

Folger Shakespeare Library Seminar  
Empire and Culture in the English West Indies, 1560-1700  
Directors: Carla Gardina Pestana and David S. Shields  
Autumn 2010

We welcome you to our exploration of the early English Caribbean. For the next ten weeks, seminar participants will enjoy the rich resources of the Folger Shakespeare Library—its treasury of rare imprints and its expert staff—while collaborating in an effort to understand the transformation of English imperial and cultural enterprise in the West Indies from the time of Sir Francis Drake to the collapse of the Darien Scheme.

Our weekly sessions will concentrate on one primary text with several (optional but recommended) subsidiary writings being brought to bear on the matter being discussed. Unlike some Folger seminars, this will engage primary sources without the mediation of current critical or theoretical comment; there will be no required readings of secondary literature. Plunging directly into the archive should stimulate a more bracing conversation around the seminar table. Yet we recognize the clarification and expository richness that the secondary literature provides, so we will be posting, at the start of the seminar, a draft bibliography of secondary sources on the early English Caribbean. We invite you to add to this list as we go about our work. By the end of the 10 weeks, we will have collectively compiled a hefty list which seminar members will be able to take away with you.

Although the primary sources we will discuss were mostly written in English, we are acutely aware that these expressions were shaped by a body of writings in Spanish, French, Dutch, Latin, Italian, Portuguese, and German, and by oral discourses with various Native peoples. At points we hope to illuminate these other perspectives, taking time to consider, for instance, the Spanish literary perspective on Drake, or the Dutch theories of seaborne commerce, or Native contributions to botanical knowledge.

We have designed this syllabus with a rough sense of chronology, yet we let the corpus of surviving Anglophone imprints about the Caribbean dictate the topics for inquiry. While it is true we have disentangled the complicities between religion and empire, commerce and piracy, labor and slavery, natural history and geography, by giving each term a separate focus each week, our sincere hope is that our conversation will reconnect the affiliations. We wanted to tackle a range of matters because we wished to examine more than the slavery-capitalism-piracy fixations of many commentators on West Indies history. Another reason for the topical breadth of the syllabus was to offer occasions to incorporate the particular lines of inquiry being pursued by individual seminar members. We realize that each of you brings a distinctive interest and expertise, and we wish to make best use of it during the course of the ten weeks.

The Folger's Librarians and Curators will make available rare originals for their collection for display during the seminar. Over the course of the ten weeks we would like to compose a bibliography of primary sources—particularly non-English titles—that expands beyond the writings treated by the seminar, and invite members to contribute. This bibliography will be incorporated into the Seminar's web page and live on after the end of the semester as a scholarly tool for all who wished to learn of early writings about the Caribbean.

This [bibliography](#) of English-Language Holdings on the Caribbean at the Folger was compiled by seminar member Natalie Pappas.

### **Week 1 (24 September): Introduction: The Spanish context**

Main texts:

Ortelius, Abraham. *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. 2 vols. Antwerp, 1570; Lausanne: Sequoia, S.A., 1964. [See: <http://www.orteliusmaps.com/stocklists/3.html>]  
Eden, Richard. *The Decades of the Newe World*. London, 1555. [4<sup>th</sup> decade, the Oviedo section]

Supplemental readings:

Dee, John. *The Limits of the British Empire*, edited by Ken MacMillan with Jennifer Abeles. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2004.  
Hakluyt, Richard. *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*. London, 1582; reprint, Hakluyt Society, 1850. [Letter to Cecil in particular & comments on Spanish rights & lack of rights to America]  
Hortop, Job. *The trauailes of an English man*. London, 1591.  
las Casas, Bartolomé de. *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*. Seville, 1552; selections from the first English edition: *The Spanish colonie, or Briefe chronicle of the acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies*. London, 1583. [See first 17 pages of the body of the text, entitled "A brief Narration of the destruction of the Indes by the Spanyards"; "Of the Ile of hispaniola"; and "The realmes which were in this Ile of Hispaniola" (unpaginated).]

### **Week 2 (1 October): Drake**

Main text:

Bigges, Walter. *A Summarie and True discourse of Sir Frances Drakes VVest Indian voyage. VVherein were taken, the townes of Saint Iago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena & Saint Augustine*. London, 1589.

Supplemental readings:

Nichols, Philip et al. *Sir Francis Drake Reviv'd*. London, 1653. [See "To the reader"]  
Greepe, Thomas. *The true and perfecte newes of the woorthy and valiaunt exploytes, performed and doone by that valiant knight Syr Frauncis Drake: not onely at Sancto Domingo, and Carthagena, but also nowe at Cales, and vppon the coast of Spayne*. London, [1587]. [See dedicatory epistle, preface and letter by Drake to John Foxe.]

Savile, Henry. *A libell of Spanish lies: found at the sacke of Cales, discoursing the fight in the West Indies, twixt the English nauie being fourteene ships and pinasses, and a fleete of twentie saile of the king of Spaines, and of the death of Sir Francis Drake*. London, 1596. [See "to the courteous Reader" (unpaginated preface) and "The meeting of our English Navie" (37-43).]

Image of the Jewel: [http://www.shafe.co.uk/art/Tudor\\_18\\_-\\_Representing\\_Elizabeth\\_I.asp](http://www.shafe.co.uk/art/Tudor_18_-_Representing_Elizabeth_I.asp)

Commentary on the Drake Jewel:

<http://oieahc.wm.edu/uncommon/118/drake.cfm>

Drake Portrait with Jewel:

[http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.shafe.co.uk/crystal/images/shafe/Gheeraerts\\_Sir\\_Francis\\_Drake.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.shafe.co.uk/art/Tudor\\_09\\_-\\_Nicholas\\_Hilliard.asp&h=901&w=700&sz=97&tbnid=ePGmErQMRNwvMM:&tbnh=146&tbnw=113&prev=/images%3Fq%3DSir%2Bfrancis%2Bdrake%2Bportrait&zoom=1&hl=en&usq=\\_\\_Tld53Z1x9EBFtSYJbncfarZeOns=&sa=X&ei=0z51TPu\\_K8GC8ga26ZjEBw&ved=0CCUQ9QEwBg](http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.shafe.co.uk/crystal/images/shafe/Gheeraerts_Sir_Francis_Drake.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.shafe.co.uk/art/Tudor_09_-_Nicholas_Hilliard.asp&h=901&w=700&sz=97&tbnid=ePGmErQMRNwvMM:&tbnh=146&tbnw=113&prev=/images%3Fq%3DSir%2Bfrancis%2Bdrake%2Bportrait&zoom=1&hl=en&usq=__Tld53Z1x9EBFtSYJbncfarZeOns=&sa=X&ei=0z51TPu_K8GC8ga26ZjEBw&ved=0CCUQ9QEwBg)

[\\_Nicholas Hilliard.asp&h=901&w=700&sz=97&tbnid=ePGmErQMRNwvMM:&tbnh=146&tbnw=113&prev=/images%3Fq%3DSir%2Bfrancis%2Bdrake%2Bportrait&zoom=1&hl=en&usq=\\_\\_Tld53Z1x9EBFtSYJbncfarZeOns=&sa=X&ei=0z51TPu\\_K8GC8ga26ZjEBw&ved=0CCUQ9QEwBg](http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.shafe.co.uk/crystal/images/shafe/Gheeraerts_Sir_Francis_Drake.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.shafe.co.uk/art/Tudor_09_-_Nicholas_Hilliard.asp&h=901&w=700&sz=97&tbnid=ePGmErQMRNwvMM:&tbnh=146&tbnw=113&prev=/images%3Fq%3DSir%2Bfrancis%2Bdrake%2Bportrait&zoom=1&hl=en&usq=__Tld53Z1x9EBFtSYJbncfarZeOns=&sa=X&ei=0z51TPu_K8GC8ga26ZjEBw&ved=0CCUQ9QEwBg)

### **Week 3 (8 October): The Problem of Islands and Questions of Empire**

Main text:

John Smith. *True Travels*. London, 1630. [Chapters 22-28.]

Supplemental readings:

Campanella, Tommaso. *A Discourse touching the Spanish Monarchy*. London, 1654. [See "The Translator to the Reader," A2-ff; and 211-32.]

Galvano, António. *The discoveries of the world, from their first originall vnto the yeere our Lord 1555. Briefly written the Portugall tongue by Antonio Galvano. Corrected, quoted, and published in English, by Richard Hakluyt*. London, 1601. [See "First beginning of Portugall Discoveries," from p. 29, for "late discoveries" involving the new world.]

Rochefort, Charles de. *The History of Barbados, St Christophers, Mevis, St Vincents, Antego, Martinico, Monserrat, and the rest of the Caribby-Islands, in all XXVII* London, 1666. [See Book 1-Chapters 1-5; Book 2 Chapters 1-3.]

Sherley, Anthony. *Peso Politico de Todo el Mundo*. Ed. X-A. Flores, Paris, 1963.

### **Week 4 (15 October): Hispanophobia**

Main text:

Gage, Thomas. *The English-American*. London, 1648. [Dedication to Fairfax (4 pages, unpaginated); and chapters 1-4, 12, 15, 18, 20 (ie., 1-14, 42-68, 118-38, 156-81)]

Supplemental readings:

Front matter from various English editions of *las Casas*:

*The Spanish colonie, or Briefe chronicle of the acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies*. London, 1583. ["To the Reader" and "The Argument of the Present Summarie" (9 unpaginated pages).]

*The Teares of the Indians*, trans. J[ohn] P[hillips]. London, 1656. [Dedicatory epistle, "To His Highness, Oliver, Lord Protector"; preface, "To all true English-men" (unpaginated).] {EEBO}  
*Popery Truly Display'd in its Bloody Colours*. London, 1689. ["The Argument of this Narrative by way of Preface to the Reader."]

### **Week 5 (22 October): The Western Design**

Main text:

Venables, Robert. "Relation concerning the expedition," [1655], published as *The Narrative of General Venables*, ed. by C. H. Firth (1900) in the Royal Historical Society Publications, Camden series, n.s., v. 61: 1-105.

Supplemental readings:

Anon. "Memorial," in *Spanish Narratives of the English Attack on Santo Domingo, 1655*, ed. and trans. by I. A. Wright, *Camden Miscellany*, XIV, Camden Third Series, XXXVII (London, 1926): 70-72.

Barrington, Francis to [Sir John Barrington?], 14 July 1655, St. Iago in Jamaica. In *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Pt. 1, Report & Appendix, ed. Alfred J. Horwood. London: HMSO, 1879, 571-75.

Catilla, Julian de. *The English Conquest of Jamaica: An Account of What Happened in the Island of Jamaica, from May 20 of the Year 1655, when the English laid Siege to it, up to July 3 of the year 1656*, trans. by Irene A. Wright, *Camden Miscellany*, 13 [1924]: Camden, Third Series, 34: 2.

Cromwell, Oliver. *A Declaration of his Highness, by the Advice of his Council, Setting forth, on behalf of this Commonwealth, the Justice of their cause against Spain*. London, 1655.

I. S., *A brief & perfect Journal*. London, 1655.

Whistler, Henry. "Extracts from Henry Whistler's Journal of the West India Expedition," appendix E, in *The Narrative of General Venables*, 144-69.

### **Week 6 (5 November): Labor**

Main text:

Ligon, Richard. *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados*. London, 1657.

Pitman, Henry. *A relation of the great sufferings and strange adventures of Henry Pitman, chyrurgion to the late Duke of Monmouth*. London, 1689.

Supplemental readings:

Behn, Aphra. *Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave*. London, 1688. [See pp. 86-108.]

Hawkins, John. *A true declaration of the troublesome voyadge of M. John Haukins to the parties of Guynea and the West Indies, in the yeares of our Lord 1567. and 1568*. London, 1569; facsimile reprint edition, Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.

Littleton, Edward. *The groans of the plantations, or, A true account of their grievous and extreme sufferings by the heavy impositions upon sugar and other hardships relating more particularly to the island of Barbados*. London, 1689.

[Rivers, Marcellus and Oxenbridge Foyle]. *Englands Slavery, or Barbados merchandize; represented in a petition to the high court of Parliament, by*

*Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle gentlemen, on behalf of themselves and three-score and ten more free-born Englishmen sold (uncondemned) into slavery: together with letters written to some honourable members of Parliament.* London, 1659. {EEBO}

Taylor, John. *Jamaica in 1687: The Taylor Manuscript at the National Library of Jamaica*, edited by David Buisseret. Jamaica: University of West Indies Press: Mill Press: National Library of Jamaica, 2008, pp. 266-79.

### **Week 7 (12 November): Pirates**

Main text:

Anon. *Present State of Jamaica with the Life of the Great Columbus the First Discoverer: To which is added, an account of Sir H. Morgan's Voyage to, and Famous Siege and Taking of Panama.* London, 1683 [see "Sir Henry Morgan's Voyage to Panama, 1670," 55-97].

[Ayres, Philip.] *The voyages and adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and others, in the South Sea: being a journal of the same. Also Capt. Van Horn with his buccanieres surprizing of la Veracruz. To which is added the true relation of Sir Henry Morgan his expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, and his taking Panama. Together with the president of Panama's account of the same expedition: translated out of Spanish. And Col. Beeston's adjustment of the peace between the Spaniards and English in the West Indies.* London, 1684. [See 124-59.]

Exquemelin, A. O. *Bucaniers of America, or, A true account of the most remarkable assaults committed of late years upon the coasts of the West-Indies by the bucaniers of Jamaica and Tortuga.* London, 1684. [Dedication to Morgan, and pp. 83-144.] {Folger owns the 1695 edition which combines Exquemelin and Ringrose.}

Supplemental readings:

[Cardenas, Alonso de]. *A speech or complaint lately made by the Spanish embassadour to His Majestie at Oxford upon occasion of the taking of a ship called Sancta Clara in the port of Sancto Domingo.* London, 1643.

Ringrose, Basil. *Bucaniers of America the second volume: containing the dangerous voyage and bold attempts of Captain Bartholomew Sharp, and others, performed upon the coasts of the South Sea, for the space of two years.* London, 1685.

### **Week 8 (19 November): Commerce**

Main text:

Thomas, Dalby. *An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West-India Colonies.* London, 1690.

Supplemental texts:

Anon. *Certain considerations relating to the Royal African Company of England. In which, the original, growth, and national advantages of the Guiney trade, are demonstrated: as also that the same trade cannot be carried on, but by a company and joint-stock.* [London, 1680].

Barbados. *A Declaration set forth by the Lord Lieutenant Generall the Gentlemen of the Councill & assembly occasioned from the view of a printed paper.* The Hague, 1651. {EBO only}

Evelyn, John. *Navigation and Commerce, their original and progress.* London, 1674.

### **Week 9 (3 December): Darien**

Main text:

Ferguson, Robert. *A Just and Modest Vindication of the Scots Design.* [Edinburgh], 1699.

Anon. *Philo-Caledon, A defence of the Scots settlement at Darien.* Edinburgh, 1699.

Supplemental texts:

Anon. *Caledonia; or, the pedlar turn'd merchant, a tragi-comedy.* London, 1700.

Anon. *A defense of the Scots abdicating Darien.* [Edinburgh], 1700

Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies. *Scotland's right to Caledonia (formerly called Darien).* [Edinburgh], 1700.

Harris, Walter. *The defence of the Scots settlement at Darien, answer'd paragraph by paragraph.* By Philo-Britan. London, 1699.

[Ridpath, George]. *An Enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the Scots colony at Darien, or, An answer to a libel intituled, A defence of the Scots abdicating Darien submitted to the consideration of the good people of England.* Glasgow, 1700.

William III. *By the King, a proclamation: whereas we have been informed, that a false, scandalous and traitorous libel, intituled, An Inquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the Scotch-Colony at Darien, or, An answer to a libel, intituled, A defense of the Scots abdicating Darien, has been printed and dispersed, the design of which libel was to create a misunderstanding between our subjects of England and Scotland.* London, 1699.

### **Week 10 (10 December): Natural History**

Main text:

Hughes, William. *The American Physician; or, A Treatise of the Roots, Plants, Trees, Shrubs, Fruit, Herbs, etc. growing in the English Plantations in America.* London, 1672

Supplemental readings:

Monardes, Nicolas. *Joyfull news out of the new found worlde.* London, 1577.

Sloane, Hans. *Catalogus plantarum quae in insula. Jamaica.* London, [1696].

Or see: Sloane, Hans. *A Voyage to the Islands.* vol. 1. London, 1707. [pp. 223-438]

Stubbe, Henry. *The Indian nectar, or, a discourse concerning chocolata.* London, 1662.

Anon. *The truest and largest account of the late earthquake in Jamaica.* London, 1693. See letter dated "Jamaica. Withywood in the parish of Vere. June 30th. 1692."