chose the joint stock corporate structure as secular base for their "Godly Project" as it mirrored the same collectivism of their church. Founding father of the Congregationalism and pastor to 'Pilgrim Fathers' John Robinson before the Pilgrims left on the Mayflower argued that it was the Church polity was "the perfection of all polities" and as such provided the example for "all other bodyes politicall."[121] As such the MBC adopted the egalitarian structure of the congregational church, which emphasised an appropriation or reevaluation of traditional ideas of mixed government into a theocratic system. Explaining this, Robinson wrote that "all these three formes have their places in the Church of Christ. In respect of him the head, it is a monarchy, in respect of the Eldership an Aristocracy, in respect of the body, a popular state."[122] For the members of the MBC the implementation of this religious structure in which society would be ordered accordingly as God the church elders and church members was the best way to ensure the establishment of a godly commonwealth. It is also worth noting that by 'popular state' Robinson did not mean a society that was democratic, but entirely constricted to church membership. The fellow Puritan divine and associate of Robinson, Henry Jacob argued that if a society was organized like a church, "to be formed, directed, and guided by the Pastor chiefly, and by the grave assistant Elders" and through which only church members would elect and censure but could not act freely without the authority of the church leaders.[123] This church structure provided the base for the MBCs theocratic government, which was to be far from democratic. Dorchester preacher Richard Mather explained the transition from ecclesiastical governance to civic, writing in 1640 that it was a contradiction of liberty that "free-men should take upon them authorities or power over

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[120] Winship, 'Origins of the Massachusetts Polity', 450-455.
[121] Robinson, *A Justification*, 132.
[122] *Ibid*., 133.
[123] Henry Jacob, *The Devine Beginning and Institution of Christs true Visible or Ministeriall Church* (Leyden, 1610), A3 verso.

free men without their free consent, and voluntary and mutuall Covenant or Engagement."[124] Mather's argument draws attention to the idea that the civic governance of the MBC should be based in a collective, where in the popular state held the elective power over its officials, although this directly refers to the church similarly joint stock corporations shared in ideas of collectivism.

Both the Congregationalist church and the joint stock company shared similar underlying principles of democratic collectivism that was policed through the involvement of selective membership. As Purchas wrote about earlier attempts to settle New England the Joint stock corporation provided the structure for "affecting the publike good, or a regular proceeding in the businesse of Trade, to embrace an uniformitie, and to joyne a communitie or joynt stock together."[125] The unifying features of a Joint Stock corporation and the process of entering a collective were concepts that over the seventeenth century were becoming closely associated with religion, and was not only associated to nonconformists. Even Charles I was to use joint stock as an analogy for the Church of England, describing how nonconformists had tried to leave the "joint stock of uniforme religion," just as the MBC saw Quakers, Anabaptists and Anglicans as breaking from the joint stock of their church.[126] Whether it was through stock holding or church membership electoral power of was invested in the hands of a selective group who under the uniformity of their shared interests could choose their leadership. The corporate Joint Stock structure provided the Congregationalist founders of the MBC with the secular foundations that closely mirrored that of their church and as such equipped them with the secular and civic foundations upon which the could build their godly republic.

For those early settlers, the Congregationalist model of ecclesiastical governance benefited both the church and state as it prevented the corruption of its government as elections when kept within a godly franchise and that those elected were members of the godly community. As Winship has pointed out, according to the MBC the only "source of civic virtue in rulers and ruled alike was godliness" and that the only "reliable sign of godliness was membership in a church that took policing itself seriously." [127] For

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[124] Richard Mather, *An Apologie of Churches in New-England for Church-Covenant* (London, 1643), 9.
[125] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. X (1625), 1831.
[126] Charles I, *Eikon Basilike* (1648), 237.
[127] Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, 198.

contemporaries such as John Cotton government and governance was born out of the responsibility and the right of a godly people to supervise its leaders from abusing their power, and that in the eyes of God only the saints were true people thereby a Christian government could only considered righteous by its relationship with god's chosen saints.[128] Although the concept of striving towards godliness was a common one amongst Christian groups in the seventeenth century, the Congregationalists of the MBC sought to use the concept to prevent any form of abuse by narrowing the control of the government to within the godly. Building upon Congregationalist principles established by Robinson, the MBC believed that their leadership "ought to submit themselves" totally to god and the church. The process of which would lead to a godly leadership obtaining greater authority both ecclesiastical and civic to "advance his scepter over themselves, & their people by all good meanes."[129] The advancement of godly governance or 'Christ's sceptre' was then to be measured by the number of people that became enfranchised members of the congregational church and able to have a say in the religious governance of the company. However, the existence of those with the company's jurisdiction that did not religiously conform encouraged from its inception the MBC to see godliness in evangelism and the spreading of its form of Protestant religious governance.

Conclusion

For those who left England in the years following the MBC's creation the establishment and creation of a Protestant godly government was matched in importance only by the geographical and demographic advancement of the company's religious governance. As another factor in moving closer to godliness and subsequently godly religious governance, evangelism by individuals and the company was considered of vital importance. In a reply to Winthrop, his friend Robert Ryece (or Reyce) emphasised the importance of settling a church that was capable of evangelising the company's religious government. Writing in after Winthrop had sailed with the fleet that "there is no woorke deemed more lawfull and more requisite, then the plantation and establishing of a true church for the propagating of true Religeon and the Christian faythe."[130] As the lines

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[128] John Cotton, *An Exposition Upon the Thirteenth Chapter of the Revelation* (1655), 108-12.
[129] Robinson, *Justification*, 38.
[130] Robert Ryece to John Winthrop (1629), in *Winthrop Papers*, II: 127; for more information on Robert Ryece see C G. Harlow, 'Robert Ryece of Preston 1555-1638', in *Suffolk Institute for Archaeology*, Vol. 32 (1970), p. 44-75.

began to fade distinguishing the church from the company's government, so the role of evangelism evolved into a political tool of acquisition, as willingly or forced conversion effectively meant assimilation into the jurisdiction of the company. For the MBC, this did not just mean the evangelism of natives although the "propogacion of the gospel to the Indians" was to play a considerable role in the missionary aims of the company in the years after the restoration. Rather it was the spreading of religion to reinforce its model of Protestant religious governance. For many in the MBC in the years between 1640-1660 this was the primary function of evangelism, especially in the wake of opportunities to evangelically spread the MBC religious governance in England during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and the Interregnum.

Over the first decade of its existence the MBC successfully achieved almost full autonomy of the English state. First obtaining its charter and then by removing themselves across the Atlantic, away from the full extent of the crown's authority establishing its own religious government, based on its church. Its leadership successfully combined secular institutions such as the joint stock company, commerce and the government with the theories and structure of the Congregationalish church and evangelism to establish and expand its specific form religious governance. For the MBC, everything temporal and spiritual that the company involved itself in embraced the idea of congregational collectivism. Whereas the EIC who were to embrace collectivism in a universal Protestant sense, empowering individual chaplains to enforce religious governance and thereby a moral code the MBC established a theocracy, contorting democratic principles into a congregational collective to establish communal religious governance. In the eyes of those who established the company, only through the enfranchised communion of the saints under a godly government would they be able to create a 'city upon the hill.'

Chapter III: East India Company (1601-1660) & Levant Company (1601-1664): Pastoral Governance and the Company Chaplains

The mission of England's overseas companies, prior to the acquisition of territory, was twofold; first, to ensure commercial success, and second, to govern over their English personnel according to the laws, religion and government of England. Unlike the emphasis of communal enforcement in the theocratic governance of the MBC, the authority of the pastoral governance in the EIC and LC was imposed through the administration of an individual. For both companies, the figure of the chaplain and his role in policing the companies' spiritual and secular authority became instrumental in ensuring the companies' pastoral government. For either company, their corporate structure provided them with the theoretical free space to establish governmental control over their personnel through religious authority imposed through the presence of the chaplain. In an era prior to jurisdictive obligations for the EIC, the primary concern for the chaplains of both companies was to protect the spiritual well-being of the English personnel in India or the Ottoman Empire. By policing the religious life of the companies' personnel, the leaders of the LC and EIC sought to ensure the commercial success of the company.[1] Through the imposition of pastoral governance the LC and EIC endeavoured to control their daily lives and exchanges of their corporate flock to not endanger their spiritual well-being in the religiously cosmopolitan environments in which the companies operated. Furthermore, by ensuring a physical presence to the companies' pastoral governance, its leaders hoped to prevent any damage to the companies' reputation abroad.

Foreign interaction in the early modern era was synonymous with spiritual risks and sinful temptations. This chapter will show that it was the chaplains' role as corporate

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[1] Histories of the East India Company see Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Edmond Smith, 'Networks of the English East India Company, c. 1600-1625' (unpublished PhD diss., Cambridge University, 2015); Phil Lawson, *The East India Company: A History* (London: Routledge, 1993); Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: the study of an early joint-stock company, 1600-1640* (London: Frank Cass, 1964); *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); John Keay, *The Honourable Company: a history of the English East India Company* (London: Harper Collins, 1991); Patrick Tuck ed., *The East India Company, 1600-1858,* 5 vols. (London: Routledge, 1998); For Levant Company see A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935); Mortimer Epstein, *The Early history of the Levant Company* (1908); Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); *Britons and the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1998); Christine Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire* (New York, NY: Tauris, 2010); Daniel Goffman, *Britons and the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1998).

policeforce abroad to enforce the companies' pastoral governance and try to prevent these risks from becoming realities. This involved the policing of behaviour and the punishment of it, when need be, alongside trying to guard against apostasy, and consequently their experiences abroad would help to cultivate popular perceptions of apostates back in England.[2] Through the position of the chaplain, both companies sought to protect their personnel against the religious 'other' ensuring not only their employees' spiritual and national well-being, but also their commercial mission. Through the presence of a 'Shepard' guiding God's 'flock', the companies sought to maintain their reputation against other Europeans, and thereby maintain the support of local leaders.

Treated in isolation, as agents of specific oceans and geographies, chaplains, and the companies they were employed by, have rarely faced the scrutiny of comparison. Recent and traditional works have compartmentalised the geographies of the companies' activities and interactions into regions and zones, and rarely has there been an in-depth global comparative study. Some historians, including Philip Stern, William Pettigrew, and Alison Games, have tried to highlight the global connectivity of English commercial expansion during the seventeenth century.[3] However, there is still a great deal to do. This chapter offers a comparative analysis of English corporate interaction, but does so through an analysis of a group within the company who, despite mention, are very rarely the sole subject of seventeenth-century study; the company chaplain. Although on rare occasions there have been in-depth, biographical accounts of chaplains, these have tended

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[2] Daniel Viktus ed., *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England: Selimus, Emperor of the Turks; A Christian Turned Turk; and the Renegado* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2013); Nabil Matar, 'The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination', *Studies in English Literature 1500-*1900, Vol. 33 (1993), 489-505; Amy Kugler, *Sway of the Ottoman Empire on English Identity in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 17-35; Debra Johanyak, ''Turning Turk', Early Modern Orientalism, and Shakespeare's Othello', in Debra Johanyak and Walter S. H. Lim, *The English Renaissance, Orientalism, and the Idea of Asia* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2010), 77-97; Haig Smith, 'God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem': the changing face of religious governance and religious sufferance in the East India Company, 1610-1670', in Will Pettigrew and Mahesh Goplan, *The East India Company: Essay on Anglo-Indian connection* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2016), 93-113.
[3] Philip J. Stern, 'Birtish Asia and British Atlantic: Comparisons and Connections', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 4 (2006), 693-712; 'Neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth: Early Modern Empire and Global History' *Huntington Library* Quarterly, Vol. 72, Nol. 1 (2009), 113-126; Will Pettigrew, 'Corporate Constitutionalism and the Dialogue between the Global and Local in Seventeenth-Century English History', *Itinerario*, Vol. 39, No.3 (2015), 487-501; Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Exploration, 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Games, Stern, Paul Mapp, and Peter Coclanis, 'Forum: Beyond the Atlantic', *William and Mary Quaterly* Vol. 63 (2006), 675-742; for more on global history see Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik Seeman ed., *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2007).

to either focus on companies or individuals.[4] In doing so, the company chaplains and their role have been simplified by neatly defining their differing roles in separate oceanic geographies. Through a comparative assessment of the roles of the chaplains in policing communal interactions and knowledge exchange in England's seventeenth century companies, we can better illustrate how English companies' linked oceans. Furthermore, this chapter emphasises the influence of religion and, specifically, the chaplaincy, in the development of the companies' exchanges both at home and abroad across the century.

The model of the seventeenth century company not only provided the structure that allowed companies to trade, negotiate, and govern over foreign territory, but also provided individuals and organisations with the legal flexibility to react to new religious environments. From an early stage, chaplains or ministers were at the heart of the organisation of the company, not only as spiritual shepherd to the corporate flock but also as advisors, scholars and enforcers of the company's legal and moral code. Combined with the presumption that they represented godly virtue and scholarly learning, the chaplain was instantly recognisable to company personnel as representing a familiar symbol of authority, at sea or in far off lands. To ensure that the standards of spiritual, moral and legal leadership delegated to the chaplain were high, company leadership at home and abroad took a keen interest in securing and managing the men they selected for the job.

Unlike the previous chapter, which emphasised a communal role in the MBC in the establishment of religious governance, this and the next chapter analyse the role of individuals in the developing models of religious governance in companies. By investigating the chaplain as a figure that established, developed and enforced the pastoral model of religious governance in the EIC and LC, it highlights how the role of individuals' experiences and influencing the evolution of religious governance in the east. Through an assessment of the chaplain it examines how as ubiquitous figures of religious

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[4] For company histories see Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch*; Daniel O'Conner, *The Chaplains of the East India Company, 1601-1858* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2011); Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 69-99; for individual chaplains see Edward D. Neill, *Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copland* (New York: Scribner & Co, 1871); R, P. Stearns, *Strenuous Puritan: Hugh Peter, 1598-1660* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954); Dr. Twells, *The Lives of Dr. Edward Pocock*, 2 vols. (London: Rivington, 1816); Gerald M. Maclean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2004) 49-114; for a global comparison on English chaplains abroad in the early modern period see Games chapter on 'The Cosmopolitan Clergy, 1620-1660', in *Web of Empire*, 219-254.

authority, they both established and reinforced pastoral model of religious governance in the EIC and LC. It assesses how denomination diversity in England affected the direction of religious governance in the east, which unlike the uniformity of the MBC leading to the begrudging acceptance of a form or pluralist protestant society abroad that was also represented in the demography makeup of the chaplains. Furthermore, by investigating the role of chaplains in a period often overlooked in histories of the EIC and LC, it clarifies the role of traditional ecclesiastical figures in the 'on-the-ground' development English global expansion. It also highlights the importance of chaplains in establishing networks of information exchange. Moreover, it traces how chaplains through these networks and their own experiences of corporate religious governance, would influence political, religious and academic debate in England for much of the century, as well as inform perceptions and ideas about foreign faiths and identities for centuries to come.

To explain the importance of the chaplain and religion in policing this network of exchange, this chapter focuses upon their roles and experiences in two companies over most the seventeenth century; the East India (EIC), Levant (LC). Firstly, through an analysis of these two companies I will offer a comparison, across Asia and the Mediterranean and Indian oceans, but also illustrate the implications of diverse denominational variety on the development of the pastoral model of religious governance. By examining pastoral governance in these two companies allow for comparison into the differences in whom they chose to minister the church, and the effects this had on how the company dealt with theological, political and economic exchange. In the EIC and LC, the chaplaincy did not embody a singular denomination but rather personified a Protestant plurality. Despite having two radically different political and theological missions, the LC and EIC shared a similarity in that they moulded the theological genetic make up of their chaplaincies for the same reasons; to ensure that their chaplains policed exchange within them. Furthermore, it will assess Eastern forms of religious governance and how they influenced the EIC and LC methods in regulating religious and cultural exchange.

Building on this, an assessment of the chaplains of these two companies will also explain how both the EIC and LC through the presence of chaplains developed pastoral governance to prevent apostasy. Chaplains became key figures in regulating religious interaction and in doing so provided a shield against the possibility of conversion away from Protestantism and the negative religious, national and commercial implication the

action had for the company. Also, the chapter examines how the presence of chaplains was seen as a guard against the catholic advancement of the Iberian nations whilst also investigating how pastoral governance helped to structure and influence diplomatic interactions, between English officials and European and Eastern leaders. Furthermore, it also analyses how company chaplains in trying to merge their spiritual and corporate responsibilities helped to develop and enforce a form of corporate evangelism that would allow the companies to achieve their commercial mission.

Moving on it also investigates how chaplains regulated differing global interactions and how their experience and knowledge was funnelled back into a domestic sphere influencing academic, religious and political interactions and debates in England, over the period. Furthermore, the chapter will then highlight how, in this early period of overseas expansion, members of both companies, through their interaction with local officials experienced and familiarised themselves with a variety of faith and forms of religious governance. In the case of the EIC, this would later go on to inform its governmental policy, whereas for the LC, it defined a very different form of interactions. Finally, by analysing the role of the chaplain the chapter examines how the EIC and LC secured the commercial aims of the company through the strict enforcement of pastoral governance by individuals.

Protestant Pluralism and Eastern Religious Governance and the foundations of Pastoral Governance

Both the Levant and East India companies embodied the plurality of Protestant faith in England, attracting a broad spectrum of the Protestant population, which was reflected by their chaplaincy. Little is known about the first chaplains of either company. Due to the scarcity of records, it is clear from very early in the companies' existences that chaplains were considered important for both the spiritual and temporal needs of the company. The first minister to be employed by the EIC and sent out on their ships was Thomas Pulleyn, who was considered so important he was paid more than the surgeon.[5] By 1613, the EIC Company Court made formal attempts to ensure that a chaplain was always present, suggesting that, just as they had employed a surgeon for "the bodies of them men, so they

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[5] McNally, *Chaplains*, 69.

would be as prudent for supplying them with comfortable persons for the relief if their souls."[6] In total, over the century, approximately ninety-nine ministers were appointed to go out to India or remain on the fleet.[7] Although it is unclear into which Protestant church these men chose to practice their Christian faith, it is clear that the majority were made up of conforming chaplains such as Henry Lord and Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, Edward Terry. However, from those that can be traced, there was a broad array of Protestants present in the company, such as the two Presbyterian chaplains, Samuel Tutchin and Patrick Copland, as well as a few Anabaptists, Baptists and a Unitarian.[8] The array of different ministers, with varying theological and liturgical backgrounds, caused several problems that often affected the social cohesion between the company's servants, upon ships or in the factory. However, despite moments of internal division related to denominational differences, for the most part, the companies Protestant communities abroad remained united. Although, at times, chaplains did become involved in denominational squabbles, it was the daily behaviour of company employees, and the risk of other religions, that they were primarily concerned with guarding the company against.

Similarly, this denominational variation was also illustrated in the often-shared leadership. The first governor of the EIC, a moderate puritan and ally of the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Smythe was heavily involved in English corporate expansion in the seventeenth century, actively engaged in at least ten overseas companies.[9] His involvement in the EIC as a member would last for 25 years, of which he was governor for 8 of them, 7 at the king's request, whilst from 1600-1605 he was also governor of the Levant Company, a role he left when appointed ambassador to Muscovy and the treasurer of the VC. As will be discussed later, Smythe took a keen interest in the Protestant religious governance of the companies and role of chaplains in enforcing it. Over the same period, Smythe's political rival, Sir Edwin Sandys (who was also treasurer in the VC), took up an active and often influential role in the company. A high Anglican, son of the Bishop of Worcester, and accused Catholic convert, Sandys had long been a religiously controversial figure. Following the publication of *Europa Speculum, Or A*

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[6] BL IOR B/5 December 13, 1613.
[7] McNally, *Chaplains*.
[8] Stern, *Company State*, 106-111.
[9] Smyth a member of the EIC, Levant, Muscovy Virginia and involved in French, Spanish, Somer island, North West passage Companies and Merchant Adventurers.

View or Survey of the State of Religion in 1605 (it went through three editions in that year), the long-standing rumours of his sympathetic leanings towards the Catholic Church seemed to have some truth to them. Wrapped in rhetoric of Christian unity, Sandys called for toleration of Catholicism, to not only unite European Christendom, but also secure it against the growth of Islam, the faith of both the Mughal and Ottoman Empires.[10]

The companies also attracted the attention of the influential ecclesiastical Abbot family. The youngest of five brothers, Maurice, was involved in the Levant Company, travelling to Aleppo in 1582. He was also involved in the running of the EIC for forty years and was, at varying points, a merchant, director, deputy-governor and finally governor from 1623 to 1636. It was through Maurice that his eldest brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, George (another elder brother Robert was also the bishop of Salisbury) was able to have a voice in the company. The Calvinist leaning Archbishop had financial interest in the EIC, and took a deep interest in individual and group commerce, most probably due to the opportunity it offered to provide information on English interaction between non-Europeans and other Europeans in the middle and far-east.[11] Above all else, the Archbishop and his successor, Laud, both valued their correspondence with Conformist chaplains. For both Abbot and Laud, the chaplains of the Levant Company offered a bridge to open relations between the Church of England and the Greek orthodox churches. For Laud, the chaplaincy of the Levant Company also provided him with a network of individuals through which he could obtain middle-eastern manuscripts and establish a library at Oxford. Likewise, correspondence with the Roe embassy provided Abbot with information and observations on the religions of the Indian court.[12] The varied Protestantism that characterised the company government, leaders and supporters in England was similarly representative of those agents, factors and chaplains

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[10] For views on toleration, Catholicism and Christian unity see Sir Edwin Sandys, *Europae Speculum. Or, A View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne parts of the World* (London, 1629), 194-222; Theodore K. Rabb, 'The Editions of Sir Edwin Sandys's *Relation of the State of Religion', Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1963), 323-36; For more on Sir Edwin Sandys see, Theodore K. Rabb, *Jacobean Gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561-1629* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1998).
[11] For George Abbot's stock in the EIC see Cal. SP, 1513-1616, 616, 786; for more information on Abbot see R. A. Christopher, *George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1562–1633: A bibliography* (1966); K. Fincham, 'Prelacy and politics: Archbishop Abbot's defence of Protestant orthodoxy', *Historical Research*, vol. 61 (1988), 36–64; S. Holland, 'Archbishop Abbot and the problem of puritanism', *Historical Journal*, vol. 37 (1994), 23–43.
[12] For more information on the relationship between George Abbot and the EIC see O'Connor, *Chaplains EIC*, 4-6.

who went abroad and established company governance in India and the Ottoman Empire, in this period.

From the moment at which they embarked eastward, the EIC and LC chaplains and personnel entered religiously cosmopolitan environments in which varying ideas and modes of religious governance had both long, and perpetually evolving, histories. The forms of religious governance that company agents encountered informed their political, diplomatic and commercial interactions, and, through selective imitation, how each company's religious governance would develop. Established by Emperor Akbar, the Mughal court and government had a long tradition of religious diversity, not only representing Islam but also the many different faiths in India society, particularly Hinduism. Although under Shah Jahan and Aurungzeb this would later change, the courts and governments of Akbar and his son, Jahangir, embodied ecumenical governance, representing a space were religion and religious groups "should be in a constant" and "fruitful dialogue."[13] Through political appointments, marriage and religious and political patronage, Mughal leadership solidified the bonds between the Muslim political elite and the Hindu population, securing the Mughal emperor's power.[14]

Religious movements such as Bhaktiism were one of the factors that continually affected how religious governance would evolve in the dominions of the Rajahs. They espoused doctrinal ideas that not only broke down the traditional differences between Hindu sects, but also encouraged an outlook which emphasised comparability with other faiths, particularly Islam. This dialogue between faiths was established along the lines of doctrinal similarities, calling attention to the fact that, although the adoption of Islamic culture in Hindu sects varied geographically and individually, they "found the ideas of faith common to both Bhakti and Islam."[15] Similarly, by the seventeenth century,

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[13] C. A. Bayly, *The Origins of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1998), 17.

[14] For more on religious governance in a South Indian and Mughal context see Smith, 'God shall enlarge Japheth'; Richard M. Eaton, 'Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States', Part II, *Frontline* (January 5, 2001), 71; Bayly, Origins of Nationality, 10-20; Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Frank Disputations: Catholics and Muslims in the Court of Jahangier (1608-11)', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* vol. 46, no. 4 (2009), 463.

[15] Stewart Gordon, *The Marathas 1600-1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993), p. 19-21; for more on the role of Bhaktiism in south Indian particularly Maharashtraian government and religious, *Origins of Nationality*, 11-12, 23-26; Gordon, *The Marathas*; For more information on the Maratha Hindu and Muslim Saints see Gordon, Marathas, 19; A. R. Kulkarni, 'Social relations in the Maratha country in the medieval period', *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, Thirty Second Session (Jabalpur, 1970), 338-39.

Ottoman law and religious governance had a conflicted tradition of religious cosmopolitanism. This had stemmed from both the Islamic theological assimilation of Semitic Prophets, and the conquests of early Muslim rulers, which had brought several religious communities into the jurisdiction of Islam.[16] For the South Indians, Mughals and Ottomans alike, religious governance provided a tool of interaction, which encouraged, or at least tried to foster, a certain level of goodwill between the faiths of the leaders and the people. Whether it was pastoral or ecumenical governance, it took the form of religious syncretisation, providing freedom to practice individual faith and occasionally offering political and cultural influence to the wider religious community, whilst securing the dominancy of the leader's religion. Religious governance was a pre-existing and evolving tool of governance in Asia-Minor and the Indian subcontinent prior to the arrival of the LC and EIC. Early Ottoman, Mughal and South Indian leadership were acutely aware that, to secure power in a religiously diverse environment, some form of religious governance would be required. Increasingly aware of the legal and religious environments they entered, many in the EIC and LC saw the effectiveness of what one contemporary admiringly called the "propotionable spirit in the [Ottoman] Government."[17] Witnessing the authority of local authorities, and individuals company leadership sought to establish their own form of religious governance to secure its commercial mission.

Although the religiously cosmopolitan atmospheres of the Mughal and Ottomans Empires proved difficult at times for English visitors to grapple with, they provided the ecumenically extensive foundations for the LC and EIC's early policies towards religious governance. Similarly, to Susan Bayly's conclusions on the origins of caste, this chapter argues that EIC and LC religious governance evolved from both English and local Indian and Ottoman influences.[18] For both companies, the evolution of their religious or pastoral governance was influenced by the challenges of governing over their own pluralistically Protestant communities abroad, whilst also policing their personnel's interactions with

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[16] For more on the traditional complexities of religious diversity in seventeenth century Islamic and Ottoman governance see Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); For ideas surrounding religious assimilation in Islamic government, in particular Jewish peoples Saïd Amir Arjomand, 'The Constitution of Medina: A Sociological Interpretation of Muhammad's Acts of Foundation of the 'Umma'', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (2009), 559-560.

[17] Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London, 1636), 3.

[18] Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), 25-63.

the religious governance of Indian and Ottoman rulers. This mixture of internal religious disjointedness and the influences of external religious pressures and governance required the companies in this early period to ensure that they established their own form of stable pastoral governance over their English communities abroad. Essential to the formation of the pastoral governance of the LC and EIC in this early period was the chaplain who ensured that it was policed and maintained.

Pastoral Governance and Preventing Apostasy

An important role of the company chaplain and religious governance was preventing the worry of apostasy or 'turning Turk' that was considered one of the dangers of foreign travel by leadership of English overseas companies. Although in no way was apostasy a new threat, it became an increasing issue with the expansion of English overseas trade in the seventeenth century. By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the theatre increasingly became an outlet for expressing the contemporary fears of forced conversion. Following the 1589 run of Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, there was a series of popular plays that touched on the issues. Following on from Marlowe's play was William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1596), Robert Dabourne's play, *A Christian Turn'd Turk* (1612), and Phillip Massingers' *The Renegado* (1630) all of which ensured that the act of apostasy was firmly set in the popular imagination of the English public.[19] Each of the plays provided a fictionalized account of conversion, either to Christianity, or of Europeans to Islam, highlighting the early modern fear of the religious persecution towards Christians and the notion of the religious renegade.

Each of the plays highlighted the complex relationship between religion, conversion and identity in early modern thought, and how conversion subsequently affected ideas and attitudes towards religious interaction abroad, and ultimately English religious governance outside of England. Both Marlowe and Shakespeare's plays involve

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[19] Christopher Marlowe, *The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Jew of Malta* (1589); William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (1596); For conception and experiences of Jews in early modern England see James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jew* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996); Robert Dabourne, *A Christian Turn'd Turke; or, The Tragicall lives and deaths of the two famous Pyrates, Ward and Danisker, As it hath beene publickly acted* (London, 1612); Philip Massinger, *The Renegado a tragaecomedie* (London, 1630); See also Matar, The Renegade, 489-505; Viktus, *Three Turk Plays*.

several cases and forms of voluntary and forced conversion to Christianity by Jews. In each play, the daughters of the main Jewish characters, Abigail and Jessica, convert to Christianity voluntarily, either through marriage or becoming a Nun. In both cases, the female character's conversion is portrayed as genuine and heartfelt, although reckless. Alongside this, Jessica and Abigail's conversion was seen as them turning away from the shameful actions of their villainous fathers, towards the Elizabethan and Jacobean audiences' ideas of wholesome Christianity, by their acts of love, marriage or repentance. In both plays, these conversions were also questioned by tragedy; in the case of Marlowe's play, Abigail's murder, whilst for Shylock it is suggested that Jessica, through her conversion, no longer shares "thy flesh", alluding to the total loss of her Jewish identity.[20] The act of conversion is complicated in both plays through the characters of Barabas and Shylock, whose actions highlight the dubiousness and authenticity of conversion. The forced baptism of Shylock at the hands of the Duke, who orders that "He shall do this, or else I do recant, the Pardon I late pronounced here", is itself questionable due to the very nature of it being forced.[21] Similarly, the certainty of Barabas' conversion to Christianity is challenged due to the fact that he, at several times, converts in the play to achieve temporal aims.[22] These two plays draw attention to the complexities of conversion in the early modern era, particularly in the perceptions of Christians towards Christian converts. Furthermore, it highlights the juxtaposition company agents and chaplains would have faced between a desire to convert non-Christians to the faith and Christian governance, but also a suspicion toward the authenticity of the convert.

Much like the previous two plays, Dabourne's work further exposes the transformation of Islam and its connection to Ottoman rule in the English imagination; since Marlowe's Faustus sold his soul to Satan in 1592 and twenty years later the protagonist sold his to the Turk.[23] In doing so, the image of conversion was also linked to the rejection of English identity and effectively becoming an Ottoman, as Debourne ends his play, "*Ward* sold his country, turn'd Turke, and died a slave."[24] Conversion to Islam not only meant rejecting Christianity but also signified the individual's willingness to abandon their identity as a freeborn Englishman in favour of a slavish status under the

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[20] Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice* III, i, 38.
[21] *Ibid*., IV, i, 390-91.
[22] Marlow, *Jew of Malta*, IV.
[23] Matar, The Renegade, 493.
[24] Dabourne, *Turn'd Turke*.

Ottoman sultan. For English political leadership, such an action was not only abhorrent to their faith, but also to their country. Overseas trading companies brought these dangers too close to home; placing English merchants, sailors, and artisans in a position of temptation and so risked the reputation of the faith and the nation. Corporate leadership then sought to prevent temptation using the corporate chaplain, whose spiritual guidance and moral authority could stem the influence of foreign faiths and culture abroad.

For the EIC and Levant Companies the figure of the chaplain was the first line of defence against apostasy and the threat is posed to the spiritual and national identity of their personnel. The chaplains' "clerical approval could mitigate" the "collective peril" of religiously patchwork society the English found themselves in.[25] Tales of conversion and apostasy were not uncommon. Whether it was an actual threat, the company perceived it to be. For the companies' leadership, apostasy remained an ever-present peril in their minds.[26] The links between religious faith and identity meant that conversion posed a serious threat to the leadership of the EIC and LC, as they perceived themselves to be the governing body that represented the English national identity abroad. Conversion then was not only a disgrace to one's country and faith, but was a threat to company governance, as it removed Englishmen out of the company's sovereignty, weakening its position and endangering commercial aims. Due to this threat, it was not only the chaplain's godly duty, but also their corporate mission, to prevent apostasy through the companies' religious governance, and thereby securing the companies commercial missions.

Both in tandem with, and following on from, the events of previous chapters, this chapter traces the evolution of pastoral governance in Asia and the Middle East prior to the corporations' territorial acquisitions. It focuses on the roles of the chaplains who were important figures in securing the companies' essential aims, and establishing control over company personnel who went east. Unlike the Virginia Company and the later EIC, neither company (apart from Madras) in this period held jurisdictive control of land outside of their factories, and so their pastoral governance evolved to meet a set of

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[25] Games, *The Web of Empire*, 223.
[26] For more information on conversion threats see Stern, *Company-State*,105; G V. Scammell, 'European Exiles, Renegades and Outlaws and the Maritime Economy of Asia c. 1500-1750', in *Modern Asian Studies* Vol. 26 (1992).

demands of these religiously cosmopolitan environments. These pressures included, the behavioural issues of English personnel abroad, apostasy, diplomacy, and knowledge exchange, all of which the company chaplains were heavily involved in policing. The chaplaincy became a corporate police force that not only governed over the behaviour of the company's personnel, but also oversaw several the companies' external interactions with local peoples of varying faiths. These interactions marked the limit of the companies control over indigenous peoples and so restrained its evangelical aims. Unwilling to jeopardise the companies' commercial and diplomatic missions, the chaplains of the EIC and LC rarely sought to actively evangelise. Differing from their counterparts in the VC and the Iberian companies, English chaplains adopted a form of passive evangelism that would epitomise English religious governance in the East during the seventeenth century. As influential figures, chaplains in the EIC and LC would not only affect the evolution of religious governance abroad in this period, but also how it developed at home. This chapter focuses on understanding English religious governance in the East prior to substantial territorial acquisitions and how the company chaplain helped to shape this world.

Despite some years of religious acclimatisation, the companies would continue to be worried about the prospect of their English personnel converting. This would be damaging to the pastoral governance of the companies, as well as to the English nation and its Protestant faith. By employing an able minister, company officials hoped to avoid any scandal to their religious governance, whether through bad behaviour or apostasy and, as such, the almighty would "prosper us, in all such designes, & endevours we undertake."[27] Although it would most probably be impossible to quantify how many English persons converted over this period, it can be presumed that the number was small since relatively few occurrences are recorded. For those who were captured by Barbary Pirates and forced into servitude as galley slaves in the Mediterranean, the number who converted has been suggested to be around four percent.[28] However, as discussed previously, avenues for apostasy such as marriage, or even unprovoked conversion, are much harder to quantify. Not only was the company worried about the spiritual ramifications to conversion, but also the implications of an individual's conversion on

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[27] *Ibid*.
[28] Games, *Web of Empire*, 73.

foreign opinions toward the nation. To ensure commercial security and the good name of the nation, LC and EIC officials were vigilant that company employees remained in the fold of the Anglican faith. In the LC this became explicit as Bartholomew Chappell, in 1640, was ordered in Aleppo to not only preach the word of God, but to "administer the Sacraments, according to the Cannons and Constitution of the Church of England."[29] Such a move was unusual as it specifically suggested a denominational allegiance that had not always been present. This may have been to do with the religious divisions in England at the time, however, was most probably a weak handed gesture by company officials to make it appear as though they were enforcing the Church of England's presence among their English communities abroad.[30] Despite denominational issues and their attempts to impose their pastoral governance, both companies continued to receive reports of apostasy in this period, driving them to flexibly adapt their religious governance to deal with the threat.

Regardless of its ability to combat threat such as apostasy, pastoral governances and the company chaplains still by the middle of the century had to remain vigilant to the threat posed by it. Regardless of attempts to prevent the conversion of its personnel to Islam or Catholicism, it was often the case that the companies did not have the power to prevent apostasy, but could only rectify it. One such case illustrating this took place in the spring of 1649, when President Breton wrote of his grief to "imparte unto you a sad story" of how one man's apostasy had brought both "dishonour to our nation, and (which is incomparably worse), of our Christian profession."[31] The man in question was Joshua Blackwell, a factor at Agra, whose conversion to Islam at the time left him, according to Breton, "irrecoverably lost."[32] Breton's surety that Blackwell was beyond reformation was not only based on religious fatalism but an acknowledgment of Mughal *farmans* which prevented any interaction that would lead to the reconversion of Englishmen who had become Muslim. Over the next year, Blackwell became a frequent character in company dispatches between Surat and London, with factors being updated to his "poore

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[29] Quoted in Pearson, *Biographical Sketch*, 61.
[30] Christine Laidlaw suggests that in the choice of ministers as well as the LC's own denominational allegiance there was none, and that it would be difficult to prove otherwise, Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, NY: Taurus, 2010), 78-9.
[31] President Breton and Messrs. Merry, Pearce and Oxenden at Swally Marine to the Company, April 5, 1649, Foster, *English Factories,* VIII: 260.
[32] *Ibid.*

and wretched temporall condicion."[33] Yet, despite Breton's assertion that he was beyond 'redemption', in the months that followed, Blackwell initiated a series of correspondences which would lead to him being readmitted into the company and the Protestant community it represented.[34] Even "upon the acknowledgment of his sin and promise of perseverance in his Christian profession", Blackwell still faced problems that would lead to him being sent back to England, despite his protests. In a letter to Blackwell, the chaplain of Surat, William Isaacson, who had been placed in charge of Blackwell's re-admittance into their society, explained how it would be difficult for the company to continue employing him as he would be "subject to the abuse of every Mahometan that knowes your condition."[35] When it came to apostasy, the chaplain and the companies pastoral governance provided two services; firstly, to prevent apostasy and secondly, as is suggested in the case of Blackwell, clean up after it.

The presence of apostates not only highlighted the danger to the nation of cultural exposure abroad, but also presented a danger for the future reputation of the nation in tempting others to follow them. Although Blackwell would have made a sorry example, there were times when English converts did cause the companies' problems. One example of such an occurrence was in Istanbul, where the LC reported that a William Trednock, who refused to join Islam whilst in captivity, did so upon his release at the persuasion of yet another unnamed English apostate, disappearing from the English records all together.[36] However, it was not just conversion to Islam or Hinduism that the EIC and the LC were guarded against; they were also ever conscious of the presence of Catholicism. In 1648, one of the factors at Fort St. George reported back with great urgency to the EIC that the grandson of the founder of the Fort had "turnd Papist rouge" and fled to Sao Tome.[37] The company replied by sending letters to the Viceroy to return him to India and in event of failure, Thomas Breton was sent to "require him".[38] Even after the Treaty of

[33] President Merry and Messrs. Tash, Pearce and Oxenden at Swally to the Company, January 25, 1650, Foster, *English Factories,* VIII: 294.
[34] Joshua Blackwell at Agra to the President and Council at Surat, February 14, 1650, in Foster, *English Factories*, VIII: 299.
[35] Instruction for President and Council at Surat to Richard Davidge, Proceeding to Court, March 7, 1650, Foster, *English Factories*, VIII: 302; The Rev. William Isaacson at Surat to Joshua Blackwell [at Agra], March 7, 1650, in Foster, *English Factories*, VIII: 304.
[36] NA. SP. 105/74, f.281.
[37] Thomas Ivy at Fort St. George to the President and Council at Surat, January 17, 1648, in Foster, *English Factories*, VIII: 298.
[38] *Ibid.*

Braganza in the 1660's, which effectively allowed Catholics to openly practice their religion in India (specifically Bombay), the EIC treated conversion as a serious threat. Indeed, they were so wary of the possibility of Catholic conversion that any Catholic priest accused of trying to convert or converting an English subject, were immediately classed as an enemy of the company, and placed under investigation.[39] Whilst in the LC, Benjamin Lannoy, Consul in Aleppo, was ordered by the company to "administer the Oath of Allegiance" to all members of the factory, part of which was to judge whether they were "disaffected to his Majesties Church of England."[40] The order informed Lannoy that those who he believed to be 'disaffected' were to be refused protection and any who refused the to say the oath were to be sent "by first opportune conveyance for England" to be punished.[41] By ensuring the presence of some form of Protestant Church of England, the EIC and LC sought to prevent their English personnel from being drawn to the Catholic church as well as to damage the influence of Catholic nations at the Mughal and Ottoman courts.

Pastoral Governance and Structuring Diplomatic Interaction and response to Iberian Presence

Company chaplain officials in both the Levant and India had to deal with the presence of an organized evangelical Catholic mission, which not only compounded commercial and national rivalries, but also religious competition between the religious governance of Catholic and Protestant companies. In 1599, the Venetian bailo to Istanbul reported, with great disgust, of the attempts of the Levant Company and its ambassador, Henry Lello, to establish a permanent Anglican Church in the Ottoman Empire. Writing back to the Doge and the Senate he declared that, between themselves and the French, they had enough influence to "thwart this excessive and arrogant pretension of the English, who would endeavour to sow even here the perversity an impiety of Calvin."[42] Since the reformation, the Roman Catholic Church had taken a series of steps to try and ensure that the influence of Protestantism did not reach the Middle East. This movement culminated in 1622 when Pope Gregory XV established the *Sacra Congregatio de*

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[39] For more information see Philip J. Stern, *Company-State,* 104-106.
[40] NA SP. 110/56 f. 213.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Girolamo Capello, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate, October 2, 1599, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian 1592-1603*, 817.

Propaganda Fide that sought to actively regulate Christian ecclesiastical affairs in non-Christian countries. With the establishment of the society, Capuchin and Jesuit missionaries planted themselves across the Middle East, working in close quarters with the Levant Company's personnel.[43] The strong presence of catholic religious governance in Asia and the Middle East not only heightened the commercial and religious paranoia of EIC and LC leaders, but also created a response in the religious governance of the companies. Pastoral governance in eastern companies, just as in the VC, would adapt in response to the presence of Catholicism, establishing its own solutions to evangelism, inter-faith interaction and policing behaviour.

For the leadership of both companies, the chaplaincy was the first defence against the evangelical aspirations of the Roman Church and what they believed to be antagonistic commercial desires of the Catholic nations. In the March of 1600, Sir Thomas Smythe wrote to the minister at Aleppo, William Biddulph who would be in Agra 15 years later, outlining his duties that "you will continue and proceed in your charge both in the instruction of our people in knowledge of Religion."[44] Similarly, the long established presence of the Portuguese in India alarmed the EIC, so much so that in 1613, in an incident over a gift of a singer and a juggler to the Emperor, Thomas Kerridge complained that a foreigner "if not presented by the Jesuit, hath no grace at all."[45] The same year, Biddulph, highlighting the close connections between the LC and EIC in this early period, wrote from Aleppo to the Governor and East India Company, of the predicament any company faced in the Ottoman and Mughal Empires due to the Jesuits. According to Biddulph, Kerridge had been sent to Agra to deal with, amongst other things, "resolve the King of all such matters these prating Jesuits put into his head" which he concluded had prevailed in "telling him we are a base people and dwell in a little island."[46] By the December of 1613, the presence of the Jesuits had become so

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[43] Felecita Tramontana, 'The Spread of Catholicism in Seventeenth-Century Palestinian Villages', Guiseppe Marcocci, Aliocha Maldavsky, Wietse de Boer and Ilaria Pavan eds, *Space and Conversion in* Global Perspective (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 83-102; Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church in the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[44] Sir Thomas Smythe to William Biddulph, March 1600, Quoted in Gerald M. Maclean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2004), 54.

[45] Thomas Kerridge at Agra to Thomas Aldworth and Counicl at Surat, September 7, 1613, in Frederick Danvers, *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, 6 vols. (London, 1896), I: 282-83.

[46] William Biddulph to the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smythe, Kinght, Governor, the Deputy and rest of the merchants trading to the East Indies, 28 October 1613, Danvers, *Letters Received*, I: 300.

problematic that the leadership of EIC in England took formal steps to tackle Catholicism in India. The court ordered that the ministers be selected on their ability to spar with the growing catholic presence in India, writing that each person should have the "learning and knowledge to oppose the Jesuit."[47] Religion and its governance became a key element in the LC and EIC plans to assert themselves diplomatically and commercially amongst foreign rulers. Central to this were the chaplains, whose positions abroad were inflated due to their skills as spiritual leaders and educated men, to include roles as enforcers and diplomats.

Through the developing need for a strong Chaplaincy and Protestant presence, the EIC and LC developed and established a form of pastoral governance abroad, which increasingly, in this period, would influence interactions with local leaders and officials. Arriving in religiously diverse and cosmopolitan environments, chaplains and personnel often commented upon religion whilst abroad. Several of the EIC's chaplains and personnel were to comment on what can be described as a policy of religious sufferance in the Mughal Empire. In an account of his time at the Mughal court, Thomas Roe wrote that Jahangir, the Mughal emperor, in a drunken declaration, announced that "Christians, Moores, Jewes, he meddled not with their faith; they came all in love, and he would protect them from wrong."[48] Although Roe's account of a drunken emperor may be apocryphal, it should not be dismissed. Jahangir himself would candidly admit to his own drinking habit and his complex relationship towards religion, both of which fuelled religious policies that, like his father Akbar's, could be considered tolerant.[49] Edward Terry, Roe's chaplain, suggested that these policies of religious sufferance, offered by the Mughal Emperors, allowed for their "tyrannical government there to be more easily endured."[50] Many of those who ventured to India in this early period often wrote back perplexed by the exotic combination of religious toleration and freedoms with Mughal

[47] BL IOR B/5 December 13, 1613.

[48] William Foster ed., *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt, 1899), II: 382.

[49] For an insight into Jahangir's own religious perspective and how this affected his religious policy see Sajida S. Alvi, 'Religion and State during the Reign of Mughal Emperor Jahăngĭr (1605-27): Nonjuristical Perspectives', *Studia Islamica*, No. 69 (1989), 95-119; On Jahangir's religious policy in general see Sajida S. Alvi, *Perspectives on Indo-Islamic Civilization in Mughal India: Historiography, Religion and Politics, Sufism and Islamic Renewal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), particularly ch.9; Athar Ali, *Mughal India: Studies in Polity, Ideas, Society and Culture* (New Delhi; Oxford University Press, 2006), particularly ch. 16.

[50] Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India* (London, 1655), 418.

Despotism. Terry commented upon this whilst recalling a debate between Thomas Coryate and a Muezzin, in which he suggested that Christians were theologically better than Muslims as they believed in the one true God. The chaplain goes on to write that Coryate was lucky to be in India for "every one there hath liberty to profess his own Religion freely and if he please may argue against theirs, without fear of an inquisition."[51] For much of this early period, misunderstanding and miscommunication not only defined the English response to local religious governance, but also how the company officials established and communicated their own pastoral governance and religious identity to local peoples and elites.

The companies' early interactions in these new geographies were often marked by the ability of its chaplains and personnel to successfully interact with several powerful local religious and cultural groups. Roe's accounts provide an insight into how Christians abroad presented their religion, or at least how they wanted others to believe their faith was being represented abroad.[52] One example of this in Roe's recollections is a discussion with Jahangir on slavery, in which he declared triumphantly to the emperor "that Christians keepe no slaves" when the Mughal emperor offered to sell him two young boys. In what may be described as a brash diplomatic move, Roe goes on to describe how he very publically bought the children to set them free and to illustrate the mercy of Christian governance.[53] Neither is the smugness in Roe's account, nor the underlying friction surrounding religious governance and identity between company personnel and their hosts, uncommon for this period. Furthermore, these incidents illustrated how company officials presented the English religious governance to foreign rulers, or their readers, as a constant that was untouched by foreign interactions. Roe could have easily accepted the slaves however, he to his readers emphasised his actions as being in line with Christian practice, and as such the religious governance of the company was above the usually diplomatic niceties. To his readers this would have been a comforting reminder that good Christian behaviour was not corrupted aboard, and that it continued to be enforced and advertised by the company's religious governance.

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[51] Terry, *A Voyage*, 271.
[52] Rupali Mishra, 'Diplomacy at the Edge: Split Interests in the Roe Embassy to the Mughal Court', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 5 (2014), 5-28.
[53] Roe wrote that he was "resolued to pay the money, but so as the King should not be ignorant I had more mercy then he, and that a Christian esteemed the life of a Moore aboue money" in Foster, *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, 305.

In another account from Japan, the EIC agent there, Richard Cocks, wrote back describing the difficulties that Christians and Christian merchants faced in the country. In 1613, in a letter to Richard Wickham, a merchant at Hirado, Cocks highlighted the difficulty of translating both national and religious imagery across cultures, when he was "full sore against [his] will" forced to take down the English flag.[54] According to Cocks, he was forced to take this action after an argument had erupted between him and a local Japanese official who believed that St. George cross was a crucifix. Cocks, at the insistence of the Japanese authorities, took down the flag, following his inability to explain suitably the religious and national symbolism it represented, highlighting two issues. Firstly, the difficulties English officials faced in explaining their religious identity across cultures during this period and, secondly, how company officials were powerless to resist the local authorities, whether religious or secular. Much like Roe in his discussion with Jahangir over slavery, Cocks, some years later, sought to define his Protestant faith in a distinction against the other. He explained to the Japanese emperor that, unlike the Portuguese whose religion was governed by an outsider, the Pope, in England, the King was at the head of the church.[55] Attempts by company officials to explain the distinctions between the forms of religious governance and denominational identities of European nations were often further complicated by the reaction of local rulers to aspects of Christian religious governance, in particular evangelism. To secure both their evangelical and its commercial missions company leaders would have to ensure that chaplains rigidly enforced their pastoral governance. In doing so the behaviour of the companies' personnel would be secured and ensuring good commercial relations, whilst at the same time the leaders of the EIC and LC hoped that they would succeed in passively evangelise through the securing their English people's daily behaviour.

A crucial element, and shared aspect, of religious governance in this period was the call to evangelise. In doing so, national companies, both Catholic and Protestant, competed to expand and secure, not only the souls, but also their nation's jurisdictive rights, over peoples traditionally considered beyond its territories. The process by which companies chose to evangelise depended on the style of religious governance that they

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[54] IOR E/3/1 Richard Cocks at Shrongo to Richard Wickham, March 1614.
[55] Richard Cocks at Firando to EIC January 1 & 14, 1617, William Foster ed., *Letters Received by The East India Company from Its Servants in the East, 1602-1613,* 6 vols. (London, 1900), IV.

adopted. National rivalry alongside the well-documented presence of the Iberian nations in the Mediterranean, Indian and Pacific Oceans helped the EIC and LC to tailor a form of religious governance and evangelism that could be seen to be opposing that of the catholic companies. Upon arriving in Japan, EIC officials often wrote back lamenting the presence of Catholics, proclaiming, "there be many Christians by reason of the Jesuits" and that "in this land there are many Christians according to the Romish order."[56] However, from the outset, EIC personnel who ventured to Japan seemed to be both surprised but also wary of the uneasiness of local leadership to the strong catholic presence in the nation. Writing back in 1611, William Adams made it a point to not only describe how the people of Japan, through the imposition of "law without partiality", were "governed in great civility", but also that, despite the seemingly strong Catholic presence, were still "very superstitious in the religion."[57]

The presence of a strong and successful Jesuit evangelical mission in Japan further complicated issues, as Japanese leadership grew increasingly hostile towards Christianity, in particular Catholicism. By 1614, the emperor of Japan had banished the Jesuits, along with other Catholic orders, in what had been a quick downturn in relations. Initial reports of the banishment from EIC personnel in the area seemed to be of disbelief, as one agent wrote he "doubt[ed] the news is to good to be true" that "all the papist Jesuits, Friars and Priests shall be banished out of Japan."[58] Over the next few years, factors repeatedly informed the company of the banishment of the Catholics from Japan and expressed concern for the reputation of their faith, as "the name of Christian is odious to them."[59] On top of this, company personnel complained that the Jesuits were blaming the English for their apparent misfortune. Cocks, on several occasions, wrote that the Catholics "laid the fault of this alteration on the arrival of our nation in these parts". However, he also concludes that it was "notorious to all men that their own covetousness an ill behaviours"

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[56] IOR E/3/1, William Adams at Hirado to Bantam, October 23, 1611; William Adams at Hirado to Augustine Spalding at Bantam, January 12, 1613.

[57] IOR E/3/1, October 23, 1611.

[58] IOR E/3/1 Richard Cocks at Hirado to Richard Wickham at Edo or Shizouka, February 17, 1614; see also IOR G/40/25 Richard Cocks at Hirado to John Jourdain at Bantam, December 10, 1614.

[59] IOR E/3/1 Richard Cocks at Hirado to Richard Wickham at Edo, Shizuoka or Elsewhere, March 7, 1614; For Banishment see IOR E/3/2 Richard Cocks at Hirdao to the EIC in London, November 17, 1614; Richard Cocks at Hirado to Adam Denton at Pattani, November 25, 1614; IOR G/12/15 Richard Wickham at Hirado to EIC in London January 15, 1617.

that had led to their banishment.[60] Similarly, Wickham asserted that the accusations levelled by the Jesuits and other Catholics at the English were ill founded and that it was "the subtle practices & covetous dealing[s]" of the Jesuits evangelical practices that had "scandaled" the Emperor and caused him to act against them.[61]

On the other hand, Wickham's letter also highlights, again, the religious animosity between Protestant English companies and their Catholic counterparts, who, to increase their commercial and national reputations, competed against each other. According to one EIC agent, although the English were not the main factor for the banishment of the Jesuits, they had "upon demand, as occasions offered… done the Jesuits little credit."[62] Critical of the Jesuits' aggressive evangelism, perceiving it to have been the cause of their banishment, EIC agents also lamented how it had also led to the religious persecution of "Japon Christians."[63] By 1620, multiple accounts of persecutions had been sent back to England, including reports of churches being burnt down, people being forced to recant, and several massacres across the country.[64] The experiences and insights of the EIC in Japan, involving the catholic evangelism and Christian persecution abroad, draws attention to the motivations for the evolution of pastoral governance and its passive evangelism in the company. Pastoral governance, unlike the aggressive religious policies of the Catholic nations, provided the structural framework to secure the government of its own personnel. In doing so, it allowed the English companies to proselytize through the policing of their personnel's behaviour. Unlike the Iberian nations, this established a form of passive evangelism.

Chaplains as Enforcers of Pastoral Governance and Corporate Evangelism

To ensure the good behaviour of Company personnel abroad, chaplains were vital enforcers of the companies' pastoral governance. Their presence was considered key to the success of the commercial and evangelical missions of the EIC and LC. As early as 1610, an EIC official told a chaplain that the "Civil behaviour is very requisite for

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[60] IOR G/40/25 December 10, 1614; IOR E/3/3 Richard Cocks at Hirado to Richard Westby at Bantam, February 25, 1616.
[61] IOR G/12/15 Richard Wickham at Edo to Sir Thomas Smyth in London, October 23, 1615.
[62] *Ibid*.
[63] *Ibid*.
[64] IOR E/3/1 William Eaton at Osaka to Richard Wickham at Edo, March 1, 1614; IOR G/40/25 December 10, 1614; IOR E/3/7 Richard Cocks at Nagasaki to Sir Thomas Wilson in London, March 10, 1620.

begetting love and estimation amongst those heathenish people" and, to do this, his primary aim was to "settle such modest and sober government" to ensure godly behaviour.[65] For the EIC, obtaining the 'love and estimation' of the Indian people through good behaviour had two connected and independent meanings. The first was their financial and commercial support in helping the company to establish and maintain its business, whilst the second relates to their eventual conversion to Christianity through this 'love.' The behaviour of personnel abroad had long been a worry for LC and EIC leadership. The Levant Company factor, John Sanderson, wrote back to London that whilst in Istanbul "a jolly sett of divers devells, fooles, madmen, antiques, monsters, beasts, whoremongers" surrounded him.[66] Many in both the LC and EIC believed that, to ensure the success of trading mission of the company, they needed to ensure the good behaviour of its personnel, and so this fell to the authority of the company chaplains.

Punishments were enforced for a number of different infractions, including drunkenness, swearing, absence services or prayer, and blasphemy, and almost all of them involved a fine as this was the most effective way of ensuring that men could not get hold of drink.[67] The early EIC were quick to realise this required a lot more policing than was to be first expected, leading factors to plead with the company to send chaplains who would establish an "effective church," and thereby, "a well ordered and morally unassailable Protestant society."[68] In doing so, the company believed the chaplain would counter its personnel behaviour that they believed were, "dangerously disordering themselves with drink and whores."[69] Accounts of drunkenness and debauchery amongst the company's personnel were frequent and of serious concern to the company and its image. Personnel across the company, from chaplains to captains, and merchants to governors, expressed concerns about the difficulty of governing such an "irregular and almost incorrigible scum of rascals." Their main concern about the "ungodly behaviour" of personnel was the prejudicial effect that it had upon their commercial aims, as it damaged the company's image and reputation amongst local population.[70] This did not

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[65] Quoted in O'Connor, *Chaplains EIC*, 48.
[66] Sanderson at Pera to Nicolas Leate in London, March 1600, William Foster ed., *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1930), 197.
[67] Foster, *Thomas Best*, 95.
[68] Stern, *Company-State*, 117-118.
[69] Letter from Bantam quoted in John Keay, *Honourable Company*, 48.
[70] Captain Pring to the East India Company March 23 1619, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan, 1617-1621* (1870), 264

mean that the company was advocating segregation between themselves and local populations, as such a thing was considered prejudicial to commercial success. However, 'debauchery' through the visiting of brothels and drunkenness was in fact harmful to integration between the company and local society and, thereby, trade.

For both companies, one of the primary methods of group contact was through church attendance and functions such as the sermon. By 1612, the EIC made daily religious communion compulsory, as every morning and evening the factor or captain was to assemble together their "men or company to heare divyne service."[71] Although the functions of the Chaplains' sermons were primarily for religious worship, they also served the purpose of bringing together the company personnel together. From these meetings, not only were men and women told how to behave, but also served to ensure that the factors, chief merchants and captains could govern a group of people by arranging that they all met twice a day. Even though the influence of these meetings is hard to quantify, the company's leadership considered church sermons and attendance an effective method of social control that ensured a way to achieve commercial and, ultimately, evangelical success. In 1614, David Midelton received a commission that ordered prayers to be read morning and evening, both on land and at sea, ruling that only through sickness could these group meetings be missed.[72] Company leadership even dictated that group religious observation be held on a household level, declaring, in 1615, that good government in household could be established "observing due times of common prayer" and that this was the only way to ensure that "servants be kept from disorderly gadding to rack houses, etc."[73] For the companies' leadership, the spiritual influences of these meetings were most definitely important. However, equally important were their use as a method of social control, where English leadership could gather personnel collectively and police over their behaviour. By providing the company's personnel with a sermon that reinforced the religious governance of the company, the Chaplain was not only benefiting the company but providing "strong meat, for all growing Christians" fulfilling his two roles, spiritual and temporal.[74] Through sermons and enforcing religious

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[71] Foster, *Thomas Best*, 95.
[72] Commission to David Midelton, March 12, 1614, in Foster, *Letters Received*, III: 57.
[73] A Court of Merchants Held in Sciam, April 20, 1615, in Foster, *Letters Received*, III: 108.
[74] Terry, *Voyage*, 463.

governance, the chaplain was seen to be not only leading his flock toward godliness, but also ensuring the company's goals.

Chaplains themselves were not immune to accusations of placing the company's goals at risk due to bad behaviour as they, like all company personnel, were equally exposed to the social, moral and spiritual pressures of an overseas existence. Despite the rigorous procedure for picking the right candidate, which involved several interviews and giving a sermon, company officials abroad did often report back that the wrong choice had been made.[75] Often, the decision to send a chaplain back to England was due to his behaviour or ill-suited disposition to govern. On one occasion, an EIC factor, Thomas Kerridge, complained about the role of the chaplain, Peter Rogers, in causing unrest amongst the company personnel at Ajmer. For Kerridge, the role of the chaplain was to "persuade to peace" rather than "aggravate wrath". However, Rogers had done the opposite, leading Kerridge to question Rogers' education and character, suggesting that his, "friends that sent him hither were mistaken in him."[76] On a separate occasion, Patrick Copland complained of another such chaplain's behaviour, recounting the story via letter to the Governor. He wrote that the chaplain, Mr. Goulding, had impersonated a female and gone ashore "after them women" and so "beseeches the Company to send honest preachers."[77] The LC faced similar problems with chaplains being at the heart, even fuelling, confrontation whilst abroad. One case, which stands out involved a feud between the ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Thomas Glover, and his predecessor, Henry Lello, over when the latter had been ordered to end his tenure. However, the conflict quickly escalated, at the heart of which was the chaplain, William Biddulph. As a long-time supporter of Lello, Biddulph was disliked by many in Glover's camp, in particular the company agent, John Sanderson, who complained of Biddulph's "liing extolling of Sir Lillo."[78] Glover himself, who was not unwise to the chaplain's agenda, wrote scathingly of him, comparing him disparagingly to a mufti, "William Bidolphe (whome the Turques here call my Muftie, as in deede he is more factious then Muftie, or the Devill himself."[79] Certainly on two occasions, Biddulph, through his contacts both in the Levant and in

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[75] For example of the process of picking a chaplain see B/9 October 20, 29, November 3, 26, December 3, 5, 22, 1624.
[76] Thomas Kerridge in Agimere to Sir Thomas Smyth, March 26, 1615, Foster *Letters Received*, III: 92.
[77] Copland to Sir Thomas Smyth March 4, 1618 on the Royal James, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan*, 1617-1621 (1870), 135-136.
[78] Quoted in Maclean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, 62
[79] Glover to Cecil, April 16, 1607, NA SP 97/5, f .142

England, spread scandalous rumours to discredit Glover, including accusations of murder and bigamy.[80] Despite Biddulph's best efforts, Glover remained the ambassador to the Ottoman court till 1611. However, his behaviour once again highlights the influential position the chaplain had in securing, or in this case disordering, the company's governance abroad. Although the stories of rogue Chaplains raise questions as to the influence of corporate orders with what was happening on the ground, they also reinforce the important position chaplains were placed in. Their behaviour and influence had not only the ability to secure the company's pastoral governance abroad, but also to place it in jeopardy alongside the company's reputation. They illustrate the level of expectations and interest company leadership had in keeping informed about the behaviour of their chaplains and, ultimately, the importance placed on ensuring that good godly governance was established amongst all the company.

To ensure the good behaviour of the company's personnel, the chaplain had several methods at his disposal; from rank to church service the chaplain's presence was always a reminder of the religious wing of the companies' governance. Both aboard ships and ashore, the chaplain was given a high ranking, paid more than the ship's surgeon and allowed to invest in ventures financially; their standings were in the upper middle tiers of the company.[81] EIC chaplains' wages very quickly doubled in the early years of the company's existence, to £100, and often included substantial supplements for financial provisions[82] Their rank also meant that they would accompany EIC officials and be present at functions, to advise and lead when needed. At all official functions, Roe was accompanied by a chaplain, throughout his time as Ambassador at the Mughal court. Upon the death of Thomas Hall, his first chaplain, Roe was reported to be inconsolable at the loss, which expressed both his physical isolation, as well as his spiritual, learned support, writing that "no Comfort, no conversation" could he enjoy. So seriously did Roe feel at the loss of his confidante and advisor that he wrote he would "live the life of an Atheist" until a replacement was sent.[83] On another occasion, the EIC directors turned to Copland, a chaplain who they greatly respected, to seek advice on the conduct of the

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[80] On accusations of murder of company servant George Coxden, 'Biddulph to 'Mrs. Gratzwicke', July 14, 1607, NA SP 97/5, f.181; For accusation of bigamy see, Biddulph, *The trauels of certaine Englishmen,* 80-81.
[81] For the ability and incident of Chaplain adventuring in EIC see BL IOR B/5 June 29, 1614; For LC see incidents particularly involving Robert Frampton see NA SP 105/175 f. 13, 26, 113, 132, 150.
[82] Cal SP ColEI February 9, 1607; BL IOR B/5 October 26, 1614.
[83] August 19, 1616, in Foster, *Embassy of Thomas Roe*, I: 245-246.

Captain of the fleet.[84] Like the personal relationship between Roe and his chaplain, the EIC's leadership's reliance on Copland further demonstrated the power and influence of a chaplain. Copland wrote back to the court a recommendation for the "zeal and care" shown by Captain Best in establishing the "good government amongst his people, which matntayned love betweene them, liveinge peaceablie and conscionablie all the whole voyadge."[85] Chaplains were important, to not only establishing the companies' own religious governance, but also instrumental in legitimising and supporting the authority of other members of the company.

As a group, Chaplains were an instrumental body in the companies' aims to establishing pastoral governance abroad. However, it was often the work of individual chaplains that made the biggest impression on how the companies' missions would evolve. One of the most prolifically mentioned chaplains of the company, Patrick Copland highlights the assortment of theological backgrounds that made up the early EIC chaplaincy. Originally a graduate from St Andrews University, Copland is one of the earliest and well-known EIC chaplains. Despite being a Scottish Presbyterian he was asked by the company to serve on four voyages between 1612 and 1621, before leaving for Bermuda and becoming a Congregationalist.[86] Copland is mostly remembered or canonised in the history of the EIC for instigating the first company conversion in 1614 of an Indian boy. Returning from India that year with the converted boy, Copland managed to arrange for the company to provide a stipend for the boy to attend school in London to be "taught and instructed in religion."[87] Just as with the VC, the EIC hoped that by educating the child, he would convert and "might upon occasion bee sent into his country" and whilst there "God may bee soe pleased to make him and Instrument in roundinge some of his nation."[88] One year later, Copland reported back on the success of the boy's education, proclaiming him to have "profited in the knowledge of the Christian religion" and that it may benefit the company to hold a baptism "publiqielie" as he was the "first fruites of India."[89] After some discussion with Maurice Abbot's brother, the

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[84] Story recounted in O'Connor, *Chaplains EIC*, 38.
[85] Copland to Court of Directors, June 9, 1614, Extract from the Court Minutes of the EIC, Vol. III in Foster, *Thomas Best*, 264.
[86] Edward D. Neill, *Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copland, Rector Elect of the First Projected College in the United States* (New York, 1871) for move to Bermuda, 90-93.
[87] BL IOR B/5 August 19, 1614; Neill, *Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copland*, 13-14; Foster. *Thomas Best*, xx.
[88] BL IOR B/5 August 19, 1614.
[89] BL IOR B/5 July 18, 1615.

Archbishop of Canterbury, the company agreed. The following December, the boy was baptised at the Church of St. Dionis in front of a congregation made up of the Privy Council, Lord Mayor, Aldermen and members of the EIC and VC.[90] The King himself chose the boy's name as Peter Pope, in what Copland's biographer described "that odd compound of cant, coarseness, and scottishness," or possibly just humour.[91] Following the public successes of this early attempt as pastoral governance and evangelism, Copland and Pope returned to the east, where Pope, still under the tutelage of Copland, would continue his education and even write back to the company.[92] However, some years later, Copeland and Pope returned to England to obtain support for yet another of Copland's education projects in Virginia. Having, on a return voyage from the east, heard that there was a lack of schools in Virginia, Copland embarked on a campaign to raise funds to establish a school in Virginia. Its purpose was to educate, like Pope, Native American children, "in the principles of Religion, civility of life, and humane learning."[93] Copland was successful in his mission to obtain company support; initially managing to persuade 142 EIC employees to pledge donations for the opening of the East India School in the colony, although the plan would be short lived following the massacre in 1622.[94] Despite his successful relationship with the company, Copland did face criticism. Following the battle of Jakarta, his sermon was accused of being so influential that he "dissanimated" the sailors who refused to fight against the Dutch, their fellow protestants.[95] However, for the most part, Copland can be seen as one of the companies most successful chaplains at firmly establishing and connecting pastoral governance and its passive evangelical mission in the early English companies, stretching into both the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

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[90] Neill, *Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copland*, 12; Patrick Copland & Peter Pope, *Virginia's God Be Thanked, or a Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Happie Successe of the Affayres in Virginia This Last Yeare, Hereunto Are Adjoyned Some Epistles, Written First in Latine, and Now Englished, By Peter Pope, an Indian Youth, Who Was, Baptized, In London*, December 22, 1616 (London: 1622).

[91] Copland & Pope, *Virginia's God Be Thanked*.

[92] *Ibid*.

[93] Patrick Copland, *A Declaration How the Monies (Viz. Seventy Pound Eight Shillings Sixe Pence) Were Disposed Which Was Gathered (by M. Patrick Copland, Preacher in the Royall Lames) at the Cape of Good Hope (Towards the Building of a Free Schoole in Virginia) of the Gentlemen and Mariners in the Said Ship: A List of Whose Names Are Under Specified, for Gods Glory, Their Comfort, and the Incouragement of Others to the Furthering of the Same, or the Like Pious Worke* (London: 1622).

[94] *Ibid*.

[95] Copland to Court of Directors, June 9, 1614, Extract from the Court Minutes of the EIC, Vol. III in William Foster ed., *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619* (Hakluyt, 1899), 264.

The cosmopolitan nature of business in both Turkey and India meant that EIC and LC personnel were forced into close quarters with a number of different religious groups. The strangers accounts for the LC at Constantinople highlights this diversity, listing business dealings with Jews, Muslims, Armenians, Orthodox Greeks, Protestant Dutch, and Catholic French and Venetians.[96] Similarly, in India, EIC personnel entered a business environment that was religiously diverse.[97] For both companies, their personnel were forced to interact with individuals and groups of varying faiths to secure the commercial mission of the company. Religious interaction and cultural encounters were part of daily life and it was the ability of the companies' personnel to work and interact with other religious cultures that commercial missions would succeed. However, these interactions brought with them dangers that the companies' leadership believed their personnel needed to be protected against apostasy. EIC and LC officials relied on the chaplains' enforcement of pastoral governance to ensure that their personnel remained within, and behaved as, one of the godly.

From their initial attempts to establish trade abroad, the EIC and LC were wary of the allure other faiths might have on their personnel. Leadership in both companies were conscious of the damaging effects conversion from Protestantism would have on the reputation of the faith, nation and governance of the company. For many, the biggest fear was conversion to Islam. In the Ottoman, Persian and Mughal Empires, conversion not only meant a switch in faith, but also national identity. Edward Terry speculated that the practical appeal of Islam to many Europeans, as well as those who practiced the religion, was the liberty and toleration it afforded towards the marriage rights of men. According to Terry, it was partially this that encouraged apostasy and hindered "the settlement and growth of Christianity in those parts."[98] Marriage posed several problems for the company which ranged from the legality and religious sanctity of marriage, to the issue of the subject identity of not only the couple, but also any children born from the union. Reports of women as the main cause of English apostasy overseas were common during this period. Much later, following the restoration, an English Captain was sent out to the North African coast to secure the return of some Englishmen from slavery. However, he

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[96] NA SP. 105/109 f. 149, 189.
[97] BL IOR/B/11, January 5, 1626/27; William Thurston and Edward Pearce at Basra to the Company, June 22, 1640, Foster, William, ed., *The English Factories in India, 1618-1669,* 13 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896), II: 73; VI: 248; Danvers, *Letters Received*, VI: 244, 303.
[98] Terry, *A Voyage*, 428.

reported that the men refused to return and wished to remain Muslim. According to the Captain, the reason that these men "were tempted to forsake their God" was "for the love of Turkish women, who are generally very beautiful."[99] Over the same period, the allure of Muslim women to Christian men, and the threat they posed, was immortalized in English folk song. In the Ballad of Lord Bateman, a noble from Northumberland was captured in Turkey and, whilst imprisoned by an Ottoman governor, falls in love with his daughter. Several years after his release, she sails to England and convinces him to abandon his Christian bride, to marry her.[100] Not only were Muslim women seen as exotic and seductive by the religious and political leadership, within and outside of the company, their stance on marriage also caused concern. In the European imagination, Islam became highly sexualized as it became increasingly associated with polygamy and the concept of the Harem, and the dangers of cultural exposure to this were never far from the minds of the EIC and LC leaders.[101] However, by providing a Minister, company officials hoped to prevent apostasy, ensuring that their personnel remained within the godly and behaved according to the pastoral governance of the company.

Despite the fear of apostasy amongst the ranks of the companies' English personnel, pastoral governance of EIC and LC supported rather than prevented the companies from interacting and employing people of numerous faiths, many of whom were European converts. The letter books of the EIC report cases that demonstrate how the company was primarily only concerned with the conversion of English subjects or specifically, its own personnel, reinforcing the idea that evangelism, for much of the seventeenth century, was an internal mission. Evangelism was encouraged by example rather than coercion, so as to not endanger the company's relationship with educated middlemen such as European converts, Jews, and Armenians, as well as Hindus and Muslims, on whom it relied. One case in the EIC involved a recently employed Portuguese convert to Islam who had become an "enemy of the Jesuits" and had recently come into the employ of the factor at Agra, Thomas Kerridge. Worried by his status as a converted European, Kerridge wrote a letter to ensure his employment, as he wished to keep him in service, writing that, as a

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[99] Quoted in John B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast: Algiers Under the Turks, 1500 to 1830* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1979), 237.

[100] 'The Loving Balled of Lord Bateman', in Francis James Child, ed., *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Vol.I (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1884), 477.

[101] Hsu-Ming Teo, *Desert Passions: Orientalism and Romance Novels* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2012), 37-50.

European convert, he did "more business in an hour than his banyan in a day."[102] The prospect of an Englishman in the company committing apostasy continued to be a threat that both the companies' spiritual and secular leadership feared. Such news of English converts "greatly afflicted" the Levant Company, as they feared it would "draw no mean Scandal to our nation and to the Christian Religion."[103] However, in the case of the EIC and this particular Portuguese convert to Islam, his coming into the employment of the company was not an issue. It was perceived that his apostasy had only brought disgrace to his nation, not the English one, and so was not a threat to the pastoral governance of the company.

Chaplains and Knowledge Exchange

The companies not only provided the chaplains with employment, but also offered them unique opportunities to take part in commerce and knowledge exchange. Through company employment they were provided with the opportunity to advance their academic and ecclesiastical credentials, which would also develop ideas on religious governance at home and abroad. The combination of experiences, whether establishing religious governance over company personnel or interacting with, and observing, the faiths and religious governance of the people they encountered, gave company chaplains and agents very specific insights into the role of religion and governance at home and abroad. The expectation that chaplains would establish religious government, alongside individual minister's curiosity of foreign religious cultures, surrounded the experiences of company chaplains and agents in this early period. As educated men, chaplains were sought after by officials both inside and outside the companies who hoped to utilise the talents they acquired both abroad and back in England, to advance and govern over English academic and religious pursuits.

The interactions associated with pastoral governance that chaplains were involved in abroad, offered rare opportunities to pursue intellectual pursuits that advanced their academic and ecclesiastical futures at home. By hunting for early Islamic and biblical manuscripts or penning works on their travels, chaplains became key figures in an

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[102] Thomas Kerridge at Agra to Thomas Aldworth and the Council at Surat, September 7, 1613, in Foster, *Letters Received*, I*: 283-284.
[103] NA SP. 105/113 f. 188.

exchange of knowledge across oceans. Out of a long line of influential LC chaplains that affected religious and academic governance abroad and in England, one of the most famous was the Middle Eastern scholar and the first Laudian Chair of Arabic at Oxford, Edward Pococke.[104] A graduate from Oxford, Pococke, at the age of 26, would request to be sent out by the LC in 1630. Recommended by his tutor, the noted polymath John Selden, as "a diligent and able gent" and that "he himselfe made Arabb his mistresse."[105] So sure that his student was right for the job, Selden concluded, "I shall intreate you to accept from me", yet despite being the only applicant, Pococke was forced to go through the rigmaroles of selection. His selection was finally completed in the March of 1630, after the LC "recived very good testimony & recommendacions both for his abilitie in learning, Soundness in the Study of devynitie, conformitie to the constitucions of the Church & integritie of Lyfe and conversacion."[106] Although Pococke was a capable chaplain, his tenure at Aleppo marked a stark contrast to many of his predecessors and successors in that he was more influential in affecting religious governance at home rather than abroad.

By the middle of October in the same year of his appointment, Pococke had arrived in Aleppo and immediately set to work on amassing a substantial collection of manuscripts, many of which he sent back to England to William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury. This exchange of manuscripts related to religious governance in England as Laud's interests in Middle Eastern manuscripts stemmed from his desire to mould the established Church's governance by reconnecting the church with its eastern counterpart, the Greek Orthodox Church. According to Laud, the English church was "an orthodox church" and being so, believed that it was perfectly lawful to communicate with other Orthodox churches.[107] Communications between the Greek and English churches had been established by Laud's predecessor, George Abbot, and were continued under him.[108]

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[104] For more extensive work on knowledge exchange and Chaplains in the LC see Simon Mills, 'The Chaplains to the English Levant Company: Exploration and Biblical Scholarship in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century England', in Judith Becker and Bettina Braun eds, *Die Begegnung mit Fremden und das Geschichtsbewusstein*, (Gottingen, 2012), 243-266; 'The English Chaplains at Aleppo: Exploration and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1620-1760', *Bulletin of the Council of British Research on the Levant*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2011), 13-20.
[105] MS Selden supra 108 f. 25.
[106] *Ibid.*; NA SP 105/145, f. 218-19
[107] William Laud & John Percy, *A Relation of the Conference Between William Laud Late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Fisher The Jesuit* (London, 1686), 314-15.
[108] For relationship between Abbot, Laud and Lucaris see Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of*

As early as 1631, Laud wrote to Pococke requesting that he send back manuscripts to build up a library at Oxford and, several years later, Laud wrote a letter to the LC directly ordering that every company boat return home "one Arab: or Persian Manuscript Booke", which would be delivered to him.[109] Although the company may have been fairly relaxed at sending materiel back to England, Pococke was not. Between himself and the LC (alongside a few other sources) all the manuscripts sent back to Laud would influence academic governance.

In his pursuit of oriental scholarship, Pococke developed a substantial network of friendships across many different faiths including the Muslim poet, Fathallah al Halabi, Greek Orthodox scribes, a Rabbi, and Petrus Golius the Carmelite friar and brother Jacobus Golius.[110] Through these friendships, Pococke was not only able to acquire manuscripts, but also advance his own scholarly learning, furthering his understanding of Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopic and Hebrew languages. Despite returning to Oxford in 1636 and obtaining a post at the University, Pococke was only home a mere two years before asking to be returned to the Levant of his own accord. Obtaining the support of Laud, Pococke returned to the Middle East, still in receipt of his academic salary and with permission from the company to supplement his salary by trading in bales of cloth.[111] Whilst in the East for a second time, Pococke not only continued to amass and send home manuscripts, but also fulfilled the influential and important duty of chaplain to two ambassadors. As chaplain on his two visits to the East, Pococke was offered the chance to be involved in daily life of the company abroad, and given the opportunity to influence religious and academic governance at home. Through the LC, Pococke enhanced his scholarship, acquiring manuscripts, interacted with peoples of numerous faiths and experienced the pastoral governance of the company. These experiences granted him influence in both the church and academia in England and, through his work and connections, could mould, for a period, their own governance. Pococke highlights the role overseas chaplains would

Independence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 294-6; For more on the relationship between Cyril Lucaris, Orthodoxy, the Anglican church and religious governance in England see W.B. Patterson, 'Cyril Lukaris, George Abbot, James VI and I, and the Beginning of Orthodox-Anglican Relations'; 'Metrophanes Kritopoulos and his Studes at Balliol College from 1617 to 1622' in Peter M. Doll ed., *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years After the 'Greek College' in Oxford* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006).

[109] NA SP 16.260 f. 116.

[110] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, 120-122; Twells, *The Lives of Dr. Edward Pocock*, Vol.1 (London 1816), 23, 300.

[111] NA SP 110/54 f. 216; NA SP 16/381 f. 159; NA SP 105/149 f.157.

in developing and governing varying institutions when they returned, who through their governmental experiences abroad were able to successfully obtain influential positions back in England, and direct ecclesiastical and academic behaviour in England.

Like the Ottoman Empire, India offered chaplains similar possibilities to influence pastoral governance abroad and at home, through academic pursuits. Through the knowledge he acquired whilst working for the company, EIC chaplain, Henry Lord, sought to influence the pastoral governance of the company and English opinions of Indian religion. Some years after he returned from India, Lord published an account of his interactions with the Hindu and Parsi faiths. Published the same year that Pococke left for Aleppo, Lord's *A display of two forraigne sects*, offered one of the first in depth English language analyses of the two religions. [112] Despite never straying far from Surat whilst in India, Lord's time in the city offered him profound opportunities to investigate and learn about the faiths that he encountered. Lord's story began in the city in 1624, having successfully imposed the company's pastoral governance on board a ship in "gain[ing] a charge of soules in the Adventure of the honourable Company of Merchants trading to the East-Indies."[113] Alongside mentioning his success in establishing and securing religious governance aboard the EIC's ships, several biblical verses on the ornate frontispiece of his work sets the tone for the reasoning for its publication.[114] The verses that Lord used expressed two related concerns of his book; firstly, his (albeit prejudiced) interests in the religion and governance of the Hindu and Parsi people and, secondly, how to 'reform' their religious governance. Whether his work was well received by the company, Lord sought to provide knowledge to help the process of establishing the company's reforming religious governance in India.

By explaining the creation myths, holy texts, eating habits, traditions, and governing and social structures of the Hindu and Parsi religions, Lord sought to inform his readers so they could be judged. Further, he hoped that, just as following all judgements, a sentence for Christian reform would follow. According to Lord, the two

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[112] Lord, *A display of two forraigne*; O' Connor, *Chaplains EIC*, 68-9.
[113] Lord, *A display of two forraigne sects*, B.
[114] First verse from 1 Corinthians 11: 19, 'For there must be heresies even among you, that they which are approved among you, might be known', the second is from Isaiah 9: 16, 'For the leaders of the people cause them to erre: and they that are led to them are destroyed' see, frontispiece Lord, *A display of two forraigne sects*.

faiths were "rebelliously and schismatically violating the divine law of the dread Majesty of Heaven" and so required his readers, in particular, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the book was dedicated, "judge of their causes and crimes."[115] Despite his harsh religious tone, Lord does seem to fondly recall his interaction with Indian peoples, notably his first encounter with a Hindu. He recounts, with detail, the Hindu man who worked for the company, noting his "linnen garments" and "gesture and garbe as I may say maidenly and well nigh effeminate", concluding, with a note of fondness, how the people were "strangely notable, and notably strange?"[116] Throughout, Lord seeks to compare and criticise elements of the Hindu and Parsi religious governance by comparison with historical comment and biblical and Christian teachings. This is most notable in his discussion about Hindu laws forbidding the drinking of alcohol and eating of meat, in which, he argues, is a "tradition voyde of ground or reason."[117] According to Lord, the Romans described ancient Indians as "vini amatores, lovers of Wine", highlighting the classical misconceptions many English travellers held. At the same time, Lord also called upon his Christian understanding of the world to suggest that the practice of not eating meat was "against the common end and use of the Creature, which God hath made to comfort the heart of Man."[118] For Lord, the Hindu practice of vegetarianism was a problem as they rejected God's purpose in creating animals, but also easily rectified, through Christian scripture and, therefore, the successful establishment of pastoral governance. Similarly, Lord tried to establish the societal structure of India through their religious governance, discussing cast and how society was ordered, noting, particularly, the Brahmins who "instruct people in matters of Religion."[119]

Lord concludes his remarks on the religious governance in India by discussing how "all evidence of braines intoxicates with the fumes of Errour and Polytheisme" and that "their Religion a composed Fiction, rather than anything reall for faith to leane on."[120] Not only was Lord having one final sly remark to the consumption of alcohol in Indian society, but he was also commenting on the role of religion in governance and, as their faith was not real enough to lean on, their government too was weak and so required the

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[115] Lord, *A display of two forraigne sects*. A3.
[116] *Ibid.*, B2.
[117] *Ibid.*, 47.
[118] *Ibid.*, 49, 47; For further discussion on the eating of meat in Lords work see, 46-53.
[119] *Ibid.*, 70.
[120] *Ibid.*, 94-95.

establishment of Christian religious governance to secure this. Although this would not happen as Lord may have wanted until after the post-Braganza era, *A display of two forraigne sects* illustrates how, in England at least, ideas on the permanence and exportability of pastoral governance were beginning to form through the EIC's early interactions.

Pastoral Governance and securing Commercial success and Religious Behaviour

Although at their core the EIC and LC remained commercial enterprises with profit maximization as their main mission, the religious interests of its members ensured that theologically diverse chaplaincy would play a part in the companies' evolution. The corporate structure of England's seventeenth century overseas expansion provided the means, in the words of one member of an American company, to render "spirituall things for their Temporall" offering "advantages and benifitts", that ensured that their spiritual and financial exchanges would succeed.[121] For the company to achieve its commercial mission it required its personnel, whether religious or secular, to maintain cordial relations between themselves and the diverse religious and cultural communities that surrounded them. Interactions with other communities, however, not only proved to be a challenge to the commercial enterprise of the company, but they also complicated the religious and commercial life of English communities. Strong close knit religious communities, such as the Armenians, who had a deep understanding of Mughal and Ottoman religious governance, often proved difficult for the EIC and LC to navigate around in this early period.

Early interactions with the Armenian community in India and Persia illustrate this difficulty and highlight how the pastoral governance of the company could be manipulated to a negative effect when dealing with strong religious minorities. In the first few decades of the EIC's existence, the combination of a lack of gold and a weak naval presence in the region, hampered relations between company officials who wanted to establish a silk trade and the Armenians who effectively monopolised the trade across Persia and into the Levant.[122] Following the defeat of the Portuguese and the ascension

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[121] *Winthrop Papers*, II: 146.
[122] R W. Ferrier, 'The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries' *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1973), 43-44.

of EIC naval power in the Persian Gulf between 1621 and 1622, the Armenians utilised English shipping to and from India. Seeing an opportunity, the Company in London sought to gain from the expertise of Armenian trade, as well as their skills as linguists and servants, calling for factors to establish an agreement between themselves and the Armenians. However, the factors in Persia saw this as unacceptable, arguing that such a decision should be left "to our discrecons."[123] Several years later, the Company in London again proposed that a deal be reached between themselves and the Armenians, to which the agent in Persia, William Gibson, replied that if they knew any Armenians "you would never wish us to." Gibson went on to list a series of prejudicial characteristics from "soe unfaithfull in worke and deede" to "soe griping and deceitful in their dealings."[124] It was through the factor's inability to deal with the Armenians that the company became further exposed to competition and so failed to secure the silk trade for much of the early part of the century. Although this would change in the second half of the century, the flexibility of early pastoral governance meant that its effects could, at times, put the company's commercial missions at risk. This was especially the case when the company was competing against religious communities whose religious governance was far more accustomed to navigating the political and geographical environments that the EIC and LC were operating in.

The religious sentiments of the companies' leadership and chaplaincy provide an insight into the broad Protestant spectrum that was incorporated throughout the companies. In 1664, the orthodox Anglican and ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Sir Heneage Finch, highlighted this issue when he complained of the importance and lack of orthodox chaplains being sent out to Turkey. He placed the blame for this upon the "companies the merchants in England" which, according to him, were mostly "composed of factious members."[125] As suggested earlier, the variation of Protestantism, whether acute or moderate, represented in the highranking positions of the companies, reflected in the makeup of the companies' chaplaincy. For the most part, the denominational diversity of the chaplaincy would help to establish the religiously sufferant ecumenical governance of the post-Braganza EIC. However, in this early period, it did cause some religious division in the pastoral governance of the early companies. One incident that highlights

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[123] IOR E/3/12/1288, Gombroon to Surat, February 20, 1628/9.
[124] BL IOR E/3/14/1507, Ishafan to East India Company, June 26, 1633.
[125] *Finch Mss* 326.

this involved the dismissal of the nonconformist minister at Smyrna, John Broadgate. Elected by the Company to take up the position of chaplain in Smyrna in December 1662, described as being "palmed… upon the Turkey Company", Broadgate was immediately seen as a controversial figure and would only spend two years in his post before being dismissed.[126] Although it was highly likely that the Company knew of his nonconformist background when he was appointed to the chaplaincy, Broadgate's theological persuasion did not seem to go down well amongst Company leadership in the Levant. Dudley North described him as a "fanatic and a whimsical pedant" and was horrified at what he saw as Broadgate's attempts to "erect a discipline and make a Presbyterian reform amongst them."[127] Similarly, the Consul at Smyrna, William Cave, wrote to the ambassador, Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchilsea, that Broadgate was so "universally obnoxious none cares for his company."[128] Finch himself later complained to the Bishop of London that the chaplain was a "man of most imprudent and petulant behavior" and "malitious spirit."[129] However, at the same time that complaints were being raised against the minister by consuls and ambassadors, the company formally acknowledged that they had been "much prejudiced" against Broadgate and that this had been to his "great discredit, & dishonor."[130] Such accusations highlight how, in this period, internal conflicts often centred on religion, whether as a guise for personal issues or in genuine religious differences. Despite this, Broadgate's attempts to impose 'discipline' to strengthen the company, and North's reactions, illustrate the power chaplains had to impose and adapt the company's pastoral governance.

Despite the internal difference of opinion, Broadgate's Presbyterianism continued to be the subject of much friction in the company. By April 15 the following year, company leadership in Turkey had been successful in obtaining an order to have Broadgate forcibly brought from Smyrna to Istanbul. Having been accused of "disturbance of the publick peace" at Smyrna and uttering "severall scandalous words to the dishonor of the Consul of that place", a Mr Richard Morsse was dispatched to bring Broadgate to the Ambassador, and was given permission to use extreme force if

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[126] NA. SP. 105/152, f. 72; Roger North, *The Lives of Francis North, Baron Guildford, Sir Dudley North, and Rev. Dr. John North*, Vol. I (London, 1826), 56; Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch*, 31-35; Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 74-75.
[127] Roger North, *The Life of Sir Dudley North, and the Rev. Dr. John North* (London, 1744), 35.
[128] Consul Cave to Earl of Winchilsea, May 17, 1664, *Finch Mss.*, 312.
[129] Earl of Winchilsea to Bishop of London, June 1, 1664, *Finch Mss.*, 314.
[130] NA. SP. 105/109 f. 219.

necessary.[131] In the deposition that followed, however, it was Broadgate's ecclesiastical actions that were seen to be seditious and the focus of the court. A council of three men were chosen to examine the case against Broadgate on May 4 and their instructions were incredibly specific. The three were ordered to inquire whether the chaplain had gone against "the late act of Parliament for uniformitie of publick prayer, set down at the beginning of the new liturgie of the Church of England."[132] The deposition heard that Broadgate had not only opened up the chapel to other Christian faiths, but he had refused to give a sermon to his congregation after they were unwilling to "tune a psalme" and had failed to provide the sacraments at the Lord's supper, Christmas and Easter.[133] In doing so, company members argued that he had "destroyed the chartitie betwixt himself and them" by neglecting the needs of his parishioners, but his actions had also brought "reproach and scandal" on the "Protestant religion professed on the church of England."[134] By July 1664, Broadgate had embarked back for England, having been dismissed from his post by Finch and other Company officials in Turkey. However, this was not well received by the company in London who believed that Finch and the others had exceeded their authority in doing so.[135] The Broadgate debacle illustrates that, during the seventeenth century, the companies' overseas jurisdictions became the scene of debates surrounding religion. Furthermore, it draws attention to how the theological antagonisms of England were transported abroad and fought out between the different ranks of the company's personnel. The corporate religious governance of England's diverse Protestant communities and their chaplaincies overseas, however, was not always so fractious and, in some cases, led to forms of toleration and the establishment of ecumenical governance.

Conclusion

By assessing the role of the EIC and LC chaplains in the early years of the seventeenth century, a clear picture emerges of the importance of the individuals in establishing and developing religion and pastoral governance as a means of securing and regulating the

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[131] NA. SP. 105/175 f. 153.
[132] NA. SP. 107/175 f. 157
[133] NA. SP. 107/175, f. 158; Earl of Winchilsea to Bishop of London, June 1, 1664, *Finch Mss.*, 315
[134] NA. SP. 107/175, *Ibid*.
[135] Consul Cave to the Earl of Winchilsea, July 13 & 14, 1664, *Finch Mss.*, 325-26; Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, 75.

behaviour. Unlike in the religious governance of the Virginia Company, the EIC and LC, in this period, did not have to deal with the challenges that came with territorial acquisition. Consequently, this allowed the chaplains and leadership of the EIC and LC to interact with, adopt and finally adapt, pastoral governance to suit the companies' unique circumstances. For both the EIC and LC, commerce was the priority, and fearing a similar fate as their Atlantic brethren, they shaped the evangelical wing of their pastoral governance to fit their commercial mission by adopting a form a passive evangelism. Unlike the active evangelism of the VC, for most cases, the LC and EIC firmly placed conversion as a positive by product of the maintenance of godly behaviour. Despite this, chaplains would prove incredibly influential in the direction and evolution of company religious governance in the pre-Braganza era. EIC and LC chaplains not only influenced pastoral governance abroad but also across the globe, through their experiences, interactions and opportunities, would influence religious and academic governance at home. Similarly, the next chapter on the MBC in the years surrounding the Wars of the Three Kingdoms highlights the role of individual members of company in connecting developing peripheral models of religious governance with the political and religious debates in England. Moreover, in its discussion of the foundations of religious governance in England's eastern overseas companies this chapter has highlighted the foundations for the evolution of religious governance in the EIC as it acquired territory. By the time the EIC was acquiring Bombay in the late 1660's, the pastoral governance established by these early chaplains was evolving into a form of ecumenical governance. The early chaplaincy in the East and its responses to company interaction, behaviour and knowledge would be influential to this evolution.

Chapter IV: The Massachusetts Bay Company (1639-1684): Exportation, Revaluation and the Demise of Corporate Theocratic Governance

During this period, the theocratic governance that had successfully been established by the leaders and members of the MBC, paradoxically both advanced and weakened the company's governmental aims. As discussed in chapter two, the members of the company believed that their theocratic government, and its success in policing the communal behaviour of its corporate members, acted as an example to the godly in England. Furthermore, it also demonstrated that, despite crossing the Atlantic to escape English religious and governmental authority, the members of the MBC remained intimately aware of, and legally and familiarly connected to, religious and political events in England. This chapter traces the role of individuals' members of the MBC's communal theocratic governance in shaping the evolution of religious governance on both sides of the Atlantic.

Much like the chaplains in the EIC and LC, this chapter illustrates the significant influence of individuals in exchanging information and ideas through their corporate connections and experiences of models of religious governance that they developed. Unlike a group that can be neatly defined by their positions, such as chaplains, individuals in the MBC that influenced the evolution of theocratic governance across the Atlantic would represent multiple positions in the company's theocratic structure, including ministers, military men and government officials. Through their experiences of establishing theocratic governance in Massachusetts, and then exporting it to England, the members of the MBC became influential figures in a network of exchange that would intimately connect the evolution and fate of theocratic governance in the Atlantic world.

By the end of almost a decade of providing an example of godly governance in New England, the leaders of the MBC faced a crisis of identity, as it seemed Old England would follow its example. The company's leaders that remained in New England faced significant issues in maintaining the company's theocratic governance as the conflict in England pushed Massachusetts into financial difficulty support from the godly in England reduced.[1] Furthermore, its leaders faced difficulties in securing the future authority of its

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[1] Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), 44-46; 77-78.

theocratic government, as significant numbers of influential and educated members returned to England to fight alongside parliament. Of these, a disproportionate number of influential positions in parliament's religious, political and military ranks were filled by New Englanders, ensuring that godly government would be established on both sides of the Atlantic.[2] Involvement of MBC members in the debates and conflicts surrounding the Wars of the Three Kingdoms took many forms including receiving information through letter networks, as well as actively entering parliamentarian politics. Disproportionately MBC members became visible political, military and spiritual leaders in Parliament's ranks. As Jenny Hale Pusipher suggests, whilst discussing how the MBC legislative in 1643 omitted the crown from all oaths of submission, members of the MBC saw parliament's fight as their own.[3] Although the outcome of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms was the establishment of godly republics on both sides of the Atlantic, the conflict had left the MBC neglected and drained of finances and manpower. On top of this, the mission of the MBC to encourage governmental change in England through its example of godly governance had been fulfilled, leaving the MBC and its members in a crisis of purpose.

This chapter also examines the development of evangelical corporations and the effect that they had on religious governance in existing English companies. In the wake the MBC crisis of identity its supporters in England turned to its charter's calls for Native American evangelism, establishing a separate, but intimately linked, Evangelical Corporation, to gain moral, political and financial support for this mission in England. First chartered by parliament in 1649 and the crown in 1662, the Native American

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[2] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 64-72; William L. Sachse, 'The Migration of New Englanders to England, 1640-1660', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (1948), 251-278; Andrew Delbanco, 'Looking Homeward, Going Home: The Lure of England for the Founders of New England', *New England Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (1986), 358-86; Harry S. Stout, 'The Morphology of Remigration: New England University Men and their Return to England, 1640-1660', *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1976), 151-72; Robert Bliss, *Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 74-92;, Carla Gardina Pestana *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge; MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Ralph F. Young, 'Breathing the '"Free Aire of the New World": The Influence of the New England Way on the Gathering of Congregational Churches in Old England, 1640-1660', *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (2010), 5-46; Raymond P. Stern, 'The Weld-Peter Mission to England' (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1935), 118-277; Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London: Penguin, 2009), 221-223.
[3] Jenny Hale Pulsiper, *Subjects unto the Same King: Indian, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England*, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 27.

evangelical society, the New England Company (NEC), was born.[4] As a subsidiary organisation to obtain financial help for the MBC, the NEC highlights the connection and friendship as "transatlantic siblings" between the New and Old England legislatives during the Interregnum.[5] It also illustrates how, as of the New Jerusalem being built in Old England, New Englanders were forced to find new ways to legitimise their existence and did so by returning to their charter's call to evangelise to the Native Americans.[6] Despite the MBC's close affiliation to the parliamentary cause, the NEC continued to survive and gain support after the restoration, promoting itself as a "missionary enterprise."[7] However, the 'evangelical' actions of the MBC gradually became more and more aggressive, not only towards Native Americans, but other English settlers in the surrounding area. Already hostile to the religious others and prone to religious extremes, the evangelical awakening that happened in the 1640s served to increase the religiously belligerent attitudes of the leaders and members of the MBC. The theocratic congregationalism defined the government of the MBC allowed its leadership to further the evangelical rhetoric of its newfound mission. Using religious governance to justify territorial acquisition from both English settlers and Native Americans, subsequently attempting to govern over their behaviour moulding them into the godly. It also provided the moral justification for long held attitudes and opinions towards forced conversion or banishment in pain of death of those who did not adhere to the MBC's strict congregational moral code.

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[4] William Kellaway, *The New England Company, 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians* (London: Longmans, 1961); Gabriel Glickman, 'Protestantism, Colonization, and the New England Company in Restoration Politics', *Historical Journal* Vol. 59, No. 2 (2016), 365-391; Stern, 'Weld-Peter Mission', 118-277; Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 108, 111.

[5] Karen Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 7.

[6] Pulsiper, *Subject*; 'Our Sages are Sageles': A Letter on Massachusetts Indian Policy after King Philips War', *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 58, No. 2 (2001), 431-448; Bross, *Dry Bones*; Karen Kupperman, *Indians & English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Elise M. Brenner, 'To Pray or To Be Prey: That is the Question Strategies for Cultural Autonomy of Massachusetts Praying Town Indians', *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1980), 135-152; Kenneth M. Morrison, 'That Art of Coyning Christians: John Eliot and the Praying Indians of Massachusetts', *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1974), 77-92; Robert James Naeher, 'Dialogue in the Wilderness: John Eliot and the Indian Exploration of Puritanism as a Source of Meaning Comfort, and Ethical Survival', *New England Quarterly*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (1989), 346-368; Constance Post, 'Old World Order in the New: John Eliot and 'Praying Indians' in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana'*, *New England Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 3 (1993), 416-433; Linford D. Fisher, 'Native Americans, Conversion, and Christian Practice in Colonial New England, 1640-1730', *Harvard Theological Review*, 102, No. 1 (2009), 101-124; Cathy Rex, 'Indians and Images: The Massachusetts Bay Colony Seal, James Printer, and the Anxiety of Colonial Identity', *American Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (2011), 61-93.

[7] Bross, *Dry Bones*, p. 3.

From the mid-1660s onwards, news, petitions and letters returning from America increasingly reported the MBC's religious intolerance and political exclusion of not only Native Americans, but also other Protestants, along with worrying reports of aggressive territorial acquisitions of other English colonies.[8] The restoration of the monarchy had left the MBC isolated in England and the information being passed on to the returned royals was not well received. Despite the renewal of the NEC charter in 1662 by Charles II, the MBC and its members' association with parliament, like many in England, had left them politically weak. Moreover, the MBC's unwillingness to accept the presence of Anglicans aggravated Charles' religious policy. A further blow was dealt to the MBC's religious government by the king's brother, James, Duke of York, who, during this period, embarked on a public campaign for religious toleration, calling for a 'Magna Carta for liberty of Conscience'.[9] He continued this policy into his reign. Pressure from royal religious polices and the changing attitudes towards Protestant diversity within England was matched by an increasingly religious and politically entrenched government in Boston. This combination caused friction between the leadership and peoples of both Old and New England.

Growing divisions between the two leaderships and the internal religious, political issues that caused division amongst not only the New Englanders, but also between themselves and the Native American population, eventually resulted in conflict between 1675 and 1676. King Philip's War brought to the surface the fractious relationship the leadership and settlers of the MBC had with Native Americans in New England, and the growing discontent many Native Americans felt towards the evangelical policies of the MBC members and their government.[10] Alongside Anglo-Indian hostilities, the

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[8] Pulsiper, *Subjects*; Brenner, 'To Pray or To Be Prey'; Daniel R. Mandell, *King Philip's War: Colonial Expansion, Native Resistance, and the End of Indian Sovereignty* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

[9] For recent work calls for 'liberty of conscience' following the restoration see Scott Sowerby, 'Of Different Complexions: Religious Diversity and National Identity in James II's Toleration Campaign', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 124 (2009), 29-52; 'Forgetting the Repealers: Religious and Historical Amnesia in Later Stuart England', in *Past & Present*, no. 215 (2012), 85-123; *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

[10] For extensive discussion on King Philip's War see James David Drake, *King Philips War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Eric B. Schultz and Michael J. Tougias, *King Philip's War: The History and Legacy of America's Forgotten Conflict* (Woodstock, VA: Countryman, 1999); George M. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War: Containing Lists of the Soldiers of Massachusetts Colony, Who Served in the Indian War of 1675-1677* (Boston, 1891); Role of Religion and evangelism in the conflict see Richard Slotkin, and James K Folsom, eds, *So Dreadfull a Judgment: Puritan Response to King Philip's War, 1676-1677* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1978); Mandell, *Indian Sovereignty*; Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the*

government of the MBC continued to mount aggressive policies, seeking to annex and threaten the jurisdictions of other English colonies. The period between 1660 and mid-1684, in New England, was marred by factionalism, growing authoritarianism and conflict that "warranted royal intervention."[11] From 1680 onwards, the leadership of the MBC faced growing royal scrutiny with what Richard Johnson has argued was an increasingly "peculiar obduracy", continually asserting the autonomy of their religious government and forcing Charles II's hand.[12] In June 1684, a *quo warranto* was issued against the colony and by October that year, the Court of Chancery, by writ of *scire facias*, revoked the 65-year-old corporate charter of the MBC, declaring it forfeit. The revocation of the charter abolished the theocratic government of the MBC and placed control of the government of Massachusetts in the crown's hands, bringing an end to the godly experiment of MBC's founders.

This chapter begins by assessing the influence of the Antinomian crisis in the development of the MBC's theocratic governance in the 1630s, and how through certain individuals, in particular Henry Vane, this incident would have repercussions for company politics on both sides of the Atlantic. Furthermore, it examines how many in the MBC saw their godly model of government as an example to those they had left in Old England. Born out of their religious exodus from the country they had set sail, those who had embarked to Massachusetts sought not to isolate themselves from the religious debates and conflicts, but to inform them by example.[13] Many, when the time called for them to return to the British Isles, did so and in the lead up to conflict in the three Kingdoms, entered a tinderbox of religious political debate. Nestling themselves in the centre of the debates surrounding government and religion between parliament and Crown, members of the MBC believed that the time had come to do God's work in encouraging the adoption of godly Puritan governance in England through discussion or the use of force. Quickly, members of the MBC involved themselves in the Wars of the

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Origins of American Identity (New York: Vintage, 1999); An insight into the various causes of the war see James Drake, 'Symbol of a Failed Stratergy: The Sassamon Trail, Political Culture, and the Outbreak of King Philip's War', *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* Vol. 19, No. 2 (1995), 111-41; Philip Ranlet, 'Another Look at the Causes of King Philip's War', *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (1988), 79-100; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, 'King Philip's Herds: Indians, Colonists, and the Problem of Livestock in Early New England', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (1994), 601-624.
[11] Drake, *King Philips War*, 194.
[12] Richard Johnson, *Adjustment to Empire: The New England Colonies, 1675-1715* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1981), 64.
[13] Young, 'Breathing the Free Aire', 5-46.

Three Kingdoms, influencing, through their corporate experiences, the formation of godly governance in England.

Furthermore, this chapter investigates the change in the MBC's corporate mission, embracing the evangelical cause that would, through the NEC, establish financial and moral support from England, for the MBC's theocratic governance. It also explores how this new mission affected the territorial aims of the company, and explains how the company's leaders new-found desire to evangelise would make the MBC's theocratic governance more inflexible as it sought to strictly police over the behaviour of new 'converts' to its government. Finally, this chapter assesses how its autonomous theocratic governance and its policy of evangelical territorial expansion threatened the very autonomy of the MBC, as Native American and English settlers sought to undermine its corporate authority by petitioning to the crown and parliament in England. In doing so, this chapter illustrates how models of governance that they established could often harden the suppleness of corporations, and there members ability to establish governmental control over the behaviour of its members. As such their authority was weakened and their very corporate identity threatened.

Theocratic Governance and Policing religious behaviour and the Antinomian crisis

For the leadership in the MBC the aim of the company's theocratic governance was to regulate communal behaviour of those people who fell under the company's jurisdiction by attempting to enforce denominational uniformity. However, despite the vigour with which the leaders of the MBC tried to establish a uniform society, they like their corporate brethren in the EIC and LC, at times struggled to come to terms with the diversity of protestant theology in its communities. Prior to 1640, reports of the MBC's heavy-handed theocratic governance had already been filtering back into England for some time. From 1636 onwards information slowly began drifting across the Atlantic that "Massachusetts was torn apart" by religious division surrounding the Antinomian controversy. [14] Following the arrival of Anne Hutchinson and her husband, William Hutchinson, in Boston in 1634, both quickly became involved in the religious community of the town, her husband being elected to positions of authority in the church and local government,

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[14] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 6.

whilst Anne was respected for her ability to lead people to conversion. However, quickly, Anne, through her theological beliefs, became part of a controversy that shook the MBC to its core, eliciting a governmental response from leaders of the company that would solidify its theocratic governance and damage its reputation in England, in the years before, during and after the interregnum.[15] Building upon the teachings of her spiritual mentor, John Cotton, Anne's preaching centred on ideas of 'free grace' which theologically placed her in opposition to MBC authorities. Open criticism of the MBC's 'sanctification' of godly behaviour over the inner seal of the Holy Spirit as a sign of true conversion, deeply troubled the company's authority. Hutchinson's belief stemmed from Cotton's assertion that true faith was to be achieved by "the spirit of God."[16] Under this belief the individual's "own salvation" and the "salvation of the Church" or community, could only be achieved when the "Holy Ghost that dwelleth in us" as salvation could not be achieved through "works in our justification" alone.[17] Although, like Cotton's beliefs, Hutchinson placed less emphasis on judgment and, subsequently, the law of god. It was this, which deeply troubled the leadership of the company, as it threatened the authority of its theocratic governance.[18] Just as Broadgate threatened the weak religious cohesion of corporate community in the LC, Hutchinson and her followers were a hazard to the religious uniformity and godly mission of the company, and so like Broadgate, had to be cast out of the corporate community.

Antinomian meant 'against or opposed to the law' and, as such, Hutchinson's preaching questioned the legalistic ministry endorsed by MBC leadership. It was their religious belief that salvation could only be achieved through a strict adherence to the mosaic commandments.[19] Furthermore, the government of the MBC was sensitive to possible threats to its theocratic governance, which was heightened by rumours that Charles I was planning to revoke the company's charter.[20] The arrival of Henry Vane in 1635 and his election as governor granted Hutchinson some political support. Vane was an open supporter of Anne's ministry and encouraged her to set up well-attended

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[15] Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 6.
[16] John Cotton *A treatise of the covenant of grace, as it is dispensed to the elect seed, effectually unto salvation. Being the substance of divers sermons preached upon Act. 7. 8* (Boston, 1645), 175.
[17] *Ibid.*, 201.
[18] David D. Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-38: A Documentary History* (Durham, NC; Duke University Press, 1990), 149.
[19] Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy,* 154-56.
[20] Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 29.

meetings.[21] However, by the autumn of 1637, the MBC's leadership mounted an attack against Hutchinson and her supporters, after the Antinomians lost key governmental supporters in two elections. Furthermore, company leaders gained a valuable ally, namely Anne's mentor, John Cotton. Writing several years after the controversy, Cotton clarified his stance, proclaiming "if any therefore shall accuse the doctrine of the covenant of free grace of Antinomianism say, it teacheth men freedom from the law of Moses…. we see how false any such aspersion would be."[22] Cotton's belief was shared by many of the MBC leaders, who saw any attempt to erode the pre-eminence of biblical law as dangerous to the fabric of their corporate society and governance. Winthrop, once elected, immediately reacted to such concerns, sparking a conflict between himself and Vane on the direction of religious governance in the company. The former's victory would ensure and strengthen the MBC's theocratic governance and lead to the latter's migration back to England.

Upon his electoral victory, Winthrop imposed strict laws preventing the admittance or migration into MBC society to anyone who did not adhere to the theocratic governance of the company. These laws granted sweeping powers to magistrates to effectively constrict the religious makeup of MBC society. According to Winthrop, "none should be received to inhabit with this Jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some Magistrates", thereby preventing those deemed dangerous to the religious governance of the company from entering MBC society.[23] Simply put, the "intent of the law is to preserve the welfare of the body" and, in this situation, Winthrop believed that the law "for this ende to have none received into any fellowship with it who are likely to disturbe the same."[24] Vane, a keen supporter of religious freedom, had previously openly supported individuals who had called for more religious freedom and had been prosecuted by MBC leaders directly opposed to the passing of this law.[25] According to Vane, this law would stifle the progress of the godly and the formation of godly government, arguing

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[21] Michael Winship, *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636-1641* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 7, 30.

[22] John Cotton, *The covenant of grace discovering the great work of a sinners reconciliation to God* (Boston, 1655), 134.

[23] Winthrop, Journal I: 224.

[24] John Winthrop, 'A Defense of an Order of Court', (1637) in Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers*, 67-81, 69.

[25] On the eve of the May election Vane read out a petition from the Antinomian John Wheelwright calling from freedom of religious practice, and action that Winthrop described at the time as "out of Order" and against the rules of the court, *Winthrop Journal* I: 219.

that, by this law, "it wil come to passe, that Christ and his member will finde worse entertainment amongst us than the Israelites did amongst the Egyptians and Babilonians, than Abram and Isaack did amongst the Philistines."[26] Moreover, Vane argued that the actions of Winthrop and the MBC had taken too much liberty in the enforcement of their theocratic governance, encouraging on Christ's authority "there I no libertye to be taken in church no commonwealth but that which Christs gives and is according to him."[27] Despite his objection to the law, Vane was unsuccessful in having it repealed and, consequently, left the colony for England, where he advocated reform of religious governance that was to be inclusive of Protestant ideas. Following his exit from MBC politics, alongside the flight of the Antinomians, such as Wheelwright to New Hampshire, Anne Hutchinson was left with few allies.[28] One month after Vane left Massachusetts, Anne was called before a court made up of notable members of the MBC's religious governance, including John Endecott, Hugh Peter, Thomas Weld, Israel Stoughton and John Eliot, most of who disagreed with her theological beliefs. Hutchinson's trial predictably ended with her conviction and subsequent banishment; although it would take a church trial in the following spring to successfully banish her from the colony.[29] A threat to the effectiveness of the religious governance of the company, Anne Hutchinson was dealt with within the traditions of the MBC and the wider global corporate community, just as Broadgate, Hutchinson and her supporters faced ostracism and banishment for the corporate community.

The outcome of the Antinomian controversy was a success for the conservative base of the MBC, who secured both the pre-eminence of religious orthodoxy and uniformity in the theocratic governance of the company. As news of the treatment of Hutchinson reached England, it would soon be followed by numerous reports of religious persecution from Massachusetts, as the MBC imposed its theocratic governance in the wake of its success against Anne Hutchinson and under the perception that they inundated by "abominable filthinesses breaking in upon us."[30] Whilst in London, the colonist Samuel Gorton exposed the over extension of the magistrate's religious powers,

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[26] Henry Vane, *A Brief Answer to a certaine declaration, made of the intent and equitye of the order of court,* in Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers*, 95.
[27] *Ibid.*, 87.
[28] *Winthrop Journal*, I: 294.
[29] Battis, *Saints and Sectaries*, 242-47.
[30] *Winthrop Papers*, IV: 345.

complaining that "to maintain that outward forme of worship" which the company "had erected to themselves" and tended to force their church upon others.[31] He lamented that the MBC had abandoned those "principles of Divinity wherein we had been instructed in our native Country, tending to faith towards God in Christ."[32] Writing to John Winthrop from England in 1646, George Downing, alluding to events surrounding Hutchinson and many others, warned the then governor that it was "the law of banishing for conscience, which makes us stinke every wheare."[33] In 1652, fresh claims surfaced of the religious persecution of two Baptists under the MBC's religious governance, following John Clarke's publication of *lll Newes from New-England, or, A Narrative of New-Englands Persecution*. Clarke, a Baptist himself, had fled persecution to Rhode Island and, along with Roger Williams, was sent to London as an agent for the colony, described the theocratic governance of the MBC as "most unchristian, yea Antichristian."[34] It was no doubt in the wake of Clarke's publication that the MBC's émigrés in London, Sir Richard Saltonstall, wrote to Cotton upon hearing "what sad things are reported dayly of your tyranny and persecutions in New-England, as you fyne, whip and imprison men for the consciences."[35] The reaction by the MBC's governance may have been considered hypocritical on a religious level, however from a corporate perspective the leaders of the company did not act any differently from their counterparts in the east.

Wars of the Three Kingdoms and exchange of the Individual Theocratic experience

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[31] Samuel Gorton, *Simplicities defence against seven-headed policy. Or, innocency vindicated, being unjustly accused, and sorely censured by that seven-headed church-government united in New-England: or, that servant so imperious in his masters absence revived, and now thus re-acting in Nevv-England. Or, the combate of the united colonies, not onely against some of the natives and subjects but against the authority also of the kingdom of England, ... Wherein is declared an act of a great people and country of the Indians in those parts, ... in their voluntary submission and subjection unto the protection and government of Old England* (London, 1647), 3; Gorton had returned to England under duress, and was described dismissively by Winthrop as a "High and Palmy" individual, *Winthrop Journal*, II: 57.
[32] *Ibid*.
[33] *MHSC*, VI, 4th series: 537.
[34] John Clark, *Ill Newes from New-England or A Narative of New-Englands Persecution. Wherein is Declared that while olf England is becoming New-England is become Old. Also four Proposals to the Honoured Parliament and Councel of State, touching the way to Propagate the Gospel of Chirst (with small charge and great safety) both in Old England and New. Also four conclusion touching the fiath and order of the Gospel out of his last Will and Testament confirmed and justified* (London 1652), in *MHSC*, II 4th series: 12; Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, 145-46.
[35] Letter from Sir Richard Saltonstall to Mr Cotton and Mr Wilson, in Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers*, 401.

Just as in the EIC and LC, individuals through their Atlantic experience in the MBC became influential in promoting and connecting the company's theocratic model of government in Massachusetts with political and religious debates in England, particularly in the years surrounding the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. For many of the MBC's members, relocation led to the establishment of godly English government in the area, preventing the spread of ungodly Catholic and English government in America. Governor Winthrop considered this one of the MBC's most important causes, making it the first of his eight points in his *General Observations*. According to the governor, the MBC's presence in the north-east would "raise a bulworke against the kingdome of the antichrist which the Jesuits labour in all parts of the world."[36] For many in the company, their presence would not only act as a guard against Catholicism in North America, but also against the advancement of ungodly English episcopal governance and royal authority across the Atlantic.

By associating the aims of the company with religious governance, the MBC could use their own 'godly governance' to not only spread their faith and advance its control, but also encourage support and financial investment in the company from home and abroad. This "rendringe of spirituall things for their Temporall", as one commentator described, was seen to provide the company with numerous "advantages and benifitts", whether spiritual and financial, to succeed.[37] However, as things began to unravel across the Atlantic in the waning years of the 1630's, the MBC's financial and spiritual identity was placed at risk due to an economic and trading downturn, and a downturn in the number of 'godly' migrants making the Atlantic voyage. Financial reports in England were increasingly seen as damaging to migration to the colony. One pamphlet declared that many MBC settlers had "growne weaker in their estates since they went over."[38] As rumours of the company's financial and commercial woes continued, as its investor base in England dwindled. This was further compounded, as migration to the colony slowly stagnated. This stagnation was partially down to the increasing scrutiny of state and church officials, such as Laud, who tried to place a ban on non-conformists migrating to

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[36] *Winthrop Papers*, II: 111.
[37] *Winthrop Papers*, II: 146.
[38] *New England's First Fruits* (1643) in Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge: MA; Harvard University Press, 1935), 445.

New England.[39] However, a more pressing issue for the leadership of the company was the reluctance of members of the godly to migrate, as further reformation of the English state and church looked as if it was just on the horizon. As John Winthrop succinctly argued, those in England waited "in expectation of a New world."[40] Furthermore, the Massachusetts governor would proclaim;

"The Parliament of England setting upon a general reformation both church and state, the earl of Stafford being beheaded, and the archbishop (our great enemy) and many other of the great officers and judges, bishops and others, imprisoned and called to account, this caused all men to stay in England… so as few coming to us, all foreign commodities grew scarce, and our own of no price."[41]

The possibility of further religious reform in England did not escape the gaze of the godly New Englanders across the Atlantic. The cause would inspire a period of intense remigration, as many members of the MBC sought to export developing ideas of theocratic and religious governance back to England.

In the years surrounding the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, members and opponents of the MBC in New England migrated across the Atlantic, encouraging, informing and shaping the debates concerning the development of godly 'theocratic' governance in England through their experiences of its formation in North East America.[42] Between 1630 and 1640, the population of the MBC swelled as nonconformist Protestants sought to escape religious tension in England for the godly republic established in Massachusetts, in what has come to be known as the 'Great Migration.'[43] However, as the wholesale religious reform of the English church and state became more of a reality, migration of the godly to New England dwindled, and the colony faced the

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[39] In the January of 1640 Laud openly prevented a group of individuals from migrating to New England, placing a temporary ban on all migration to the North East colonies see William Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Colonial (CSPC), 1574-1660: America and the West Indies*, vol. 1 (London, 1860), 307.

[40] *Winthrop's journal*, II: 31.

[41] *Ibid*.

[42] For various discussion on the environmental factors of remigration see Sachse, 'New Englanders to England, 1640-1660', 251-278.

[43] Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 1991).

pressures of their own population's remigration back to England, to replicate in the mother country the godly governance of the theocratic corporation. Remigration had been an issue for the leadership of the MBC since they had established themselves in the wilderness of North East America. A year following his arrival in the colony, Winthrop was unable to prevent 100 people from abandoning a settlement, resulting in many returning to England.[44] In the first year alone, over twenty percent of those who had migrated with Winthrop had returned to England.[45] Furthermore, company contracts offered to members, such as the one offered to the first minister at Salem, Francis Higginson, guaranteed them and their families' passage to return to England after three years' service.[46] Despite the godly mission of its members and geographic distance, England remained prominently in the minds of the company's settlers. In his memoir, Captain Roger Clap recalled this, proclaiming of the many settlers who ventured into the Massachusetts wilderness their most pressing concern was "how shall we go to England."[47] One official bemoaned how the economic woes and wild environment meant that many settlers "began to hasten away," to the Caribbean, New Netherlands and England.[48] The War of the Three Kingdoms would be the catalyst that would further 'hasten' this remigration, as members of the MBC assumed influential political, military and church positions in England.

Making the journey across the Atlantic for the first, second or third time, MBC migrants entered England where their experiences of godly 'theocratic' governance in the new world would be influential in its foundations in the old. In the two decades of the Long Parliament, many MBC members "hope[d] of a thorough Reformation" of both church and state in England and many of those who migrated were instrumental in influencing its foundation.[49] The rate of this migration, however, would be tied to the success of the puritan cause in England, as the number of New Englanders making the journey across the Atlantic would fall and rise as parliament lost and triumphed. The MBC migrant, George Downing, highlighted this relationship between the conflicts ups

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[44] Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley to Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln, March 12, 1631, in Alexander Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1623-1636* (Boston, 1846), 315-16.
[45] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 36
[46] Joseph B. Felt, *The Ecclesiastical History of New England: Comprising not only Religious, but also moral, and other relations* 2 vols. (Boston, 1855) I: 102-103.
[47] *Memoirs of Roger Clap* ([1630] Boston, 1844), 21.
[48] *Winthrop's Journal*, II: 82.
[49] *Winthrop's Journal*. II: 19.

and downs, and migration, when he informed his relative, John Winthrop, "the state of things heer, it hath been very various, noyt only in the time of war, byt more since."[50] However, many of those who did make the journey would become significant figures in the struggle to establish theocratic godly governance in Old England, just as they had in corporate New England.[51] The migration of MBC members back to England, no matter when between 1640 and 1660 was made up of every level of society.[52] However, it was leading families and individuals who were predominantly involved in the theocratic governance of the company, many of whom shared kinship and familial ties across the Atlantic.[53] For example, Richard Saltonstall had two brothers-in-law in Parliament, William Hooke, who returned in 1656, was related by marriage to parliamentarian General Edward Whally and Oliver Cromwell. Similarly, John Humphrey, through his wife, was connected to the Earl of Lincoln and the Viscount Saye and Sele, whilst John Wheelwright had known Cromwell since university and rekindled his friendship upon his return to England.[54] During the conflict and interregnum, a small but significant number of New Englanders, with strong connections and ties to the MBC, were to hold influential political and military careers in the parliamentarian ranks.

Arriving in England, many of those who migrated from the MBC would exchange godly governmental positions in North East America for influential political and military positions in England. Between 1640 and 1660, eight individuals with experience of Massachusetts governance, both directly and indirectly, were elected MP's to parliament. These were Edward Hopkins, George Fenwick, Hezekiah Haynes, Stephen Winthrop, Henry Vane Jr., Francis Willoughby, George Downing, and Samuel Desborough.[55] On

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[50] *Winthrop's Papers*, IV: 540-1.
[51] Stout makes a convincing correlation between parliamentary military success and New England migration, Morphology of Remigration, 157-9.
[52] For an extensive discussion of the return migration between 1640-1660 and a list of those who re-emigrated to England, see appendix 2 Hardman Moore, *Pilgrim*, 64-72, 152-185.
[53] For more on the social demographic of the New England remigration see Delbanco, 'Looking Homeward, 358-86; Stout, 'The Morphology of Remigration', 151-72.
[54] Sachse, 'Migration of New Englanders', 158-9; Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketched of Graduates of Harvard University* 18 vols. (Cambridge, Mass: 1873-85), I: 557-58; John Heard, *John Wheelwright, 1592-1679* (Boston, 1930), 110-111.
[55] William L Sachse, *The Colonial American in Britain* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956), 142; Stout, 'Morphology or Remigration', 155; W. L. F. Nuttall, 'Hezekiah Haynes: Oliver Cromwell's Major-General in the Eastern Counties', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 3rd ser., 1 (1961–5), 196–209; C.H. Firth and Godfrey Davies eds, *The Regimental history of Cromwell's Army,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1940), I: 179-80; Francis J. Bremer, *First Founders: American Puritans and Puritanism in an Atlantic World* (Durham; NH, University of New Hampshire Press, 2012), 127; Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 152-185.

top of their parliamentary careers in this period, each of these individuals, along with other New Englanders, had impressive wider political and military careers amongst the parliamentary factions. Edward Hopkins, before returning to England, had been a New England governor, and came from a family long involved in corporate governance. Further, he was the nephew of overseas trader to the Levant, Henry Lello, and also inherited shares in the EIC.

Many of the individual members of the MBC who migrated to England between 1640 and 1660 chose to influence the formation of religious governance in England by filling the numerous church and academic positions that had been left vacant in the wake of the conflict. The establishment of Harvard College by the MBC meant that many of those who returned to England were educated men. One third of the Harvard's graduates between 1642 and 1650 filled several positions at Oxford and Cambridge University.[56] The arrival of so many New England men into academic and church positions in this period, helped to establish a reputation for Harvard College being "school of prophets" whose training "God hath used for service to himself in both Englands."[57] In 1669, Joseph Browne calculated that, during the interregnum, at least 122 ministers had been trained at the American college, whilst as many as a third had remained in England in the years that followed the restoration, to ensure that some elements of the reformed religious governance of the interregnum remained.[58] The influential William Hooke regained his old ministry at Exmouth and later became chaplain to Cromwell, whilst all three sons of the influential Puritan minister, Richard Mather, returned for ecclesiastical preferment in England.[59] Filling numerous influential positions, MBC members ensured that they export, in some form, theocratic corporate governance to England.

[56] Joseph Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Their Parentage, Birthplace and Year of Birth, With A Record of their Degrees* (Oxford, 1892), 479, 1303, 1569; John Venn & James Venn ed., *Alumni Cantabrigienses A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the university of Cambridge From the Earliest Times to 1900, Part I From the Earliest times to 1751*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), II: 380; IV: 168: Sibley, *Biographical Sketches* I: 18, 67, 78-87, 121-22, 141, 157-161, 164, 228-52, 587-90; Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 85-86, 152-185.

[57] Letter from Several Nonconforming Ministers in and about London to the Magistrates and Minister in Massachusets- Bay, August 21, 1671, in Thomas Hutchinson ed., *A Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusets-Bay* (Boston, 1769), 430.

[58] Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, Part 1* (Cambridge; MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), 338; Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*.

[59] Sachse, 'Migration of New Englanders', 263-5; Hooke was also followed by his son, Walter Hooke, who, like his father sought a religious position and would eventually obtain chaplaincy in the EIC, enforcing the company's radically different policy of religious governance to the MBC in Madras. Frank Penny, *The*

Influential in shaping religious governance in England between the 1640 and 1660 was army chaplain and agent of the MBC government, Hugh Peter.[60] Described by historians as "Cromwell's most notable chaplain and dynamic factotum", Peter, through his connections and publications, encouraged and shaped government support and formation during the War of the Three Kingdoms and the Interregnum.[61] Much to the dismay of his Salem congregation, Peter left for England on an assignment for the MBC government alongside two other MBC officials to further reform the churches in England, and "to satisfy our countrymen of the true cause our engagements there have not been satisfied this year."[62] The *Arbella* passenger, Edward Johnson, later wrote that Peter had left Salem as soon as he "heard if the chaining up of those biting beasts, who went under the name of spiritual Lords."[63] Mirroring the biblical language of St John, Johnson would equate parliament's successes in reforming the English Church and eradicating the episcopal structure to the end times in the Book of Revelations. Johnson went on to argue that Peter's sermons had given a great amount of "assistance the Gospel of Christ" and this cause through his preaching.[64] According to Peter, it was only when "Tyranny grew in Churches… that common wealths got their pressure in the like kind."[65] This was essential purpose for those in the MBC who migrated, to ensure that such tyranny would "be buried without expectation of another resurrection."[66] It was through the combination of religious and political rhetoric of 'resurrections' and 'commonwealths' that Peter went about establishing a "plat-forme" to encourage support for the establishment of a form of godly governance that resembled the MBC in England.[67]

Church in Madras: Being the History of Ecclesiastical and missionary action of the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras, 3 vols. (London, 1904), I: 48.

[60] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 93-4, 110.

[61] Sachse, 'Migration of New Englanders', 258.

[62] *Winthrop's* Journal, II: 25; Raymond P. Stern, 'The Weld-Peter Mission to England' (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1935), 118-277.

[63] Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Savior in New England* (London, 1654), 224.

[64] *Ibid*.

[65] Introduction, Richard Mather, *Church-government and church-covenant discussed, in an answer of the elders of the severall churches in New-England to two and thirty questions, sent over to them by divers ministers in England, to declare their judgments therein. Together with an apologie of the said elders in New-England for church-covenant, sent over in answer to Master Bernard in the yeare 1639. As also in an answer to nine positions about church-government. And now published for the satisfaction of all who desire resolution in those points* (London, 1643).

[66] *Ibid*.

[67] *Ibid*; Although most certainly an over exaggeration it was argued that in two sermons alone Hugh Peters was able to add 5,000 people to parliament's cause in the West of England see Sachse, 'Migration of New Englanders', 271.

A zealous parliamentarian, Peter keenly supported further reform of ecclesiastical and secular bodies in England along similar lines (although not identical) to what had been established by the MBC in Massachusetts. Although it has been argued that Peter would embrace toleration as a practice means to deal with interregnum religious politics, Peter still remained fundamentally theocratic is his political outlook.[68] Just as he had dogmatically pursued Antinomians in Massachusetts, Peters at times continued to embrace the theocratic governance of the MBC, arguing that England government would not be fit until it was rid of "Lords, Levites and Lawyers."[69] To achieve this, Peter asked his supporters to look to their "sister churches" across the Atlantic for council.[70] Peter developed a reputation as one of Cromwell's most trusted confidantes, as both a spiritual leader and soldier. One contemporary stated that "General Cromwell himself so highly extols as to reckon this one preacher worth a hundred soldiers."[71] Peter's clerical profession in England was not limited to the army, but he also served at Whitehall as resident court chaplain, preaching to Councils of States, as well as recruiting divines to Ireland.

However, this did not mean that all those who migrated back to England from MBC governance were entirely happy with how the company's religious governance was evolving, and so wished to ensure that reform in Old England diverted subtly from the theocratic government of that in New England. Although the clear majority of those who returned from Massachusetts and the other New England colonies were supporters of further religious reform in English governance, a vocal few believed that the corporation's theocratic governance had gone too far. Prior to the surge in remigration between 1640 and 1660, reports of the MBC's heavy-handed theocratic governance had already been filtering back into England for some time. From 1636, information had slowly been drifting across the Atlantic concerning events surrounding the Antinomian controversy.

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[68] Raymond Sterns, *The Strenuous Puritan: Hugh Peter, 1598-1660* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 1954).

[69] Heneage Finch, *An exact and most impartial accompt of the indictment, arraignment, trial, and judgment (according to law) of twenty nine regicides, the murtherers of His Late Sacred ... together with a summary of the dark and horrid decrees of the caballists, preparatory to that hellish fact exposed to view for the reader's satisfaction, and information of posterity* (London: 1679), 183.

[70] Introduction, Richard Mather, *Church-government and church-covenant.*

[71] David Masson, *The Life of John Milton: Narrated in Connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical and Literary History of His Time,* 6 vols. (London, 1881), IV: 352.

Just as religious controversy fuelled political divisions amongst English communities in factories in the Smyrna and Bombay, the Antinomian crisis exposed the fragile veneer of the MBC's political uniformity, amongst not only its society but also its leadership. Henry Vane, the onetime governor of the MBC, returned from Massachusetts after losing political favour during the Antinomian controversy that shook the colony, and is discussed later in this chapter, to become one of the most influential political figures between the periods of 1640-60.[72] Elected to represent Hull in 1640, he would quickly become a rising star amongst the parliamentarians. He, amongst other things, was involved in building a case against the laudian earl of Stafford, and the drafting and defence of the 'root and branch' bill against episcopacy. Vane's achievements highlighted his own ideas of religious governance, which, some years earlier, had sent him to the MBC. However, he believed his actions would help to achieve that "perfect reformation and growth of our Religion, or good to our civill state" which his New England counterparts had fallen short of achieving.[73] As conflict drew closer, Vane took on more influential administrative roles, serving on his friend, John Pym's, executive committee. In 1642, he was made sole treasurer of the Navy and the following year, he would lead parliament in negotiating the solemn league and covenant, subtly hiding his own nonconformist sympathies.[74] Vane would continue to hold influential office in Parliament throughout this period, and would be one of the architects of securing the commonwealth's military renown. He helped to secured reinforcements for Cromwell's campaigns in Ireland and Scotland, whilst also building up the Navy to defeat royalists and the Dutch at sea. Further, he would acquire new Caribbean territory, and in 1644, as a member of parliament's committee for plantations, he secured Rhode Island's charter.

For Vane his experience in the political leadership of the MBC theocratic governance defined his ideas of religious governance, on both sides of the Atlantic. Just as he had argued in Massachusetts, the defence of religious liberty was essential in establishing godly government, in both New and Old England. Going on to advocate and support, although only in part, the 'accommodation order' which protected some of those

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[72] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 110.
[73] Sir Henry Vane, *Sr Henry Vane his speech in the House of Commons, at a committee for the bill against episcopal-government* (London, 1641), 3.
[74] D. Laing, ed., *The Letters and Journal of Robert Baillie,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1841-2), I: 306; II: 89-90; for more on MBC connection to notable parliamentarians see J. T. Peacey, 'Seasonable Treatises: A Godly Project of the 1630's', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 113, No.452, (1998), p. 667-679, 668-9.

believed to be "tender conscience."[75] In 1652, Vane published anonymously his own thoughts on the matter of religious liberty in which he dismissed the ideas of religious magistrates arguing that the imposition of uniformity, such as in the MBC, did not establish peace, "it is impossible to establish peace upon the armes of uniformity in Religion."[76] Influenced by experiences of the Antinomian crisis in Massachusetts and the MBC's theocratic governance, Vane argued that civil unrest is not down to difference, but persecution of difference. For him, "the cause of all" recent troubles "hath not been from the growth of severall opinions in matters of religion, but from the growth of that persecuting principle which would endeavour by outward force to impose one way of worship upon all Men."[77] However, following the restoration Vane was tried and executed for his influential role in the events of the last two decades in June of 1662. Vane's experiences of the MBC's theocratic governance shaped his political ideology. Like the MBC, he worked for further reform of religious governance in England. Yet, unlike the MBC's religious governance, more like the ecumenical governance in the EIC, embracing inclusivity rather than exclusivity.

Territory and the Expansion of Theocratic Governance

In England, parliament and the Privy Council also began to receive petitions from disgruntled settlers in Massachusetts who wished for the authorities in England to force the MBC into adopting a more liberal approach to religious governance. One of many incidents involved a man who had his ears cropped, following which he was deported to England. His crime had been "uttering malitious and scandalous speeches against the government and church." Upon returning, the man signed an affidavit, which called for the end of self-sovereignty in the MBC.[78] Similarly, Presbyterian entrepreneur and scientist, Robert Child, tried unsuccessfully to obtain the support of parliament in forcing the MBC to adopt a more liberal form of religious governance, allowing for "liberty of Conscience" and the enfranchisement of all "truly English" Protestants.[79] After gaining

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[75] Laing, *Robert Baillie*, II: 235-36.

[76] Sir Henry Vane, *Zeal Examined, or A Discourse for Liberty of Conscience in Matters of Religion. Upon an occasional question concerning the punishment of Idolaters,* (London, 1652), 3.

[77] *Ibid.*, 4; Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 110.

[78] Charles Francis Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1892) I: 259.

[79] Child's fellow signatooires were John Smith, Thomas Fowle, John Dand, Thomas Burton, Samuel Maverick and David Yale see Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers*, 188-96, 192-93; N. B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay New England* (RCM) 5 vols. (Boston, 1853-54), III: 90-91; Winthrop Papers, V: 140-41; Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten*

significant public support in the colony, Child's petition was met with anger amongst the leadership of the MBC in 1646, who accused him of trying to "undermyne the liberties of Gods people." Child was tried and fined. Following this, he attempted to return to England to take up his grievance with parliament, however, he would be unsuccessful. Arrested while trying to board his ship back to England, Child was charged with sedition and fined £250, the equivalent of the MBC's entire tax revenue for the whole month, and imprisoned. Despite his best attempts, Child's grievances were dismissed by parliament. Child would eventually return to England and, although he would never return to New England, he did remain in contact with several prominent New Englanders, including the younger Winthrop. In 1648, he would write to Winthrop about the possibilities of a glassworks at Long Island.[80] For many, the remigration was not only due to the political opportunities to reform religious governance in Old England, but also to encourage others to call for a similar action towards the theocratic governance of New England.

Despite reports of negative reaction and hostile publications, aimed towards the MBC's theocratic governance in both New and Old England, the company did receive vocal support. One anonymous writer declared that Baptists, Antinomians and Quakers were made up of people of an "unstayed spirit" and, as such, able to "abide to be so pinioned with the strict Government in the Commonwealth, or Discipline in the Church" like that of the MBC.[81] Nathaniel Ward went so far as to proclaim that those who criticised the MBC's religious governance and supported the 'liberal' religious governance in protectorate England, were insincere in their own faiths. According to Ward, "he that is willing to tolerate any Religion, or discrepany way of Religion besides his own, unlesse it be in matters merely indifferent, either doubts of his owne, or is not sincere in it."[82] Not only did remigration influence the direction of religious governance in England between 1640 and 1660, but it also had a significant impact on the direction of the MBC's theocratic governance that would have ramifications for the whole of New England. As both moderates, as well as a substantial element of the home grown educated

Founding Father (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 366-69; Margret E. Newell, 'Robert Child and Entrepreneurial Vision: Economy and Ideology in Early New England' *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (1995), 246-52.

[80] Winthrop Papers, V: 140-41.

[81] Anon, *New England's First Fruit*, 26.

[82] Nathaniel Ward, *The Simple Cobler of Aggawamm In America. Willing to help mend his Native Country lamentably tattered both in upper-Leather and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take. And as willing never to bee paid for his work, by Old English wonted pay. It is his Trade to patch all the year long, gratis, Therefore I pray gentlemen keep your purses.* (London, 1647), 8.

individuals and families, left Massachusetts for England in this period, individuals whose ideals fell at the extremes of the company's conservative base increasingly filled the MBC's governmental positions.

Consequently, the religious governance of the MBC became progressively more theocratic, adopting an evangelically aggressive approach to ensuring its predominance on the North East coast of America. This can be seen in how MBC officials dealt with internal issues of governance such as those involving Robert Child, Anne Hutchinson and Richard Gibson.[83] Increasingly focused on issues of behaviour, the government of the MBC became more and more paranoid that remigration of godly families and men had led to the debasement of their society. For example, Essex County showed an increase in issues of lawlessness in their godly society, citing what may be considered minor incidents involving "false weights, illegal sale of liquor" and "Abuse of constables."[84] The growing paranoia led to increasingly arbitrary from the MBC's government, similar, in many ways, to the ones that had enraged many of the original company members in England, in the 1620s. This included the MBC's own imposition of that royal prerogative through the enforcement of trading monopolies which the puritans had rallied against in England. By the 1640s, New England magistrates imposed regional monopolies for Indian trade and iron making, whilst also granting monopolies on the receiving of ships at port to certain merchants who were loyal to the theocratic governance of the company.[85]

Mirroring the internal policy, the company's leadership also began to adopt progressively authoritarian responses towards those outside of the MBC's legal jurisdiction. Although the MBC's use of banishment had for a brief time "limited the damage" of internal religious disputes, it fuelled the MBC's leadership's paranoia towards those religious groups that had been banished and settled elsewhere.[86] They began aggressively seeking to secure their own internal authority and identity in the wake of events in England by imposing their theocratic governance of its neighbours. In 1643,

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[83] Anglican minister, Richard Gibson was brough to trail in 1642 charged with provoking settlers to "revolt from us", *Winthrop's Journal*, II: 61.
[84] David T. Koning, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629-1692* (Chapel Hill; NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 27-30.
[85] RCM: I, 142; II: 62, 81, 125-128 Winthrop's Journal, I, 152: Bailyn, *New England Merchants*, 24, 64.
[86] Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 37.

the MBC joined Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, becoming the senior governmental authority in the New England Confederation, joining colonies that shared similar theocratic religious governments. Through the combined force of the confederation, the MBC, during the Interregnum, embarked on a series of annexation across New England, in an attempt to bring the less populated fringe colonies of New Hampshire, Maine and Rhode Island under the legal authority of the company's religious governance.[87] Winthrop justified this action by highlighting the uniformity of the confederation as being in opposition to these colonies that had a "different course from us both in their ministry and civil administration" and subsequently were a risk to the security of the MBC's theocratic governance.[88]

Each of these colonies had been peopled predominantly by the religious exiles banished by the MBC's theocratic governance, and were made up of significant populations of Quakers, Baptists, Antinomians and, in Maine, Anglicans. Many of these small settlements were faced with problems of size, legitimacy and religious difference, as few possessed the legal titles to govern. Maine claimed governmental authority through Sir Fernando Gorges's loosely held proprietary grant, which was weakened by his death in 1647. Roger Williams secured Rhode Island a charter from parliament between 1643 and 1644, whilst others had tried to produce dubious patents, either through private purchase or communal compacts.[89] For many of these smaller settlements, the authority of the MBC's charter government superseded their legitimacy; a fact that the MBC leaders knew too well they moved quickly to annex New Hampshire and Maine in 1652, under the pretence of protection. Following their assimilation, the MBC leaders extended their authority seeing it as their chartered right to ensure that "wee [the MBC] could protect them."[90] The MBC did have some local support, offering land titles, local rule, freedom of worship and protection from the French. However, this was a little disingenuous as it became apparent quickly that freedom to worship and local rule fell into the very narrow confines of the MBC's theocratic governance.[91] Moreover, the MBC's annexation was an attempt to bring an outpost of Quakers and Anglicans under

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[87] Robert Bliss, *Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993) 83-86.
[88] *Winthrop's Journal*, II: 99.
[89] Bliss, *Revolution and Empire,* 83.
[90] *RCM*, IV, pt.2, 265-70.
[91] For support from Maine see Willliam Willis ed., *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* 9 vols., 1st series (Portland: Maine; 1865), 385-87.

its watchful gaze, imposing its theocratic governance over these colonies. As the court records for Maine highlight, following its acquisitions, the number of cases for religious infringements popular in the MBC, such as Sabbath breaking, neglect of public worship, drunkenness and swearing, became more frequent as Maine's government adopted the new order.[92]

The MBC's attempts to annex Rhode Island proved more difficult. Formerly the Providence Plantation, Rhode Island, more so than any other New England colony, had been founded by, and welcomed, the religious and political exiles of the MBC and so was perceived as a risk to the theocratic governance of the company. For the leadership of the MBC, this risk was most illustrated by the religiously heterodox formation of government founded by Roger Williams in Rhode Island, which granted "soul liberty" to all Christians. Williams objected to any form of religious coercion, repeatedly associating it to rape, and sought to establish a society free of its practice.[93] As the MBC's orthodoxy increased, Rhode Island became a "receptacle for people of Severall Sorts and Opinions" fleeing Theocratic governance in Massachusetts.[94] As one Rhode Islander, Gregorie Dexter, would sarcastically proclaim to Henry Vane, they had not "been consumed with the over-zealous fire of the (so called) Godly and Christian magistrates" of the MBC.[95] Although Rhode Island had escaped the magistrates of the MBC, it did not mean that they had not escaped their gaze, and Rhode Islanders were keenly aware of this.

The MBC's leaders increasingly justified its aggressive attempts to annex territories through its corporate charter, its leaders facing increasing organised opposition from English settlers and Native American communities. Since late 1643, Samuel Gorton had purchased land from the Narragansett sachem, Miantonomi, triggering a minor conflict that brought Gorton, Rhode Island, and the MBC into direct conflict. A local Shawomet sachem, Pomham, had petitioned that the land sold to Gorton was his and went to the MBC to help him get it back. The MBC were more than willing to take up arms against

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[92] Charles Thornton Libby and Robert E. Moody, ed., *Maine Province and Court Records*, (*MPCR*) 5 vols. (Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1928-1931), II: 12-14.
[93] Roger Williams, *Queries of the Highest consideration* (London, 1644), 3; *The Bloudy Tenant Yet More Bloody* (London, 1652), pt 2, 190-92; Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, 127.
[94] Quoted in Thomas Williams Bicknall, *The History of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, 7 vols. (New York, 1920), II, 634-7, 634.
[95] John Russell Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation in New England, 1636-1663*, Vol.1 (Providence, 1856) (hereafter *RCHIP*), 228-89.

Gorton, whom they had banished some years earlier as a vocal opponent of the company's theocratic governance. Unable to defend themselves against the attack, Gorton and his supporters, both English and Native American, were forced to flee. Gorton, along with Miantonomi's uncle, Canonicus, and brother, Pessacus, delivered a letter to Charles I in 1644, submitting themselves and their land to "His Majesties' royal protection."[96] Consequently, upon their return, they informed the MBC that, as "being subject now, (& that with joint & voluntary consent,) unto the same king, & state yourselves are", as such, disputes could no longer be resolved between English settlers and Native Americans by colonial officials, as this prerogative was the King's alone.[97] Horrified at this response, Winthrop argued that "Gorton's company" had written the letter themselves. MBC officials then sent a messenger to inquire whether Gorton had, in fact, written the letter.[98] Following the King's defeat and the Interregnum, the MBC continued, once again, to try to advance the reach of its theocratic government into Rhode Island's territory, as well as over local Native American communities. In response, Roger Williams and John Clarke returned to England to obtain a patent from parliament securing the Islanders' independence from the encroaching theocratic governance of the MBC. To combat the company's expansionist aims, English and Native communities that neighboured the MBC either embraced its theocratic model or adopted English methods of political opposition in order to secure their own forms of 'corporate' autonomy against the company.

The MBC's aggression over this period was not only down to the rise of the conservative base following remigration, but also the angst that surrounded the downfall of the crown in England. For many in the MBC the establishment of godly government in England had marked the end of its role and so its leaders and thinkers sought to quickly find a new role for their godly corporate governance in this new English Atlantic world. The success of parliament in England, although championed by many in the MBC as a key moment of godly reform, further played on the insecurity of the company's members who struggled to come to terms with losing its moral high ground. No longer was its

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[96] *RCHIP*, I: 133; Jenny Hale Pulispher discusses this incident in detail pointing out that the MBC governments aggressiveness caused division amongst the New England colonies and as such caused conflicts across the century which would "draw in Indians and the authority of the crown," *Subjects*, 4, 27-31.
[97] David Pulsifer, ed., *Records of the Colony*, (PCR) 12 vols. (Boston, 1855-61), X: 415-16.
[98] *Wintrops Journal*, 509.

existence a city upon the hill, setting the example for England. The mother country was already on its righteous path. Alongside migratory pressure, the growing authoritarianism and territorial expansionism of the MBC's theocratic governance was also a reaction to this. During this period, however, the MBC's leadership also sought another solution to its crisis of identity, in the evangelism of Native Americans, turning the company and Massachusetts into a missionary enterprise.[99]

Despite its charter obligation to evangelise, the MBC leadership had abandoned its charge in favour of establishing theocratic governance and it was wary of making the same mistakes as the religious government of the Virginia Company.[100] This partially had to do with the memory of evangelism and its role in the downfall of the VC, whilst also being connected to Congregationalist ideas of conversion. The followers of the MBC believed that true conversion had to involve both an outward and internal confession. As Roger Williams would warn of conversion, "Gods way is first to turne a soule from its Idolls, bith of heart, worship and conversation, before it is capable of worship, to the true and living God."[101] To know the true living God, one had to be able to hear the voice of God, this being the bible. [102] This highlighted the theological difficulty for Congregationalists in the early years of the MBC's religious governance to understand how true conversion could take place, when the voice of God had not been translated into Algonquin. Even the great evangelist, Roger Williams, highlighted the difficulty translating ideas and "the mrsteries of Christ Jesus" into Native American languages. John Eliot had to overcome these reservations when he first preached in Alqonquin in 1646. [103] However, across the Atlantic, the lack of Native American evangelism in Massachusetts did not go unnoticed. William Castell, along with 76 other ministers, petitioned parliament to encourage evangelism, as it was a "great and general neglect of this Kingdomes, in not progating the Glorious Gospel" in New England.[104] The same

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[99] Bross, *Dry Bones*, 4.
[100] *Winthrop Papers*, II: 106-52.
[101] Roger Williams, *A Key to Language of America, or An help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America called New-England* (London, 1643), 129.
[102] John Cotton, *The Bloudy Tenent, washed, and made white in the bloud of the Lambe: being discussed and discharged of bloud-guiltiness by just defence* (1647).
[103] Williams, *Yet More Bloody*, 219; Glickman, 'New England Company', 372; Kellaway, *The New England Company*, 5-7.
[104] William Castell, *A Petition of W.C. exhibited to the high court of Parliament now assembled, for propagating of Gospel in America, and the West Indies, and for the settling of our plantations there* (London, 1641), A5v, 10.

year, the MBC's General Court sent Thomas Weld and Hugh Peter to England to meet with the colony creditors, an action that would influence the future of theocratic governance of the company and evangelism in New England.[105]

The reassessment of Theocratic governance and the birth of New England Company

As individuals' members of the MBC influenced political change in England, their actions and successes across the Atlantic also triggered a reassessment of the corporate mission company and its theocratic governance. Two years after Castell's petition and the arrival of Peter and Weld in England, the MBC ordered its agents in London to publish the evangelical tract *New England First Fruits*, highlighting that, just as parliament was succeeding in England, the MBC was remembering its charter evangelical charge. The commonwealth and the New England Mission became "transatlantic sibilings", emerging at the same time as solutions to issues of identity in religious governance.[106] Following the publication of *First Fruits*, the MBC's evangelical aims obtained growing support on both sides of the Atlantic. Whilst ministers in Massachusetts began to evangelise, in England reports of these ministers' works were published in pamphlets. By the winter of 1645, the General Court in Boston had formerly made requests to ministers to consider what could be done to embark on some form of evangelical agenda.[107] A series of pamphlets initiated in 1648 by Thomas Shepard and the publication of his tract *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel*, the necessity of evangelism was finally considered. However, it would not be till the publication of Edward Winslow's tract, dedicated to parliament in the spring of 1649, that any legislative progress was made. By the summer of that year, the Act for "promoting and propgating the Gospel of Jesus Chirst in New England" was passed.[108] This act laid the foundations for the establishment of England's first overseas evangelical company 13 years later, offering a financial life raft to the struggling MBC who, through the society and later the NEC, could obtain funds in England to support the

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[105] Stern, 'The Weld-Peter Mission', 219; Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, 108.
[106] Bross, *Dry Bones*, 6-7.
[107] *RCM*, II: 84, 134, 166; III: 85-96-97.
[108] Edward Winslow, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New England manifested by three letters under the hand of the famous instrument of the Lord, Mr. John Eliot, and another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew Jun., both preachers of the world, as well to the English as Indians in New England* (London, 1649); July 1649: An Act for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England', in C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, II: 197-200.

evangelical aims of its government. Moreover, it signified a slow but noticeable change in the way in which the English state saw the responsibility of religious governance overseas slowly move away from chartered commercial companies, to specifically evangelical corporations.

The establishment of the first evangelical corporation marked the beginning of a gradual change in domestic ideas on the character of English overseas expansion corporate government, and the development of religious governance. The Act, which called for the "glorious a propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst those poor heathen", was established to successfully achieve this "one Body Politque and Corporate in Law."[109] This, England's first overseas evangelical corporation, was to be called 'The President and Society for propagation of the Gospel in New-England' and, after the restoration, would be known as the New England Company. Structurally, it was much like any corporate body including the MBC; it had a president, a treasurer and a court of assistants. However, unlike the MBC, its government, according to its charter, was to remain in England.

Quickly, the Society drew in support from mostly wealthy Congregationalist and independent merchants in London, who immediately set about raising funds and publishing a series highlighting the evangelical aims of the corporation.[110] The tracts offered an insight into reformation of Native Americans, who had been enlightened by

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[109] *Ibid*. 197-98.

[110] Between 1651 and 1660 the company published five tracts, Henry Whitfield, *The light appearing more and more towards the perfect day. Or, a farther discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England, concerning the progresse of the Gospel amongst them. Manifested by letters from such as preacht to them there* (London, 1651); Henry Whitfield, *Strength out of Weakness. Or a Glorious Manifestation Of the further Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England* (1652); John Eliot, *Tears of repentance: or, A further narrative of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England: setting forth, not only their present state and condition, but sundry confessions of sin by diverse of the said Indians, wrought upon by the saving power of the Gospel; together with the manifestation of their faith and hope in Jesus Christ, and the work of grace upon their hearts.*(London, 1653); *A late and further manifestation of the progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New-England declaring their constant love and zeal to the truth : with a readiness to give accompt of their faith and hope, as of their desires in church communion to be partakers of the ordinances of Christ : being a narrative of the examinations of the Indians, about their knowledge in religion, by the elders of the churches* (London,1655); *A further account of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England: being a relation of the confessions made by several Indians (in the presence of the elders and members of several churches) in order to their admission into church-fellowship. Sent over to the corporation for propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the Indians in New England at London* (London, 1659).

the 'Clear-sunshine of the Gospel.'[111] These tracts not only illustrate the reformation of Native Americans, but also the wholesale reimagining of the purpose of the MBC, along with other New England governments. They suggested that their mission was no longer to set a godly example both for and over English brethren but to propagate godly governance to New England's Native Americans. As Henry Whitfield wrote, "the Lord hath now declared one great end he had of sending many of his people to those ends of the earth" and that was the conversion of the Native American people to god's governance.[112] Such an evangelical movement was perceived by John Eliot as an alternative conquest, which traded the violent conquest of the Spanish, (and replicated by the settlers of the MBC) for a benevolent occupation of the soul and mind. Writing in 1652, Eliot explained that many who had settled in America "have onley sought their owne advantage to possesse their Land, Transport their gold, and that with so much covetousnesse and cruelty". In doing so, they had "made the name of Christianitie and of Christ and abomination", both to their own and to the Native Americans.[113] Part of this abomination lay in the perceived ideas of the genuine conversion; a convert by violent conquest had not truly repented. Instead, Eliot's benevolent conquest, in line with Puritan theology, would be like the planting of the "mustard seed" which would slowly grow and amount to true believers in Christ.[114] Authors would then revel in informing their readers of the successes of evangelism, offering examples of true conversion and confession of Native Americans such as Monequassun and Toteswamp.[115] It was precisely this slow mission that the MBC leaders embraced, rebranding its theological government through evangelical agenda taking hold in England.

This subtle, but nonetheless noticeable, shift in policy for the MBC's theological governance towards active evangelism was not only predicated by an identity crisis triggered by moral superiority, but also economic incentive. This incentive was both spiritual and real, offering "comfort to your owne accounts in the day of the lord", whilst

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[111] Thomas Shepard, *The clear sun-shine of the gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in Nevv-England. Or, An historicall narration of Gods wonderfull workings upon sundry of the Indians, both chief governors and common-people, in bringing them to a willing and desired submission to the ordinances of the gospel; and framing their hearts to an earnest inquirie after the knowledge of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world* (1648); Bross, *Dry Bones*, 9.
[112] Whitfield, *The light appearing*, 44-5.
[113] Eliot's letter in Whitfield, *Strength out of Weakness*, introduction.
[114] John Wilson, *The Day-breaking, if not the sun-rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England*, (1647), frontispiece, 16, 23.
[115] Eliot, *Tears of repentance*, 16; *A late and further manifestation*, 7-8.

also providing those in the MBC and the rest of New England with a financial lifeline.[116] The Wars of the Three Kingdoms, return migration and a downturn in trade had left the colony facing an economic crisis and the knitting together of an evangelical agenda with financial speculation offered the possibility of reprieve. In 1648, Eliot linked conversion to the growth of material wealth amongst populations of both Native American and English settlers, as converted Native Americans sought to adopt the practices of English 'civil' society. The example one evangelist gave involved the adoption of English clothing, suggesting that Native American conversion would lead to a rise in the sale of English textiles and clothing, describing how Praying Indians "have some more cloths" than the "wicked Indians" who practiced their own faiths.[117] Shepard would go on to write that, at one public sermon, so many Native Americans arrived dressed in English clothing that "you would scarce know them from English people."[118] The financial possibility opened up through convert communities was not only limited to textiles, but also in technology, architecture and construction, and was key to the evangelical mission.[119] Conversion equated to the wholesale adoption of English Protestant civility over barbarous native practices and, as such, it opened up new markets for New Englanders' goods.

As well as emphasizing the new markets for English goods opened by evangelism, the Society's supporters also reminded people in England of the need for financial support, to maintain its success. Just as the economy in Massachusetts was faltering, dependent on long-absent money and support from England, the wealthy came forth ordering merchants to "part with your Gold to promote the Gospel."[120] Eliot went further, comparing "soules" to "Merchandize" to be invested in and exchanged in churches, in a "heavenly Trade."[121] The collection of money was further helped by the Society securing the interest of Cromwell, an achievement greatly lauded by the commissioners in Boston, writing that they "we are glad to heare of the Religious care which the right honourable Lord Generall evidences in soe promoeting the service of Christ in publishing the Gospell

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[116] Shepard, *Clear sun-shine*, 5.
[117] *Ibid.,* 26-27.
[118] *Ibid.,* 11; for more on clothing, status and symbolism in the New England during the seventeenth century see Ann M. Little, 'Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman's Coat On!': Cultural Cross-Dressing on the New England Frontier, 1630-1760', *New England Quarterly*, Vol. 74, No. 2 (2001), 240-42.
[119] Bross, *Dry Bones*, 24.
[120] *A further account of the progress* 4-6; 167; Winslow, *The Glorious Progress*, 27.
[121] Eliot, *A late and further manifestation*, 4; Bross, *Dry Bones*, 33.

amongst these poore heathens." [122] Moreover, much to the commissioners' delight, Cromwell's support encouraged further investment from the army and the parishes. [123] However, the corporation's success and wide spread popularity also brought with it unwanted scrutiny, and claims of fraud quickly followed. The Society was referred to the Council of State in 1655, which ordered the Society to collect its money efficiently. [124] This was followed quickly by the Council of State ordering that the Society submit its records to each member of the council. However, the Society went on the defensive when, once again, they were asked to return in January and were ordered to find a new treasurer. [125] Much like the VC three decades previously the NEC would at times face problems in securing financial support for its financial and spiritual mission. Much like its corporate predecessor in Virginia, the NEC tried to secure financial support for its mission through the ecclesiastical establishment in England. However, faced with very public administrative issues, the Society also, at times, had problems obtaining financial support.

From an early stage, Society officials received complaints from donors who were unhappy that they received little information on how the money was being spent. In 1649, Edward Winslow wrote to a colleague that ministers who had previously met as Sion College were refusing to give and collect money "because they were unsatisfied in monies they had formerly collected for transporting children to New England and never knew how it was disposed." [126] Receiving this information also proved difficult as, when the Society asked for the Commissioners in Massachusetts to account for the money spent, they unhelpfully replied "foundation worke." [127] Moreover, sometimes the Society's requests for funds were greeted with hostility, as one minister wrote, "I am not able any way to promote soe religiouse a worke having but thirty shillings yearly settled on me for my cure." [128] Despite this, prior to the restoration, the company was successful at raising the extraordinary sum of £15,910. 15s. 6.5d. [129] Following the restoration, the Society was

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[122] David Pulsifer, ed., *Acts of the Commissioner of the United Colonies*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1859) II: 105 (hereafter AC).
[123] The Ledger, 1650-1660 printed in George Winship, *New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot*, (Boston, 1920), lxviii.
[124] *CSPC*, 1574-1660, 426; Kelleway, *New England* Company, 33-35.
[125] LMA CLC/540/Ms. 07952, 18, Dec. 1655; CLC/540 Ms. 07943.
[126] Bod. Rawl C 934, 27-7.
[127] *AC*, I 193-95.
[128] Bod. Rawl C. 934, 72.
[129] Kellaway, New England Company, 31-35, 36; Winship, *New England Company*, lxviii-lxxxiv.

dissolved by the act of oblivion and replaced by the NEC two years later. However, despite this, the Society marked a key moment in ideas of English religious governance abroad. Its creation highlighted a slow change in how religious governance was to be organised abroad, moving away from the authority of commercial companies to specifically establish Evangelical Corporation. Moreover, its establishment also undermined the authority of the MBC's religious government; a process that would continue well after the creation of the NEC.

Although the financial lifeline across the Atlantic would continue after the restoration, the company faced new issues as the Society and its mission, which had connected the MBC to supporters in Cromwellian England, was re-chartered to fit more closely in line with post restoration English religious governance. Despite being caught up in the scandals of the previous Society, a royal charter was granted in 1662, effectively reorganising the Society in to the Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England, or the NEC.[130] Sanctioned by royalty, the chartering of the NEC marked a renewed effort by the recently restored monarchy to expand English subjecthood beyond its current boundaries, through evangelism. For the MBC, this was to be an alarming change in policy, overriding the autonomy of their theocratic governance in controlling subject identity in favour of the crown and reminding many of the events surrounding the Narragansett and Miantonomi, two decades earlier. Furthermore, not only did it signify an attempt by the crown to control the expansion of religious governance in North East America, but also centralise it.

Falling under the supervision of the NEC, a corporate body which remained in London under the influence of those ecclesiastical and secular authorities that the MBC members had sought to escape thirty years previously. Even the puritan 'Apostle to the Indians', John Eliot, noted that his evangelism had led to the Native Americans "submission to ye Kings government", extending the King's authority in Massachusetts.[131] Under its new charter, the NEC embodied a reinvigorated policy by the crown, to involve itself subtly in the expansion of English religious governance abroad

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[130] LMA CLC/540/Ms. 07908, Charter, 7 Feb, 1662; see also *CSPC* 1661-1668, 71-72; for discussion of property scandal tied up in the first and second charter see Kellaway, *New England Company*, 41-4; For more on restoration NEC see Glickman, 'New England Company', 365-391.
[131] Quoted in Glickman, 'New England Company', 376.

and, just as the evangelical company's members had submitted themselves to this authority, they called for the MBC to also do so.[132] However, in order for the MBC to truly submit to royal authority, the company's leaders and members would have to remodel their theocratic governance to fit in line with remerging 'irenicist' ideas of restoration religious governance, a prospect that many refused to consider.

For the leadership of the MBC, their theocratic model of governance faced further threats to its autonomy from the newly reformed evangelical corporation. The new governor, Robert Boyle, whose policies would embrace the irenicist revival in England would place the leadership's aims of the NEC in opposition to the MBC's theocratic governance. Although only debatably an outward conformer to the established church, his selection to the top position in the company highlighted an attempt to publically reinvent the company's image. Boyle's leadership distanced the NEC from its Cromwellian predecessor, as well as those members whom had been vocal supporters of the MBC's theocratic governance.[133] Following Boyle's election, broad membership of the new company, made up of several denominations, was still keen to advertise their disassociation with the leadership of the old Society. They quietly asked those members who had held office under Cromwell to step down from the government of the company.[134] It was precisely with this aim, to pull the NEC away from its religious uniform Cromwellian origins, which marked Boyle's 27-year tenure as governor of the NEC. Boyle and the company sought to encourage a broad Protestant opinion, to advance its evangelical mission. As Boyle himself wrote, the company's evangelical mission would be secured "not by making a Independent a Presbyter, or Presbyter and independent, but by converting those to Chirstianity that are either enemie or stangers to it."[135] However, Boyle struggled to succeed to connect Protestants with a unifying agenda of evangelism. Deep-rooted political and religious suspicion plagued the company's internal relationships, as well as their dealings with the MBC, whose congregational theocratic governance was hostile to any interference from England,

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[132] *Ibid.*

[133] Sarah Irving, *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2008), 83.

[134] Glickman, 'New England Company', 375; For list of members and company leaders such as Presbyterians Sir Thomas Abney, George Monck, and Sir William Thompson, Huguenots Philip Papillon and Members of the Established Church such as Sir John Morden, Sir Robert Clayton and Michael Boyle Bishop of Dublin that highlights a the broad church of Boyles company see LMA CLC/540/MS. 07942.

[135] Robert Boyle to Samuel Hartlib, November 3, 1659, *BC*, I: 383.

especially since the return of the established Episcopal Church. Despite this, Boyle continued to advocate a policy of Protestant inclusivity, highlighting that, through unity not uniformity, the evangelical mission of the NEC would succeed and, with it, bring spiritual and financial wealth to all those involved, placing the evangelical corporation in opposition to the MBC.

Just as the advocates of evangelism during the interregnum had highlighted the financial benefits of evangelism, so too did the leaders of the NEC who knitted together the need for national commercial expansion with the spreading of gospel. This can most clearly be seen in the mercantile support the company gained in the years after it was chartered. Boyle himself served on the board of the EIC and was a subscriber in the Hudson's Bay Company, whilst almost every other member of the company was also involved in one of the many London Livery Companies, or another overseas company.[136] For example, Sir John Banks was alongside this membership in the NEC, at one time or another, a freeman in the EIC, a member of the LC and an assistant and sub-governor in the Royal African Company. Other examples of members who were involved in two or more companies before 1700, include Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Thomas Cooke, and Sir John Morden.[137] Moreover, membership was not the only aspect that connected these companies. Boyle by using the knowledge acquired through company agents sought to advance evangelism by employing men like the former LC chaplain, Edward Pococke, to translate "Grotius Book of the Truth of the Christian religion."[138] Furthermore, at a meeting at East India House, the company embedded the evangelical corporation in the heart of the merchant community in London.

The position of the NEC in the merchant community in London was a geographic fusing of the long-established belief that Boyle and the company's members held dear: that English overseas expansion could only be achieved when trade and evangelism were fused. Commercial and territorial expansion in the East had highlighted the reciprocity to trade beyond the exchange of goods. English merchants relied upon local peoples; they

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[136] E. E. Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1679-1684, Fist Part 1679-1682* (Toronto, 1945), 307-8.
[137] Robert Clayton in Scriveners, Drapers Hudson Bay Company, Royal African Company (RAC) Irish Society, Thomas Cooke Goldsmiths, EIC, RAC, John Morden LC EIC.
[138] Boyle to Hartlib, November 3, 1659, *BC*, I: 383.

also brought to light the needs of non-European communities.[139] Boyle highlighted the reciprocal nature of trade in a letter to EIC members and the later governor of the NEC, Robert Thompson, illustrating the important relationship between evangelism and commerce. According to Boyle, "Christians as well as Merchants" had the responsibility to "attempt to bring those Countreys some spiritual good things, whence we so frequently brought back temporal ones."[140] These spiritual goods, according to Boyle and the NEC, were equally as valuable as the temporal ones and, if traded, would increase the value and success of England's commercial enterprise. As one of Boyle's fellow Royal Society members wrote, Stuart expansion would only succeed when trading ventures linked to evangelism. Trading companies offered the English state an opportunity to "take some lustre for our English church" and export and establish dominion abroad through the reformed religion.[141] Such calls alarmed the MBC, who feared any form of encroachment upon their theocratic governance by corporate bodies associated with members of an Episcopal church.

These aims were clearly emphasised in the royal charter, which connected their success with the betterment of the welfare of settlers in Massachusetts. The company's responsibility was to ensure that "the paines and industry of certaine English Ministers of the Gospell" in converting Native Americans in their own language continued to succeed.[142] To do this it had to provide financial, spiritual and material help to ministers, Native Americans, and pointedly "those planters who began it being unable to bear the whole charge" of the evangelical project.[143] The company then, not only became an agent of spiritual salvation, but also one that would ensure the "outward prosperity of those colonies."[144] For the leadership of the MBC, this was a point that did not escape their attention, fusing together evangelism with a particular form of civilising mission that ensured their own social and spiritual superiority and benefited both companies financially. John Winthrop the younger ultimately saw the success of the evangelical mission as financial one rather than a spiritual gain, arguing that it was a key reasonability of an evangelical programme was to bring Native Americans towards civility. His

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[139] Irving, *Natural Science*, 84.
[140] Robert Boyle too Robert Thompson, March 5, 1677, *BC*, IV: 436.
[141] John Beale to Robert Boyle, February 16, 1681, *BC*, V: 243, 240-1.
[142] LMA CLC/540/Ms. 07908, Charter, February 7, 1662.
[143] *Ibid*.
[144] *Ibid*.

solution was to put them to work in "English Employment" and "thereby the bringing them to hearken to the Gospell may be easier effected."[145] More so than the encouraging spiritual success, this was to be a lucrative financial opportunity for the MBC and "the English people here", providing possibilities of "vending store of their commodities especially drapery… for there be many thousands which would willingly weare English apparel… besides many other manufactures would be vended."[146] Winthrop's letter illustrates not only the hopes of financial success that many believed would follow evangelism, but also how the MBC leaders perceived the position of Native American converts in their theocratic governance. The MBC would tenuously construct their own governmental identity and authority as a response to the perception the Native Americans were ungoverned savages awaiting the theocratic government of the company's members. Winthrop's letter also illustrated the fragility of this concept, as the leaders of the MBC feared that the crown, through the NEC, would usurp their religious authority over converted Native Americans.

The years that followed the restoration and the establishment of the NEC were the most challenging for and, ultimately, detrimental to the MBC. The loss of its parliamentary ally and the return of the Stuarts rightly panicked the MBC's leadership, who feared for the security of their charter and independent theocratic governance. As ideas of 'liberty of conscience' began to develop across both sides of the Atlantic, spearheaded by James II in England, the MBC's theocratic governance and its aggressive attempts to achieve uniformity began to achieve notoriety. The restoration signalled a fresh wave of interference from England as the crown sought to centralise colonial authority and force the company to engage in a more tolerant form of religious government. However, despite repeated calls for the company to offer 'liberty of conscience' and open the franchise, the leadership of the MBC continued to fiercely guard their theocratic governance, an action that would seal their fate.

Alongside the chartering of the NEC, the granting of a charter to Rhode Island and Providence in 1663 illustrated Charles II's willingness to accept religious diversity and his desire to continue to extend his authority across the Atlantic. Moreover, it emphasises

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[145] John Winthrop Jr. to Robert Boyle [1662?] in *BC,* II: 57.
[146] *Ibid*.

how the returning monarch was willing to combine both, to ensure his control. Almost immediately after regaining the crown, Charles encouraged religiously liberal plans for overseas expansion in Bombay, Tangiers, Pennsylvania and South America where there were plans to establish an English Jewish settlement.[147] Radically different from the theocratic governance of the MBC, these plans would offer Protestant denominations, Catholics, Armenians, Jews, Muslims and Hindus the "libertie of conscience in the excersize of their lawes, writes and seremonies, according to he doctrine of their Ancients", so long as they accepted the sovereignty of the English monarch.[148] Charles' plan in action can most clearly be seen by the granting of the Rhode Island charter, which sanctioned, and formally protected, the religiously tolerant government of Rhode Island, declaring "that no person within the said colony shall hereafter be any wise molested or called in question for any difference in opinion in matters of religion that does not disturb the civil peace of the colony."[149] Pointedly aimed at the MBC's theocratic government, the charter also ensured the inhabitants of Rhode Island, both English and Native, were protected from interference of the territorial encroachment of other New England governments. Granted special protection by the King, the charter reminded those in New England, unfriendly to Rhode Island, that it was illegal for "colonies to invade the natives or other inhabitants within the bounds hereafter mentioned", as "they being taken into his Majesty's special protection."[150] Alongside the chartering of the NEC, the Charter of Rhode Island illustrated yet another moment, following the restoration, where Charles, to extend his royal authority into America, very publically 'incorporated' colonial enterprise. This placed mounting pressure on the autonomy of the MBC's theocratic governance and its leaders who, after years of unchecked expansion, were facing the reverberations of their actions.

Restoration and reaction to Theocratic governance in Massachusetts

The restoration and the return of Charles II to the throne in 1660, brought with it further problems for the MBC's theocratic governance as the returning monarch offered a new outlet for the MBC's detractors to express their grievances. For many groups in Old and

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[147] BL Egerton Ms/2385 f. 456.
[148] *Ibid*.
[149] 'Charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation', July 8, 1663, *CSPC*, 1661-8, 148.
[150] *Ibid*.

New England, the reestablishment of the monarchy signalled an opportunity to seek redress for two decades of aggressive territorial and governmental acquisition of the MBC. English Quaker, Baptist and Anglican settlers, as well as Native Americans, formed a united group that had been subjected to the heavy hand of the MBC's theocratic government. In response, these groups formed mutually assistive relationships, working together to elevate their own position by exposing and critiquing the actions of the MBC's religious governance.[151] When securing the Rhode Island charter, the colony's agents, keen to assert and protect its fragile autonomy within New England, obtained a number of rights ensuring this. Most distinct was the right to appeal to the King over any disputes with their neighbours.[152] The inclusion of this clause was a direct reaction to the actions of the MBC, not only securing Rhode Island's borders and government against the company, but also weakening the security of the charters of other colonies, which through the clause, could be amended. Any action against the colony would force an individual or governing body, such as the MBC, to stand before the King, whatever the terms of its own charter.[153] Although Charles was always quick to assure the MBC that his actions were done out of good will, the chartering of the NEC and Rhode Island subtly eroded the authority of the MBC's theocratic government, a fact that did not pass by the company's authorities completely unnoticed. Despite this, the company's leadership did little to alter the course of their theocratic governance. In fact, as the crown's presence was increasingly felt, the MBC's actions became progressively more hostile to its English and Native American neighbours.

The return of the King and his seeming willingness to listen to colonial authorities sparked an outpouring of grievances from English colonists and Native Americans against the actions of the MBC and its theocratic governance over the previous two decades. For the residents of Maine, who had slowly been absorbed under the government of the MBC and treated with contempt by its leadership, perceiving them as having "lived themselves to like the Heathen" due to their scattered settlements and government, the restoration provided them with an opportunity to assert their independence.[154] Following

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[151] Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 10-12.
[152] Joseph Henry Smith, *Appeals to the Privy Council from the American Colonies* (New York, NY: Colombia University Press, 1950) 52-3.
[153] *Ibid.*, 53.
[154] Increase Mather, 'A Brief History of the War With the Indians in New England' [1676] in Richard Slotkin and James K. Folsom ed., *So Dreadfull a Judgment: Puritan Response to King Philip's War, 1676-1677* (Middletown; Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), 99.

Richard Cromwell's downfall, the inhabitants of Maine immediately petitioned the authorities in England, declaring that the "Government of Massachusetts by strong hand and menaces" had brought them under its government.[155] By 1662, supporters of Fernando Gorges's heir in Massachusetts were so confident that Charles would grant their independence, that they publically declared the King was sending authorities to "countermand the authority" of the MBC in Maine.[156] However, such rumours were not well received by the leadership of the MBC, who quickly reprimanded anybody linked to such claims, or who supported Maine's plight and was in a position of authority.[157] This would lead the Conformist minister and supporter of Gorges, Robert Jordan, to claim that "the Governor of Boston was a Rogue & all the rest thereof were Traitors & Rebels against the King."[158] Maine was not alone in reaching out to the crown in an attempt to assert its autonomy from the theocratic governance of the MBC. Following an outpouring of letters in response to the actions of the MBC's attempts to police the religious behaviour of other colonies in the previous decade, Charles authorised the formation of a Royal Commission to be sent to New England to settle grievances.

Charles's attempts to mediate the growing conflicts between the company and its neighbours by sending Royal Commissioners was seen by MBC leaders as an attempt to extend his authority into New England.[159] The arrival of the King's representatives in 1664 ignited disputes in the area towards Massachusetts's imperialistic behaviour, as many had believed that it had exceeded its authority. In a letter addressed to the Governor and Council of the MBC, Charles summarised the intentions of the commissioners which, although phrased diplomatically, were, at times, pointed, declaring that he had "recived much information and severall complaints" from other colonies.[160] Alluding to the actions of the MBC against settlers in Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, as well as Native Americans, Charles asserted that it was the intention of the commissioner to investigate and provide "full information of the true state & condition of that our

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[155] *CSPC*, 1574-1660, 479.
[156] MPCR, I: 181-210.
[157] Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 53-55.
[158] *MPCR*, II: 141; Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 54.
[159] For more on the royal commissioners and restoration debates on the monarchy in Massachusetts, see Paul R. Lucas, 'Colony or Commonwealth: Massachusetts Bay, 1661-1666', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No.1, (1967), 88-107, for a discussion on toleration of established church see 99-100.
[160] *MCR*, IV, pt 2: 158.

plantation & of their neighbours on all sides."[161] Immediately, the commissioners'
presence unleashed a further wave of complaints against the MBC.

Amongst these complaints were several from Narragansett Indians, highlighting
how Native communities developed a complex understanding of English power
structures, allowing them to secure their own autonomy from the MBC's theocratic
governance, by embracing English petitioning practices and sending them to a distant
English authority. Establishing contact with Charles when Rhode Island was granted its
charter; worryingly for MBC authorities, the Narragansett leaders established a cordial
relationship with Charles early in his reign. Upon ordering the commissioners to leave
for New England, Charles ordered that they were to promise the Narragansett that "the
King will do them justice."[162] In addition to this, the King also illustrated the friendly
relationship physically, by providing a gift of "two rich scarlet cloaks" to be given to the
Narragansett leaders who had "expressed so much affection to his Majesty."[163] These
cordial, but highly functional, exchanges illustrate how Native Americans believed that
the relationship between themselves and the English crown was based on an alliance
rather that inferiority. Although for the most part a one-sided concept, for Native
Americans it can be seen to have persisted across groups, having been established a
generation previously through Canonicus and Pessacus in New England and Powhatan in
Virginia.[164] Through this concept, Native Americans in New England were, just as the
English settlers, provided with a separate means to express objections to a higher
authority for the actions of other English settlers or authorities, such as the theocratic
governance of the MBC.

For the Narragansett, alongside many English settlers, the crown and the royal
commissioners became the only outlet through which they had a hope of receiving
remuneration for the actions of the MBC. In the first petition given to crown
commissioners, the Narragansett intimated that MBC settlers, pretending to "belong to
the [Rhode Island] colony", had destroyed their homes.[165] During the period that the
commissioners were resident in New England, this claim was followed by a series of

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[161] *Ibid.*
[162] CSPC, 1661-8, 201.
[163] *Ibid.*
[164] Pulsipher, *Subject*, 29-32; Kupperman, *Facing Off*, 175.
[165] *Ibid.*, 275.

accusations from Narragansett leadership, who suggested that the MBC, in the previous decades, had unlawfully taken their land from them.

The loss of land suffered by the Narragansett had been triggered by a series of conflicts between themselves and the Mohegans in the 1640s and would involve the MBC through the latter having acquired the support of the United Colonies. After several violations of peace agreements between both parties, the United Colonies formed an expedition against the Narragansett. Suffering substantial financial losses from its interference, the MBC members hiding behind the United Colonies fined the local Narragansett people.[166] Unable to pay the fine, they were forced to give up their land to pay this imposed debt. Explaining these events in brief to the crown, the Narragansett succinctly described how, through "violence and injustice", the MBC had taken "their whole country in mortgage."[167] After receiving information from both parties, the royal commissioners drafted a solution to settle the dispute once and for all. By voiding any former English patents to Narragansett land the commissioners placed it under the protection of the King. It was therefore removed totally from the jurisdiction of any colonial authority apart from Rhode Island, from which they would assign justices of the peace.[168] Named the "Kings Province", the Narragansett leaders fully submitted themselves and their people to the authority and protection of Charles, handing over the patent, given to them in 1644 by the King's father, which had "been carefully kept by Mr. Gorton."[169] The commissioners, in their report, also alluded to the unity between the Rhode Islanders and their Narragansett counterparts, writing that the former were "generally hated by the other colonies" and that, to weaken Rhode Island, the MBC supported "other Indians against the Narragansets."[170] The Narragansett were not the only the Native Americans that the commissioners would visit, settling a dispute between the Metacom and Pessicus.[171] The agreement between the Wampanoag and Narragansett leaders, mediated by commissioners, was hoped to maintain a balance of power between rival Native American groups.[172] However, unwittingly, the commissioners, in drafting

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[166] *PCR*, IX: 34-5.
[167] *CSPC*, 1661-8, 342.
[168] *RCHIP*, II: 59-60.
[169] *CSPC*, 1661-8, 341-50; Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 55-7.
[170] *CSPC*, 1661-8, 341-50.
[171] Roger Williams, Glenn W. laFantasie, *The Correspondence of Roger Williams*, 2 vols. (Hanover, NH: University of New England Press, 1988), 2: 577-9; John Russell Bartlett, *Letters of Roger Williams 1632-1682* (Providence, 1874), 323; Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 57.
[172] Bartlett, *Letters*, 323.

their agreement, had laid the foundations for an alliance which later threatened the very foundations of the company's theocratic governance. By appealing to the King, the Narragansett had effectively weakened the authority of the MBC and its theocratic governance, proving that protests to England and the Crown were successful.

Similarly, English settlers across New England, spurred on by the presence of the royal commissioners, sought to further assure the security of their independence from encroachments by the MBC's theocratic governance. For many, their presence provided the opportunity to, once again, draw attention to the religious persecution that many had faced under the MBC. This could not have been more explicitly said than in a petition from the colony of Rhode Island, which had become a haven for "all religions, even Quakers and Generalists" who wished to be "defended from oppressing one another in civil or religious matter in which most of the members of this colony have suffered very much under strange pretences from the neighbouring colonies particularly from Massachusetts."[173] For religious groups inside and outside of the jurisdiction, the royal commissioners offered them the opportunity to ask for protection against the 'strange pretences' of the MBC's theocratic governance. Since 1663, Charles had asked the MBC to stop its persecution of religious groups and to open the company's secular and ecclesiastical franchise.[174] However, despite passing the hallway covenant in 1662, which, in reality, only extended a half franchise to younger members of families of people who were already members, the MBC did nothing to act on these requests. Instead, it openly criticised the possibility of any such action as absurd, proclaiming, at a general court, that this would be an impossibility as "there are many who are inhabitants of this jurisdiction which are enmenyes to all government."[175]

Yet, in reality the company was suggesting that anyone who was not a part of its established church was an enemy of its government. Upon such a conclusion, the MBC court ordered, against the direct wishes of the crown, anyone who "refuse to attend upon publick worship of God established here… are made uncapable of voting in all civil assemblyes."[176] By 1665, following little success previously, Charles would once again

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[173] *Ibid.*, 342-50, 275.
[174] *MCR*, IV, pt 2: 74
[175] *MCR*, IV pt 2: 88.
[176] *MCR*, IV pt 2: 88.

order the MBC to adopt a more liberal form of religious governance. Invoking the image of the MBC's much protected charter, the King argued that its principal aim "was & is the freedome & liberty of conscience" and, as such, he demanded "that that freedome & liberty be duely admitted & allowed" to those whom the MBC currently excluded.[177] This was followed by a very specific request by the crown for the MBC to make room in their theocratic government for followers of the established church, or those who desired "to use the Book of Common Prayer & perform their devotion in that manner as is established here."[178] Although the King's attempts to nudge, the MBC's leadership in the direction of toleration by appealing to their sentimental ideas concerning their charter, his request raised concerns that he was trying to lay the foundations to establish an Episcopal church in New England. Such an action, according to MBC leaders, would have opened the door to the freemanship of the company, eroding their theocratic governance whilst, in its place, bolstering the royal and church authority from which they had tried to flee some 30 years previously.

Just as it tried to encourage the MBC to open out the franchise of its theocratic governance, the crown also began to interfere with the company's theocratic justice system. The 'enmenyes' of government that the MBC had alluded to, following the crown's initial requests for the company to widen its franchise, were the Quakers, playing upon the prevailing misconception that those who belonged to the faith were unwilling to obey authority.[179] As the MBC's General Court suggested, the Quakers were a threat to their society as they wished to "undermine the authority of civill government, as also to destroy the order of the churches", the two pillars on which the company's theocratic government was built.[180] Even Charles did not hide his disdain for Quakers and ordered that, in both America and England, "sharpe lawes" be established against them.[181] Starting in 1656, the MBC's courts began to introduce a number of draconian laws against Quakers, which either consisted of a fine of £100, whipping or imprisonment, as well as

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[177] *MCR*, IV pt 2: 165.
[178] *Ibid*.
[179] For more on Quakers and governmental perceptions of them see Paul Finkelman, 'The Root of Religious Freedom in Early America: Religious Toleration and Religious Diveristy in New Netherland and Colonial New York', *Nanzan Review of American Studies*, Vo. 34 (2012), 1-26; Syndey E Ahlstrom rather dramatically compared their presence to the fears surrounding bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution, see *A Religious History of the American People*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1975), 229-30.
[180] *MCR*, IV pt 1: 345.
[181] *MCR*, IV pt 2: 166.

fining people who sold Quaker literature.[182] However, between 1659 and 1660, the company's theocratic leadership shocked people on both sides of the Atlantic by sentencing to death three Quakers, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson and Mary Dyer.[183] In response to petitions, the King ordered that any Quaker awaiting a death sentence was to be sent to England for trial, and the execution of Quakers was banned. Quick to assure the crown that all "imprisoned [Quakers] have been released and sent away", the MBC leadership also informed the English authorities that they respected the command for "corporal punishment or death, be suspended until further order."[184] In addition to the continued support for aggressive theocratic governance, the MBC's leaders faced criticism and civil unrest, following the execution of the Boston martyrs, forcing the company leaders to try and obtain some form of support back in England, although this would not be forthcoming.

Increasingly paranoid about the security of its charter and the autonomy it granted them to maintain their Congregationalist theocratic governance, MBC leaders sought to employ the help of allies in England. Although the company had some friends, such as the merchant and NEC member, Henry Ashurst, who had seen evangelism as a way to hinder the advancement of royal authority upon the people of the MBC, there were few. Even amongst those with whom the MBC had repeated dealings, there was a reluctance to help the company. Despite this the MBC's leadership continued to persecute religious groups and would brazenly disregard the crown's wishes for religious governance, insisting the sovereignty of their charter and theocratic government be maintain from any "injustice of encroachment."[185] Amongst their correspondents in England, these actions would progressively lead to further criticism. For example, the nonconformist Earl of Anglesey, although at times critical of Charles' actions at home, would "chide you (MBC leaders) and the whole people of New-England" for their behaviour declaring that they wrongly acted as if they "needed not his [Charles] protection."[186] Similarly, the Secretary of State, Sir William Morice, chastised the MBC leaders for making "unreasonable and

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[182] *MCR*, III:, 415, 416.
[183] For more on the punishment of Quakers in Massachusetts see Pulsipher, *Subject*, 39-40, 43-44.
[184] *CSPC*, 1661-8, 62.
[185] 'The Humble Supplication of the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony in New England to the King' October 19, 1664, *CSPC*, 1661-8, 247.
[186] Anglesey to John Leveret, 16 May, 1676, Thomas Hutchinson, *This History of Massachusetts: From the Settlement Thereof in 1628 Until the Year 1750,* 2 vols. (Salem, 1795), I: 279.

groundless complaint" in their petitions to the crown.[187] Morice also stepped in to advise the company of their choice of leadership, complaining that their governor, "who hath during all the late revolutions continued the government there", was not satisfactory and that the King would "take it very well if at the next election any other person of good reputation be chosen in the place."[188] The MBC leaders were, equally, unable to find support outside of the political arena, as Boyle and the NEC were, at times, unable, or unwilling, to act on the company's behalf.[189]

Indeed, as more reports came back across the Atlantic of the company's continued persecution of religious groups under its theocratic governance, Boyle was to become less and less diplomatic. Perplexed and angered by the MBC's actions, Boyle wrote to John Eliot about how he believed it to be the most "strange and less defensible" action for those who fled persecution in England to enjoy religious liberty abroad, to now persecute others.[190] Later on, Boyle would also warn the New England evangelists that, if the MBC continued to impose their theocratic governance, there would be "very bad consequences" for nonconformists in England.[191] Although referring to outcomes in England, Boyle's warning could also be seen as a foreshadowing of eventual consequences for the MBC's own Congregationalists, following the results of their own refusal to affectively reduce the harshness of their theocratic governance.

King Philip's Wars and the Revocation and an end to Theocratic Governance

Upon the departure of the royal commission, the MBC continued its theocratic governance with renewed vigour. Once again, encroaching on local Native American land in the name of its evangelical mission, old tensions remerged between the two groups, spilling into open conflict. Although the arbitration of the royal commissioners and the reaction of people in England served as a warning to the leaders of the MBC's theocratic governance, in reality it was nothing more than a slap on the wrist, as the company's General Court and the company's theocratic governance held its ground and, as such, old

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[187] *CSPC*, 1661-8, 283.

[188] Although interrupted John Endicott had served 15 years as the Company's governor since 1644 and was perceived by Charles and his government as a supporter of parliament during the interregnum and so unfriendly to the monarch, *ibid*.

[189] *MHSC*, 2nd ser., VIII: 49-51; Boyle to Commissioners, March 17, 1665, *BC*, II: 460.

[190] Boyle to Eliot, 1680, BC, V: 225; Glickman, 'New England Company', 383.

[191] *Ibid*.

habits remerged. With continued zeal, the MBC sought to advance its evangelical mission, converting Native Americans whilst, at the same time, annexing land, often by dubious transaction, for Christian Indians to settle. Alongside this, the MBC slowly eroded Native American sovereignty by ignoring their laws.

As King Philip's War quickly spread across New England, the MBC members increasingly believed that the actions of Metacom and his supporters were attacks against their Christian religion and theocratic governance. Throughout the conflict, reports of Native American atrocities towards symbols of Christianity were plentiful as New Englanders increasingly saw the focus of the wars as being the Native Americans "Damnable antipathy" towards "Religion and Piety."[192] As news of each attack reached Boston, they contained some form of action against the MBC's theocratic governance. Much like in Virginia, five decades earlier, religious centres and symbols of the MBC's theocratic governance seemed to be the focus of Native Americans attacks. Alongside reports of attacks on Native American centres of Christianity at Chabanakongkomun, Hassanemesit and Magunkaquog, there were specific incidents of Sunday worship being targeted and vandalism reported, such as bibles being torn "and the leaves scattered about by the enemy, in hatred of our religion."[193] Moreover, these reports also suggested that Metacom's forces focused on people associated with the MBC's religious governance, arguing that they "enraged Spleen chiefly on the promoters of it [Christianity]."[194] News of these events prompted a series of often-horrific anti-Native American responses from New Englanders, specifically the MBC members. Of these, the most heinous were often committed by the former Jamaican privateer, Samuel Mosely, who unlawfully hung several Native Americans at Malbury and, on one occasion, ordered a captive womn to be "torn to peeces by Doggs."[195] Although willing to suggest partial blame alluding to the

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[192] Anonymous, *News from New-England being a true and last account of the present bloody wars carried on betwixt the infidels, natives, and the English Christians and converted Indians of New-England, declaring the many dreadful battles fought betwixt them, as also the many towns and villages burnt by the merciless heathens and also the true number of all the Christians slain since the beginning of that war, as it was sent over by a factor of New-England to a merchant in London* (London, 1676), 3.

[193] William Hubbard, *A Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England, Form the first Planting thereof in the Year 1607 to the Year 1677* (1801), 88; Anonymous, *News from New-England*, 5.

[194] Anon, *News from New-England*, 3.

[195] George M. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War: Containg Lists of the Soldiers of Massachusetts Colony, Who Served in the Indian War of 1675-1677* (Boston, 1891), 26, 27: Drake, *King Philips War*, 128-130; For incident were Mosely arrests several innocent 'Praying Indians' following an attack on Lancaster and tries to have them hanged see Samuel Gookin 'An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the years 1675, 1676, 1677.' *Archaeologia Americana:*

influence of merchants having "debauched and scandalized" Native Americans against the Christian faith, Increase Mather also argued that these actions had been perpetrated by "such vile enemies… yea the worst of the Heathen."[196] Settlers also responded to the ongoing crisis by rallying behind the MBC's theocratic government, as settlers across Massachusetts publically renewed covenants, reinforcing the company's religious authority.[197]

The evangelical mission of the previous decades established the foundations for paranoia, as the leadership of the MBC's theocratic governance became increasingly suspicious of 'Praying Indians.' In response to their presence, the MBC would pass several harsh laws aimed at 'Praying Indians' that would further erode the sovereignty of Native American communities in New England and lead to further external criticism of the company. Early into the conflict, leaders of the local Natick 'Praying Indian' community approached the MBC leaders, fearful that Metacom and "his confederates, intended some mischief shortly to the English and Christian Indians."[198] Upon hearing their plea, the MBC leaders promised to protect them and also ordered that some join their forces to allow the leaders gain expertise in the "Indian manner of fighting" and "to try their fidelity" to the company.[199] However, the company leaders quickly turned on their promise, as rumours surrounding the loyalty of Indian converts swept through Massachusetts, fuelling already deepset social and religious paranoia. MBC leaders dismissed any autonomy that the 'Praying Indians' had carved out under the company's theocratic governance, and any of those who advocated their rights, such as Eliot and Gookin, were publically scorned. Consequently, the latter would be unable to publish and lose a re-election on his support for Native Americans.[200] Following the attacks on settlements along the Connecticut River, reprisals against praying Indians significantly increased, culminating with their forced imprisonment on Deer Island.

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transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1836) II; 459.

[196] Increase Mather, *An Earnest Exhortation To the Inhabitants of New-England, To Harken to the voice of God in his late and present Dispensations* (Boston, 1676), 3; *A Brief History*, 105.

[197] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), 116.

[198] Gookin, *An Historical Account*, 411.

[199] *Ibid*.

[200] See Drake, *King Philip's* War, 102 footnote 44.

At first, the MBC ordered that just the Christian residents of Natick be sent to the rocky outcrop in Boston harbour. Rather tellingly, for "their and our protection", they were soon followed by several other 'Praying Indian' communities.[201] Forced onto the island in the middle of winter, the 'Praying Indians' were effectively left to fend for themselves. Visitors to the island described it as "bleak and cold" and highlighted how those "350 soules" imprisoned there "suffer hunger & could", with "neither foode nor competent fuel", subsist only on a diet of "claims and shell-fish."[202] Many were also unclothed after having their belongings stolen upon being sent to the island, whilst upon arrival, there was little accommodation and, what was there was described as "poor and mean."[203] Despite these conditions, the 'Praying Indians' sent to Deer Island were forced to remain there under "payne of death" and, for many Native Americans, its mere mention was enough for them to flee north or join Metacom's forces.[204] Following attacks on praying towns 'Praying Indians' much to the horror of MBC authorities were offered the opportunity to fight with Metacom, a decision that many such as the Nipmuck convert James Printer, and assistant to Eliot, took instead of being sent to Deer Island.[205] By the end of the conflict, both, the autonomy of Christian and non-Christian Native Americans, had been severally eroded and the MBC had, although barely, succeeded in asserting its authority by force. Although some did still advocate "a covenant" between the MBC and 'Praying Indians', general opinion amongst company leaders and members was for continued harsh punishment. However, externally, both in American and England, the expensive conflict had irreparably damaged the MBC's reputation and, in the name of peace royalist authorities in America, had sought to firmly plant the King's influence in the peace process.

The appointment of the royal governor of New York, Edmund Andros as the chief negotiator between the two parties highlighted the growing influence and power of the monarchy in America, and the waning influence of MBC corporate governance and

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[201] *MCR,* V: 64: Nasobah Indians joined those of Natick in the May of 1676, see Bodge, *Soldiers*, 35: Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 143-47.

[202] Gookin, *An Historical Account*, 485; John Eliot to Robert Boyle, October 17, 1675, John Ford, ed., *Some Correspondence Betweenn the Governors and treasturers of the New England Company in London and the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America* (London, 1896), 53.

[203] Mosely before sending the Nasobah to the island ordered his troops to loot their belongings Bodge, *Soldiers*, 35; Gookin, *An Historical Account*, 485.

[204] *MCR,* V: 64.

[205] Drake, *King Philip's* War, 104; For in depth analysis of John Printer and his relationship with the MBC see Rex, 'Indian and Images', 81-83.

autonomy to govern over issues in New England. By agreeing to his appointment, MBC leadership effectively acknowledged the position of the crown as the sovereign arbitrator of affairs in Massachusetts, a position the company had always claimed for itself. Wary of the MBC's governmental behaviour, many in England were fearful that its theocratic leaders were on the "very brink of renouncing any dependence on the crown."[206] However, despite outward signs that its leaders were still vigorously asserting the autonomy of their government, the conflict had left the MBC in financial ruin. Its theocratic governance was weak and vulnerable to both internal and external attack.[207] Having lost much of the territory in Maine and New Hampshire that it had gained over the previous decades, the MBC found its government surrounded by Native American and English neighbours that harboured noting but ill will towards the company's theocratic governance. Moreover, internally, it faced mounting pressure from emerging royalist groups who gave an increasingly vocal political voice to those who, for five decades, had been ignored or persecuted by the MBC's theocratic governance. Although the war with Metacom had concluded, the company's battle against royal intervention continued. In the years after King Philip's war, the company tried, unsuccessfully, to secure the authority and independence of its theocratic governance.

In the years that followed King Philip's War, the MBC's theocratic governance continued to be the centre of conflict, as company and crown battled to secure their own authority and right to govern over the godly in New England. This set in motion events that would lead to the revocation of the company's charter and the downfall of the MBC's theocratic governance. Despite previous attempts by the crown to prevent the company from infringing upon the rights of Native Americans, MBC authorities keen to blame them for the conflict continued to trample upon their autonomy. Increasingly, it was 'Praying Indians' who bore the brunt of the company's legislative attempts to segregate and subordinate Indians under its theocratic governance. Furthermore, non-Christian and 'Praying Indians' were forced to live in praying towns, whilst the MBC leaders placed increasingly draconian laws on the financial exchanges between English settlers and

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[206] William Bray, ed., *Memoirs of John Evelyn*, Vol. II, (London, 1889), 344: For in depth analysis of Andros' role in the peace negotiations see Pulsipher, *Subjects*, 234-237.

[207] Around half of New England's towns had been damaged, and trade had been totally disrupted costing approximately £100,000 whilst the estimated number of English and Native American casualties is somewhere around 3,600. See, Douglas E. Leach, *Flintlock & Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War* (New York: Macmillan, 1958)*, 243-44; Glickman, *New England Company*, 378; Drake, *King Philip's War*, 169.

Native Americans. This would make it increasingly harder for Native Americans, in particular 'Praying Indians', to buy and sell land.[208] In an atmosphere of paranoia and governmental restriction, the Praying Towns in post-war Massachusetts were no longer centres for religious development and support, but a physical sign of racial and spiritual segregation.[209] The great evangelical mission that had reinvigorated the company's theocratic governance and godly identity in the 1640's had, in its waning years, become subject to paranoia and blame. Edward Randolph blamed Praying Towns for educating Native Americans in military ways, whilst Mary Rowlandson, a Native American captive during the war who would lambast her captors, focused much of her vitriol on 'Praying Indians', describing them as "wicked and cruel."[210] However, for some, the evangelical movement became the increasing focus of paranoia against the King, seeing it as an attempt by the monarch to assert his authority and the established church over the godly in America.

In 1680, the King requested that the MBC send agents to England, an order that many rightly assumed was a sign that the company's charter was under attack. Prior to leaving for England, the MBC's agents were reminded by the religious ministers and magistrates of the company that their role was to secure the independence of their theocratic governance. The MBC's leaders believed that the "government of the Massachusetts ought not to yield blind obedience to the pleasure of the Court," as they, through their charter rights, had established a government ordained by God and not the King.[211] Rumours of procedures against the MBC sparked responses from its spiritual leadership, to resist and revive the company's religious traditions, with some openly applauding its theocratic tradition. The Boston minister Samuel Willard was a vocal supporter of the company's theocratic government.[212] Describing it openly as a theocracy, he argued against any royal intervention by suggesting that the only King that had sovereignty in Massachusetts was Christ, as their government was "a glorious specimen

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[208] *MCR,* V: 463, 486-87.

[209] Pulispher, *Subjects*, 242-43.

[210] Glickman, 384; Mary Rowlandson, *The sovereignty & goodness of God, together, with the faithfulness of his promises displayed; being a narrative of the captivity and restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (Boston, 1682), 50.

[211] 'Arguments Against Relinquishing the Charter', *MHSC*, I, 3rd series: 77, 73-81.

[212] For an in-depth analysis of Samuel Willard's ministerial career see Seymour Van Dyken, *Samuel Willard: Preacher of Orthodoxy in an Era of Change* (Grand Rapid, MI: Eerdmans 1972).

of Kingly government of Christ."[213] Accordingly, Willard argued that the MBC's members would not tolerate any interference in its religious government "from the invasion of perverse men" who wished to "Disseminate their erronious principles, make breaches in Churches" and "undermine and seduce silly souls."[214] However, what worried Willard most were the crown's attempts to have "free and publick liberty to carry on their own wayes" in church worship in Massachusetts, an act he described as a "dishonor to Christ."[215] In true Congregationalist form, Willard offered a solution or a remedy to the current predicament the MBC leaders found themselves in; covenant renewal. By renewing the covenants which had established and bonded together the members of the MBC in theocratic government, Willard argued that they would be able to illustrate their strength and unity, placing them "out of reach of forraign mischief."[216] Although his very religious solution may have offered comfort to some in the MBC, any attempt to suggest that there was collective unity or strength in the theocratic governance of the company was too late.

Amongst the many commercial and financial reasons given to take legal action against the MBC by its detractors was opportunity to bring an end to the company's theocratic governance. By 1682, the MBC's agents had arrived in England to find the company's reputation in ruins and that the rumours of formal actions against the company's charter and it theocratic governance were, indeed, very real. Having received petitions to start *Quo Warranto* procedures in 1680, crown authorities had slowly begun the process of investigation against the company.[217] According to many in England, the MBC's leaders, by enforcing the company's theocratic government over English settlers and Native Americans in New England, had reneged on its charter, imposing "Lawes Ecclesiasticall being repugnant to the Lawes of England."[218] In doing so, the MBC's leaders had not only warranted action against their charter, but also provided the perfect opportunity for the crown to impose "liberty of Conscience in matter of Religion" in Massachusetts.[219] MBC leaders desperately tried to continue to remind their agents of

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[213] Samuel Willard, *The child's portion: or The unseen glory of the children of God, asserted, and proved: together with several other sermons occasionally preached* (Boston, 1682), 192.
[214] *Ibid.*
[215] *Ibid.*
[216] *Ibid.*, 195.
[217] *ERL*, III: 89-91, 92-4.
[218] *Ibid.*, 229-30.
[219] *Ibid.*, 94.

their mission to protect the company's theocratic governance, worried that the persecution non-conformists faced in England would seep into Massachusetts, if the crown took control.[220] It then became imperative that their agents understood "our liberties & priviledges in matters of religion and worship of God, which you are therefore in nowise to consent to any infringement."[221] However, despite repeated reminders regarding their mission, the agents of the company were powerless to prevent its charter from being revoked. This eventually led to the legal foundations of their theocratic governance being destroyed.

In the June of 1684, the MBC, as an overseas company, ceased to exist. Following the revocation of its charter, its theocratic governance toppled. For the MBC, the key to its success, and cause of its failure, was the duel combination of its corporate charter and its theocratic governance. Despite often being isolated from many histories of England's other companies during the seventeenth century, the MBC and its members were an influential part in a connected history of overseas trading corporations and the development of English religious governance abroad. The MBC, unlike the EIC and LC, illustrates how the flexibility of corporate forms was malleable enough that its members could manipulate it to establish rigid authoritarian structures. The purpose of the theocratic government that the members of the MBC formed was like any of England's seventeenth century overseas companies. Its priority was to police the behaviour of its members to ensure they represented the model of society that the company wished to represent. Unlike its eastern counterparts, for the MBC this meant the strict formation of a unified religious society, with no room for doctrinal difference, stomping it out at any opportunity. Following the restoration, this behaviour became increasingly at odds with the crown's plans for English religious governance in the Atlantic. Yet, the corporate flexibility which had allowed the MBC the framework to establish its theocratic governance would be its undoing. Its government had become progressively more rigid; its attempts to police the behaviour of those in its jurisdiction became increasingly arbitrary. On top of this, company leaders were unwilling to compromise in the face of increasing criticism of its government, on both sides of the Atlantic, justifying their government as a right granted to them by their corporate charter. By 1686, they had left

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[220] John Cotton to Thomas Hinckley December 27, 1683, *MHSC*, I, 3rd series: 75; V, 4th series: 103-4.
[221] *MCR*, V: 390.

English authorities no option but to end the experiment of the MBC's theocratic governance, by revoking the corporate charter upon which it had its foundations.

Conclusion

From its origins as a joint-stock overseas company, the MBC had evolved into a corporate body that governed in its overseas territory like a state. It legislated, elected and governed a body of people that embraced the narrow theology of its members. Its leaders declared war and annexed land from the English and Native Americans that neighboured them. Evangelical expansion became a tool of the MBC's theocratic government that connected its senior figure interests in advancing religion alongside their own political and trading interests over English and Native American peoples. For its leaders and members, it was not enough for their corporate theocratic government to be an example of godly rule; they actively sought to export it on both sides of the Atlantic.

Through their corporate positions and experience the individual became instrumental in connecting religious governance across the Atlantic. Key religious and political figures in the MBC, like chaplains in the EIC and LC, connected exchanges and governmental developments in the external geographies that they operated in with England. Through these connections these individuals influenced political and religious debates and conflicts inside and outside of England. As both supportive and critical members, such as Henry Vane, Hugh Peters and Stephen Winthrop, returned to England, they took with them their experiences of establishing godly corporate governance abroad, influencing the direction of English politics for twenty years. Furthermore, as Massachusetts faced difficulties, it was a new form of corporate religious governance that reinvigorated support for the company and forced its leaders to revaluate the mission of its government. From external example, the MBC became an aggressive evangelist; its desire for internal unity would encourage the company to embark on a series of territorial annexations, bringing the godless, whether English or Native American, into the jurisdiction of the godly.

The MBC's theocratic governance illustrated the extremities of inclusivity and exclusivity of England's seventeenth century companies. Unlike the ecumenical governance that developed in the EIC over this period, it was their corporate zeal to

incorporate and exclude people from its unitary theocratic governance. Alongside this zeal the MBC's obsession with policing the behaviour of all people that would lead to the company's downfall. The subject of the next chapter highlights how EIC unlike the MBC developed a model of religious governance that was not based on religious exclusivity but a to a certain extent inclusivity in the religious and political regulation of behaviour of multiple peoples of varying faiths. Furthermore, the establishment of the NEC marked a shift in corporate religious governance that would gradually take place across the remainder of the century, removing its responsibility away from overseas trading companies, into the hands of specifically designed evangelical corporations.

Chapter V: East India Company (1661-1698): Ecumenical Governance and Territorial acquisition

In opposition to the religiously oppressive manner of corporate territorial expansion in New England, the EIC's ecumenical governance in India embraced, out of necessity, a broad sense of religious sufferance to govern over the religiously cosmopolitan environments. Central to the development of the EIC ecumenical model was its leadership's reluctant toleration of the diverse religious communities that made up India cosmopolitan society. This hesitant religious and political acceptance of the presence of peoples of numerous faiths became a policy of sufferance that EIC officials employed, offering begrudging inclusion into EIC political life as well as religious freedoms secured the company's own governmental position. Unlike the pastoral governance discussed in chapter two, the EIC in years that followed the acquisition of territory in India was forced to expand its legislative and governing authority beyond its factories and ships into the international religiously cosmopolitan geographies it controlled. [1] Following the territorial acquisitions of religiously cosmopolitan environments in India, the EIC established various methods to govern over the religiously diverse behaviours of those in its jurisdictions. The adoption of ecumenical governance by the EIC, unlike the theocratic model of the MBC in the previous chapter, traces how its religious governance evolved from ecclesiologically inward to an ecumenical outward form of government. In doing so the ecumenical governance of the company secured its commercial and governmental mission through policing political and religious behaviour through various levels of governmental inclusion.

As the EIC obtained governmental control over new territories its leaders had to develop new methods of religious governance that embraced inclusivity ensuring that they successfully secured their authority. Just as in the Atlantic world the presence of a substantial English population was considered the most effective way of ensuring governmental security. However, unable to establish English-populated plantations like those in the Atlantic, the EIC turned to local populations to settle its territories. To

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[1] Glenn J. Ames, 'The Role of Religion in the Transfer and Rise of Bombay, c. 1661-1687', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 46. No. 2 (2003), 317-340; Philip J. Stern, 'Rethinking Institutional Transformations in the Making of Modern Empire: The East India Company in Madras', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2008); M.D. David, *History of Bombay, 1661-1708*, (Bombay: University of Bombay Press, 1973); Phil Lawson, *The East India Company: A History* (London: Routledge, 1993).

encourage migration EIC leaders would promote and developed sufferance as a policy of religious governance, often contrasted or developed in opposition to other forms of Indian and European religious governments established in the subcontinent. [2] However, ecumenical governance and its policy of religious sufferance did not arise from liberal ideology, but through treaty obligations and necessity. EIC officials were only able to secure their territories and control the behaviour of Muslim, Hindu, Catholic, Armenian and Jewish communities by offering freedom to practise their faith.[3] Moreover as the company's ecumenical governance succeeded in encouraging religious groups to settle in Bombay and Madras EIC leaders were forced to expand civic representation to police the religious and political behaviour of these communities.[4]

Firstly, this chapter investigates the role of one individual, the EIC governor Josiah Child in development of ecumenical governance, and his ideas surrounding emulation of

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[2] Farhat Hasan, 'Conflict and Cooperation in Anglo-Mughal Trade Relations During the Reign of Aurangzeb', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 34, No. 1, (1991), p. 351-360; James D. Tracy, 'Asian Despotism? Mughal Government as seen from the Dutch East India Company Factory in Surat', *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1999), 267-78; Satish Chandra, 'Jizyah and the State in India during the 17th Century', in *The Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 12, No.3 (1969), 322-340; Athar Ali, *Mughal India: Studies in Polity, Ideas, Society and Culture* (New Delhi; Oxford University Press, 2006); For European examples see Markus P.M. Vink, 'Church and State in Seventeenth- Century Colonial Asia: Dutch-Parava Relations in Southeast India in a Comparative Perspective', *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2000), 1-43; S. A. Khan, *Anglo-Portuguese negotiations relating to Bombay, 1660-1677* (London, 1922); Dauril Alden, *The Making of Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Paolo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); A. K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition* (Bombay, 1961); Glenn J. Ames, 'Serving God, Mammon, Or Both? Religious vis-à-vis economic Priorities in the Portuguese *Estado da India*, c.1600-1700', *Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. 86 (2000), 193-216.
[3] For general discussions on religion in EIC in second half of the seventeenth century see Philip J. Stern, *The Company State: Corporate Sovereignty & the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2011), 100-120; Ames, 'The Role of Religion', 317-340; Aparna Balachandran, 'Of Corporations and Caste Heads: Urban Rule in Company Madras, 1640-1720', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2008); Farhat Hasan, 'Indigenous Cooperation and the Birth of a Colonial City: Calcutta, c. 1698-1750', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, No.1 (1992), 65-82; Penelope Carson, *The East India Company and Religion: 1698-1858* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Boydell, 2012); For research into specific religions see R. W. Ferrier, 'The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1973), 38-62; R. V. Dikshitar, 'Around the City Pagodas', in *The Madras Tercentenary Volume*, (Madras, 1939); Kanakalatha Mukund, *The View from Below: Indigenous Society, Temples and the Early Colonial State in Tamilnadu, 1700-1825* (Telangana: Orient Blackswan, 2005); For Christianity see Moffett, *Christianity in Asia*; Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras: Being the History of Ecclesiastical and missionary action of the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras,* 3 vols. (London, 1904).
[4] There have been several works on development of Indian political involvement in EIC governance: see Ames, 'The Role of Religion', 317-340; Stern, 'Rethinking Institutional Transformations'; Balachandran, 'Of Corporations and Caste Heads'; Hasan, 'Indigenous Cooperation'; Joseph J. Brennig, 'Chief Merchants and the European Enclaves of Seventeenth-Century Coromandel', *Asian Studies*, Vol. 11, No.3 (1977), 321-340; Fraas, Arthur M., '"They Have Travailed Into a Wrong Latitude:" The Laws of England, Indian Settlements, and the British Imperial Constitution 1726-1773' (unpublished PhD. diss, Duke University, 2011); Mukund, *The View from* Below; The *Trading World of the Tamil Merchant: Evolution of Merchant Capitalism in the Coromandel* (Telangana: Orient Blackswan, 1999).

the Dutch models of religious governance. Moreover, it assesses the influence of South Asian religious cosmopolitanism and governance in the policing of religious behaviour through government in EIC jurisdictions. It does this by looking at key moments of religious governance in the east, such as the Aurungzeb's levy of the *jizya* and the Portuguese imposition of the inquisition in Goa. Furthermore, the chapter highlights how the EIC's ecumenical governance responded to external events on the ground in the east, offering religious freedoms to encourage migration to their territories. It examines how company officials not only developed ecumenical governance as a means to encourage religious migration not only in opposition to European and Indian examples, but also through religious and commercial patronage.

The chapter then considers how the EIC in dealing with the behaviour of its own personnel acclimatised to the religiously cosmopolitan governments of the Indian Ocean. It does this by examining how company officials and employees struggled to adapt its ecumenical governance to deal with practical environmental factors of daily religious life and government in India. Furthermore, the chapter examines the development and importance of passive evangelism as a policy regarding the religious behaviour of the EIC's ecumenical governance following the company's territorial acquisition. Moreover, it places the role of passive evangelism in the wider ecumenical governance of the EIC, claiming that the adoption of this policy was done to secure an effective relationship between with various multi-faith communities of merchants, artisans and elites that made up Indian commercial society and the company.

Finally, it also investigates the role of the company's ecumenical governance in securing company favour amongst religious communities by offering religious freedoms and political representation and power in company government in India. This would ensure that through the policies of its ecumenical governance the company would secure the political behaviour of religious groups under its control. The chapter throughout also assesses the reaction and influence its ecumenical governance had in the domestic sphere, in debates on politics, religion and leadership, concluding in 1698 on the eve of the foundation of the New EIC and the creation of the SPCK and the dawn of a new era of corporate religious governance.

Ecumenical Governance, Josiah Child and the Dutch Model

Catherine of Braganza's dowry, on her marriage to Charles II in 1662, brought England its the first major jurisdictive acquisition of the English in the Indian subcontinent: Bombay. By the beginning of the eighteenth century England had control of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, and with these territorial acquisitions the English gained jurisdiction over a growing and religiously cosmopolitan population. The Company's religious concern no longer stretched only to its Protestant plurality, but its government came to rule over Muslims, Hindus, Parsi, Armenians, Jews and Catholics. In light of this, its officials had to develop and adapt a policy of religious governance to include these new populations to be able to police and govern over their religious and political behaviour. It was in the cultural exposure of EIC officials to the religious world of the Indian subcontinent, as well as the pluralistically Protestant community that they had created over the previous 60 years, that it began to form a policy of religious governance that embodied ecumenicalism and was centred around sufferance. It was this policy that led to the future Governor of the Company, Sir Josiah Child, commenting that although the company strived for uniformity in England they allowed "an Amsterdam of Liberty in our Plantations."[5] The flexible ecumenical governance of the EIC allowed the company to establish and secure English corporate government in India in the second half of the century. Having its foundations in early EIC interactions with Mughal and Maratha religious governance as well as growing out of the company's Protestant plurality, it also was able to react to the demands of local religious groups to have a vocal say in English territories. Company officials were quick to present this policy of sufferance as their own invention of benevolence, which offered religious protection in the face of Mughal and Iberian religious injustice, and English ecumenical governance, corporate flexibility and religious sufferance.

Throughout much of the century EIC officials would seek to replicate and adapt the governmental methods of their European counterparts to establish an effective form of religious governance over the religious behaviour of those people who came under the EIC's expanding jurisdiction. Scholars have traditionally treated Child's assertion as a much boarder English trend, suggesting that the success of the EIC was down to the company's willingness to adopt and adapt Dutch governing practices establishing "an

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[5] Josiah Child, *A New Discourse on Trade* (London, 1665), 152.

Amsterdam of Liberty in our Plantations." Both Erik Reinhart and Oscar Gelderblom have discussed the influence of Dutch methods of political, religious and commercial governance and how English company officials across the globe sought to emulate these practices.[6] Child's interest in the Dutch amongst lay in their commercial success and the ability of the Dutch to control territories, such as Batavia, from fortified positions in religiously cosmopolitan environments.

From the middle of the century onwards, EIC officials increasingly looked at the Dutch "policy of dominions" as the model to adopt, and adapt to meet the strains of governing the company's religiously cosmopolitan territorial acquisitions.[7] For Child the success of religious governance over the behaviour of people and across the globe would not only ensure the security of the company in Asia but also trigger a reformation in practical charitable behaviour in England. Ecumenical governance would spur on the success of the commercial mission of the EIC abroad and in doing trade, which according to Child had "a tendency to public good" would help the poor of England.[8] Child remarked that the Dutch, unlike the English, through the successful governance of trade in their territories abroad, as well as other Protestant nations abroad, had established methods to "provide for, and empolye" their poor.[9] The religious governance of the Dutch at Batavia established a thriving commercial and cosmopolitan hub in the Asia. The land under their control the religious behaviour of Protestant, Catholics, Jews, Armenians, Hindus, Muslims and Chinese peoples were all policed through a policy of sufferance. For Child, this had been one of the reasons for the commercial success of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the betterment of the Dutch nation.

It was the cosmopolitan environment of Batavia, rather than a solely Amsterdam model of religious governance, that forced the VOC to adopt this model of government.[10]

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[6] Erik S. Reinert, 'Emulating Success: Contemporary Views of the Dutch Economy before 1800', 19-40, particularly 32 and Oscar Gelderblom 'The Organization of Trade in England and the Dutch Republic 1550-1650', in Gelderblom, *The Political Economy of the Dutch Republic* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 29), 223-254.
[7] K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 117, 288.
[8] Child, *New Discourse*, 77, 61-77.
[9] *Ibid.*, 62.
[10] In relation to wider implications of Dutch religious governance in the east see Even Haefeli, *New Netherland and the Dutch Origins of American Religious Liberty* (Philadelphia, PA; University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 129-134.

Not only intimately aware of the VOC's operation at Batavia, Child sought to explain the evolution of EIC governance in India, as a characteristic that was in general common in English commercial expansion, in the east and west. EIC territories in India were a few of many English "Amsterdam['s] of Liberty" which were built on a model of religious sufferance that was as much English as it was Dutch. Child acknowledged that although uniformity is strived for in England, English territories abroad were a patchwork of religious identities and governance. In particular he drew attention to the MBC which although noting it as England's "most prejudicial plantation" Child also disingenuously hinted that its success lay in its government's recent willingness to accept nonconformists of any kind.[11] Child goes on that the MBC had by nature of population and their religious governance had established an unprejudiced trade across the Atlantic that was ultimately to the benefit of England.[12] Child's 'Amsterdam of Liberty' although a Dutch model was not necessarily purely Dutch, it was an example of a flourishing form of European corporate 'ecumenical' governance that evolved under both English and Dutch outside of Europe, and by the end of the century they could have easily been renamed 'Batavia', 'Boston' or 'Bombay' of liberty. It was in the religious cosmopolitan environments of India the EIC religious governance evolved both in conversation with and parallel to Indian forms of governance.

Ecumenical Governance in opposition to Mughal Religious Government

Although the influence of the Dutch on EIC officials' ideas towards religion and religious governance was influential, the policy of sufferance came from sixteenth and early seventeenth century India leadership. As James Tracy in his investigation of the Dutch at Surat has highlighted, Europeans who operated in India and Asia had a sophisticated and lucid understanding on Asian politics.[13] Conflict and religious turmoil in India provided the EIC with an environment to appear to offer themselves and their religious governance as a 'benevolent other' to peoples fleeing persecution and conflict. From the late 1650s till the first decade of the eighteenth century India became embroiled in a series of religious struggles and conflicts, between the Mughal and Maratha states.[14]

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[11] Child, *New Discourse*, 160, 152.
[12] *Ibid.*, 163.
[13] Tracy, 'Asian Despotism', 267-78.
[14] Gordon, *Marathas*, 59-113.

By the middle of the seventeenth century Indian, or more so Mughal leadership, under Aurungzeb, provided the means for the EIC to advertise its governance as being a religiously benevolent alternative to the local Indian as well as Iberian governments.[15] The company's policy towards religious governance was also not only fuelled by the external forces of Indian and European politics, or Protestant evangelical requirements, but by the internal pressures of Indian people who now fell under EIC jurisdiction. Moreover, this highlights how during the seventeenth century people of varying religious, national and cultural backgrounds influenced the direction of corporate religious governance in EIC India.[16] During which Indian legal, social and political agency in English jurisdictions was secured by the power of religious and cultural groups to conversely undermine, or strengthen English attempts to police their religious and political identity and behaviour.

Following its territorial acquisitions the ecumenical governance of the EIC evolved to deal with the pressures of governing the religious behaviour of various peoples in religiously cosmopolitan environments. As the company gained control of both Madras and Bombay, its officials were faced with new pressures of having to govern of peoples that embraced numerous faiths and cultures. Both Hindu and Muslims made up significant proportions of the populations of these settlements, whilst in Bombay, and Madras to a certain extent there was a visible Catholic population, alongside which numerous other faiths including Jews, Jains and Armenians. By the time Madras was incorporated in 1687 Englishmen and women were an insignificant part of a population of over 10,000 people.[17] It has been estimated that at the time there were only resident 150 English people in the city, whilst in Bombay numbers were not much better, especially when considered next to mortality rates. Figures taken by the company put the English population of Bombay between 1673-5 as being around 427 Englishmen, women, and children, however in that two years span a massive 41 per cent of that figure had died.[18] As these figures show the English presence in the EIC jurisdictions were minimal

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[15] Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 70.

[16] For a similar approach on the formation of the EIC legal culture in the eighteenth century see Arthur M. Fraas, *Into a Wrong Latitude*.

[17] Om Prakesh, *European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 148.

[18] For Madras statistics see Seren Mentz, *The English Gentlemen Merchant at Work: Madras and the City of London 1660-1740* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2005), 244; For Bombay see BL IOR E/3/36 'A List of all the English both men and Women on the Island of Bombay together with a List of

in comparison to local Muslim and Hindu populations. In response company officials adopted a form of religious governance that would secure their commercial aims through policing religious behaviour in their jurisdictions, whilst also encouraging migration to them.

Through the adoption of ecumenical governance and sufferance EIC leadership hoped to ensure religious and political and commercial success in the religiously diverse environments of its territories. Governor of Bombay, Richard Keigwin wrote in *The Articles of Agreement between the Governor and Inhabitants of Bombay* guaranteeing "the inhabitants the liberty of Exceriseing their Respective Religion."[19] This statement had been part of a series of moves that had been initiated by both George Oxenden and Gerald Aungier from the late 1660s offering widespread religious suffrage, however the timing of Keigwin's articles help to illustrate the much wider reasoning for the EIC's religious policy. Although Keigwin's articles formally publicised the EIC's ecumenical governance in Bombay, it however also arose out of a mandated policy of freedom that had been mandated through the treaties with the Portuguese. The Braganza treaty which formally handed Bombay over to the English stipulated that Catholics resident in the ceded territory would have the freedom to practice their faith openly under islands English government. By the time Keigwin was publishing the articles the policy of religious sufferance was well established in Bombay, however, drawn up during a time of religious dislocation encouraged by conflict, these articles are illustrative of much wider post-Braganza EIC policy on religious governance that was both a mandated religious freedom and policy of freedom. Furthermore, their publication was an advertisement for the religious governance of the EIC to Hindus and Muslims fleeing from persecution and conflict between the Mughal and Maratha states.

The EIC entered an environment, which had a long and conflicted tradition of Islamic and Hindu religious governance, that the companies leaders would have to negotiate, manipulate and build its own religious governance upon. It has previously been easy to fall into a trap in South Asian history of over emphasising historical moments in

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what men and Women are Deceased and the time for the space years past taken this 30 August 1675'; Stern *Company State*, 37.

[19] BL IOR E/3/43, 'The Articles of Agreement between the Governor and Inhabitants of Bombay', December 29, 1683; February 8, 1684.

India's religious and political past such as Aurungzeb's passing of the *Jizya*, and thereby misrepresenting the reasoning behind what to modern readers would be seen as an innocuous decision. Described by one historian as the only "really exceptional act" of his reign, Aurungzeb's reintroduction of the *Jizya*, a poll tax upon non-Muslims (which had been abolished by Akbar for being prejudicial) in 1679 is one such example of where over emphasis has led to misrepresentation in the historical discussion.[20] Whether seen as financially forcing Hindus to convert to Islam, or a policy to encourage support from loyal Muslims in his empire, Aurungzeb's motivations to reintroduce the *Jizya* have long been debated by historians examining its role in the conflicts of the Indian subcontinent in the late seventeenth century.[21] However, despite its contested position in Indian politics during this period, the *Jizya* does conversely offer the intellectual space to see the adoption of religious sufferance by EIC officials as a tool of governance. The company as an olive branch offered religious freedom to Hindus who migrated to Bombay and Madras; religious sufferance became an integral part of the EIC response to Aurungzeb's reintroduction of the tax.[22] Religious sufferance actively encourage Hindus to migrate to safety in land under EIC jurisdiction fleeing the financial burden of the *Jizya*, but also bringing with them, to the great benefit of the English and the company, their own financial and commercial links.

In the second half of the century local conflicts amongst Indian leaders increasingly influenced the commercial, political and religious conversations and policies of EIC. Over the 1660s relations between Aurangzeb and Shivaji became more and more acrimonious, as each launched small raids against the other, however by 1669 the two were in full-blown conflict with each other that would last for three decades. Exacerbated by the expanding cultural divide between the two courts the conflict between the two was also fuelled by Aurangzeb's religious governance policy of "Muslim sectarianism."[23] In 1667 George Oxenden wrote back to London from Surat detailing the growing violence of Aurungzeb's religious governance, describing how the Mughal government was "now lying a heavy persecution, upon the Banians and Gentues… upon all that are not of his

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[20] Abraham Eraly, *The Mughal Throne: The Saga of India's Great Emperors* (London: Phoenix, 2004), 388.
[21] Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1928), 249-50; Chandra, 'Jizyah and the State', 322-340; Eraly, *The Mughal Throne*, 401-405, 419-22.
[22] For company discussion on the tax see Letter from Bassein to Surat, December 10, 1667, in Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 286.
[23] Gordon, *Marathas*, 79.

eronious opinion."[24] In the wake of the Mughal governor's "furious zeal" and Aurangzeb's religious governance the EIC leadership and lands and religious government began to be seen as an alternative. Company reports of the policies and actions of Aurangzeb and his court became the subject of concern, intrigue, misconception and even favour by Englishmen and Europeans in India and further afield.

Eastern Examples of Religious Governance in England

As the EIC's ecumenical governance in the East developed following the acquisition of territory in India so too did the domestic interest in Eastern government and Mughal imperial authority. In his study of late sixteenth and early seventeenth plays and travel writing Richmond Barbour connects how supposedly factual travel accounts by Thomas Coryate and Sir Thomas Roe or "reports from the field" influenced performances and perceptions of the East in England.[25] Barbour concludes that travel writing from the East engaged the "tenacious appetites and suppositions at home" of the English theatre.[26] As reports of the EIC successes and the commodities of the east became more visible in England the boundaries of otherness were complicated and extended. The governmental and religious otherness encapsulated in Shakespeare's Venice and Dabourne's Morocco, moved further east as India became the exotic and importantly distant setting for English writers to question domestic religious and political governance. By far the most famous of the late seventeenth century plays set in India was John Dryden's *Aureng-Zebe* (1675). Just as Joan-Pau Rubies argued that travel accounts form the East allowed Europeans to formulate ideas of Oriental despotism that "served a common intellectual purpose" in forming ideas of political authority in Europe, plays such as *Aureng-Zebe* questioned governance in Europe from the safety of distant geographies.[27] This safe distance allowed Dryden to write a play about Aurangzeb, but also the foreign monarch and distant geography provided a safe space to offer a critique of English religious governance.

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[24] President to Company, Surat 1667, Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 284.
[25] Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre and the East, 1576-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 144.
[26] *Ibid.*, 194.
[27] Joan-Pau Rubies, 'Oriental Despotism and European Orientalism: Botero to Montesquieu', *Journal of Early Modern History* Vol. 9 (2005), 109.

Loosely based on the events surrounding Aurungzeb's seizure of power from his father, Dryden's heroic play has been widely cited by scholars as an allegory intended to advise both Charles II and the Duke of York on good monarchical leadership.[28] However, the play alongside having parallels with English politics, also highlights the growing concern of English leaders about the "internal dynamics of India's ruling dynasty" due to the expanding operations of the EIC in India following the territorial acquisition of Bombay.[29] Having never been to India himself Dryden obtained much of his information for his play from François Bernier's *History of the Late Revolution in the Empire of the Great Mogul* published four years previously. Like Bernier, Dryden perceived the events in India on which he based his play to be a tragedy of romance, however Dryden departs from historical fact, presenting a fictitious account of events.[30] Only in name did the Aurangzeb of Dryden's play bare any similarities to the Aurangzeb of reality. Described as "by no strong passion sway'd, Except his love, more temp'rate is, and weigh'd" and "a Loyal Son" who had "His Father's Cause upon his Sword" Dryden dismissed much of Bernier's reports of "cruelty and tyranny" of Aurangzeb who had imprisoned his father, son and brother.[31] Dryden distanced from events in India, and writing to an audience with an appetite for but little knowledge of Indian religious and political events instead cleverly appropriated what would have been considered negative characteristics of his protagonists onto other characters, in particular Aurangzeb's brothers. Notably absent from Dryden interpretation of Aurangzeb was his devout Islamic faith and strict religious governance. Many contemporaries including Bernier noted Aurangzeb's deep and often dogmatic faith, describing him as a "grave serious man, and one that would appear a great Mahumetan."[32] However, Dryden in an attempt to relinquish his Aurangzeb of his religiosity is appropriated upon one of his brothers, whom he describes as "a bigot of the Persian sect."[33] Bigotry, intolerance and tyranny were much the same in the early modern world, and by transposing those characteristics onto Aurangzeb's brother Dryden (prior to his own conversion to Catholicism) subtly drew parallels with Charles's brother James,

[28] John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden Vol. XII: Amboyna, The State of Innocence, Aureng-Zebe* ed. Vinton A. Dearing, (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 397.
[29] Bridget Orr, *Empire on the English Stage 1660-1714* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 43.
[30] Balachandra Rajan, *Under Western Eyes: India from Milton to Macaulay* (Durham, NC; Duke University Press, 1999), 67-77.
[31] John Dryden, *Aureng-Zebe, a Tragedy acted at the Royal Theatre* (1676), 4; François Bernier, *The history of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogul* (London, 1671), 116.
[32] Bernier, *Late Revolution*, 80-81.
[33] Dryden, *Aureng-Zebe*, B.

Duke of York and fears people had over his open Catholic faith.[34] Dryden negotiated his way around the reality of Indian negative religious governance of Mughal leadership, to present his English audience and the Stuart crown with an example of both good and bad models of monarchical authority and religious governance.

The fictional portrayal of Aurangzeb's leadership by Dryden provided an excellent example of a distant and exotic, but nevertheless recognisable monarch through which to highlight good leadership and governance to an English audience and crown. Although the EIC had been operating in India for over 70 years by the time Dryden wrote his play, the territorial acquisitions that followed the restoration had thrust the company further into the English public arena. Through the company the English public was connected across the globe to India, receiving exotic commodities and importantly information on religious and political events in the sub-continent. The EIC through the information and commodities it imported connected the English public and political leaders to events taking place thousands of miles away in India, allowing Dryden to build upon a connection that at the same time as feeling familiar was still, different, exotic, distant and importantly defined as other. Despite the connections established by the company, the distance and exoticism of India meant that it was still shrouded in otherness providing Dryden with the space to draw upon Indian forms of governance and leadership to establish parallels with English leaders. The Aurangzeb that Dryden constructs is not formed in a binary opposition between ideas of authority over eastern otherness and western familiarity, as any orientalist concept of English authority in India would not take shape until the eighteenth century.[35] Rather otherness for Dryden is constructed by distance between himself and his example, allowing him to forge a model of good leadership that transcended nation, religion and ocean.[36] India provided playwrights such as Dryden with a political geography of the other that could easily represent through metaphor that of any nation. It was then not down to English perception of weakness in the subcontinent, that inspired their fascination, but eastern leaders' strength which could be set aside the internal political and religious anxieties that surrounded perceptions of

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[34] For more on Dryden's writing and belief both before and after to his conversion to Catholicism see, Christopher J. Walker, *Reason and Religion in Late Seventeenth-Century England: The Politics and Theology of Radical Dissent* (London: Taurus, 2013), 152-3.
[35] For argument that perceptions of the east and orientalism formed under western academic, legal and governmental expansion see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1978), 30-110.
[36] For opposing view see Said, *Orientalism*, 40-42.

seventeenth century English leaders.[37] Through the growing awareness of EIC operations in the East, Dryden utilised the political leadership of a distant geography to advise the direction of crown authority in England. Just as India had to "now has in her hand the greatest stake, which for contending Monarchs she can make" so too did England's monarch must decide what type of leader they would be.[38] Although his account of Aurungzeb is for the most part fictitious, it illustrates the complex relationship combining both, admiration and disdain; English people had, both at home and abroad, with the religious governments and leaderships of the environments the EIC operated in.

Ecumenical Governance in opposition to Iberian Religious Government

The ecumenical governance of the EIC and the policy of religious sufferance provided leadership of the company with the governmental apparatus to present itself as being the compassionate alternative to other traditional European parties in the area, particularly the Catholic Portuguese. Although the severity of Catholic inquisition in Goa has come under question, its imposition was real in the mind-set of the local population and EIC officials, who sought to use it to encourage resettlement to English owned territory.[39] The religious administrative centre for the Portuguese, Goa had been a bishopric since 1534, the inquisition formally begun in 1560 with the arrival of the first Archbishop Gaspar de Leao Pimental, although an outward policy of aggressive evangelism began in 1542 with the arrival of the Jesuit Francisco Xavier.[40] The most influential and long reaching policy begun seventeen years after Xavier's arrival and involved the forcible conversion of Hindu orphans. By 1559 the law gradually became more flexible encompassing not just orphans, but children whose fathers had died were taken, and in the process the church could confiscate the parents' property.[41] The religious governance of the Portuguese in India presented EIC officials with the opportunity to present their religious, commercial and political governance as an alternative to their European brethren.

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[37] Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640-1685* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2007), 8-9; for opposing view that knowledge of orient was developed out of cultural strength see Chinua Achebe, 'Colonialist Criticism', in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995), 57-60.
[38] Dryden, *Aurung-zebe*, B.
[39] Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 231.
[40] Glenn J., 'Serving God, Mammon, Or Both', 195.
[41] Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, 127-140.

Further reports emerged following the acquisition of Bombay that sought to point out the persecutions that went on under Portuguese governance. These were to maintain the moral high ground; they detailed several horrific actions against the local Indian populations and placed EIC religious governance as a benevolent other. George Oxenden explained the practice in the language of slavery, reporting that under the "tyranny of the Jesuites" the children never returned to their families and were brought up Catholic, concluding this was a "bondage very grievous to them."[42] Reports painted a picture of whole families being whipped, and evicted for being unable to pay their rents, whilst others starved or fled "not haveing authority or justice to relive them."[43] As Portuguese religious governance developed its aggression it also became unpopular amongst the other Europeans who were in India, not only Protestants but also Catholics. Several letters during the early 1660s highlight this as the report of the presence of French Capuchin friar, Father Ephraim at Madras who had repeatedly been imprisoned by the Portuguese in the 1650s.[44] By encroaching upon both the religious and property rights of Indians and Europeans the Portuguese provided the Company with the perfect opportunity to portray themselves as the benevolent other, allowing Hindus to escape the Catholic inquisition in neighbouring Goa. In two letters to Surat the Deputy Governor of Bombay, Henry Young expressed his deep concern over the practices of Roman Catholics, in forcibly converting Indians not just in Goa but also in Bombay, which he suggested was "sending of scareing off the island to their Inquisition."[45] However, the company was quick to ensure that non-Christians on the Island knew that they would "not favour them [the Catholics] in the least," and would actively seek to prevent them from evangelise.[46] The EIC policy of sufferance provided an alternative space for Indians to escape Indian and European governance. Not only this it also provided the opportunity for the company to exaggerate and advertise English Protestantism evangelism, as a benevolent passive counter to aggressive and prejudicial ministry of the Portuguese Catholics. As one agent at Gombroon would write "I want not to dayly to solicite and incorradge both Armenians and Banians of all sorts to imbarke" to Bombay, which had been made all the easier by

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[42] NA CO 77/9 f. 93Sir George Oxenden to Lord Arlington, March 6, 1665.
[43] Sir Gervase Lucas to Lord Arlington, 1667, Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 290.
[44] Foster, *English Factories*, IX: 92; X: 402-06; XI 38-40.
[45] Henry Young, James Adams and Coates to Surat February 22, William Foster, *The English Factories,* XIII: 13, 218.
[46] *Ibid*.

Aurungzeb's religious governance leading to people "imploring" for the "assistance and protection on… Bombay."[47]

Ecumenical Governance and Religious-Commercial Patronage and Religious Migration

Following the acquisition of territory in India EIC officials fixated on securing their position by encouraging through varying methods, including the company's ecumenical governance, Indian people of varying faiths and professions to migrate to areas under their jurisdictions. For the religious governance of the EIC lands in the second half of the century to be a success, the company relied heavily upon its relationship with wealthy indigenous merchants, encouraging them to settle in their lands. These merchants not only assisted the company in its commercial endeavours but they were also valuable in securing the long term financial success of the company by throwing their support behind the company's religious governance, attracting migrants and keeping the local population happy.[48] From the mid 1650s the local temples in Madras began to crop up in company records, with the company dealing with local wealthy merchants to build, and maintain them. Beri Timmanna, the future Chief Merchant of the Company, by the end of the century had funded both Chennakesava Perumal and Mallikesvarar Temples in Madras.[49] The company hoped to influence the control of funds from these religious sites, as well as encouraging their building, by absorbing traditional Indian forms of temple patronage by granting control of them to Indian chief merchants.[50] Similarly following the death of Kasi Viranna in 1680, the company built a Mosque for the Muslim residents of Black Town in Madras.[51] By building these temples the EIC hoped to encourage the migration of various Hindu worshippers from all over India including worshippers of Visnua from neighbouring Andhra, and Tamil-speaking followers of Shiva from further south.[52] Furthermore, the EIC also built and maintained a Portuguese catholic church within its fort in Madras prior to building St Mary's.[53] Through the migration of Indian peoples of

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[47] Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 211, 191.
[48] Mukund, *View from Below*, 52.
[49] Love, I: 90-93.
[50] Mukund, *View from Below*, 54-55.
[51] Dikshitar, 'Around the City Pagodas', 365.
[52] EIC temple building policy and its role in encouraging migration see Joanna Punzo Waghorne, *Diaspora of the Gods: Modern Hindu Temples in an Hindu Middle Class World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 37-41.
[53] H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800,* 4 vols. (London, 1913), I: 44-48.

varying faiths, including wealthy merchants, weavers, and numerous others that company officials in India sought to cultivate the company's influence and power. By developing a relationship (which were at times both advantageous and turbulent) with influential Indian migrated and their contacts, company officials sought not only solidify their jurisdictive power but also encourage further migration.

The EIC's ecumenical governance and temple building were part of a broader policy involving temples to encourage migration, through the gifting of patronage to wealthy merchants. However, at times this policy often caused dispute between the EIC's chief Indian merchants and local peoples, illustrating how the company's leaders and policy choices that fell into their ecumenical governance often misunderstood traditional local religious governance, creating moments of friction. It was at these temples in the 1650s that the local Brahmans seeking to show their support for company officials hired a witch to ""obtaine the affections of governours" by performing a ritual to "abase and destroy or hinder the proceeding of adversairies."[54] Timmanna and his associates became embroiled in a local dispute with the people of Madras and those who lived in surrounding villages, who were disgruntled at being forced them to pay taxes for the maintenance of the two temples, which he had built in Madras.[55] Triggered by the EIC's involvement this marked a considerable shift in local governance concerning the maintenance of temples, where funds went from being raised by local communities levying voluntary taxes on themselves to company sponsored elites and families controlling the temples.[56] However, the complaints of the local painters, weavers and Brahmins, also shed light on how the EIC through their Indian chief merchants sought to expand control of the company's jurisdiction by acquiring control of temples outside of its jurisdiction. For example in their complaint, they expressed concern that the Temple at Triplicane, which although outside the jurisdiction of the Company at Madras, had been gradually placed under the control of local company merchants like Timmanna (who was a trustee of the Temple) and like those in Madras was seeking to gain substantial revenues from it.[57] In response to their actions the local Brahmins wished to see the company punish its chief merchants, writing that "those who procure honour for 'our nation' and the Company should be

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[54] Charges Against the Brahmans, Foster, *English Factories*, IX: 239.
[55] Foster, *English Factories*, IX: 259.
[56] Mukund, *View from Below*, 53.
[57] *Ibid*; Mukund, *View from Below*, 52; *Trading World of the Tamil* (Telangana: Orient Blackswan, 1999), 70-1.

honoured, and those who on occasion dishonour should be punished."[58] The Brahmin's letter highlights the success of EIC officials in establishing its governing authority over the people of Madras, as although the reference to 'our country' may be seen as subtle jibe at the EIC, its connection to the Company is recognised. Furthermore, the success of both was intertwined, through those who would 'procure honour' and any attempt to dishonour the company, was also an attempt to undermine the nation, and so the company and its religious governance should award or punish those who did so.

In the second half of the century EIC leadership through its ecumenical governance continually sought to encourage the migration of Indian peoples into lands over which the company had jurisdiction. EIC officials were initially unwilling to take on the task of governing over Bombay in addition to its other outposts in Madras and Surat, seeing it as a financial drain. Quickly company leadership, both in India and England, realised that substantial levels of Indian migration would be the only way for the newly acquired territory to be commercially viable and English authority in the region secured. The company made attempts to encourage English people to settle in Bombay like one of the Caribbean Islands or New England colony, offering land to "persons as shalbe willing to come," this also included free passage to those men who wished to go and had families.[59] The company also encouraged those "whether in the Company service, freemen, as also al others of the reformed religion" stay in India by attaching indentures to marriage licences.[60] By forcing people to stay company leaders believed they were acting like "the successful examples of New England, Virginia, Barbados & Jamaica" which would lead to the establishment of good reformed Christian governance in India through plantations and investment in company land.[61] However this failed, and despite the aspirations to increase the population size through the resettlement and marriage, as English people unwilling to settle in India ensured that the population, as previously mentioned remained fairly small. Unable to achieve an English population like that of Massachusetts in India, Company leadership turned instead to populate in jurisdictions with "itinerant South, Central and East Asian artisans, soldiers, merchants, and laborers."[62] In a letter from

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[58] Foster, *English Factories*, IX: 262.
[59] BL IOR H/ 49 London to Surat March 19, 1669; for attempts to encourage marriage see Stern, *Company-State*, 36-7.
[60] George Forrest, ed., *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in Bombay Secretariat* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1887), I: 56.
[61] E/3/32 Surat to London, November 7, 1671.
[62] Foster, *English Factories*, IX: 262.

London in the previous year, the Company ordered its Officials in Surat that for the organising of "better settling of commerce" and "good government" in Bombay, they were to "endeavour to incorage the natives that are there and invite others to come thither."[63] To do so the company sought to promote its religious governance to encourage local artisans, merchants and labourers to resettle on their lands and be "under our owne Government."[64] To encourage the variety of peoples and faiths to settle in Bombay, the company's religious governance adopted sufferance as its key characteristic, offering religious freedoms in return for labour, loyalty, taxes and commercial knowledge.

Indigenous migration and the commercial wealth that came with it was intrinsically linked to the corporate flexibility of the EIC in introducing a policy of sufferance that allowed English officials the autonomy to offer substantial religious freedoms. Henry Gary wrote to Lord Arlington of the economic benefits of granting religious liberty to the people of Bombay. Proclaiming that by building Indians "pagados and mesquitas to excersise theyr religion publiquely" the English would transform Bombay into a "very famous and opulent port."[65] The building of places of worship was an important element of company officials' policy of religions sufferance. Company officials saw it as an way to physically advertise a developing policy that Catholic, Hindu, Jew or Muslims in Bombay and Madras were "to suffer them to enjoy the exercise of their own religion without the least disruption or discountenance."[66] By building Temples and Mosques, Gary suggested that there would be a benefit to the company, as the funds "reaped by it would bee so considerable" and that even if only "by a voluntary tributt every one would give" the company would be able to maintain the garrison of the city.[67] In 1654 Timanna was acquiring 5 pagodas a month on one of the temple duty, a value of roughly £24 a year, which would have had significant purchasing power in the Indian market.[68] Furthermore, it was certainly enough to cover the cost of maintaining Temples however, more importantly control of the temples gave the EIC gave greater control and administrate power in the area. Both Hindus and Muslims were not the only faiths that

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[63] Company to Surat Council on Bombay, March 27, 1668, Forster, *English Factories*, XIII: 56.
[64] BL IOR H/49 London to Surat, March 19, 1669.
[65] Gary to Arlington. February 16/26, 1665, Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 51-52.
[66] Fosters, *English Factories*, XI: 128.
[67] Gary to Lord Arlington, March 22, 1665, Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 53; For a opposite view which argues the Company was ambivalent to building of Temples see Dikshitar, 'Around the City Pagodas', 355-370.
[68] Fosters, *English Factories*, IX: 262.

EIC leaderships sought to encourage to resettle on company lands by building places of worship. Christian communities including Catholics and Armenians alongside Jews were highly sought after as company interpreters and middlemen. Whilst at the same time as some advocated building Temples and Mosques the Lieutenant Governor of Bombay also wrote to Surat to suggest that land could be given to the Armenians for them to move to and build a "church for the service of God."[69] Whether a figment or reality its officials perceived the company's ecumenical governance as an incentive to varying religious communities to migrate and escape the dogmatic local and European regimes that surrounding the companies territories. By offering the governmental and religious freedoms alongside financial incentive to encourage the migration of Hindu, Muslim, Armenian, Jewish and Catholic merchants, traders and artisans into the company's territory securing its commercial mission.

Ecumenical Governance and regulating behaviour of English Personnel

As EIC officials had dealt with establishing the broad policies of the company's ecumenical governance, they also had to ensure that it was observed practically through the good behaviour of company personnel and the permanent and practical presence of a church. During the first half of the seventeenth century the EIC had to a greater or lesser extent tried to ensure that on and in its ships and factories its religious governance was observed through congregational meetings. However, increasingly the company officials in India were tasked with either designating specific rooms in factories solely for worship, or building chapels and churches. From Fort St. George in 1660 complaints that English had helped two French friars build a church to "boldly performe their idolatrous rites" however had not built a church to "serve God in a better manner."[70] After some anti-Catholic rhetoric the writer goes on to that "Twill be better for person that profess the Protestant religion… to serve God in some publique place… that so strangers may see and heare wee doe it orderly, reverently and decently."[71] Factories were areas in which space was shared between English company servants and indigenous workers meaning that private worship was either difficult or impossible to conduct.

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[69] Lieutenant Governor of Bombay to Lord Arlington, December 23, 1665, *English Factories*, XII: 63.
[70] Foster, *English Factories*, X: 402-06.
[71] *Ibid*.

In some factories such as in Bengal there was "very beautiful chappell for divine service" in general there was no area where "at prayer wee may not bee disturbes or gazed on by the Workmen and Collyes that are continuaally about the factory."[72] In 1661 Oxenden declared it was his "cheifest care to promote his [Gods] service and worship" whilst one of Aungier's first acts in Bombay was to ensure that the Sabbath was observed.[73] However, company officials found this increasingly difficult due to the lack of designated spaces for worship. The company's policy of encouraging temple building is made even more startling by the fact that in 1663 Madras still lacked an Anglican church. Company officials were not unobservant to the irony of this writing that they found it "very preposterous" which was made all the worse by the fact that local Catholics had church along with a churchyard to bury their dead, whilst the English were "forc't to cary our dead corpses out of the towne."[74] The lack of allocated space for Protestant worship in the company's new territory presented company officials with a problems observing religious life as well as enforcing the companies ecumenical governance.

Even when company officials had come to terms with the religiously cosmopolitan environment, and eventually established a space for worship EIC officials had to find practical solutions to deal with environmental issues that affected the governance of its ecumenically diverse English and European employees. As an essential element of most Protestant sects was the active observation of group or collective worship however, like all aspects of life in India this encountered practical problems due to denomination divisions that often flared into debates between factors. After being accused by Joseph Hall of disobeying the company's orders, by only observing divine worship on the Sabbath and not every day, Shem Bridges, the local company chief, eloquently observed that in India it was difficult to find a religious direction that pleased all, writing "it will bee difficult to calculate an Ephemerides that will serve all Meridians."[75] This observation astutely recognised the difficulty the EIC's leader and the company's ecumenical governance faced in trying to cater for the religious sentiments of the broad Protestant communities that had been established by the company earlier in the century.

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[72] William Gifford to Company, January 6, 1664, Foster, *English Factories*, XI: 284; BL IOR E/3 Shem Bridges to Joseph Hall, Ballasore, May 12, 1669.
[73] BL IOR H/48 Commission and Instructions to Sir George Oxenden, March 19, 1661/2; BL Add. Ms 29/255 'The Establishment of English Law on Bombay', December 30, 1672.
[74] Foster, *English Factories*, XI: 58.
[75] BL IOR E/3/Bridges to Hall, May 12, 1669.

However, as he points out, just as choosing the right course at sea could be difficult, so too was navigating one's way through religious life in the English factories in India. Bridge's language more broadly highlights the geographic separation from daily religious life and governance that company personnel underwent in its service.

Bridges was not only highlighting the problems facing theological unity, but the practical issues of environmental factors that company servants faced in their new surroundings. Similarly spaces were often allocated for duel use; as Shem points out there was no place to entertain local dignitaries, EIC leadership, or hold events other "than the hall which must bee our Church".[76] Indeed this became a problem that was openly recognised by company leadership both within India and back in England, with a Chapels being requested for and built in Madras and Surat between 1661 and 1664.[77] The temperature was also an issue, as Bridges pointed out that only one service on a Sunday could be expected as "in these hot countries, for neither a mans spirits nor voice can hold touch here with long dutyes." These environmental impracticalities encouraged ministers and company servants to adapt their methods, encouraging shorter sermons, which even then according to some were still "thought too much by some."[78] The effect of this was that Bridges points out even despite company orders for all "men or company to heare divyne service" many refused to even turn up to church, with one individual, a nonconformist friend of Hall breaking the Sabbath to work.[79] Bridges comments highlight how travelling to India not only put geographic distance between company personnel and the religious governance of England, but also through environmental, practical and geographic factors of the subcontinent complicated company ecumenical governance on the ground.

Ecumenical Governance and Passive Evangelism

Building upon the earlier religious governance of the company, passive evangelism continued to be the main contribution of the EIC to Protestant propagation in India. During the last half of the century, the company's policy of passive evangelism would be

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[76] *Ibid.*
[77] Foster, *English Factories*, XI: 199.
[78] BL IOR E/3/Bridges to Hall, Ballasore, May 12, 1669.
[79] Foster, *Voyage of Best*, 95.

placed at the heart of its religious governance. As the jurisdiction of the EIC religious governance expanded over a substantial multi-ethnic and multi-religious population, both through the acquisition of territory and encouraging migration, its policy of sufferance became more essential to ensuring the spiritual mission of the company. Unlike the aggressive evangelism of Jesuits and Portuguese Catholics who had gone before them in Bombay and Madras the EIC continued to maintain its policy of passive evangelism.[80] Directly set up in opposition to the Roman Catholic evangelical methods, EIC officials were acutely aware and quick to prevent the continuation of any such practices. The Deputy Governor of Bombay, Henry Young in 1669 expressed concerns and a need to be "more cautious and circumspect" of the Portuguese Catholics if the company and its ecumenical governance were to succeed on Bombay.[81] Furthermore he warned of the evangelical practises of Catholic ministers complaining that their "use compulsion" in converting local Indians was having a damaging effect on relations with the local population.[82] A month later Young and some associates continued to complain about the effects of catholic evangelical practices in Bombay, suggesting that they were forcibly baptising Indians.[83] The effect of this on the company's religious governance was twofold; firstly in the immediacy it caused the company serious problems as it directly undermined the EIC's policy to encourage migration. Not only did such actions directly oppose the EIC's use of sufferance but they also acted to "keepe people from coming on" to the Islands.[84] Secondly Young questioned the conversion itself, and as such both the eternal soul of the individual, and the evangelical aim of the company were placed at risk. For the Protestant Young and his associates "noe Christia" was made through being "forcibly (mocke) baptized" as the act did not include the "confession of faith… or profession to forake the Divell… or to fight under [the] Christian banner."[85] In response to the actions of the Catholic priests Young ordered that they cease, pointing out that it was damaging relations with the local Indian population whilst commanding that they were "not to christen nor punish" any "Gentiles without a licence."[86] In doing so Young not only forced the Catholic community to observe the supremacy of the company's Protestant religious governance and its policy of sufferance, but also ensured that its

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[80]Stern, *Company State*, 112.
[81] Foster, *English Factories*, XIII: 218.
[82] Henry Young and James Adams, to Surat, February 22, 1669, Foster, *English Factories*, XIII: 218.
[83] Young, Adams and Coates, March 17, 1669, *ibid.*, 219.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.*

method of passive evangelism would have priority when trying to convert local Indian peoples.

Similarly, although more often company officials complained of the presence of Portuguese Catholics, whom many believed rejected their religious governance and remained loyal to the King of Portugal. Anxiety between the English and the Portuguese was long standing in the Indian Ocean. However, with the acquisition of Bombay, a substantial population of Portuguese Catholics fell within the jurisdiction of the EIC's religious governance. English officials' fears seemed to be initially realised when Governor Gervaise Lucas was forced to take land from Portuguese settlers in Bombay for refusing to swear an oath of allegiance to the English crown.[87] This was a practice that Oxenden complained in 1668 had caused serious issues for the company in the long run, however he still wished "the island were free of them all, for they are a proud, lazie nation" and that they wished to "have better commonwealthsmen in their rooms."[88] Aungier complained that the Portuguese Jesuits in Bombay had been refusing to marry Catholics to Protestants, and openly been trying to encourage bad blood between English and the local Indians. The Governor argued that there was no doubt that the "villainous obstinacy" that had been caused was done so by the "pittifull, ignorant malitious polititians, the Inquisadores of Goa."[89]Although the EIC had always been wary of the Catholic presence in the Far East its acquisition of Madras and Bombay aggravated traditional opinions and mistrust of Catholics that had their origins in England and Europe. Furthermore, it also forced company personnel and the structure of the EIC's ecumenical governance to deal with the political and religious inclusion of European and Asian Catholics into company life.

Despite this being Catholic alone was enough to place you under suspicion no matter what your nation. From 1660 the company reputedly received complaints that two French priests were working "within a Protestant's jursidiction" to subvert company authority.[90] Despite this no action was taken against the priests, as company agents seemed to be divided on the issue of the priests' loyalty. According to Thomas Chambers

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[87] Gary to Lord Arlington, 1667, Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 304.
[88] Oxenden to Company, November 2, 1668, Foster, *English Factories*, XIII: 77.
[89] Aungier to Company, September 25, 1669, *ibid.*, 235.
[90] January 24, 1660, Foster, *English Factories*, XI: 406.

one of the company factor at Madras, the priests had remained there by in his opinion honestly offering "to take an oath to be true and loyall to the King and Company, as Catholiques use to doe in England."[91] In India, just as in England, Catholics were an ever-present proportion of the population. However, unlike in England, concerns about their presences in India were often outweighed by the benefits of their presence. According to one factor these priests served the Portuguese Catholic community in the Madras and if the priests were forced to leave, he feared so would the Catholics and the company would lose a percentage of its military manpower alongside their commercial knowledge.[92] However, the issue reached a head, when agents in Madras suggested that the two priests had tried to instigate a violent rebellion by influencing the Portuguese living under the company's government.[93] This particular draws attention to the complex relationship English officials had with the presence of Catholics in England's territories abroad. Chambers also pointed out the importance of Catholic religious leaders in ensuring that the population remained in English territories. Furthermore the story highlights the complicated relationship that Catholics, both in England and abroad, had with the English expansion during the seventeenth century and English religious governance.[94] It also emphasises the global role of catholic communities in English expansion, questioning a traditional narrative of religious antagonism and rivalry, instead offering a picture in which religious friction still existed but suggests that Catholics played an influential role in English expansion abroad. Although company agents were divided amongst themselves in discussions on the loyalty of non-English residents, overall the EIC religious governance ensured that EIC officials remained wary of religious and national loyalties, whilst at the same time it tried to ensure the local populations' loyalty to the company.

For the religious and secular leadership of the EIC, Protestant evangelism was to play an important role in securing the company's relationship with the Indian community, as being a positive alternative to other European commercial companies. For the company

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[91] Chamber's reply to a request by the Surat President Andrews and colleague Lambton to expel two French Padres, May 24, 1661, Foster, *English Factories*, XI: 40.
[92] *Ibid*.
[93] The agents reporting that the priests had "privatly to perswaid such of the Portingall souldiers whome they cant trust of such treachery of this Buisiness." Agent to Masulipatam factors, January 16, 1669, Foster, *English Factories*, XIII: 235.
[94] For involvement of Catholics in overseas expansion see Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688-1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2009), particularly chp 2.

in India, the Portuguese provided them with a European contemporary who accentuated the difference between the Catholic evangelism taking place in Goa, and their own passive evangelism. Unlike the zeal and heavy-handed evangelism of Catholic religious government, the EIC's primary objective was to demonstrate their difference through passive ecumenical governance; at the head of which, the Chaplain would establish a well-governed Protestant church godly society.

The evangelical mission of the company's ecumenical governance, which sought to establish English civility in India through the conversion of Indian peoples to Protestantism, struggled in the face of south Asian theological flexibility. Company agents often wrote of their fascination and frustration with the doctrinal malleability of local Indian peoples, able to assimilate certain Christian practices and teaching into their wider faith. Just as with the MBC and the Native Americans, the subject of the appropriation and adaptation of the Protestant doctrines within indigenous religions became a matter of concern for the EIC as well as possible tool for the evangelical aims of the company's religious governance. For the company, it was a complete anathema how Hindus were "by the prinicples of their owne religion they are allowed our sermons (though not our prayers)" however, one EIC agent believed this religious flexibility provided the company with an opportunity.[95] They advocated that they should utilise the ecclesiastical openness of Hinduism to passively evangelise, through the effective policing of its personnel's behaviour, to the indigenous population. By the good behaviour of its personnel alongside the hope that some local people would attend church and hear sermons, agents hoped that the company through this "true pious fraud" would "deceive (or rather undeceive) them into our profession" converting them to Protestantism.[96] For EIC leaders this 'pious fraud' was the backbone of their passive evangelical agenda and a core element of the company's ecumenical governance. By ensuring at first ensuring the good behaviour of its personnel, and then slow exposure to the practices of the Protestant faith, EIC officials believed themselves to be involved in some form of religiously, true and sanctioned trickery were they would encourage the local people to believe they had fallen rather than been pushed into the Christian embrace. Despite the problems Protestant evangelical interaction with native faiths posed it was

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[95] Bombay to Surat, October 18, 1668, Foster, *English Factories*, XIII: 72.
[96] *Ibid*.

the aim of the EIC religious governance to ultimately by "guile catch them in the net of the Gospel", bringing native Indians into the fold of English Protestant civility. [97] However, this doctrinal flexibility provided the company with problems as the adoption of Protestant religious practices by Hindus, did not necessarily equate to full blown conversion. Perceived by company officials as pretending "to have become a voluntary Christian" those who 'relapsed' back to their old faiths both were a troublesome repercussion of the company ecumenical governance and its evangelical policy, which like these converts had "nott as yet been perfected."[98]

These incidents highlight the continuing role of Protestant plurality in the development of the company's ecumenical governance. As in England there was a diverse number of Protestant denominations represented in the company's operations in India, so much so that Factors did complain that officials in London were sending out ministers who did not conform to their beliefs. Although the Protestant plurality of EIC had been well established by the middle of the century, many governors and officials, continued with limited success to try and establish conformity. Aungier bemoaned the factionalism of denominational and doctrinal differences in English religious governance of the company relating it to issues in London. Aungier suggested that the religious division in England in the years that had contributed to the onset of the War of the Three Kingdoms. Warning the members of company that it risked a similar fate Aungier declared "nothing hath proved more fatall to Commonwealths than confusion in matters of religion."[99] Following the appointment of four ministers to Surat and Cormondal Coast in 1668 the factors at Bombay wrote back to General court, vexed that prior to ministers being sent out the council had recognised that "that the principles of religion owned and practised by your servants in Surat and at Bombay differ much from the opinions professed by the gentlemen you have sent us."[100] However, one year later several of the factors were so bemused by that state of religious governance and the selection of ministers sent out to uphold it that they advised the company that in the future all ministers should be accompanied by the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury.[101] Although many agreed

[97] *Ibid.*
[98] 22 February, 1669, *ibid.*, 218.
[99] BL IOR H/49 Surat to London, November 26, 1669.
[100] Surat General Letter, November 25, 1669, in Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 248.
[101] Bridges, Sambrok, Clavell, Smithson and Herries to the Company, January 22, 1669, Foster, *English Factories*, XIII: 160.

that despite doctrinal differences it was their duty to treat the company's chaplains "with all civility and due respect" and to "embrace them with the arms of brotherly love" sometimes the denominational differences in EIC religious government flared into arguments, highlighting the difficulties in policing personnel's behaviour.[102]

After his year long residency at Masulipatam, the Rev. Walter Hook (one of the four ministers mentioned above) was sent to Fort St. George where his refusal to read from the Book of Common Prayer or follow the traditional Church of England liturgy caused dissension in the factory.[103] The argument which took place over two days concluded with the Chief factor, a Mr. Jersey, walking out of church and establishing his own prayer meetings in his house. But despite that argument and any ecclesiastical differences initially reported in any letters, Smithson writes that the minister Hook "had gained very much the affections of most English here."[104] Whilst externally the altercation was practically dealt with by President at Madras, George Foxcroft, who pointed out that Hook could not be dismissed and that all sides were to blame, ordering that peace and unity through a group meeting was now to be established. Foxcroft had essentially instructed all parties to 'deal with it.' Despite his despair at denominational confusion in the English community even Aungier in a gesture described it as "brotherly love" seemed to resign himself to its existence.[105] He not only acknowledged that the differences between them were merely "in outward Ceremony only" but that they were "one body of the Christian congregation."[106] Although some had bemoaned the Protestant plurality that like in England had been established in India, the company members that had been its detractors had to come terms with the diversity of Protestantism represented in the company to establish a working and unified support for ecumenical government.

Ecumenical Governance and Local Political Engagement

Not only did the ecumenical governance of the EIC unify English Protestants abroad it also worked towards solidifying the political ties of local Indian groups to the company. In the lead up to the handover of Bombay, EIC intelligence reported that groups

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[102] Surat General Letter, November 25, 1669, *ibid*.
[103] Diary of Smithson August 21, 1669, Foster, *English Factories*, XIII: 284-7.
[104] *Ibid.*
[105] BL IOR H/49 Surat to London, November, 26 1669.
[106] *Ibid.*

of the local inhabitants had offered to "deliver up the island in spight of the Portingalls."[107] These local inhabitants on several occasions continued to vocally exercise themselves politically under English rule, both within and across their religious communities, reinforcing as well as pushing the boundaries of the EIC policy of religious sufferance. One year before King Charles II signed the charter handing over control of Bombay to the Company in 1667, 123 Christians, 84 Hindus, and 18 Muslims presented the King with a Petition outlining the abuses of the Portuguese, in particular the fact that there was no religious tolerance and only Roman Catholicism was acceptable. The petition then goes on to ask the King to prevent the government of Bombay from allowing any discussion to "alienate us from your government."[108] Under the governorship of Gerald Aungier in 1673 the council of Bombay proposed that for the better regulation of government, encouraging migration and appeasing religious groups they should offer them their own councils. Writing that Muslims, Hindus and Portuguese should have their own chief and council and "may be impowered to have a perculiar regard and care of their owne cast to accomdate and quiet all small differences and quarrels which mat happen amongst them." [109] By politically solidifying religious sufferance in the governance of Bombay and other towns that came under the EIC's jurisdiction, company officials not only secured their own aims, but also met those of local Indian peoples.

Again, the EIC officials utilised stories emerging out of the sub-continent of persecution to publicise the company's ecumenical governance and the political representation it offered. Reports from Surat informed the Company officials across India of the "unsufferable tyranny the Bannians endured in Surat by the force exercised by these lordly Moors on accompt of their religion."[110] The level of persecution that the letters paint suggest it was quite extensive, including accounts of forced circumcision and conversion to Islam, bribery, racketeering and "pulling downe the places of their idolitours worship, erecting muskeets in their roome."[111] Even the company seems to not have escaped the growing pervasiveness of Aurungzeb's religious governance. In 1667 a Englishman John Roach was imprisoned in Surat and the authorities there reputedly and unsuccessfully tried to convert him, whilst a Persian scribe and former employee of the

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[107] Foster, *English Factories*, XI: 143-144.
[108] Full document in Khan, *Anglo Portuguese Negotiations*, 451-454.
[109] BL IOR G/3/2 Council to the East India Company, November 10, 1673.
[110] Surat, November 26, 1669, Foster, *English Factories*, XIII: 191.
[111] *Ibid.*

company was also forcibly circumcised for "five years past he had eaten part of a watermellon which the Cozzy had eaten of."[112] Influenced by reports such as these company officials across India, in particular at Bombay, sought to encourage through it ecumenical governance they would "treat all that shall come to them with civility and kindnesse" by offering religious and political safety and rights they would encourage migration to company territories.[113] For the company its ecumenical governance offered it the best way to liberty of conscience encouraging Hindus and Muslims to migrate to Bombay, and Madras, whilst at the same time opening up the opportunity to draw them into Protestant 'civility.'

Migration did not necessarily have to mean long term relocation, but also included encouragement for religious pilgrimages and the lucrative financial as well as religious endorsement that came with support for pilgrims to site in their territories. English officials very quickly after acquiring Bombay noticed the financial possibilities that pilgrims offered the company. Once again Gary rushed to bring the company's attention to the financial possibilities that came with pilgrims, observing that a pilgrimage was not "accomplished without the expence of an offering." [114] This was to not only be accomplished by building temples but also in protecting the ones that were already in existence. Once example arose in Bengal in late 1685 the EIC council ordered that they would not "suffer any prejudice to be done to Churches, Mosques, Pagodaes" were "God is worshipped, or pretended to be worshipped."[115] By legislating for the building and protection of places of worship and holy sites, company officials hoped that pilgrims could be further encouraged into EIC lands. The connection between the EIC's religious governance and its profit-making mission were further knitted together through policies to protect religious buildings and sites, to exploit the financial gains of religious pilgrims. Links between pilgrims and profitability had long been common knowledge.[116] In 1671 the council in Bombay would further legislate to ensure the safety of pilgrims in its lands providing them with security sanctioning the Muslim pilgrimage to the tomb of Makhdum Fakih.[117] Although EIC officials sought to encourage pilgrimages into and through its

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[112] *Ibid.*; President to Company, Surat 1667, Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 284.
[113] Foster, *English Factories*, XIII: 218.
[114] Gary to Lord Arlington, March 22, 1665, Foster, *English Factories*, XII: 53.
[115] BL IOR E/3/91 Instructions to Bengal, January 14, 1685.
[116] John M. Theilman, 'Medieval Pilgrims and Origins of Tourism', *Journal of Popular* Culture, Vol. 20, No. 4, (1987), 96-7.
[117] Stern, *Company-State*, 103; David, *History of Bombay*, 438-9.

territories, the religious governance of the company did not however amount to total religious freedom. For the company's leaders its policy of religious sufferance maintained and ensured that whilst pilgrims had the freedom to go on a pilgrimage, the authority of the Protestant company and its ecumenical governance would always hang above them.

Much of the EIC religious governance responded to the international and multi-religious dimensions of seventeenth century India, this also meant it encompassed the paranoia the surrounded religious faith and national loyalty. Both the presence of Catholicism and Islam presented EIC officials with a double-edged sword, in dire need of people to populate Bombay and its other cities, the company could ill afford to turn away people, however, the English were fearful that these populations held covert Portuguese or Mughal sympathies and consistently questioned their loyalty. Fearful of support of Aurungzeb over English interest the company, EIC officials in Bombay debated whether Muslims should be able to by any more land, as it "would be hazardous to the Island to suffer too many of one Cast of people."[118] The fear being that as there were "but a few English" on the Island, it would place the islands at risk from Mughal intervention. However, they were cautious not to damage the commercial mission of the company, ordering that skilled Muslims 'weavers' and their families could still settle, suggesting that even they realised their fears were somewhat over exaggerated.[119] Furthermore on several occasions in 1673 the Bombay council suggested that Muslims and North Indians should be employed as soldiers in the garrison of the city. Indeed, the loyalty of both groups was not even questioned but expected, arguing that it unlike the Portuguese soldiers, it was "courage and good inclinations" of Muslims and Hindus that they "may better relye."[120] However, despite company officials' willingness to employ Muslims as soldiers they remained deeply suspicious of them. Again, in Bombay this was highlighted when Company officials ordered that Muslim pilgrims not only be disarmed on their pilgrimage through the territory but they also attempted to place a noise restriction on the call to prayer.[121] The policy of sufferance ensured that the religious governance of the company was relatively indulgent for the time, however it was still

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[118] BL IOR G/3/1 'A Motion being made weather it were consistent with the Company's interest or noe to suffer any Mooremen to buy any more Lands on Bombay ten what they already do', June 3, 1673.
[119] *Ibid.*
[120] BL IOR G/3/1, November 17, 1673.
[121] BL IOR G/3/10 Orders by William Aislaby, Bombay Diary, November 12, 1694; Stern, *ibid*, 104; M.D. David, *ibid.*

susceptible to the influence of seventeenth century Indian politics and English religious bigotry and mistrust.

Similarly, as local elites, both Hindu and Muslim, whom the EIC had previously supported in obtaining power, accumulated religious and political influence company officials increasingly grew more paranoid. In one case in 1696 the Governor of Madras Elihu Yale made steps to curb Beri Temmappa (Pedda Venkatadri's son) and his temple management of both Mallikesvarar and Triplicane Temples fearful that he was using the holy site to build up relations with Indian nobles in the interior. By removing some of Temmappa's privileges as one of the Company's chief merchants in Madras, Yale hoped that the authority of the company's religious governance would be suitable imposed.[122] This was not to be the case as Temmappa utilised his position to combat the accusations of the company, a highlight his families' role in building the temples and position in Madras, successfully maintaining his hold on the temples. However, although unsuccessful and at times half-hearted, the attempts by EIC officials to try and assert the company's religious governance and its position as the highest governing body in clerical matters highlight that the company was concerned about how local Indians perceived its religious policies and ecumenical governance.

Ecumenical Government and the Exportation English Customs and Prejudices

Religious sufferance in the company's ecumenical governance did not however translate to religious understanding. Rather the EIC religious governance desired to assert the authority and dominance of the English Protestant faith, thereby giving a governmental platform for English religious prejudices and fears to be enacted out in multi-religious environment that only inflamed them. From the late 1650s onwards the transportation and enactment of English religious superstition and prejudices in the company's religious governance can be traced through a series of sporadic but nonetheless frequent references by company officials to witchcraft. English exportation of witchcraft stretched across the globe with the earliest known execution for witchcraft taking place in New England in

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[122] PC. April 10 and 18, 1696; Mukund, *View from Below*, 55.

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1647 culminating in America with the infamous Salem trails between 1692-3. [123] Similarly the arrival of permanent English religious governance in India brought with it a series of moments in which company agents, as well as local people, accused or made accusations of witchcraft. In 1650 the President and agents at Surat informed the Company in London that of the behaviour of a Captain Durson. Of all the grievances that had been levelled against him, was the fact that his chaplain, Robert Winchester, when docked at Moka refused to go back on the ship due to his "and familliaritie with wiches and sorcerers."[124] Accusations of witchcraft in India during this period took on much the same format as those that had preceded them in the decades previously in England.[125] These accusations illustrated the evolution of English prejudices into the company ecumenical governance especially in relation to developing paranoia surrounding its authority. As the company, jurisdictional authority increased so too did the need to stamp it governmental identity, which under these new pressures straddled the religious worlds of both England and India.

Although the company's ecumenical governance tried to be inclusive, paranoia and fear of a substantial (and possibly hostile) population, meant that EIC officials' fear of witchcraft was magnified by an ignorance of local social animosity. Although an unfamiliarity with local religious customs no doubt played its part in accusations of witchcraft it like in England was usually triggered by the allegation of "*maleficium.*"[126] In which local animosities between individuals and local peoples and acts of social and physical malevolence often manifested themselves in allegations of witchcraft. Furthermore, amongst the local Indian population a growing sense of jealousy towards powerful elites, whom the company supported, also provided the perfect social environment for witchcraft allegations to be made to the EIC's religious governance. Almost five years later the company received charges against the Brahmans from the "painters, weavers. &c." in Madras. Aggravated by the power they had obtained from their connections to the company the local people formally filed a list 51 complaints to

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[123] Justin Windsor suggests that between 1647- 166 11 individuals were executed in New England for witchcraft, see Windsor, *The Memorial History of Boston including Suffolk County Massachusetts 1630-1880*, 4 vols. (Boston: Osgood, 1881) 2: 133.

[124] President Merry and Messrs. Tash, Pearce and Oxenden at Swally Marine to the Company January 25, 1650, Foster, *English Factories*, IIX: 283.

[125] For more on English Witchcraft see Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study* (Routledge, 1999).

[126] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin, 1971), 862-67, 863.

EIC officials. The 36th alleged that the Brahmins been conducting malicious and harmful, "charmes, spells, rootes and other witchcrafts" against any who spoke out against them.[127] However, more fearful for the company was the accusation that followed that these charms and spells were also recited to "take of the edge of anger from those [the English] that may have the power to punish them."[128] Although aided by religious ignorance the emergence of English witchcraft trials in India had more to do with the EIC's ecumenical governance and the animosity it created by empowering certain group's elites through both commercial and religious patronage.

A decade after local painters and weavers accused the Brahmins of witchcraft Madras was still the centre of further witchcraft trials. These accusations seemed to reach their climax during a court case presided over by Aungier and John Child in Bombay where a "noted wizard" was accused of murdering four people.[129] Interestingly the letters about the court case also seem to suggest that there were four more people imprisoned at the time for the same accusations, and that "ye country people brings in dayly their complaints of their losses and abuses recorded by them."[130] Found guilty of murder and sorcery, the jury was also informed by the man that there were "several as guilt as himself," to which he gave the court their names.[131] The author of the letters describing the incident bluntly to send a message and cement the authority of the religious governance of the company "burning would be farr the greatest terrour" concluding "soe wee burnt him."[132] William Jearsey, a company agent at Madras, paranoid of Beri Timmanna's growing power accused him of being involved in witchcraft and employing "people to bewitch me to death."[133] Either religiously paranoid of Timmanna's weight amongst the religious community in Madras, or he wished to prey upon the fears of others, either way Timmanna's religious dealings with the Brahmins placed him in a central position to face allegations of witchcraft. However, despite that fact that Jearsey wished

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[127] Charges against the Brahmins, given by the painters, weavers, &c. inhabiting Chanapatam, December 25, 1654, Foster, *English Factories*, IX: 241-2.

[128] *Ibid.*

[129] BL IOR G/36/105 Bombay to Surat, May 18, 1671; Bombay to Surat, June 8, 1671; Bombay to Surat, June 24, 1671; Appendix B, 'Burning of a Wizard', April 23, June 14, 1671, John Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, (London: Trübner & Co, 1890), 90, 403-404; See also Stern, *Company-State*, 109.

[130] *Ibid.*

[131] *Ibid.*, 404

[132] *Ibid.*

[133] Accusations levelled by William Jearsey against a Mr. Winter, January 10, 1665, Foster, *English Factories*, IX: 388.

him hanged, Timmanna connections were too substantial, a fact that even Jearsey had to admit, "But I know him soe serviceable to them [i.e. the Company] that I would not, for any selfe interest out him out."[134] The accusation and trials around witchcraft in this period highlights how domestic responses of English religious governance to religious paranoia. Furthermore, they also show how English mechanisms of religious governance were instituted abroad, which in multi-faith environments often did more to aggravate and created local animosities toward leaders rather than subdue them. Through its ecumenical governance the company tried to control the behaviour and at times constrict or enhance the power of local leaders control to ensure the governmental authority of the EIC in its new jurisdiction.

Throughout the second half of the seventeenth century the company took steps to ensure that wealthy indigenous people could both secure prestige through religious means, however they were to stay in line with the company's ecumenical governance. Following his death, Timmanna's brother obtained control of the temple complex, during which time EIC officials made moves to ensure that the grievances of the local Indian population were being assessed by the company's religious governance. In 1678 both of Timmanna's brother, Pedda and Chinna Venkatadri were forced to appear before a court in Madras. The latter was accused and imprisoned and fined for forcing illegally substantial amounts of money out the local population under the guise of 'maintaining' the temples.[135] Even though he was released and the fine waived although he continued to have ban on his activities by the company.[136]

The company's policy of building temples to encourage local migration not only highlights one element of its religious governance but also links the relationship between English officials and the company's wealthy native merchants. In 1676 one of Timmanna associates, Kasi Viranna would obtain total control of Triplicane from the Golconda government, amounting to a substantial income for Viranna each year.[137] Viranna built the first Mosque in Madras in 1680 and despite being a Hindu continued to maintain and

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[134] *Ibid.*
[135] PC. November 25, 1678; Mukund, *View From Below*, 53.
[136] PC. November 25, 1678
[137] For more on the importance of Kasi Viranna as a merchant see Brenning, 'Chief Merchants', 334-40; Stern, *Company-State*, 95.

receive finances from it for the rest of his life.[138] Like many other merchants in Southern India, Viranna utilised his position in the company to develop financial portfolios that would both merge their commercial aspirations with the local religious and political governance of India.[139] In doing so they were able to develop substantial amounts of wealth and influence both among the company and local Indian population. Although wary of their local merchants obtaining too much control, seeing this as possibly damaging to their authority, however at the same time the company also sought to keep its local merchants happy to maintain the company commercial aims.

The company like many contemporaries, such as Abel Boyer, aimed to secure its commercial relationships with local Indian peoples by ensuring that they infused "credit with a greater sense of surety and constancy" through moral and religious moral ties.[140] According to Boyer credit, both personnel and state, was the "opinion or confidence we have in another's Ability, Honour, and Punctuality to Discharge or Pay a Debt."[141] It was an individual or group of individual's ability, honour and punctuality and honesty that ensured a mix of reputation and expectation in dictating terms of credit. As such the prestige of local merchants in obtaining control, and building temples encouraged the positive perception of individuals associated with the company, which according to officials, "increased the credit in local trade" and thus was seen a beneficial to the company.[142] By ensuring that local Indian merchants associated with the company had moral and religious connections that the company's local public credit would be "ingrained moral virtues might stabilize public opinion" towards the company and its credit.[143] However this did not mean that company officials did not take steps to ensure that local merchants like Timmanna and Viranna and their associates did not supercede the authority of the company's religious governance.

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[138] Dikshitar, *Around the City*, 365.
[139] Sanjay Subrahmanyam and C.A. Bayly, 'Portfolio capitalist and the political economy of early modern India', *Indian Economic Social History Review*, vol. 25, No. 4, (1988), 412.
[140] Abel Boyer, *An Essay towards the history of the last ministry and Parliament: containing seasonable reflections on I. Favourites. II. Ministers of state. III. Parties. IV. Parliaments. And V. Publick credit* (London, 1710); Carl Wennerlind, *Casualties of Credit: The English Financial Revolution, 1620-1720* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 178-80, 179.
[141] Boyer, *An Essay towards the history*, 60.
[142] Mukund, *View from Below*, 54.
[143] Wennerlind, *Casualties of Credit*, 179.

The company's ecumenical governance was not only concerned with empowering local merchants and individuals but also influential religious groups. Officials were incredibly keen to highlight the company's policy of religious sufferance to the Armenian community, hoping that it would encourage their support and thereby access to the overland silk trade to the Levant that they monopolised. After long negotiations in London an agreement was reached between Josiah Child, John Chardin and Khwaja Panous Callender in which the Armenians were offered liberties "as if they were English born" of which they were to have "free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own Religion." [144] The company's actions towards Armenians highlights how the company's ecumenical governance in many ways presupposed events towards religious freedom in England, as it would be another year before such a formal act allowed for such religious freedoms toward Protestant nonconformists. By offering religious freedoms and allowing space for the building of places of worship Company leadership such as Gary, Cooke and Childs continued to hope that it would make company lands more appealing toward religious and commercial migrants. Churches offered visual representation of the company's policy of religious sufferance, whilst also underlying the aims of the company's ecumenical governance to offer further freedoms and assurances to encourage influential religious groups to migrate to company lands.

Throughout this period EIC ecumenical governance evolved both in opposition to and in tandem with local religious governance. Despite moments of criticism English officials often wrote describing the religious freedom offered in Indian society and how this could be mirrored within the newly acquired jurisdictions of EIC. The religious governance of the sub-continent had long established precedencies that European travellers often commented on, however for many EIC officials this was not relatable in an appreciable way until the company acquired territory following the Braganza treaty.[145] In a letter drafted and unsent whilst agent and Governor of Fort St. George, Streynsham Master went into great detail to inform its unknown recipient of the extent of sufferance in matters of Indian religious governance.[146] Master initially recalled his misconception

[144] BL IOR H/634 'Agreement of the East India Company with the Armenian Nation', June 22, 1688; see also Ferrier, 'Agreement of the East India Company with the Armenian Nation June 22, 1688', *Revue des Etudes Armeniennes*, Vol. 7 (Paris, 1971); 'The Armenians', 49-50.
[145] See chapter III for more on Mughal, Maratha and Ottoman religious governance.
[146] BL IOR EUR. Mss. E/210 Streynsham Master is draft letter although undated it was presumably written between 1677-81 whilst Masters was at Madras.

and fear upon leaving England, writing that he believed that the English (along with other Christians) in India "did not live agreeable to any rules of Religion."[147] However, through his observations he swiftly moves on to describe how his fear was not only ill founded but to suggest that Indian religious governance had something to offer Europe. Reinforcing Jahangir's remarks to Roe some sixty years earlier Master declared that all faiths in India not just Christians are allowed to worship and perform "outward show of Sanctity."[148] Particularly interested in Christians in India Master described how Protestant, Catholic and Armenian communities all had "assemblies of their owne Nations" going on to briefly outline the individual ways in which these communities meet.[149] By connecting the denomination to nation, Master at once highlighted the religious diversity of the Christian community in Madras and India (as a whole.) In doing so Masters called to attention the unjustified fear that diversity would mean disloyalty and that in India this was the opposite, as each religious community was considered loyal enough to be granted some level of autonomy. Outlining how religious communities under Indian religious governance were recognised both as autonomous and dependent bodies.[150] Furthermore the multi-national and multi-religious dimensions of life in India defined not only how Indian religious governance but also how the company would govern in the region. By the 1690s the company had effectively imposed ecumenical governance that mirrored the traditional religious autonomy of India. In Madras the English Mayor of the town was supported by numerous aldermen and burgesses, several whom were made up of different Indian religious and ethnic groups: 1 Armenian, 1 or 2 Jews and Portuguese, Hindus, and 1 Muslim.[151] Ames argues that in Bombay the governors Cooke, Lucas and Gary, as well as Presidents Oxenden and Aungier, adopted de facto religious tolerance, fuelled by the need for the company to appease religious groups within the port. Between 1672-80, the company at Bombay received from many Hindus, Muslims and Catholics, 14 petitions relating to political and legal representation, and territorial and business disputes. The incidents involving political representation the company often ruled in favour of the religious communities, ensuring that Muslim and Hindu communities in Bombay had to certain level company autonomy.[152]

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[147] *Ibid.*
[148] *Ibid.*
[149] *Ibid.*
[150] Balachandran, 'Of Corporations and Caste Heads.'
[151] BL IOR E/3/92 East India Company to FSG, January 22, 1692.
[152] BL IOR G/3/2 East India Company Council April 16-23; May 14, 1675.

In a moment Master in his observation of religious governance in India paradoxically goes on to question European cultural superiority, whilst reinforcing the growing necessity for the English to emulate Indian practices to impose English Protestant religious governance in India. With a hint of respect and even admiration Master wrote that under India religious governance Christians in relation to their religious needs, customs and laws lived more comfortably "then in Europe."[153] The religious governance of India was not only noticeably different to that of Europe exceeding it in many ways, but Master also points out that the devotion of Indians to their faiths far exceeded that of the English. Going on Masters paradoxically concludes his discussion by suggesting that by mirroring the practices of Indian religious governance along with their devotion to religion, the English would once again gain cultural superiority as the "serve God most & best."[154]

Conclusion

The EIC's ecumenical governance evolved, in the years following 1661, out of a necessity to deal with the religious cosmopolitanism of the company's newly acquired territories in India. Unlike the development of the MBC's theocratic religious governance, the EIC adopted a broad religiously inclusive ecumenical model that ensured its commercial and governmental success in its territories by offering gradual levels of political inclusion to various religious communities in the subcontinent. Through the company's ecumenical governance EIC officials hoped that Protestant "piety and morality" would be observed in its territories and that ultimately the consequences of this piety and morality they believed would not only "refashion settlers into obedient and productive subjects" but also local Indian peoples.[155] In Bombay the minister was congratulated for his help in establishing "sobriety, religion, peace", the effect of such ecumenical governance had been "the rooting out of sin and prophanes and the encouragement of piety and virtue among us."[156] Although this remained a long-term goal of the company's ecumenical

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[153] BL IOR EUR Mss. E/210.
[154] *Ibid*.
[155] Stern, *Company-State*, 108.
[156] General Letter, November 25, 1669, in Foster, *English Factories*, XIII: 249.

governance, it did also have an immediate role in securing the commercial and political aims of the company leadership.

The peaceable securing of territory and trade were a priority for company officials in Bombay and Madras, and a form of religious governance that although remaining distinctly Protestant would encompass the diverse religious groups that were represented in India society. Ecumenical governance not only offered EIC officials this, but its creation and evolution in India highlights the flexibility of companies to establish forms of governance that expanded traditional ideas of English government. Faced with governmental rule over a religiously cosmopolitan jurisdiction, EIC religious and secular leadership were forced to adapt the religious governance of the company to meet the new civic, ecclesiastical and evangelical needs of English government in India. Just as in the first half of the century the role of religious governance in policing EIC personnel was considered vital. However, following acquisition of new territory containing multi-religious populations the policing of company personnel developed more overtly than previously in relation to passive evangelism. Company leadership continued to be obsessed with the behaviour of company personnel and how their behaviour would affect both religious and commercial relations with local Indian people.

<u>Conclusion</u>

Out of a desire to regulate the behaviour of personnel and people across the world, overseas corporations developed models of religious governance that connected and divided the formation of English government outside of England. These models highlight the similarities in the experiences and expectations in the development of English corporate governance across the globe, connecting England's overseas companies from Bombay to Boston. They also emphasis the impact local circumstances and changing priorities had on dividing corporate identity and the character of English expansion in differing geographies. Each company sought to police the daily behaviour of those under their jurisdictions and their members and leaders devised varying models of religious governance to secure their religious, commercial, diplomatic and political missions. England's overseas companies shared through figures such as the company chaplain a desire for basic religious care across the globe. However, they would autonomously develop governmental identities using pastoral, theocratic, or ecumenical models to deal with the local challenges that affected each company. In doing so illustrating how religious governance although it divisive also connected them. Through these models, they aimed to maintain their autonomy and achieve their individual missions, by policing the religious and political behaviour of, not only their English personnel, but the numerous peoples, cultures and faiths that fell under their expanding jurisdictions. Over the seventeenth century, the diverse models of overseas government that policed the character of English global expansion were connected through shared corporate frameworks. The variety of models of religious governance that England's seventeenth century companies adopted and the methods they employed have been explored in this study to examine the early formation governmental identity in the English expansion.

Companies established religious, social and political identities for non-English communities that would lay the foundations for imperial perceptions of indigenous peoples and their governmental positions for centuries to come. Furthermore, it has also examined how, through the overseas companies, Native Americans, Hindus, Muslims and Catholics, along with many other faiths, developed an intimate understanding of the English legal and governmental frameworks. This knowledge provided these communities with the ability to strengthen their positions in support, or opposition, to the models of governance that companies adopted. The repercussions of this was the

weakening of the autonomy of the religious governance of the companies, as they, by the end of the century, either faced growing criticism from England for being too theocratic, or neglecting their evangelical duty through a policy of religious sufferance.

This thesis has demonstrated how overseas companies through religious governance framed the character of English government abroad by attempting to regulate the political and religious behaviour of English and indigenous peoples. Tracing the development of religious governance in several companies, this thesis highlights the connectivity of attempts to monitor behaviour by English corporations through and assessment of the evolution of pastoral, theocratic and ecumenical models of corporate governance. From preventing English peoples from becoming apostates in the Ottoman and Mughal Empires, to monitoring the conversion of Native Americans such as Pocahontas and James Printer, English overseas companies sought to both secure and expand their governmental control by regulating religious behaviour.

Influenced by multiple factors including, internal denominational pressures, a desire to evangelise, or religiously cosmopolitan environments abroad, religious governance helped form models of governance that developed distinct governmental identities to control religious and political life in the jurisdiction of the company. Whether through the theocratic imposition of the MBC's strict moral codes and aggressive evangelical annexation of Indigenous peoples' lands or the policies of political and legal and ecumenical inclusion of Hindu, Muslim and Catholic peoples under the EIC, the models of religious governance established by companies abroad regulated the behaviour of various religious groups and individuals within them.

Through an in depth examination into the role of religious governance in shaping corporate overseas expansion this study has attempted to move beyond a discussion which has often focused on a passing reference to 'corporate' similarities. It has evidenced how trading corporations were not only vehicles that advanced religious governance, but also created its forms. In doing so the models they established impacted the character and identity of English overseas expansion in the seventeenth century. Although on opposing ends of the spectrum the MBC's theocratic governance and the EIC's ecumenical governance highlights the connected character of English corporate expansion. Both exemplified the importance of religious governance as a foundational

tool in regulating and advancing the companies' authority over peoples who came under their governmental control. In the case of the MBC theocratic governance it not only enforced religious uniformity, but also justified its leaders' aggressive evangelical expansion into both other English Quaker and Baptist and Native American settlements. For the EIC, its ecumenical governance through the moderate use of political and legal inclusion regulated the religious and political behaviour of numerous peoples of varying faiths, and through it were also able to encourage migration and secure their commercial and governmental aims in the subcontinent. Both companies illustrate how the same driving principle to regulate behaviour developed distinctive forms of governmental identities, based in corporate ideas of exclusivity and inclusivity. However, this not only emphasises the difference of English corporate governance in the seventeenth century, but also how they were connected. Notwithstanding their differences in their finished governmental structures, this assessment of religious governance underlines the shared aims of England's overseas companies. Focusing on how they developed models of governance to ensure governmental and commercial success through monitoring the religious and political behaviour.

Furthermore, this thesis has shown the importance between individual and communal involvement in the development of religious governance and how these groups connected developing models of governance abroad to the English metropole and beyond. This contribution firstly helps to understand how communities, both inside and outside of the corporate sphere, English and indigenous, helped to influence the development these models of governance. For example, in the EIC it has discussed the way Muslim, Hindu, Catholic and Armenian communities obtained inclusion into government of the EIC in Bombay, highlighting how although they ensured their autonomy by employing English legal and political means, their actions reinforced the ecumenical governance of the company. At the same time the development of theocratic governance in the MBC was influenced by the evangelical necessity to not embrace diversity, but enforce uniformity, providing further justification for the company's Congregationalist community to support aggressive territorial evangelism, forcing English settlers and indigenous communities to either adopt their theocratic governance or face persecution and ostracism from their government. Secondly this thesis has illustrated the influence of corporate individuals in connecting the development of religious governance across the English world in the seventeenth century. This has focused on the role of corporate

chaplains in establishing networks of knowledge exchange that influenced political, religious and academic debates across the Atlantic, Mediterranean and Indian oceans. It has assessed how chaplains such as Patrick Copland through their evangelical aims and experiences developed connections across companies' influencing the evolution of religious governance in multiple corporate environments. Moreover, it has examined how individual chaplains' affected political, religious, and academic life in England through their corporate experiences of religious governance abroad. For example, whilst discussing the influence of Edward Pococke in the emerging academic pursuits concerning eastern religion and evangelism in England, it has also devoted some time to analysing the role of Hugh Peter and other MBC ministers in shaping the religious and political events and debates during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and the development of religious governance in Interregnum. Influential individuals, who were not chaplains but connected the geographic developments of religious governance such as Henry Vane Jr, Thomas Roe, and Josiah Child, have also been assessed in order illustrate the connectivity and far reaching implications of corporate religious governance.

The arguments and analyses in this dissertation also contribute to our approach to examining how, through the various forms of English overseas expansion different models of governance were established. In doing so, it further develops our understanding into the connected evolution of English authority abroad, through an analysis of diverse models of governance. It can lead to reinterpretation of how corporate governance abroad was connected to, and influenced, the political debate and governmental evolution in England. This can help us further understand the development of religious and political government in the metropole, during the early years of the empire, as being connected and influenced by governmental experimentation abroad. It can also help us to reassess the governmental positions of non-English communities in influencing, through knowledge of European governing systems, the direction and identity of early empire, as well as forging their own political identities within these systems. Once we have received this help, what we can see how corporate attempts to regulate religious and political behaviour outside England would force indigenous peoples to create composite political and legal identities for themselves within emerging connected systems of English governance. Furthermore, it also provides an insight into how these identities were forged through either corporate inclusion or exclusion, as indigenous and often English peoples

of varying faiths manipulated political and legal frameworks in reinforcing or weakening corporate autonomy to secure their own independence.

By the end of the seventeenth century, England's overseas companies had adapted various models of religious governance to stamp their authority over peoples and faiths across the globe, thereby securing their governmental autonomy. However, as a new century approached, the English metropole took steps to centralise the role of religion, evangelism and the overseas. Consequently, this changed the character of English imperial expansion and the relationship between English corporate governance and religion forever. Despite the successes of England's overseas companies at establishing visible forms of English religious governance from New England to the Coromandel Coast, there was mounting pressure within England to do more to advance English Christian government abroad.

In 1687, John Dryden dryly wrote, "with my country's pardon, its said, Religion is the least of all our Trade". Eight years later, Humphrey Prideaux, the future dean of Norwich, decried that the EIC "had done nothing to instruct" in the Christian faith the many Hindus and Muslims under their jurisdiction and not been given the "means whereby they may be sav'd."[1] Prideaux would also go on to state, in a report of religion in the company's factories in India, that the company had "failed to propagate the Gospel among the Natives," whilst claiming that it was in the "secular interests" of the company "as well as Spirituall" for them to focus on evangelism.[2] As criticism continued to mount over the EIC's corporate religious governance and its 'inability' to actively evangelise parliament, the crown and leaders in the Established Church took steps to formally impose strict codes to religious governance in these companies, through their charters. Moreover, the establishment of evangelical corporations such as the NEC, SPCK, and the Society for Promoting the Gospel in Foreign Parts, weakened the incentives to establish forms of corporate religious governance in England's commercial companies, as it transferred much of the religious responsibility away from them. By removing this responsibility, it freed up corporations from the constraints of having to be religiously mindful in its

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[1] John Dryden, *The hind and the panther a poem, in three parts* (London, 1687), 63; Humphrey Prideux to Thomas Tenscion, 27 March, 1695, Lambeth Palace Library Archives (LPRA) MS 933, no. 1; Philip Stern, *The Company State*, 116.
[2] LPRA MS 933, no. 2.

government, allowing a new era of aggressive imperial expansion to take shape that differed greatly from the corporate overseas expansion of the seventeenth century.

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