

# *Texts of Imagination and Empire*



A Summer 2000 NEH Institute, Directed by Karen Ordahl Kupperman



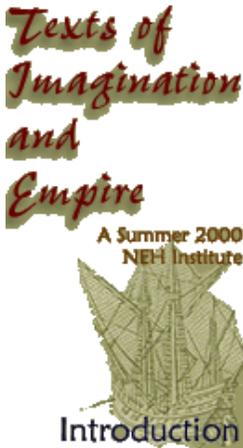
**John Smith,  
1580-1631  
Map of Virginia  
(1612)**

**Bound in *The Generall Historie of  
Virginia, New-England, and the  
Summer Isles*  
London, 1624**

**Folger Library Call Number: STC  
22790, copy 2.**

**To learn more about the founding  
of Jamestown in its Atlantic  
context, scroll over the map, then  
click on the highlighted elements.**

**X [Karen Ordahl Kupperman's Introduction](#)  
[Library of Congress's Zoomable Version \(1624\)](#)**



## Introduction

Karen Ordahl Kupperman

**E**ngland was late on the American colonial scene. When Jamestown, the first permanent English colony, was founded in 1607, the Virginia Company and its settlers were intruding on well-trodden European pathways and among very experienced American Indians. Jamestown was the first English colony, but San Agustín in Florida was the first European colony in the future United States. Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English mariners had traveled in the Chesapeake Bay, and Spanish Jesuits had attempted to found a colony there almost four decades earlier. Moreover, the last group of colonists deposited by Sir Walter Raleigh on Roanoke Island to the south two decades earlier may have made their way up to the Chesapeake Bay and lived out their lives among the native population. At least one native of the region, a man known only by his Spanish name Don Luis de Velasco, had traveled to Europe and Spanish colonies farther south before returning to his Pamunkey people. English colonists in Virginia could thus draw on the experience of their predecessors. And the Pamunkeys among whom they settled, known to the colonists as the Powhatans after the powerful chief who led them, understood well the potential benefits and problems their presence would generate.

**T**he 2000 NEH Summer Institute on "Texts of Imagination and Empire: The Founding of Jamestown in Its Atlantic Context" sought to place Jamestown in the context of all the relationships and patterns being formed in and around the Atlantic at the beginning of the seventeenth century. England's entry into transatlantic colonial enterprises was a literary event. Because each colony was sponsored by a joint-stock company, the need for continuing investment was acute, and this need fostered an outpouring of writings from the colonies describing the land, its resources and qualities, the Americans, and the nature and progress of the colonies. All these writings were promotional, but many aspired to accuracy and some to literary quality. Highly educated men such as John Pory, George Sandys, William Strachey, Roger Williams, and John Winthrop wrote for their peers in England. Other men, most notably Captain John Smith, claimed the superior credentials of experience and developed a new kind of authority in writing. All these documents, and the maps, drawings, engravings, and other kinds of texts from the first decades of colonization, formed the focus of the institute.

**T**he institute brought together scholars from literature, history, archaeology, and public history to read the early texts intensively in the light of recent scholarly analysis. Visiting scholars each week brought their own expertise to our discussions and helped us make interdisciplinary connections. We also explored the resources available on the web and decided to offer the following set of essays as our contribution to the ongoing discourse on European expansion and the American response and the kinds of relationships these initiatives spawned. The gateways to the various essays by institute participants are sites on the map of the Chesapeake first published in Captain John Smith's *A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Country, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion* (Oxford, 1612). This book and the map were later incorporated into his great synthesis, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624).

**S**mith based the map on his own exploration of Chesapeake Bay, and he incorporated native knowledge for the regions beyond his own travels. The boundaries between the two kinds of knowledge are indicated by a series of Maltese crosses.



**W**e deemed Smith's map an appropriate platform from which to offer



our own analyses of Jamestown's surviving records. Each essay offers links to contemporary illustrations from the Folger Shakespeare Library's rich collections. Click on the highlighted sites to find the essays and their further links.



## Participants

**Robert Appelbaum**, Postdoctoral fellow in English at the University of San Diego

**Rebecca Ann Bach**, Assistant Professor of English at the University of Alabama, Birmingham

**Pompa Banerjee**, Assistant Professor of English at the University of Colorado, Denver

**Lisa A. Blansett**, Assistant Professor of English at Florida International University

**Harvey W. DuMarce**, Dean of Instruction and English Instructor at the Sisseton Wahpeton Community College

**Ellen Eslinger**, Associate Professor of History at DePaul University in Chicago

**Maria Franklin**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Texas, Austin, and a Senior Research Fellow at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

**G. Curtis Gaul**, Supervisory Park Ranger at the Colonial National Historical Park of Jamestown

**Eric J. Griffin**, Assistant Professor of English at Millsaps College

**Andrew T. Harris**, Assistant Professor of History at Bridgewater State College

**Constance Jordan**, Professor of English at Claremont Graduate University

**Karen Paar**, Research Assistant Professor at the Institute of Southern Studies and the Historian for the Santa Elena project at the University of South Carolina

**Phyllis Peres**, Associate Professor of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Maryland

**Emily Rose**, Visiting Fellow at New Hall, Cambridge (1999-2000)

**Crandall Shifflett**, Professor of History and Director of Graduate Studies at Virginia Tech

**John Wood Sweet**, Assistant Professor of History at The Catholic University of America

*Texts of  
Imagination  
and  
Empire*

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Contributors

## Faculty

**James Axtell**, Kenan Professor of Humanities, College of William and Mary

**Emily C. Bartels**, Associate Professor of English, Rutgers University

**Ira Berlin**, Distinguished University Professor of History, University of Maryland

**Cary Carson**, Vice-President for Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

**Dominique Deslandres**, Professor of History, University of Montreal

**Andrew Hadfield**, Professor of English, University of Wales, Aberystwyth

**James Horn**, Saunders Director, International Center for Jefferson Studies, Monticello

**William M. Kelso**, Director of Archeology, Jamestown Rediscover, Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities

**Jane Landers**, Assistant Professor of History, Vanderbilt University

**Barbara Mowat**, Chair Academic Programs, Folger Shakespeare Library

**John Murrin**, Professor of History, Princeton University

**Helen C. Rountree**, Professor of Anthropology, Old Dominion University

**David Harris Sacks**, Professor of History and Humanities, Reed College

**Ian Smith**, Assistant Professor of English, Lafayette College

**Walter Woodward**, Director of Education Programs, Plimoth Plantation

*Texts of  
Imagination  
and  
Empire*

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Contributors

## Staff

### Website Team

**Martha Fay**, Designer

**Julie Ainsworth**, Folger photography

**Karen Ordahl Kupperman**, Senior Editor

**Kathleen Lynch**, Editor

**Carol Brobeck**, Managing Editor

**Jerry Passannante**, Research Assistant

### Folger Institute Staff

**Barbara Mowat**, Chair

**Kathleen Lynch**, Executive Director

**Owen Williams**, Program Administrator

**Carol Brobeck**, Program Coordinator

**Lisa Meyers**, Program Assistant

**Julie Will**, Intern

## Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



### The Shadow of the Black Legend in John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*

Eric Griffin  
Millsaps College

**W**ith the Virginia Company's meager stores depleted, Captain John Smith found himself forced to turn to the Powhatans and their neighbors for relief. Recalling some years later the urgency that had compelled his 1607 expedition up the Chicahominy ("where hundreds of savages in diverse places stood with their baskets expecting his coming"), Smith wrote in the *Generall Historie of Virginia*, "The Spaniard never more greedily desired gold than he victual, nor his soldiers more to abandon the country than he to keep it" (Smith 46).

**B**y the time England's first sustainable colony had been established at Jamestown, the meta-narrative now known as "the Black Legend of Spanish Cruelty" had become firmly embedded in European consciousness. So broadly disseminated were the tales of Spain's New World atrocities—especially those describing the extremes to which the *conquistadores* had been willing to go in order to coerce precious metals from the various Amerindian nations they had encountered—that few readers could have failed to register the gravity of Smith's condition. With the merest allusion to the greed of the Spaniard, Smith could count upon an instant nod of recognition among his English readership. For by the turn of the seventeenth century there existed a no more potent sign of Spain's true intentions than its legendary thirst for gold.

**T**he widely circulated woodcut first published in Theodor de Bry's *America Pars Quarta* (1594), is surely the boldest restatement of the topos. In this strikingly graphic representation, probably crafted by the Huguenot artist Jacques Le Moyne de Mourgues, vindictive Amerindians lay exemplary punishment upon captured Spanish soldiers, forcing them to drink the molten gold they so shamelessly coveted, literalizing their appetite for the precious metal in such a way as to provide the Iberians their poetical just deserts.



**A**lthough a reputation for greed had been circulating with accounts of Spain's New World exploits at least as early as Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Nobo Decades* (1516), during much of the sixteenth century ethical concerns regarding Spanish excesses tended to recede before the magnitude of the American conquest itself. The acknowledged odds against which the Iberians prevailed had provoked extreme means. The stunning successes associated with Spain's imperial mission—most notably, the incredible enlargement of its New World dominions and the seemingly endless quantities of gold and silver that it brought to the European bullion market—were often read as visible signs of the nation's heavenly favor.

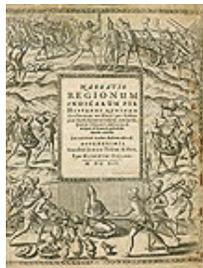
**I**ndeed, the success of Iberia's mission to extend the boundaries of Christendom—with Spain adding vast territories in America even as Portugal established new colonies in Africa and Asia—provided a number of visible signs indicating the peninsula's heavenly favor.

Alejo Fernandez's *The Virgin of the Navigators* (ca. 1535) may be the fullest statement of the approved Spanish ideology, which might be called "the White Legend of Spain's Imperial Election." Here Columbus, Magellan, and the others who so famously embarked under the flag of Aragon and Castile-Leon, gather around an immense figure of the Madonna. Straddling the seas, the Virgin unites the continents. Around the Virgin gather figures of Amerindians who have been brought from pagan darkness to the light of Roman Catholic Christianity by the navigators who have set sail in her name. In the official view, this most glorifies Spain: the enlargement of the corporate body of the Church through the conversion of millions of Indian souls. Gold and riches are but the earthly signs of the heavenly favor gained by Spain's propagation of the Holy Faith (or *La Santa Fe*), which was seen to offset the loss of so many souls to the Mohammedan antichrist (and later to the Protestant one).

**B**y the mid-sixteenth century, however, the astonishing depopulation of Spain's American kingdoms had inspired a public reassessment of its colonial legacy. Scholastic disputations, like those entered into by Bartolome de Las Casas and Juan Gines de Sepulveda at Valladolid in 1550, openly raised questions concerning the morality and the legality of Iberian claims in the New World. The Black Legend began to enter pan-European religious-political discourse with the translation into the northern vernaculars of polemics generating this context, the most important of which was Las Casas' *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Yndias* (1552).

**C**ertainly other texts contributed to the dissemination of *La leyenda negra*; Girolamo Benzoni's *History of the New World* (1565) and the well-known *Discovery and Playne Declaration of the Sundry and Subtill Practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne* of Gonsalvus Montanus (which had appeared in English translation by 1568) were two other important fonts. But it was the language of Las Casas that would surface again and again in early modern anti-Spanish diatribes.

**T**he appearance of the *Brevissima Relacion* as *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and Gestes of the Spaniardes* in 1583, a full thirty years after its publication in Spain,



marks a pivotal moment in one of the most successful propaganda campaigns ever carried out. As the *Brevissima Relacion* is translated, printed, and re-printed in contexts far removed from that of its initial publication, the acts it recorded gave rise to the Hispanophobic typology that David J. Weber in *The Spanish Frontier in North America* has described as "the inherited . . . view that Spaniards were unusually cruel, avaricious, treacherous, fanatical, superstitious, cowardly, corrupt, decadent, indolent, and authoritarian" (Weber 336). The ensuing cultural stereotype recast Las Casas' critique of the *ethics* of the conquest as the natural consequence of America's having been devastated by a people of Spanish *ethnicity*. According to this new ethnic calculus, Spain was the only European country capable of such a holocaust.

**A**s lines of allegiance became more clearly drawn in the religious wars that rocked France, Germany, and the Low Countries, militant Protestants were quick to recognize the educational value of arguments like that made in the *Brevissima Relacion*. The key figure in the conversion of Las Casas' reflexive condemnation of his own nation's "more than Turkish cruelty" into highly effective anti-Spanish propaganda was William I of Orange, the Prince of Nassau. Written during the Orange's dynastic struggle with Philip II (over the Northern kingdoms the latter had inherited through his father, Charles V), the widely circulated *Apology [or Defense] Against the Proclamation and Edict Published by the King of Spaine* (most of which was probably written by Pierre Loyseleur) made

explicit, among other horrors, a connection between Spanish colonizing practices in the New World and the atrocities Orange's own subjects experienced under the Hapsburg yoke.

**A**s significantly, Orange's *Apology* laid the foundations for a rhetorical strategy that explained the acts of cruelty experienced by his subjects as a function of the *ethnicity* of the Spanish perpetrators: "I will no more wonder," wrote the Dutch prince, "at that which all the worlde beleeveth, to witte, that the greatest parte of the Spanyardes, and especially those, that coounte themselves Noble men, are of the blood of the Moores and Jews, who also keepe this virtue of their Auncestors, who solde for readie money downe tolde, the life of our Saviour, which thing also, maketh me to take patientlie this injurie layde upon me" (William I Sig. O2r). Nassau's rhetorical slide from the matter of his own "injurie" (Hapsburg rejection of his nation's secession from the empire of the Hapsburgs) into the mire of ethnic essentialism is easily observed: the mixed blood of Iberian culture becomes a sign of both religious and racial corruption. This essentialized view of Spanish ethnicity characterizes the Black Legend in its most fully realized and virulent form.

**A**lthough Spain's entanglements in the Low Countries motivated much Black Legend discourse, two additional contexts were also important to its development. Foremost among these (from an English perspective) was the Portuguese succession crisis of the early 1580s. By the final two decades of the sixteenth century, Spanish interventions in the Low Countries and the growth of Spain's New World dominions had become bound up with a more immediate concern. With Philip II's assumption of the Portuguese throne following the death of King Sebastian I in North Africa, the empire of "the Spains," as the united Iberian kingdoms had begun to fashion themselves, suddenly doubled in scale. Europe's two great transoceanic powers had begun to work in concert, becoming the first empire known to history as one upon which the sun never set. It was this Luso-Hispanic incorporation that made the Armada of 1588 feasible; Lisbon became the port at which the combined navies of Spain and Portugal could muster in order to undertake Philip's "Enterprise of England." Once again, a fortuitous turn of events evidenced Spain's heavenly favor. As had the gift of New World dominions, the deliverance of the throne of Portugal to Philip II confirmed Spanish imperial election of the kind rendered in Fernández's *The Virgin of the Navigators* even as it gave Roman Catholics throughout Europe hope that the revolt of the Protestant north might soon be quelled.

**I**n addition to the Portuguese context, French dynastic and religio-political struggles also factor into the Black Legend's development. Just as the Prince of Nassau had invoked both antichristian typologies and New World atrocities in an effort to solicit the support of Protestants abroad, so too had the Huguenots in France begun to draw attention to Spain's New World tyrannies in order to suggest that outrages committed by the House of Valois and the Catholic League (such as the 1572 St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre) similarly had been hatched in Spain. Much in the manner of Orange's *Apology*, many of these polemics were framed in ethnic terms. With their focus on what Las Casas had called "the true nature of these Spaniards (who would attack and rob the Devil himself if he had gold about his person)" the contours of the Black Legend had been fully forged (Las Casas, Pagden, 109).

**I**n the wake of the Armada crisis of the late 1580s, English presses began increasingly to draw upon a range of Continental anti-Spanish discourses in their efforts to turn public opinion against Spain once and for all. The propaganda surge of the 1590s produced the legend that would go on to have an exceedingly long shelf-life in the Anglo-American world. Faced with rumors of a second Armada in the making, continuing Spanish designs for the liberation of Ireland, and threats of a new Spanish alliance with the Catholic faction in Scotland (as well as increasing internal

unrest brought on by agricultural famine and the succession crisis that Elizabeth I's advancing age made imminent), English polemicists and propagandists turned out an astonishing number of Hispanophobic titles. In these tracts, the concerns of the pre-Armada years—about Spain's hubristic political ambition, propensity toward matrimonial maneuvering, and its over-enthusiastic Roman Catholic religiosity—had been joined to a new discourse of ethnicity; the root of this collection of evils had been located in the racial character of Iberia. The Spaniard mixed Visigothic, Moorish, and Hebrew ancestry. By this calculation, Spain was *less than European*.

**H**owever irreversibly demonized Spain had become in the popular imagination, attitudes among those who were active in the promotion of English colonial expansion were still deeply ambivalent. As in the writings of Hakluyt and Raleigh, who had continued to marvel at the magnitude of Iberia's colonial achievement even as they sought to undermine it, this ambivalence can be read in the brief anecdote from *The Generall Historie* quoted at the beginning of this essay. For although Captain Smith had invoked in one breath the well-known Spanish desire for gold in order to figure the profound depths of his own literal hunger, he also implied a Spanish solution to the Virginia Company's difficulties in another.

**W**ith the recognition of his soldiers' temptation "to abandon the country" and his own determination to keep it, John Smith seems to have been placing himself on a par with the archetypal *conquistador* Hernán Cortéz, who had so legendarily mustered the will to found New Spain, not only against all odds but against the judgement of his own less-determined countrymen (who would have preferred the possibility of a safe return to Cuba over scuttling their fleet at Vera Cruz). In New World matters especially, Spain remained at this early stage of English imperial aspiration not only a measure of colonial excess, but a model for colonial success as well—as indeed it would throughout the period of European global expansion.

### Suggestions For Further Reading

#### Primary Sources

Hakluyt, Richard. *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*. 2 Vols. Edited by E.G.R. Taylor. London: Hakluyt Society, 1935.

Las Casas, Bartolomé de. *The Spanish Colonie, or a Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and Gestes of the Spaniardes*. London: 1583.

—. *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*. Edited by Anthony Pagden. Translated by Nigel Griffin. London: Penguin Books, 1992.

Loyseleur, Pierre. *An Apology or Defense of My Lord the Prince of Orange . . . Against the Proclamation and Edict Published by the King of Spaine*. Delft: 1580.

Martyr, Peter. *The Decades of the newe worlde or west india, etc.* In *The First Three English books on America*. Edited by Edward Arber. Translated by Richard Eden. Birmingham: 1885.

Smith, John. *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings*. Edited by Karen Ordahl Kupperman. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

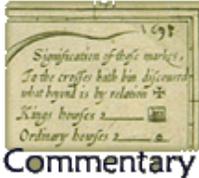
—. "The General History of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles." In *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1631)*. Edited by Philip L. Barbour. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

#### Secondary Sources

- Elliott, J. H. *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Gibson, Charles. *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1971.
- Griffin, Eric. "Un-sainting James: Othello and the 'Spanish Spirits' of Shakespeare's Globe," *Representations* 62 (1998): 58-100.
- . "But wherefore blot I Bel-Imperia's name?": Ethos, Empire, and the Valiant Acts of Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*." *English Literary Renaissance* 31 (2001).
- Hadfield, Andrew. *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Juderías, Julián. *La Leyenda Negra: Estudios Acerca del Concepto de España en el Extranjero*. Barcelona: Casa Editorial Araluce, 1929.
- Maltby, William. *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1971.
- Pagden, Anthony. *European Encounters in the New World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Parmellee, Lisa Ferraro. *'Good Newes from Fraunce': French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1996.
- Powell, Philip Wayne. *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudice Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World*. New York: Basic Books, 1971.
- Retamar, Roberto Fernández. "Against the Black Legend." In *Caliban and Other Essays*. Translated by Edward Baker. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
- Sanchez, Joseph P. *The Spanish Black Legend/La Leyenda Negra Española: Origins of Anti-Hispanic Stereotypes/Orígenes de los estereotipos antihispánicos*. Albuquerque: National Park Service, 1990.
- Weber, David J. *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

## The Susquehannock Bowman

John Wood Sweet  
Catholic University of America

The image of the Susquehannock man on [Smith's map](#) is striking for its size, its placement, and its military bearing. The caption emphasizes that the Susquehannocks "are a Gyant like people & thus Atyred," and the map designates their territory on the northwestern edge of the Chesapeake Bay. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Susquehannocks were well organized traders who had recently moved from the interior towards the shoreline to better control coastal goods.

Opposite the image of Powhatan's address to his people (on the left side of Smith's map), the image of the Susquehannock man provides the map of Virginia with not only aesthetic but also political balance. In the text of his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, Smith elaborates the basic colonial strategy of jockeying for power with dominant local peoples by forging strategic alliances with rival groups. For early settlers at Jamestown, this divide-and-control strategy was made difficult by the apparent extent of Powhatan's domains, which left few local natives in any position to risk alliance with the overwhelmingly outnumbered English. In this context, the large, strong bowman visually represents a potential strategic counterbalance.

The figure was not drawn after any actual Susquehannock man, but instead derived from an [untitled drawing by John White](#), which represents an Indian man from the coastal Chesapeake area. In 1590, engraver Theodore de Bry adapted the drawing for Thomas Hariot's *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, where it is identified as "A werowan or great Lorde of Virginia" (Hariot Plate III).



For White and Hariot, the figure of this bowman seems to have had quite specific meanings. It was evidently intended as an analogue to an ancient British figure depicted in the last section of the *Briefe and True Report*. The drawing White made of a Pictish man, based on historical descriptions, strongly mirrors the image of the bowman—and in his engravings de Bry emphasizes these parallels. Both images of the Virginia bowman and the Pictish man stand in the same counter-posture and carry weapons, one a bow, the other a pike. Hariot's text for the engraving of "A werowan or great Lorde of Virginia" ends with the observation that "When they go to battel they paynt their bodyes in the most terrible manner that thei can devise" (Hariot Plate III). Apparently, the Pict was represented in the most terrible manner White and de Bry could devise: he is shown totally, not just partially, nude; covered with fierce body painting; and, along with his weapons, holding a severed human head. Hariot was self-consciously attempting to represent native peoples in North America as similar to, or even more advanced than, ancient Britons. By introducing the ancient British figures he intends "to shoue how that the Inhabitants of the great Britannie have bin in



times past as savage as those of Virginia" (Hariot third title page). By implication, Hariot seems to have been suggesting an analogy between the Romans who brought civilization to England, and the English who proposed to do the same to Virginia.

The popularity of this bowman figure as it was repeated and adapted suggests the prominence of associations between Indians and warfare. De Bry himself repeated the figure, on a much smaller scale, on the map of Virginia he engraved for the *Briefe and True Report*.



The same generic Indian bowman was also used in

another plate in Smith's *Generall Historie*. This time, the bowman figure represents the King of the Powmunkee in the scene in which Smith grabs that man's headlock.



In contrast to the popularity of this generic military figure, less bellicose images from Hariot's *Briefe and True Report* were much less frequently drawn upon in other publications. Despite the proliferation and variety of benign images of Indians in the *Briefe and True Report*—cooking food, growing crops, fishing, hunting, performing religious ceremonies, Smith's map of Virginia selects from de Bry's repertoire only images of Indian imperialism and militarism. These generic figures—and the bowman in particular—



also stand in contrast to more personal conventions of portraiture. Consider Wenceslaus Hollar's somewhat later engraving of a Virginia Algonquian man who visited London in the 1640s. This portrait, focusing on the man's face and upper torso, suggests emotional intimacy, even tenderness. Rather than combative, this unnamed individual is unarmed, boyish, and serene. Given this range of models and possibilities, the figure of the

bowman selected to represent the Susquehannocks emphasizes the military tone and strategic diplomacy of Smith's conception of the map of Virginia. Both Indian figures represented prominently on the map—Powhatan addressing his people and the Susquehannock bowman—emphasize the themes of political organization and military strength. For Smith, the map of Virginia was in large part a representation of balances of power, control of territory, and warfare.

### Suggestions For Further Reading

Gleach, Frederick W. *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. "Scandinavian Colonists Confront the New World." In *New Sweden in America*. Edited by Carol E. Hoffecker, et al. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995, 89-111.

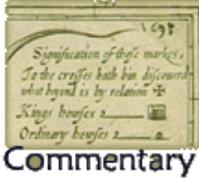
Potter, Stephen. *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: the Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993.

Sturtevant, William D., gen. ed. *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol. 15, Northeast. Edited by Bruce G. Trigger. District of Columbia: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.

Turner, E. Randolph. "Native American Protohistoric Interactions in the Powhatan Core Area." In *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500-1722*. Edited by Helen C. Rountree. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993, 76-93.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

## Cartographic Practices

Lisa Blansett

Florida International University

Unlike the magnetic compass that reportedly dazzled America's indigenous peoples with its free-floating needle, the surveyor's compass was used to draw maps and to establish relations in space. On [Smith's map](#), the large, seemingly decorative compass draws the reader to the map's scale, indicating the spatial relationship between the representation and the landscape. Like the iconic sword of many an English gentleman's portrait, the surveyor's compass becomes the *de rigueur* accoutrement to the Renaissance map. The instrument can be seen on most maps as well as in the hands of geographers, navigators, and explorers depicted on frontispieces throughout the period. This compass and the scale delineated beneath it function as indicators of accuracy, thus gesturing toward the supposed technological superiority of the Western explorers. In its capacity as a graphic mediation between a representation of the land and the land itself, the scale informs the reader that the land exists at a proportion larger than the representation, and makes the map's strangeness familiar by drawing a spatial analogy: this measurement is to be imagined as another league, for example.

To make the strange familiar emerges as one of the major roles of maps. The Renaissance cartographer brought new geographies to the eyes of the European reader, publishing large geographies and atlases in great numbers for the first time. The brave new world was represented in cartographic conventions that are now fairly familiar to the modern reader, but at the time were rather new. The medieval "[T-in-O](#)" map (a tripartite map with a "T" pattern of lines that divide space within a circular plane) relied on a symbolic representation of space heavily invested in a Judeo-Christian cosmography; it divided the world roughly into Asia, Africa, and Europe, which coincided with the biblical narrative of a world parsed among the three sons of Noah.

This symbolic notion of space was slowly replaced by a Ptolemaic system—geometric and abstract—which represented the world proportionally, including longitude, latitude, and divisions based not on the spiritual but on such earthly concerns as climate. The cartographer of the early modern map would begin at "known" points and draw perpendicular axes intersecting at this point of origin, then measure and calculate distances and relations from that point. The medieval map's cosmographic triumvirate of God, earth, and man is thus replaced in early modern cartography with oppositions of known and unknown, old world and new, center and periphery, England and America.



The old and new, England and America, are represented on Smith's map by the technology of western cartography juxtaposed with the ethnographic iconography of the Powhatans. The inclusion of the compass as a sign of technology establishes one of the map's many narratives by suggesting the means for delineating, describing, and declaiming the territory. The instrument foregrounds the scientific conventions that regularize the space, a significant move toward rendering the relationship between representation and referent as transparent and

uncontaminated. The map endeavors to function as a representation of reality, that is, of the land itself—the colonial map *is* the territory to the English. The map rules the realm of the rational, a rational that obscures the many struggles involved in such practicalities as establishing the colony, exploring the territories held by indigenous peoples, or negotiating the disputes that emerge out of inhabitation. At the same time, however, the surveyor's compass acts as a reflexive sign that de-naturalizes the map, breaks the frame, and establishes a different iconicity than that established by the map. While the icon is representational, marking the scale of the map, it also challenges that scale by changing its own—the compass is not shown actual size in relation to the landscape.

**A**t the level of the territory, the map's center is not the English colony of Jamestown but native American territory. The limits of the frame represent knowledge that was reported by Western explorers but also gathered from native reports. The map is thus a hybrid of knowledges and epistemologies presented as naturalized in a single map. In some ways, then, the techniques of mapping become an allegory of the conflicting cultural practices and myriad anxieties of contact. The English hoped alternately to interpolate the Indian into their world, to establish relations by creating fluid borders over which trade and social relationships could emerge, or to solidify boundaries, continually pushing the indigenous people back beyond the English pale.

#### **Suggestions For Further Reading**

Bud, Robert and Deborah Jean Warner, eds. *Instruments of Science: An Historical Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1998.

Cormack, Leslie. "'Good Fences Make Good Neighbors': Geography as Self-Definition in Early Modern England." *Isis* 82 (1991): 639-661.

Helgerson, Richard. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Moran, Michael. *Renaissance Surveying Techniques and the Mapping of Raleigh's Virginia*. Chicago: Newberry Library, 1990.

#### **Related Links**

*(links will open in a new browser window)*

<http://www.henry-davis.com/MAPS>

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

## Finding a Home in Virginia: The Selection of the Site of Jamestown

Curt Gaul  
National Park Service

At an attractive spot on the north shore of this river, about thirty-five miles above its mouth, they disembarked on a beautiful May day (the 13th), tying their ships to the trees, the water being deep close to the shore. A Virginia spring is full of promise, and all was so fair on this charming morning that the handful of colonists, only five score, easily forgot the London Company's order "not to settle in a low or moist place." (Davis, Jane. *Jamestown and her Neighbors on Virginia's Historic Peninsula*, 1928)

Romanticized accounts of the arrival of the first English settlers at Jamestown are often found when the story of Jamestown is told. To appreciate the process of selecting the site for the first permanent English settlement, consideration must be given to discourses on New World exploration and to prior English exploration and settlement attempts in the decades leading up to the Virginia Company's venture in 1607. Only then is the selection of the site of Jamestown viewed in proper context as a conscious decision, not a random or poorly formulated act.

Richard Hakluyt wrote his *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* in 1584 to encourage England to enter the New World empire game. This text justified English claim to territory in North America. Hakluyt argued that "spedie plantinge in diverse fitt places is most necessarie upon these laste luckye westerne discoveries for fear of the danger of being prevented by other nations which have the same intention." (Hakluyt, Quinn and Quinn, lines 1686-1689). For the next 30 years, the Hakluyts—the Elder and Younger—and Samuel Purchas compiled accounts of exploration and settlement to provide guidance for English settlers in the New World.

The same year Hakluyt wrote his text, Sir Walter Raleigh sent his first voyage to Virginia to establish an English foothold in the New World. This reconnaissance voyage to the Outer Banks region of present day North Carolina was followed by settlement attempts in 1585 and 1587. From this experience much was learned. Faced with the challenge of reaching Roanoke Island through shallow, hazardous inlets, the importance of a settlement with a deep water port and easy access to ocean going vessels was realized. John White, the artist charged to make maps and prepare drawings of the land and its inhabitants, produced [a map of the Bay's southern shoreline](#), on which "Roanoac" island is graphically



represented on the lower center portion of the map. During the winter of 1585-86, Ralph Lane, governor of the second voyage, led an exploratory party to the Chesapeake Bay to "found out a better harborough then yet there is, which must bee to the Northward" (Quinn, 1991, 273). De Bry's rendition of White's map of the southern shoreline provides a recognized destination for future settlements. After the second voyage returned to England in fall 1586, Richard

Hakluyt encouraged Raleigh that the "best planting will be about the bay of the Chesepians" (Hakluyt, Quinn, 1991, 494).

**R**aleigh's third voyage to Virginia in 1587 chose the Chesapeake Bay as the location for settlement. John White, now Governor, wrote that "the Baye of Chesepiok . . . we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge giuen . . . vnder the hande of Sir Walter Raleigh" (White, Quinn, 1991, 497-8, 523). This voyage never reached the Bay. Ship pilot Simon Fernandez left the settlers at Roanoke so the sailors could engage in privateering. These settlers became known as the Lost Colony. The ultimate fate of the colonists may never be positively determined. There is evidence that suggests that some of the settlers moved north, perhaps assimilating with the Chesepiok Indians and indeed became the first Englishmen living on the Chesapeake Bay (Quinn, 1985, 341-378).

**T**wenty years later the Virginia Company of London drafted *Instructions given by way of Advice* for the settlers going to Virginia in 1606. Specific attributes for selecting a settlement site were provided. The settlers were to look for fertile land, neither too moist nor low, approximately one hundred miles from the mouth of the river—so as to avoid confrontation with the natives and be less vulnerable to enemy attacks. On the 26th of April, 1607, the Jamestown settlers arrived in the Chesapeake Bay and landed at Cape Henry. For two weeks they followed their instructions and explored 100 miles up the James River to the falls. Secretary William Strachey reported that "At length, after much and weary search . . . threescore miles and better up the fresh channel from Cape Henry . . . on a spot of earth which thrust out into the depth and midst of the channel . . . and no inhabitants by seven or six miles near it . . . here, as the best yet offered to unto their view" (Strachey, Purchas, 1752). This location was well inland, had an easily accessible deep-water port, and militarily controlled the channel. With these traits many of the needs of the settlement were met.

**H**aving consciously avoided prime locations along the James River that were occupied by the Powhatan Indians, the settlers were forced to consider sites that met some but not all the guidelines in their instructions. Contrary to the advice from the Virginia Company, the settlers chose a low site surrounded by wet lands, which lacked fresh water and was ridden with disease. This decision inadvertently caused tremendous suffering for colonists during the first decade of settlement and jeopardized the success of the colonial enterprise.

**B**y 1620, Jamestown evolved from a military or trading post into a model for future English colonization efforts in North America. Today visitors walk through the archeological ruins of the original townsite and experience the story of the first permanent English settlement in America. Jamestown Island is managed by the [Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities](#) and [Colonial National Historical Park](#).

### **Suggestions For Further Reading**

Barbour, Phillip L., ed. *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter 1606-1609*. Vol. I. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Haile, Edward Wright, ed. *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony, The First Decade: 1607-1617*. Champlain: Round House, 1998.

Hulton, Paul. *America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed ... Contayneth a Theologicall and*

*Geographical Historie of Asia* (1619). New York: De Capo Press, 1969.

Quinn, David Beers. *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590*. Vol. I and II. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1991.

—. *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Hakluyt, Richard. *Discourse of Western Planting*. Edited by David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn. London: Hakluyt Society, 1984.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

## John Smith's Fish: Mapping Natural Resources, Cultural Habits, and Food

Robert Appelbaum  
*University of San Diego*

Sea-monsters and fishes of various kinds were a convention of mapmaking since the late Middle Ages. For the most part they were decorative. Sea-creatures filled up the otherwise blank stretches of sea on early maps; early modern aesthetics abhorred empty spaces. But they were also included to clarify the text of a map: they helped keep bodies of water distinct from land-masses. And sometimes, too, they were included as genuine attempts to illustrate the sea-fauna of an area, although this last practice was relatively rare.

Like those on most maps of the time, the sea-creature depicted in the Chesapeake Bay waters of [Smith's map](#) is vastly out of scale and apparently lacking in scientific interest. It is a somewhat generic, fanciful-looking creature, although it bears some resemblance to a fish called a "Patone," which was included in the sixteenth-century collection of drawings and watercolors produced by French explorers in the Caribbean, known as the *Natural History of the Indies* or the "Drake Manuscript." But whatever its scientific veracity or decorative effect, the sea creature here, by virtue of its placement, clearly serves still another set of cartographical purposes. The fish is deposited in the middle of an elongated bay, which the map causes to resemble a river—indeed, a river somewhat like the Thames in configuration, though flowing left to right and south to north.



Smith's Virginia thus becomes a kind of mirror image of England, the Chesapeake a kind of mirror image of the Thames. In keeping with this conceit, the sea creature on Smith's map highlights the fact that the Chesapeake is indeed a bay, an outlet of the ocean, just as the mouth of the Thames is a bay, becoming a fresh water river only as it reaches London. (Early modern maps did not include decorative fishes in fresh water rivers, but they often put them at the entrance to bays.) Moreover, the fish on Smith's map invites the viewer to participate in Smith's project for Virginia. Then as now, the Chesapeake was a great resource of seafood, and it is as a natural resource, ripe for exploitation, that Smith wants his viewer to be most interested in the Chesapeake, as well as in Virginia as a whole. The future of the Chesapeake, in Smith's mind, is a future of fish and other resources, which are to be harvested by fisherman, hunters, miners, and loggers.

"Beares, Martins and minkes we found," Smith writes in *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* of his journey of exploration up the Chesapeake, "and in divers places that abundance of fish, lying so thicke with their heads above the water, as for want of nets (our barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan: but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with: neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for smal fish, had any of us ever seene in any place so swimming in the water, but they are not to be caught with frying pans" (Smith 58). Fish were



a very real part of Smith's experience of the Chesapeake, and the story of adventure and survival Smith relates is thus also a story of the discovery of natural resources and their potential exploitation. But it is a story, too, of both adaptive and maladaptive technologies. In their first journey up the bay, the English were unprepared. Equipped with frying pans but lacking nets or fishing rods, they could not take advantage of the abundance at hand.

**B**y contrast, the native Indians, whose savagery Smith is often pained to observe, had developed an impressive system of resource management. They had developed both an efficient set of technologies and a reliable economic infrastructure for exploiting natural resources like fish. This system, though sometimes overlooked or disparaged by Smith, was often an object of



fascination and admiration, as we can see in illustrations like the de Bry engraving showing "Their Manner of Fishynge in Virginia;" an engraving based on a drawing by John White, the artist first charged

with representing the land and its inhabitants and later the Governor of Virginia. If the White drawing is accurate, the Indians had developed something of a seasonal industry in fishing, employing the cooperative labor of a great many individuals, along with such techniques for preparing and preserving fish as would soon be called (after an Arawak term) "barbecuing." The Indians knew what they were doing, and were doing it well.



**A**t home the English, of course, had their own system for harvesting and marketing fish. Fish were part of the required diet of the English because of nationally enforced Lenten laws, codified during the reign of Elizabeth I. The laws, executed more for social and political than for religious purposes, in effect institutionalized the commodification of fish. They guaranteed that fish would always be a lively article of trade, whether for fleets of fishermen sent out into the seas off Newfoundland or for the humble fishwives, who were a common sight at English markets and fairs. One of Smith's near contemporaries, the satirist Thomas Nashe, wrote a whole allegorical encomium to the fishing industry based in Yarmouth. And how-to books for anglers were among the more popular books of the seventeenth century.



**B**etween the Powhatan Indians of the Chesapeake Bay and the Europeans who had come to colonize their territory there was thus a three-fold competition. In the first place, there was a competition for resources, a contest over control of the land and the sea and what the Europeans would regard as the commodities they contained. In the second place, there was a competition of technologies. The Europeans came to America with what appeared to be superior technologies, not least of which was the technology for iron-making represented by the Europeans' potent weaponry as well as by John Smith's impotent frying pan. The Indians, however, had rival, effective technologies of their own. In the third place, then, there was a competition of culture.

**T**o highlight this cultural competitiveness, one can compare the de Bry illustration of an Indian couple "sitting at meate," after another drawing by White, with a typically rendered scene of a European household sitting down to a formal dinner. The Indian couple are sharing a dish of corn, possibly roasted hominy. The corn is itself a native American resource, grown, harvested, and prepared by native American technologies. As they sit, the couple assumes a pose which seems to betoken equality as well as a



certain solemnity, engaging in what White recognizes as a quasi-ritualistic expression of somewhat exotic but possibly admirable values. There is technology in this Indian dinner—most notably in the large dish the couple is eating from—but the technology is limited, leaving the couple to dine on the

floor and to partake in what by English standards would have been considered a poor but virtuous, even Lenten meal.

**B**y contrast, the "Europeans at Table" that illustrate Georg Philipp Harsdörffer's carving manual (ca. 1640) partake in a much more ostentatiously organized dinner, which flaunts the many technological and social apparatuses of prosperous European households. The European meal requires an elaborate machinery of prosthetics: tables, chairs, drinking glasses, serving platters, and trenchers. It requires a diversity of dishes as well as a variety of strictly observed rites determining who would sit where, who would eat first, who would eat what, and indeed who would eat at all. Some Europeans only get to serve at formal meals. They never eat at them. Whatever social conditions and values were attached to the Indian meal—a subject about which we have only limited information—the European meal was a cultural institution which ratified technological complexity and social inequality even in the act of bringing members of different social levels together in a moment of leisure. The solemn European meal is all straight lines and right angles, all planes of inclusion and exclusion, all delineations of bustling, complex, stratified activity. The equally solemn Indian meal, as White and de Bry represent it, is all curves and ovals and self-containment, depicting a scene of simplicity and calm, of mutuality and inclusion.



**D**uring John Smith's visit in Virginia, food was the first and last cause of conflict, both among Europeans and between the Europeans and the Indians. "Being thus left to our fortunes," Smith writes in *The Generall Historie* about the first season in Virginia, after the settlers' supply ship had departed for England, "it fortun'd that within ten dayes scarce ten amongst us could either goe, or well stand, such extreme weakness and sickness oppressed us. . . . When [the supply ship] departed, there remained neither taverne, beere-house, nor place of relief. . . .[O]ur drinke was water, our Lodgings castles in the ayre" (Smith 44). This was to be followed a few years later by the infamous "starving time," in the winter of 1609, which decimated the European population and left the survivors at the mercy of the native population's generosity. The memory of the starving time had a lasting impact on colonial policy, and the demand for food both as material sustenance and as a conduit of symbols was a major impetus to the consolidation of European hegemony over Virginia during the next few decades. Later on, when colonial culture was firmly established in the territory—the Indian population having been marginalized and a newly arrived African population having been put to labor in the fields as slaves—prosperous Virginians liked to promote an image of their territory as a land of bounty, and especially of bountiful *consumption*. Landholding Virginians seem to have eaten well indeed, dining on native American products as well as foodstuffs transplanted from Europe, provisioning themselves by a combination of European and Indian technologies, and establishing dining customs—including dining stratifications—of their own. The idea of "southern hospitality" stems from this ethic of consumption; and it has its origins in the period of what Ira Berlin calls the "plantation revolution," when large landowners consolidated their political and economic power in the West Indies



and the Virginia territory. Hospitality entailed luxurious consumption. Luxurious consumption required a revolution in the distribution of land and command of labor. And that revolution itself has its origins, we can see, in John Smith's encounter, during a time of near starvation, with the sea creatures and other resources of the Chesapeake Bay.

### **Suggestions For Further Reading**

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Beverly, Robert. *The History and Present State of Virginia (1705)*. Edited by Louis B. Wright. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947.

Brown, Kathleen. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Bruce, Philip Alexander. *Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*. Williamstown: Corner House, 1968.

Caton, Mary Anne, ed. *Fooles and Fricassees: Food in Shakespeare's England*. District of Columbia: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1999.

"*Histoire Naturelle Des Indes*": *the Drake Manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library*. Trans. Ruth S. Kraemer. New York: Norton, 1996.

Hooker, Richard Lee. *Food and Drink in America: A History*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1981.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.

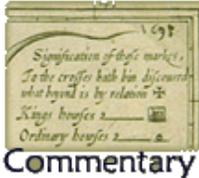
Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Viking, 1985.

Nash, Thomas. *Nashes Lenten Stufte, Containing, the Description and First Procreation and Increase of the Towne of Great Yarmouth in Norffolke: with a New Play Never Played Before, of the Praise of the Red Herring (1599)*. Menston: Scolar Press, 1971.

Rountree, Helen C. *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

## The European Presence on the Chesapeake Bay before Jamestown

Karen Paar  
*University of South Carolina*

The Englishmen who established Jamestown in 1607 were not the first Europeans to visit—or even to inhabit—the shores of the Chesapeake Bay. This great body of water, known to sixteenth-century Spaniards as the Bahía de Santa María, or St. Mary's Bay, first appeared on European maps in the early 1500s. The bay then received little attention from Europeans until 1561, when Antonio Velázquez, the supply agent for a Spanish expedition, landed there after a storm drove his ship north from its intended destination. At the Chesapeake Bay, Velázquez and his men encountered a young Powhatan man they believed to be of noble rank and took him back to Spain with them. This man, known to the Spaniards as Don Luis de Velasco, lived there and in Mexico for nearly a decade before returning to his homeland in the company of Spanish Jesuit missionaries in 1570. In addition to this evangelization effort, the second half of the sixteenth century brought Spanish, French, and, later, English exploration of the Chesapeake region in the search for the sea which was thought to connect the Atlantic coast to the Pacific Ocean and the wealth of the Orient.

European voyages to the Chesapeake took place as part of a sixteenth-century contest between empires to explore and settle the lands of today's southeastern United States. Long before the English founded their colony at Roanoke in 1585, both the French and the Spanish had established settlements along the present United States Atlantic coast. A map, engraved by Theodor de Bry after the original by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, shows the sites of two French forts in the present-day southeastern United States. The first appears here in the upper right hand quadrant of the map as "Charlefort," or Charlesfort, built on what is now Parris Island, South Carolina in 1562. The second, oriented directly center on the map, was "Carolina," or Fort Caroline, constructed on the River May, now the St. Johns River, in 1564. Spaniards sought to establish a permanent presence along this coast as early as 1526, when Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón founded the short-lived town of San Miguel de Gualdape on the shores of present-day South Carolina or Georgia. More successful Spanish settlement efforts in La Florida, which in the sixteenth century included much of today's southeastern United States, came with the establishment of Santa Elena on Parris Island, South Carolina in 1566 by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. The town of Santa Elena only lasted until 1587, when Philip II ordered it dismantled for strategic and financial reasons, but Santa Elena's sister city of San Agustín has been continuously occupied from 1565 until the present day.



By the time the English arrived at Jamestown, the peoples who inhabited the Chesapeake and, more broadly, the coast of the southeastern United States had had long experience with Europeans, whether directly or indirectly. At times, the Europeans who visited these shores captured coastal residents in their quest for information about unknown lands. De Bry's engraving of a Le Moyne illustration shows how the Guale helped the French at Charlesfort when supplies there ran low in 1562. The types of



support portrayed in this image—gifts of food cultivated by the Indians, transportation in the dugout canoes that Europeans found so precarious, and guidance about the means of subsistence in this land—were typical of the help indigenous peoples provided to Spaniards and Frenchmen throughout the sixteenth century. Powhatan and his followers gave similar assistance to John Smith and his men at Jamestown. Indigenous groups inland who had not yet encountered Europeans learned of them through trade and communication networks. Some of the food and other items that coastal Indians offered Europeans traveled along established trade routes from peoples of the interior, who received manufactured goods in return. Ultimately, Indians paid a high price for this contact in the form of death and disease.

**T**he competition for territory in the New World was not the only manifestation of the sixteenth-century rivalry between France and Spain. In this age of religious wars, their struggle also involved the battle for souls. Don Luis de Velasco, the Powhatan man taken from the Chesapeake in 1561, found himself at the heart of Spanish attempts to convert his people to Catholicism and so save them from the heresy of Protestantism. Following his initial voyage to Spain in the company of Antonio Velázquez, Don Luis traveled to Mexico, where he lived in a Dominican monastery and received instruction in the Christian faith. He participated in one failed expedition to find his homeland and place Dominican priests there before joining the Jesuit missionary effort in 1570. By then, the Jesuits, who traveled to La Florida as part of Pedro Menéndez's conquest and settlement venture, had failed in their evangelization of the Orista and the Guale on the present-day southern South Carolina and northern Georgia coasts. The Chesapeake region offered the Jesuits one last chance to establish a successful mission in these lands. The Jesuits believed that by refusing any military accompaniment—following years of observing soldiers abuse and anger Indians—and relying on Don Luis to assist them with their work, they would greatly improve their chances of bringing the peoples of the Chesapeake to Catholicism.

**B**y founding their mission on the Chesapeake Bay, the Jesuit fathers anticipated a return on their efforts beyond the evangelization of this region. Like other Spaniards of their day, the Jesuits believed the Chesapeake was the site of the passage to the Pacific Ocean. They sought to establish a presence there for access, not to the wealth of China, but to its souls. Instead, the Chesapeake mission proved a disaster for the Jesuits and led to the order's withdrawal from La Florida. Soon after their arrival at the Chesapeake, Don Luis left the Jesuit fathers and catechists and, to their despair, returned to the ways of his people. After five months of pleas from the Jesuits that he act according to Christian teachings and provide them with food and other assistance, Don Luis and his followers killed most of the religious, sparing only one Spanish boy, Alonso de Olmos. Alonso lived among the Indians until 1572, when a ship carrying Pedro Menéndez and other members of the Jesuit order arrived to learn the fate of the missionaries. When Alonso told the story of their death, Menéndez hanged eight or nine Indians from his ship's lateen yard in retribution. Don Luis was not among them. He likely lived on to tell future generations of Powhatans stories of his experiences among the Spaniards.

**T**he Spanish never again attempted colonization of the Chesapeake region, although they continued their reconnaissance of this coast. When the English settled at Jamestown, they were constantly on the lookout for a Spanish attack against their foothold in the New World. They knew how Spain had responded to previous challenges to its claims made under the Papal Donation of 1493, including Pedro Menéndez's massacre of Frenchmen in La Florida in 1565. The Spaniards were indeed watching the English

at Jamestown, as the diplomatic correspondence from this period demonstrates. A [drawing of James Fort](#), part of what is known as the Zúñiga map, arrived with a letter to Phillip III from the Spanish ambassador to England, Don Pedro de Zúñiga, in 1608. The Spanish knew of Jamestown's difficult, early days, but ultimately declined to send a force there to expel the English.

### **Suggestions For Further Reading**

Barbour, Phillip L., ed. *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609*. Vol. I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Hoffman, Paul E. *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.

Hulton, Paul H. *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues: A Huguenot Artist in France, Florida, and England*. 2 vols. London: British Museum Publications Limited, 1977.

Lewis, Clifford and Albert J. Loomie. *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1953.

McGrath, John T. *The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.

Quinn, David B., ed. *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*. 5 vols. New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, Inc., 1979.

Wright, Irene A. "Spanish Policy Toward Virginia, 1606-1612: Jamestown, Ecija, and John Clark of the Mayflower." *The American Historical Review* 25 (1920): 448-79.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



## Powhatan as Emperor

Pompa Banerjee  
*University of Colorado, Denver*  
John Wood Sweet  
*Catholic University*

The image of Powhatan's address to his people is adapted from John White's drawing of a carved wooden idol that stood sentinel over the remains of dead village leaders. White's image, drawn at the time of the Roanoke settlement, had been adapted and engraved by de Bry to illustrate Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (published in 1590). Thirty five years later, [White's drawings](#) remain the most influential sources of visual images of Indians from the region. One may locate White's influence in Robert Vaughan's engraving of events John Smith describes in his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, and in William Hole's engraving of the map of Virginia.



The image of Powhatan seated above a group of his apparent subjects in a domed structure visually emphasizes Smith's description of Powhatan as an emperor of sorts and is interesting because it suggests a political rationalization for the English presence on the territory they labeled Virginia. The graphically prominent place of this image—in the upper left-hand corner, where a Western reader would normally begin reading a text—suggests the importance of this analogy. Imagining Powhatan as an emperor helped Smith justify his claim that Powhatan owned large tracts of territory that the English might acquire through purchase or other means. Smith describes him as controlling not only the territory his own people occupied but also the territory of peoples Smith describes as conquered subjects or subordinate allies.

Early modern English legal culture disposed imperialists to find individuals in possession of territory they wished to claim. Explaining Native American governance and land tenure in terms of English analogies was often a convenient way to make them intelligible to other English-speakers and to downplay inconvenient cultural and political difference. For English men of war like Smith, the honorable occupation for soldiers was to earn kingdoms in legitimate warfare. Thus, the image of Powhatan as an emperor would seem to have helped make English fantasies of domination and possession in the region legitimate and honorable. This analogy was further emphasized in the text surrounding the portrait of Pocahontas produced in London in 1616. The Latin text identifies her as the daughter of "Emperor" Powhatan.



While Smith's map emphasizes that Powhatan is like an emperor, it also implies that he isn't actually an emperor. Indeed, much of the power of the image comes from the imprecision and incompleteness of the analogy between Indian leader and English monarch. Powhatan's royal status is emphasized through specific visual analogues to English royal regalia, such as the feathered

bonnet as crown, the platform as throne, the pipe evoking a scepter, the assemblage of people as courtiers, and so on. These features draw on the traditional iconography of Western royal portraiture. Yet, in contrast to European portraits of monarchs, which represent these icons with great consistency and majesty, Powhatan's signs of royal privilege are represented as both primitive and merely analogous—not the things themselves, but crude copies or anticipations.

The crude, imitative regalia suggest a corresponding feebleness in his governance and leaves his imperial legitimacy open to question. Powhatan's regal entourage heightens this impression. None display the grandeur and wealth conventional among European portraits of monarchs in royal



majesty. A close look at Powhatan's portrait suggests that Powhatan is closely allied to eastern royalty such as Turkish sultans. The attendants, either women or androgynous figures, underscore the sexual license and effeminacy of Powhatan's court and Powhatan's elevated seat suggests his



tyrannical sway over his subjects. Early seventeenth-century Englishmen would associate these regal characteristics with recognizable Ottoman models of tyranny, absolutism, and effeminacy. In light of the Turkish court culture, the pointedly foregrounded women also suggest the harem. The Turkish sultan's seraglio became for many Englishmen a fascinating and enduring trope of imperial English chastity as well as the colonial others' sexual openness.

### Suggestions For Further Reading

Fitzhugh, William W., ed. *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on Native American Cultural Institutions*. District of Columbia: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985.

Gleach, Frederic W. *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Haberlein, Mark. *Contesting the 'Middle Ground': Indian-White Relations in the Early Republic*. Heidelberg, Germany: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1999.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *Settling with Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America*. Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980.

—. *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.

Richter, Daniel and Alden Vaughan. *Crossing the Cultural Divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605-1763*. Worcester: Published by the Society, 1980.

Rountree, Helen C. *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

Williams, Roger. *A Key Into the Language of America (1643)*. Menston: Scolar Press, 1971.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

## The First Virginia

Andrew Harris  
*Bridgewater State College*

**S**ir Walter Raleigh named Virginia after Queen Elizabeth I, the so-called Virgin Queen (reigned 1558-1603), who granted him a charter in 1583 to explore and plant a colony anywhere in North America north of Florida. The original goal was to create a military outpost for staging raids on Spanish shipping between the New World and the Old, for such shipping seemed to provide Catholic Spain with the economic means to harry Protestants throughout Europe. Raleigh and Hakluyt advocated colonization. In his "Discourse on Western Planting," Richard Hakluyt argued that colonization would disrupt the flow of Spanish silver and provide England with all the natural resources she lacked at home, such as different woods, tar, and medicinally useful plants. Additionally, colonization would drain off England's surplus population.



**I**n 1584, with Raleigh's financial support, colonists set off for the New World, exploring Carolina's Outer Banks and settling there in 1585 at a place they called Roanoke Island. The first group of



settlers quickly wore out whatever goodwill existed with the natives and left in June 1586. During that period, two members of the expedition, Thomas Hariot, Raleigh's representative, and the artist John White explored the land and its native inhabitants. A portion of

Hariot's notes from the expedition were published as *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* in 1588. In 1590, Theodor de Bry published a folio edition of the *Briefe and True Report* with his engraved copies of John White's sketches.

**H**ariot's work gave readers in England a sense of what had gone wrong in this first settlement: failing to find gold or silver as hoped, many colonists "had little or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies" (Hariot 6). They were unfit for such labors because they were overly refined from urban living, and they were quarrelsome, two complaints later made in similar fashion by John Smith. The natives were "not to be feared, but . . . they shall have cause both to fear and love us, that shall inhabit with them" (Hariot 24). Though not technologically sophisticated, they were "very ingenious" and showed "excellence of wit," leading Hariot to conclude that they would in time make fine converts to both English culture and the Protestant religion. In short, the natives were friendly, the air "temperate and wholesome, the soil so fertile," and the land given to settlers by Raleigh so generously, that there could be no reason for English men and women not to colonize the area immediately (Hariot 32).

**T**he second settlement of July 1587 did not fare any better than the first, and may have done worse. The colonists prevailed upon John White, now governor, to return to England in August in order to have supplies sent back, but supplies did not arrive until 1590. By then barely a trace of the colony still existed, and its fate—of starvation, disease, native conflict or native assimilation—remains unknown.

**S**mith's 1624 map of "Old Virginia," probably modeled on Hariot's earlier map, shows the extent to which the English had renamed much of the area in the intervening years. Native islands and inland place names had been replaced with English names, such as "Gordons Ile" and "Stuards reach." The pictures of various natives on land and in canoes gracing Hariot's map are no longer there in Smith's. By 1624, at least in Smith's mental cartography, Hariot's ideal of English settlers and natives living peacefully together had given way to a more particularly English landscape.



### **Suggestions For Further Reading**

Andrews, Kenneth. *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Canny, Nicholas, ed. *The Origins of Empire*. Vol. 1. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

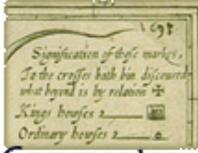
Hariot, Thomas. *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588).

The electronic text is available at

<http://www.people.virginia.edu/~msk5d/hariot/main.html>

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

## Indentured Servants and the Pursuits of Happiness

Crandall Shifflett  
*Virginia Tech*

**I**ndentured servants have a long history in America. Since slaves replaced servants as the major source of labor in the late seventeenth century, we tend to forget that indentured servants continued to work into the early nineteenth century. Indentured servants have an even greater longevity as first symbols of the American dream, early icons in the persistent discourse of American exceptionalism. Who were these men and women who made up the ranks of indentured servants? How were they treated and how did this experience in the formative period of their lives shape the attitudes of later generations? These questions raise the much larger issue of Jamestown's place in the formation of an early American culture.

**I**ndentures were mortgages on the future, a promise made to work for the person who paid one's freight and guaranteed passage to the New World. The [written contract](#), if it existed, was a legally enforceable agreement. Its terms usually meant a period of service—typically four to seven years—in exchange for the cost of transportation, sustenance, and shelter. By one estimate, three-fourths of the white population were dependent laborers when they arrived in the New World. But for a variety of reasons, many sailed without a contract in hand and took their chances on working out an agreement once they arrived in Virginia or Maryland. If they found no suitable employer, the ship's captain could sell them to anyone he pleased.

**L**abor recruiters promoted Virginia as a paradise on earth and an open society where laborers were sure to become landholders. Yet in 1623, Richard Frethorne, writing from Martin's Hundred, a settlement about ten miles from Jamestown, begged his parents to redeem him or send him food. He wrote in the immediate aftermath of one of the bloodiest Indian assaults in a series of retaliatory attacks on settlements along the James River. Frethorne provided dramatic first-person testimony of the settlers' fears of leaving the fort to seek food, having become virtual hostages of local Indians who were angry over unkept promises, encroachments upon their economy, and threats to their culture. [Frethorne](#) made the bitter claim that many Englishmen would give one of their limbs to be back in England. Granted this was a low point in the history of the colony; nevertheless it is a reminder that after a decade-and-a-half of settlement, indentured servants were far from realizing the dream of a better life in the Chesapeake Bay region, the dream that had lured many to mortgage their futures.

**T**he indentured servants' chances for success improved substantially after the Virginia Company period. In 1624, after eighteen years of settlement, Jamestown's population numbered only 1,200 people. But after 1625 and until the end of the 1650s, a bullish tobacco market and high labor demand drove the immigration rates upward to almost 2,000 per year. With cheap land and low fixed-capital costs for tools and equipment, a man could start at the bottom and with hard work, thrift, avoidance of legal troubles, and good luck become a landholder and, perhaps, an officeholder. Even without statistical evidence to measure how many fulfilled their terms of service and became landholders, enough servants achieved status gains to satisfy the aspirations of

most and keep the dream alive. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the switch to slavery further added to the servants' sense of achievement, redemption through hard work, and a new-found sense of superiority over black labor.

**H**istorians have sifted the evidence on the social origins of Chesapeake servants. Although the record is thin—we have evidence on about 15,000 of the roughly 120,000 indentured servants who came to Virginia and Maryland in the seventeenth century—we do know that they played a substantial role in the formation of what might be called the charter culture. Most were young (15-24), male (six men to every woman in 1635; three men to every woman at the close of the century), and single. Mostly they came from the same regions of England: London, the Southeast, and counties extending from the Thames Valley to the West country. Common laborers, skilled artisans, husbandmen, yeomen, and even an occasional gentleman formed the occupational ranks of servants. In other words, they came from a broad spectrum of working men and women, from the ranks of the destitute and homeless through the lower-middle classes and sometimes beyond. The [Bristol registration](#), a remarkable official record of the emigrant's name, length of indenture, occupation, sex, place of origin and destination, owner's name, and name of ship—provides information on the largest single group (10,000). The record was maintained at the Bristol port from 1654 until 1676 and, although, incomplete, no earlier records exist of comparable value. Population growth, conversion of arable land to pasturage, and recession in the cloth industry drove thousands to consider emigration while the Virginia Company in 1619 lured many of them with its misleading offer of a headright: fifty acres of land to any servant who fulfilled the terms of the contract. Many servants failed to understand that the headright went to the person who paid the transportation.



**T**he terms of their contracts, laws regulating their behavior, and court records and newspaper advertisements on those who ran away promise to open additional windows on the conditions of indentured servitude. A number of laws enacted in the seventeenth century governed the behavior of masters and servants. These laws tell us a good deal about such matters as the place of bonded labor in the social hierarchy, when race and slavery came to be connected, and of the role of race and gender in early Virginia. Restrictions had to be placed both upon masters against "barbarous" treatment of their servants and upon servants against "fornication" and "unapproved" marriages. Additionally, distinctions evolved in the laws between Indians, slaves, and servants, between the baptized and un-baptized, or Christians and heathens, and so between freedom and slavery. The laws show as much if not more conflict between masters and servants as between servants and slaves. Often slaves and servants ran away together.

**F**or most of the seventeenth century the lives of white indentured servants and enslaved blacks were similar. They worked together in the fields; they ate together and slept in the same part of a building. The changes in day-to-day conditions really came after Nathaniel Bacon's rebellion in 1676. But indentured servitude differed from slavery in one very substantial way. Bondage in perpetuity carried with it (after 1662 in Virginia) the condition of inheritance for every child born of a slave mother. This set slavery apart from indentured servitude however similar were the physical conditions of their lives. And, obviously, indenture was contractual and consensual; slavery was forced and involuntary, usually the result of capture and sale. Finally, the right of self-possession and full control over the labor of one's hands cannot be overestimated.

**I**n the practice of indenture, not uncommonly, owners treated servants like slaves. Even those who did have contracts often found themselves at the mercy of masters who abused them (especially in the case of women), provided the bare minimum in terms of food, clothing and shelter, and took their fifty-acre headright. Historians have noted how such abuse and degradation was bound to shape attitudes of young servants who, as they grew older, helped set later patterns of labor exploitation.

**N**ot surprisingly, servants ran away. Without a published newspaper in the seventeenth century, it is difficult to assess the extent of flight by indentured servants. Court records will need to be thoroughly examined before we can take a full measure of such unrest. But it is already clear from a perusal of some county records that running away was taken quite seriously by colonial officials and was met with harsh treatment, different from that given to resistant slaves only in terms of when it was carried out. Runaway servant entries in York County, Virginia records, for example, reveal punishments of twenty, thirty, or more "lashes on his bare shoulders" for a runaway servant, or additions of years, sometimes twice the original number or more, to the first contract. The leniency of treating the first sentence as a warning did distinguish indentured servants from slaves. But it did little to stop runaways. In the eighteenth century, hundreds of advertisements in the *Virginia Gazette* newspaper provide a treasure trove of richly detailed information on servant and slave runaways. When all of this evidence is examined carefully, historians will have a fuller picture of the practice of indentured servitude. Then we can begin to assess how the practice shaped the attitudes and values of white laboring men and women whose experience as servants certainly ingrained them to accept black labor exploitation as a common feature of the American experience.

### **Suggestions For Further Reading**

Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1986.

Breen, T. H. and Stephen Innes. *"Myne Owne Ground:" Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Campbell, Mildred. "Social Origins of Some Early Americans." In *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History*. Edited by James Morton Smith. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959.

Galenson, David W. *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Greene, Jack P. *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

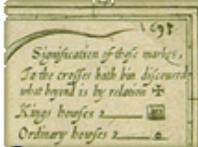
Horn, James. *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. "The Founding Years of Virginia and the United States." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 104 (1996): 103-112.

Sacks, David Harris. *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

## Forced Afro-Atlantic Migration and the Middle Passage

Phyllis Peres

*University of Maryland, College Park*

**A**fricans arrived in Jamestown in the famous phrase of Lerone Bennett, "before the Mayflower." An early 1619 census reported the presence of Africans even before the noted arrival in 1619 of the Dutch slaver carrying the "twenty Negars," in John Smith's wording, but no one is sure how those first Africans got to Jamestown (Smith 126).

**T**hree things are clear about these early arrivals. First, Africans came to Jamestown with a status not yet clearly defined by law or custom in the English world, although the Spanish and Portuguese had already decided that slaves were property whose labor could be sold and whose status could be inherited. That is a complex story, well-told by A. Leon Higginbotham and Ira Berlin among others. Second, these African migrants did not come voluntarily; they were forcibly seized from a Portuguese slave ship which in turn had picked them up from holding pens at the slave port of Luanda, Angola, where they in turn had arrived after their capture from places unknown by persons unknown. John Thornton suggests several possible African backgrounds for the Jamestown twenty and ends up strongly favoring the hypothesis that they might have originated in the Angolan Kimbundu-speaking Christian community. Third, the Atlantic passage from Africa to the Americas was horrific. It is estimated that some eleven to twelve million Africans were taken on ships for passage to the Americas between 1520 and 1860. Only nine to ten million survived the Atlantic crossing and many more died soon after their arrival. The Middle Passage was always dangerous to the African captives no matter how humane or brutal the captain and crew might have been. However, the incentive to make a profit on each slave body may have meliorated the cruelty somewhat.

**I**t is clear that slave voyages were complicated commercial endeavors. Slave vessels had large crews, including those hired solely to guard captive Africans and to insure their passivity in the face of the passage. Slave ships at the time of Jamestown were small, relatively inexpensive, and built with speed in mind. They held two hundred and fifty to three hundred captives. The Middle Passage from Africa to the Americas has been described as a physical and psychological hell. Typically, enslaved Africans were separated by sex, shackled in pairs, and placed below deck in the various slave quarters that smelled of human excrement and vomit. With the relatively airless quarters no more than six feet long and two feet high, enslaved Africans were forced to crouch or lie on bare planks with no coverings for their bodies. The captives were fed no more than twice per day on fish, beans, and yams, with limited fresh water. Those who refused food were force-fed. Other types of resistance were met with corporal punishment or death. It was common, moreover, for live slaves to be thrown off the ship into the Atlantic in order to balance the ship's weight. Women and children were sometimes given more relative freedom and allowed to walk on deck, although this increased the real risk of rape and physical abuse by the crew. We know that despite the heavy security, at least some enslaved Africans managed to organize revolts against the captain and crew. Most attempts, however, were unsuccessful. The most famous revolt, of course, occurred well after Jamestown, in 1839 on the *Amistad*.

**E**arly in the Atlantic slave trade, mortality rates reached fifteen-to-twenty percent, a figure that includes the journey in the seventeenth century when slaves were brought to Jamestown. Because profits to the traders depended to some extent on the survival of the slaves, some measures were taken by the end of the eighteenth century to improve conditions during the Middle Passage, so that mortality rates were reduced to five-to-ten percent. Ironically, more slaves seemed to survive the trip when they were fed less, as they were not forced to eat contaminated provisions.

**T**he Atlantic crossing typically lasted three to five weeks from Angolan ports, a hellish but brief journey compared to the Middle Passage from Benin or Biafra which sometimes took several months. The passage of the Jamestown twenty, who most likely hailed from Angola, was only the beginning of the African-American experience of misery, depravation, and degradation. While scholars such as Ira Berlin have argued for the existence of Atlantic Creoles who had already arrived and been naturalized in a world where slavery had not yet been defined, time would only make the Middle Passage harsher. The end of the journey would prove bleaker, not only for the transported Africans but for their descendants in Jamestown and elsewhere in the Americas.

### **Suggestions For Further Reading**

Bennett Jr., Lerone. *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America*. 6th Edition. New York: Penguin, 1993.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Curtin, Philip. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972.

Higginbotham, A. Leon. *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process in the Colonial Period*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Sluiter, Engel. "New Light on the '20. And Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia, August 1619." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 395-398.

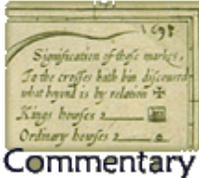
Thomas, Hugh. *The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870*. New York: Touchstone Books, 1999.

Thorndale, William. "The Virginia Census of 1619." *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy* 33 (1995): 155-170.

Thornton, John. "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (1998): 421-434.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute

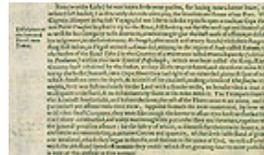


## Naming Territory and Negotiating Power

By Rebecca Ann Bach  
*University of Alabama at Birmingham*

Captain John Smith's "[Map of Virginia](#)" gave the name "Powhatan flu" to the river we now call the James. Smith named the river for the Virginia Indian man he called "the emperor Powhatan." Smith was trying to elevate himself by showing the world and especially his fellow Englishmen that he had a special relationship with this emperor. Smith's naming and that name's vicissitudes point to a number of contests for power in colonial Virginia.

This river had already been named by the Indians and by other Englishmen. The historical record tells us that Powhatan Indians had mapped the river. In Samuel Purchas' collection of travel narratives, William Strachey, the first Secretary of the colony, says the river was named "Paspheigh, which wee haue called the Kings Riuier" (Purchas 1752). But "Paspheigh" probably means "At the mouth" or "outlet" and was therefore not the river's name but the name for the place on the river where the English located themselves.



When Smith named the river Powhatan, he used his English understanding of naming: that settlements and geographical features must belong to someone prominent and be designated by their personal name, and that his establishment of a claim on Powhatan's behalf reinforced his own special link to the emperor. While Smith was attempting to gain prestige through his relationship with a native ruler, Virginia Company representatives like Strachey were challenging his designation for the sake of their desired direct relationship with their monarch. They named the river "King James his river" or simply the King's.

Smith's naming on Powhatan's behalf—his visual argument for Powhatan's power via the map—was in no way designed to work against English preeminence, but it was taken up by other European map makers to argue against English possession. European atlases called the river "Powhatan flu" and "R. Pawhatatan."

The temporary impasse in the naming of the river between James and Powhatan indicates more than one struggle in the colonial world. An English worldview—predicated on possession, centered on ranked individuals and believing in God-given favor—was replacing a Powhatan worldview based in dwelling and use. The impasse in naming is also a sign of a contest between English colonists: between John Smith's elevation of a Powhatan "emperor" whom he could control and understand and the Virginia Company's and the King's subjects' debts to James who had authorized their presence. Continental map-makers preferred the name Powhatan over the name James; that preference shows that English possession of Virginia was also still contested in the larger European world.

In the end the Indians, the other European nations, and Captain John Smith lost the battle to name the river. The James's name today is a sign of the Indians' losses of the river and of the territories surrounding it.

### Suggestions For Further Reading

Bach, Rebecca Ann. *Colonial Transformations: the Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World 1580-1640*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.

Barbour, Philip L. "The Earliest Reconnaissance of the Chesapeake Bay Area: Captain John Smith's Map and Indian Vocabulary." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 79 (1971): 280-302.

———. "The Earliest Reconnaissance of the Chesapeake Bay Area: Captain John Smith's Map and Indian Vocabulary, Part 2." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 80:1 (1972): 21-51.

Carter, Paul. *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Clarke, G. N. G. "Taking Possession: The Cartouche as Cultural Text in Eighteenth-Century American Maps." *Word & Image* 4 (1988): 455-74.

Harley, J. B. "Cartography, Ethics, and Social Theory." *Cartographica* 27 (1990): 1-23.

———. "Deconstructing the Map." *Cartographica* 26 (1989): 1-20.

———. "The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography" in *The History of Cartography, Volume I: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*. Edited by J. B. Harley and David Woodward. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987, 1-42.

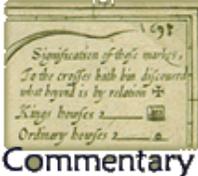
———. "Maps, Knowledge, and Power." in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments*. Edited by Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 277- 312.

———. "Silences and Secrecy: the Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe." *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57-76.

Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas His Pilgrim (1617)*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969.

## Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



### Jamestown: The Site as Contested Property

Constance Jordan  
*Claremont Graduate School*

English rights to the land in and around Jamestown were never uncontested. From its first settlement in 1607 to the destruction of the developed city by arson in 1676, the territory remained an object of dispute. The letters patent that in 1606 had given the Virginia Company the right to settle the southern portion of the area known to the English as Virginia (comprehending land from the 34th to the 44th parallel) had no more than dubious merit in terms of the current law of nations. Englishmen were encouraged to think it could be claimed because it appeared to them as "unused," at least in the sense that they understood the concept of land use. In fact, as the first traders and settlers themselves reported, the Indian inhabitants of these lands were not only aware of what they possessed in land, but were relatively sophisticated traders in various kinds of chattel, chiefly skins and furs. Ruled as a tightly organized confederacy by their tribal governor Powhatan, the Powhatans were a nation with evident dominion over and possession of the territory between the James and York rivers (labeled Powhatan Flu and Pamaunk Flu on [Smith's map](#)) as well as of land west, south, and north.

The English proceeded to settle Jamestown as if the land belonged to them, however. In 1611, having sustained a colony within the immediate confines of the peninsula, its Governor, Sir Thomas Dale, declared that he intended to "secure" for his men "the principallest seates of powhatan" ("Letter to Salisbury," Haile 554). The English progressed up the James river to present-day Henrico, and by 1616, they had settlements on both its shores. Inevitably, the Indians responded with hostility.

Throughout the early modern period, a time-honored way of settling disputes between peoples was by marriage between prominent parties. The property they had as individuals became one, at least symbolically. The marriage of Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas to the English settler John Rolfe in 1614 apparently signified to the Indians that peaceful co-existence was possible—despite the fact that, having been abducted by the English, Pocahontas was treated initially as a hostage. When the Powhatans refused to exchange their English prisoners for her, the English burned several of their



settlements. Undeterred in his effort to consolidate English territory, Sir Thomas Dale sent his representative Ralph Hamor to ask for another of Powhatan's daughters in marriage. This time Powhatan refused. His statement on this occasion reveals his acute understanding of the situation. Noting that there have been too many men killed on both sides, Powhatan was reported by Hamor to wish to end his days in peace: "So as if the English offer me injury, my country is large enough; I will remove myself farther from you" (*A True Discourse*, Haile 835). Indian flight to lands to the west was to prove the rule in the future. By 1646, after a series of skirmishes and two bloody defeats of the English by Opechankanough, Powhatan's



successor, in 1622 and 1644, the Indians had accepted a peace treaty by which they surrendered all their claims to the areas of English settlement, receiving in their stead a reservation north of the York River where whites were forbidden to enter.

**Y**et this was not enough for the English. The colony had begun to parcel out land to its settlers almost from its inception: settlers who arrived before 1614 got 100 acres, those who arrived or who sponsored another's arrival after that date got 50 acres—a so-called "headright." Grants to settlers of high status were preposterously generous: the governor got 3,000 acres, the treasurer of the colony got 1,500 acres, and so forth down the ranks of officials. The process of settlement continued under the crown, which took over the colony in 1624. By the 1650s, the colonists had spread north into Indian territory, overrunning Indian land. Dominion in seventeenth-century Virginia could be said to be registered in two distinct yet conflicted ways: the Indians' claims were supported by origin; English claims rested on evidently specious arguments of use. Boundaries were continuously in dispute.

**I**ronically, the city of Jamestown itself was eventually destroyed by one of its own—an English settler called Nathaniel Bacon. The occasion was again one in which land was at issue. Bacon was the leader of a group of settlers who, agitating for more property and grieved by the practices of large plantation owners, sought to dispossess the Indians at



the borders of their own small farms. When the Governor of Jamestown, Sir William Berkeley, denied Bacon official command of these renegade forces and declared him an outlaw, Bacon besieged the city, and eventually burnt it to the ground. The English had been burning the wooden dwellings of Indians from the first years of their arrival; now they witnessed a conflagration of their own structures of brick and mortar. Jamestown was abandoned in the 1690s, and the government of the colony moved to Williamsburg in 1699.

### Suggestions For Further Reading

Dale, Sir Thomas. "Letter to Salisbury" (1611). In *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony*. Edited by Edward Wright Haile. Champlain: Roundhouse Press, 1998.

Bailyn, Bernard. "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia." In *Seventeenth Century America*. Edited by J.M. Smith. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959.

Hamor, Ralph. *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (1614). In *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony*. Edited by Edward Wright Haile. Champlain: Roundhouse Press, 1998.

Morgan, Edmund. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1975.

Washburn, Wilcomb E. *The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957.

Webb, Stephen Saunders. *1676: The End of American Independence*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



## The Turkish Influence on English Drama

Pompa Banerjee  
University of Colorado, Denver

The establishment of the Levant Company in 1581 and the publication of such travel narratives as George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey* in 1615 had a profound impact on English imaginations and on the drama in particular. Between 1581 and the 1620s, several English plays dramatized the Ottoman presence just beyond the borders of Europe. The plays that appear at this time include Marlowe's *Tamburlaine, Part I* and *Part II* (1587 and '88), George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (1588) and *Soliman and Perseda* (1590), Robert Greene's *Selimus, Emperor of the Turks* (1594), Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion* (1600), Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West* (1602), William Shakespeare's *Othello* (1604), Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (1612), Thomas Goffe's *The Raging Turk* (1618), John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Knight of Malta* (1618), Thomas Middleton and William Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust* (1620), and Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* (1623).

Taken together, these plays reflect the complex English responses to the Ottoman empire. On the one hand, the texts recognize the formidable economic and military strengths of the Turks. Such recognitions are often based on the cross-cultural exchanges resulting from diplomatic ties between England and the Ottoman empire or from increased English trafficking in the vital Islamic commercial hubs of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli. On the other hand, many of these plays also exoticize Turkish encounters and circulate rabidly anti-Ottoman cultural stereotypes, gradually constructing a generic anti-Islamic type that frequently conflates "Turk" and "Moor." While Barbary pirates appeared off the coast of England and an expansionist Ottoman empire threatened at the gates of Europe, many English plays staged the collective anxiety about Turks (and Moors). There were recurrent literary tropes of



conversion (Christians "turn'd Turk"), circumcision, and castration. Readers of Captain John Smith's *True Travels* (1630) will recall Smith's escape from Turkish slavery; Smith's account of his relationship with the Turkish woman he served, Charatza Tragabigzanda, may well have reminded readers of the manifold anxieties hovering around the Turkish experiences of Englishmen. The English plays also disseminated images of the festering corruption of the Ottoman court. In these plays, the opulence and wealth of the Turkish court frequently concealed the insatiable greed, lust, and cruel despotism of Islamic potentates. Fears of sexual contamination and miscegenation lurked just beneath the surface of exotic encounters between Turk and English.

The plays dramatize multiple aspects of such encounters. The best known, Shakespeare's *Othello*, stages the electrifying presence of the Turk at the gates of Venice. The text dramatizes English fears about Ottoman imperialism and the threat of conversion; Othello explicitly voices the threat of "turning Turk" in Act 2 (2.3.189). Even as he defeats the Ottoman enemy, by the end of the play, Othello identifies with the enemy and in effect "turns Turk." His murder of innocent Desdemona suggests the cruel and barbaric excesses of the Turkish sultan who jealously guards the chastity of his seraglio.

**M**any of Shakespeare's contemporaries also staged Turkish plays. Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* (1623) is set in the Tunisian court of the lustful tyrant Asembeg. He has enslaved and "mewed up" in his seraglio the virtuous Paulina, sold to him by Grimaldi the renegade (1.1.129). Paulina is the prototype of the submissive Christian beauty who is repeatedly saved from ravishment by the power of a Christian relic. Paulina's chastity contrasts with the sexual excesses of "Turkish dames" whose repressed desires are released in fiendish orgies of lust. These Turkish ladies are compared to chained "English mastiffs" that turn, when unleashed, to ferocious bloodlust (1.3.8-13). Although this play reflects the Turkish impact on English travelers, the reference to English mastiffs also uncannily inverts the English experiences in the New World. In Massinger's play, the lustful Turkish ladies are compared to fierce mastiffs; yet, as we know, the Algonquian Indians were terrified of the mastiffs that the English brought with them to Virginia. Virginia, then, becomes a subtext of both Massinger's play and of English experiences with Turkish dames in the East. In *The Renegado*, the Christian merchant Vitelli, the brother of Paulina, falls in love with one of these Turkish dames. Donusa is a Turkish princess who is the sexual aggressor in that relationship, and Vitelli is "ravished" by her (2.3.12). Massinger plays on the anxieties of menacing Islamic alterity through images of Turkish cruelty, lust, violence, and castration. For example, Vitelli's servant Gazet is constantly in danger of being "caponed" (1.1.58) and being "libbed in the breech" (2.1.63). Although *The Renegado* stages the various anxieties associated with the Turkish threat, by the end of the play those fears are deflected. The threat of "turning Turk" is neutralized when Vitelli converts Donusa to Christianity. Even the renegade Grimaldi is redeemed and saved.

**O**ther plays exploit the racial valences of conversion. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Island Princess* (1621), Princess Quisara's Islamic otherness is offset by her inner sweetness and light skin: "The very Sun, I think affects her sweetness, / And dares not, as he does to all else, dye it / Into his tauney Livery" (1.1.60-2). The princess will translate her inner sweetness into a spiritual (Christian) conversion by the end of the play, but the text reminds us that the princess cannot allow the sun to "like" her. An inner blackness lurks within the princess; only rigid chastity and Christian conversion keep her white. Yet if Quisara passes as white by protecting her complexion from the sun, then her whiteness—and by implication, her virtue—is false. Her twinned conversion and whiteness camouflage a double passing which masks her Islamic faith and racial darkness.

### **Suggestions for Further Reading**

Bartels, Emily C. "Making More of the Moor: Aaron, Othello, and Renaissance Refashionings of Race." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41 (1990): 433-54.

Barthelemy, Anthony G. *Black Face, Maligned Race: The Representation of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1987.

Chew, Samuel. *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937.

D'Amico, Jack. *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama*. Tampa: University of South Florida Press, 1991.

Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Matar, Nabil. *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

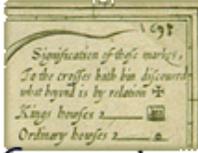
Patrides, C. A. "'The Bloody and Cruell Turke': The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace." *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963): 126-35.

Vitkus, Daniel J., ed. *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*.  
New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

—. "Turning Turk in *Othello*: The Conversion and Damnation of  
the Moor." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48 (1997): 145-77.

## Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

### An Excerpt from "*The Tempest: A Modern Perspective*"

Barbara Mowat  
Folger Shakespeare Library

From The New Folger Library Shakespeare Edition of  
William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*  
New York: Washington Square Press, 1994.

The interplay between *The Tempest's* elaborate voyage story and its tightly constricted "play" points to two kinds of travel tales embedded in the drama: ancient, fictional voyage narratives and contemporary travelers' tales buzzing around London at the time the play was being written. The Harpy/king encounter is shaped as a sequence of verbal and visual events that in effect reenact and thus recall ancient confrontations between harpies and sea voyagers. In each of these harpy incidents—from the third century B.C. *Argonautica* through the first century B.C. *Aeneid* to *The Tempest* itself—harpies are ministers of the gods sent to punish those who have angered the gods; they punish by devouring or despoiling food; and they are associated with dire prophecies. *The Tempest's* enactment of the harpy encounter is thus one in a line of harpy stories stretching into the past from this island and this set of voyagers to Aeneas, and through Aeneas back to Jason and the crucial encounter between the terrible



harpies (the "hounds of mighty Zeus") and the Argonauts.<sup>1</sup> In replicating the sequence of events of voyagers meeting harpies, combining details from Jason's story and from the *Aeneid*, Shakespeare directs attention to the specific context in which such harpy confrontations appear and within which *The Tempest* clearly belongs—that of literary fictional voyages.

At the same time, he surrounds the encounter with dialogue that would remind his audience of present-day voyages of their own fellow Londoners. Geographical expansion, around-the-world journeys, explorations of the new world of the Americas had heightened the stay-at-homes' fascination with the strange creatures reported by travelers. Real-world creatures like crocodiles and hippopotami, fantastic creatures like unicorns and griffins, reported monstrosities like the men whose heads grow beneath their shoulders—all were, at the time, equally real (or unreal) and equally fascinating. The dialogue preceding the Harpy's descent in *The Tempest* centers on such fabulous creatures. When the supposed "islanders"—creatures of "monstrous shape"—appear, bringing in the banquet, Sebastian says: "Now I will believe / That there are unicorns, that in Arabia / There is one tree, the phoenix' throne, one phoenix / At this hour reigning there." "Travelers ne'er did lie," says Antonio, "Though fools at home condemn 'em." Gonzalo adds, "If in Naples / I should report this now, would they believe me? / If I should say I saw such islanders . . ." (3.3.26-36). It is into this dialogue-context that the Harpy descends—that is, into a discussion of fantastic travelers' tales and fabulous creatures.

When the Harpy—one of these creatures—actually appears, claps its wings upon the table, and somehow makes the food disappear (3.3.69 SD), she is very real to Alonso and his men—as real as the harpies were to Jason and to Aeneas; as real as the hippopotami and anthropophagi were to fifteenth-century explorers; as real as

is Caliban, the monster mooncalf, to his discoverers Stephano and Trinculo. The attempts to kill the Harpy are classical responses—that is, they are the responses of Jason and Aeneas when confronted by the terrible bird-women. The response of Stephano and Trinculo to their man-monster is a more typically sixteenth-century response to the fabulous. When, for example, Stephano finds Trinculo and Caliban huddled under a cloak and thinks he has discovered a "most delicate monster" with four legs and two voices, he responds with the greed that we associate with Martin Frobisher and other sixteenth-century New World explorers who brought natives from North America to England to put on display: "If I can recover him," says Stephano, "and keep him tame and get to Naples with him, he's a present for any emperor that ever trod on neat's leather. . . . He shall pay for him that hath him, and that soundly" (2.2.69-81). Trinculo had responded with equal greed to his first sight of the frightened Caliban:

What have we here, a man or fish? . . . A strange fish. Were I in England . . . and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver. There would this monster make a man. Any strange beast there makes a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian

(2.2.25-34).

**W**hile the finding and subjugating of "wild men" was a feature that ancient and new-world voyage stories held in common (for example, Jupiter promises that Aeneas, as the climax of his sea journeys, will "wage a great war in Italy, and . . . crush wild peoples and set up laws for men and build walls"<sup>2</sup>), Prospero's subjugation of Caliban has a particularly New World flavor. The play itself, no matter how steeped it is in ancient voyage literature and no matter how much emphasis it places on its Mediterranean setting, is also a representation of New World exploration. While it retells the stories of Aeneas and of Jason, it also stages a particular Virginia voyage that, in 1610-11, was the topic of sermons, published government accounts, and first person epistles, many of which Shakespeare drew on in crafting *The Tempest*. The story, in brief, goes as follows: A fleet of ships sets out in 1609 from England carrying a new governor—Sir Thomas Gates—to the struggling Virginia colony in Jamestown. The fleet was caught in a tempest off the coast of Bermuda. All of the ships survived the storm and sailed on to Virginia—except the flagship, the *Sea-Venture*, carrying the governor, the admiral of the fleet, and other important officials. A year later, the exhausted and dispirited colonists in Jamestown were astounded when two boats sailed up the James River carrying the supposedly drowned governor and his companions. The crew and passengers on the flagship had survived the storm, had lived for a year in the Bermudas, had built new ships, and had made it safely to Virginia. News of the happy ending to this "tragi-comedy," as one who reported the story called it, soon reached London, and many details of the story are preserved in *The Tempest*.

**A**mong the details may be the disturbing picture of the relationship of the "settlers" and the "Indians" in Jamestown, represented perhaps in Caliban and his relationship with Prospero. In one of the documents used by Shakespeare in writing *The Tempest*, William Strachey describes an incident in which "certain Indians," finding a man alone, "seized the poor fellow and led him up in to the woods and sacrificed him." Strachey writes that the lieutenant governor was very disturbed by the incident, since hitherto he "would not by any means be wrought to a violent proceeding against them [i.e., the Indians] for all the practices of villainy with which they daily endangered our men." This incident, though, made him "well perceive" that "fair and noble treatment" had little effect "upon a barbarous disposition," and "therefore . . .

purposed to be revenged." The revenge took the form of an attack upon an Indian village.<sup>3</sup>

**A**s we read Strachey's account today, we find much in the behavior of the settlers toward the natives that is appalling, so that the account is not for us simply that of "good white men" against "bad Indians," as it was for Strachey. In the same way, whether or not this particular lieutenant governor and these treacherous "Indians" are represented in *The Tempest*, Shakespeare's decision to include a "wild man" among his island's cast of characters, and (as Stephen Greenblatt notes) to place him in opposition to a European prince whose power lies in his language and his books,<sup>4</sup> raises a host of questions for us about the play. *The Tempest* was written just as England was beginning what would become massive empire-building through the subjugating of others and the possessing of their lands. European nations—Spain, in particular—had already taken over major land areas, and Shakespeare and his contemporaries had available to them many accounts of native peoples and of European colonizers' treatment of such peoples. Many such accounts are like Strachey's: they describe a barbarous people who refuse to be "civilized," who have no language, who have a "nature" on which "nurture will never stick" (as Prospero says of Caliban). Other accounts describe instead cultural differences in which that which is different is not necessarily inferior or "barbarous." When Gonzalo says (at 2.1.157-60), "Had I plantation [i.e., colonization] of this isle . . . And were the king on 't, what would I do?" he answers his own question by describing the Utopia he would set up (lines 162-84), taking his description from Montaigne's essay "Of the Cannibals." In this essay, Montaigne ("whose supple mind," writes Ronald Wright, "exemplifies Western civilization at its best"<sup>5</sup>) argues in effect that American "savages" are in many ways more moral, more humane people than so-called civilized Europeans.

**A**s with so much of *The Tempest*, Caliban may be seen as representing two quite different images. Shakespeare gives him negative traits attached to New World natives (traits that seem to many today to smack of racist responses to the strange and to the Other) while giving him at the same time a richly poetic language and a sensitive awareness of nature and the supernatural. He places Caliban in relation to Prospero (as Caliban's master and the island's "colonizer"), to Miranda (as the girl who taught Caliban language and whom he tried to rape), and indirectly to Ferdinand (who, like Caliban, is made to carry logs and who will father Miranda's children as Caliban had wished to do). Shakespeare thus creates in the center of this otherworldly play a confrontation that speaks eloquently to late-twentieth-century readers and audiences living with the aftereffects of the massive colonizing of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and observing the continuing life of "empire" in the interactions between the powerful and the formerly colonized states.<sup>6</sup> As many readers and audiences today look back at the centuries of colonization of the Americas, Africa, and India from, as it were, Caliban's perspective, *The Tempest*, once considered Shakespeare's most serene, most lyrical play, is now put forward as his representation, for good or ill, of the colonizing and the colonized.<sup>7</sup>

1. See Barbara A. Mowat, "'And that's true, too': Structures and Meaning in *The Tempest*," *Renaissance Papers* 1976, pp. 37-50. The pertinent sections of the Argonaut stories are Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 2:178-535, and Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 4:422-636; Virgil's account of the Harpies as encountered by Aeneas and his men is found in the *Aeneid* 3:210-69. **BACK**
2. *Aeneid*, Book I, lines 261-64 (Guilford trans.). **BACK**
3. "A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight," in *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1964), pp. 1-101, esp. pp. 88-89. **BACK**
4. "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," in *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 23-26. **BACK**

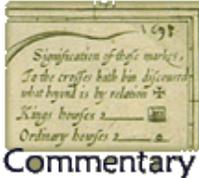
5. *Stolen Continents: The "New World" Through Indian Eyes* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1993). [BACK](#)
6. See Edward W. Said, "Empire, Geography, and Culture" and "Images of the Past, Pure and Impure," in *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), pp. 3-14, 15-19. [BACK](#)
7. For example, in "Nymphs and reapers heavily vanish: the discursive con-texts of *The Tempests*," *Alternative Shakespeares*, ed. John Drakakis (pp. 192-205), Francis Barker and Peter Hulme state that "the discourse of colonialism" is the "dominant discursive con-text" for the play. [BACK](#)

### **Suggestions For Further Reading**

*"The Tempest" and Its Travels*. Edited by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

*Texts of  
Imagination  
and  
Empire*

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

**Forests: Wilderness or Commodity?**

Ellen Eslinger  
DePaul University

Europeans envisioned America as a garden of Eden. But they also assessed it for its commercial potential. Although gold, silver, and other precious goods were particularly sought after, timber attracted significant attention. By the sixteenth century, the old English forests had been much reduced in size. Strategically important material such as ship masts had to be imported from the Baltic region, creating an undesirable and dangerous dependence upon foreign suppliers. Even the inferior timber that was burned for winter fuel had become very expensive in England.



As first hand reports began to emerge from the other side of the Atlantic, the dream of a "Countrey overgrowne with trees" captured the British imagination (Smith 10). Thomas Hariot, the scientific advisor on the first expeditions to found a colony in North America, wrote in his *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* of "ayre . . . so temperate and holsome, the soyle so fertile and yeelding such commodities. . ." (32). Hariot included an elaborate list of trees, highlighting their uses. "Cedar," he writes in one example, "a very sweet wood & fine timber; whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet & fine bedsteads, tables, deskes . . . & many things else . . . to make up fraite with other principal commodities will yeeld profite" (9). As interest in the colonies continued to grow, promotional literature continued to praise the size and quality of American timber, predicting (as did Edward Williams) that it would "finde a speedy Market, since the decay of Timber is a defect growne universall in Europe, and the commodity such a necessary Staple, that no civill Nation can be conveniently without it." (Williams, Force 14)

Captain John Smith agreed. Seeking to demonstrate the region's value to the British dominions, Smith reported in his *Map of Virginia* "The wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut, many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long" (10). Hardwoods of such size were a rarity in England by this time. Smith also noted other types of valuable hardwood timber, such as ash, elm, and the tulip poplar, and gave an account of valuable wood byproducts, such as potash, used in glass and soap manufacturing, tar, and silk from indigenous mulberry trees, "growing naturally in prettie groves." (11-12). Disappointingly, they proved to be the wrong type of mulberry.



Colonists in New England also explored the uses of trees and the various commodities they could make from them. Francis Higginson claimed that trees were so abundant (and so various) in the New World that "A poore servant here that is to possesse but 50 acres of land, may afford to give more wood for timber and fire as good as the world yeelds, than many noble men in England can afford to do." (Higginson, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 122). William



Wood composed a mnemonic poem to distinguish the characteristics and uses of the trees in New England.

The cost of transatlantic shipping proved too high for the feasible exportation of lumber. Only a few specialty products such as sassafras wood were worth sending abroad for medicinal purposes. In the years to come, American timber would find a profitable market in the shipbuilding industry. Despite higher wage rates in the colonies, the American forests would later make American shipbuilding very competitive with European producers. Unfortunately, unanticipated environmental changes such as soil erosion soon resulted from wasteful lumbering practices conducted on a commercial scale as well as the general failure of the English to understand that the American forests had a history.

### **Suggestions For Further Reading**

Cronan, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: 1983.

Higginson, Francis. "New-Englands Plantation" (1630). *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. Vol. I. Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1806.

Silver, Timothy. *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South American Forests, 1500-1800*. New York: 1990.

Smith, John. *A Map of Virginia* (1612). New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.

Stahle, David W. et al. "The Lost Colony and Jamestown Droughts." *Science* 180 (1998): 564-67.

Williams, Edward. *Virginia More Especially the South Part Thereof, Richly and Truly Valued* (1650). In *Tracts and Other Papers*. Edited by Peter Force. New York: Peter Smith, 1947.

Wood, William. *New Englands Prospect* (1635). Edited by Alden T. Vaughan. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



## The Three Turks' Heads: Travels in the Middle East Before Jamestown

Karen Ordahl Kupperman  
New York University

The lands around the eastern Mediterranean were fascinating to the English public. They were the source of great riches and exotic products, and wealthy English merchants operated in the East to bring these commodities to an eager clientele. The opulence and magnificence of the Turkish court had achieved legendary status, and Turkish military might threatened the eastern fringes of Europe itself. Several Jamestown colonists had previously traveled to early modern Europe's great cultural other, the Muslim, Jewish, and Orthodox Christian world of the eastern Mediterranean. Two near contemporaries—George Sandys (born 1578) and John Smith (born 1580)—both spent time in the East before they journeyed to America, but they had very different experiences. Both men wrote books about their travels: Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey begun Anno Domini 1610* (1615) and Smith's *The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith, In Europe, Asia, Affrica and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629* (1630).

John Smith was the son of a yeoman farmer. Although he had been apprenticed to a merchant in the town of King's Lynn on England's east coast, the teenaged Smith left his apprenticeship to sign on as a soldier in an English regiment in the Netherlands where the Protestant Dutch fought to free themselves of control by Roman Catholic Spain. He traveled through France and returned to England intent on training himself to become a gentleman-soldier. As he contemplated returning to Europe, Smith decided to "trie his fortune against the Turkes, both lamenting and repenting to have seene so many Christians slaughter one another" (Smith 3). This time he signed on with the Roman Catholic Hapsburgs, who were defending eastern Europe from invading Turkish armies.

As Smith told the story in his *True Travels*, he was invaluable to the Hapsburg commanders and quickly rose to prominence in the army. He invented numerous ingenious schemes by which to foil the Turkish forces. Ultimately, Smith became the champion of the entire company and killed three of the greatest Turkish warriors in single combat. Smith was awarded his own coat of arms carrying "three Turkes heads in a shield" (Smith Sig. C5). With this grant, he officially became a gentleman.



Despite his efforts, the Hapsburg armies were defeated, and Smith was captured and taken into Turkey, where he was sent to serve a young woman he knew as Charatza Tragabigzanda; this name has been translated as "girl from Trebizond." She and Smith conversed in Italian, and she planned a career for him in the Turkish armies. Charatza Tragabigzanda sent him to her brother for training, but Smith, finding it brutalizing, rose up and killed his master and escaped. Despite the "great ringe of iron" around his neck, he managed to travel across Turkey to Russia (Smith 24).



From there he journeyed through much of Europe and into North Africa on his way back to England.

**S**mith arrived back in England as the London Virginia Company was planning its initial colony in 1606, and

leaders recognized in his experiences the qualities they needed for their Jamestown settlement. The twenty-six-year-old Smith was signed on and made a member of the council. According to his own account, his contributions were as invaluable in Jamestown as they had been in Transylvania. He had become a specialist in surviving in alien lands. Smith wrote about his early adventures only at the end of his life in 1630. Six years earlier, he had published his masterpiece, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles* (1624).

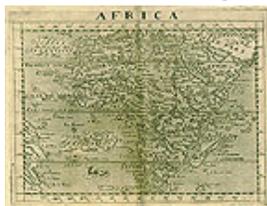


**T**he background and experiences of George Sandys were very different from Smith's. Sandys's father was the Archbishop of York, and his older brother Edwin was a leader of the Virginia Company. Whereas Smith went to the European wars as a teenager, George Sandys entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford at age eleven. He went on to London's Middle Temple to study law at age eighteen. And he did not set out on his travels until 1610, when he was a married man of thirty-two.

**G**eorge Sandys was extremely well-connected; his account of his travels was dedicated to Prince Charles, the heir to the throne. He went first to France, then on to the eastern Mediterranean. He began his real travel account with his stop in Venice, the gateway to the East. Throughout his book, his observations on the monuments and customs of the people in lands he passed or passed through were interspersed with quotations and stories from classical authors.



**S**andys embarked by ship from Venice for Turkey, insisting that his party stop on the way to see the site of ancient Troy. In Constantinople, where Smith suffered as a slave, Sandys stayed in the house of the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Glover. He spent



most his time in Constantinople, and here as throughout his voyage, his description began with the history of the city, then went on to description of its great buildings. He also included a full description of the Muslim religion. Sandys next went by ship to Alexandria in Egypt.

His long description of the Nile drew on Leo Africanus as well as ancient authors such as Herodotus and Pliny. After leaving Cairo, he visited the Pyramids and the Sphinx. He entered a tomb deep within the Great Pyramid. Sandys included a long discussion of embalming methods and actually brought home many small metal figures that had been wrapped with mummies.

**S**andys and his fellow travelers then set out on camels for Jerusalem; they joined with other camel trains for the journey across the desert. In his history of Palestine, Sandys included a discussion of Jewish history, both there and in Europe. He included detailed descriptions of many sacred sites, a subject very important to the English reading public. He encountered many



different kinds of Christians in Jerusalem for Easter, and Sandys described them all.

On the return trip, Sandys went by ship through the Mediterranean islands, stopping at Malta, and on to Naples. He even spent four days in Rome (though it was dangerous for a Protestant) then proceeded through Florence, Bologna, Siena, Ferrara, and back to Venice. Sandys spent several more months in Venice, acquiring books for his writing. As a result he drew on a huge battery of sources for his histories and descriptions, including a lively interest in folk tales and folk ways.

Sandys went to Jamestown in 1621 as the Virginia Company's resident treasurer. He wrote nothing about America comparable to his *Relation* of his travels in the East, and little has survived of the reports that he sent home. Before he embarked, Sandys also published the first installment of a long-running project, a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. He continued this translation while in Jamestown, and published the result when he returned.



Sandys's *Relation* was a best seller. Its second edition came out in 1621 just as he was leaving for Virginia, and went through many later reprintings and editions. Many other authors, from Francis Bacon to John Milton, drew on it for their own writings. The English public was fascinated by knowledge from the exotic East. Several English authors who wrote of their experience in America drew on that lore in describing Indians. William Wood, for example, writing in 1634 of his experiences in New England (in *New Englands Prospect*), drew on such descriptions of Islam in trying to describe the Massachusetts' beliefs about the afterlife. He wrote that "their Indian faith jumps much with the *Turkish Alchoran*, holding it to be a kinde of Paradise, wherein they shall everlastingly abide. . . ." (Wood 93).

### Suggestions For Further Reading

Barbour, Philip L., ed. *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*. 3 vols. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Davis, Richard Beale. *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

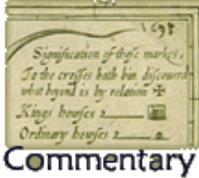
Haynes, Jonathan. *The Humanist as Traveler: George Sandys's 'Relation of a Journey begun Anno Domini 1610.'* Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.

Striker, Laura Polanyi. "Captain John Smith's Hungary and Transylvania." In *Captain John Smith: His Life and Legend*. Edited by Bradford Smith. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1953, 311-42.

Vaughan, Alden T. *American Genesis: Captain John Smith and the Founding of Virginia*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1975

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Commentary

## The Virginia Company

Emily Rose  
*Princeton University*

The most striking absence from [John Smith's map of Virginia](#), first published in 1612, is any reference to the Virginia Company—which was, after all, the legal proprietor of the land under English law until the company was dissolved in 1624. This absence is emblematic of Smith's fraught relations with the company managers and directors. Though the names of John Smith and the Virginia Company are inextricably linked, Smith worked for the company shareholders for only a few years; he worked against them for even longer. Smith's version of the early days of settlement has long influenced our histories.

The Virginia Company governed the land according to a series of royal charters. The first was granted in 1606 by King James I, and it created two companies, one operating out of Plymouth with the aim of establishing a more northern colony and one operating out of London with the aim of establishing a more southern colony. The Plymouth Company established Sagadahoc Colony at the mouth of the Kennebec River in what is now Maine. But by the end of 1608, the colonists of the Plymouth Company had all packed their bags and returned to England. The London Company (also known as the Virginia Company) planted itself on the Powhatan River (renamed the James) and established Jamestown in 1607.

Captain John Smith went out in the London Company's first adventure and was on the sealed list of councillors that was opened on board the ship heading to Virginia. In the fall of 1608 (by when the other leaders had died or left Virginia), Smith became president of the young colony's council. The original organization of the company proved unworkable, however, and in 1609, the London Company received a new charter when it was reorganized as a joint-stock company in an attempt to make it more responsive and effective.



A new fleet of ships was sent to supply Jamestown and to reform the government by martial law under the direction of Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates. However, the lead ship of the fleet, the *Sea Venture*, crashed on the reefs surrounding Bermuda before it could reach Virginia. The famous shipwreck—which many scholars think was in Shakespeare's mind as he wrote the first scene of *The Tempest*—caused Somers's delay and allowed Smith to retain control for many months in Virginia: the papers authorizing the change of control remained in Bermuda with the new governor.

A new royal charter in 1612 extended the geographic boundaries of the London Company's grant to include Bermuda, which looked more promising than Virginia. Bermuda was spun off in 1613 to a smaller group of investors, most of whom were shareholders in Virginia. In the early maps of Bermuda, the seal of the Bermuda Company is displayed along with that of the Virginia Company. One would expect, then, to see the seal of the Virginia Company on Smith's map rather than his own personal heraldic device—which was added to later editions of the map.

**S**upplanted as council president and injured by gunpowder, Smith returned to England in 1609 after the first corporate restructuring. Alexander Brown noted a century ago that Smith "not only failed to give satisfaction to his employers but he gave great dissatisfaction and was never employed by the Council of Virginia again" (Brown 1008). Though he made two subsequent voyages to New England (sometimes called Northern Virginia) beginning in 1614, he never again found employment with colonial entrepreneurs.

**S**mith published his treatise *A Map of Virginia* (which included the first state of the map on which this website is based) in 1612 without the approval of the company. Scholars suspect that this is one reason he had it printed in Oxford instead of London. Smith's later petition to the Virginia Company seeking a reward for past services was denied; in 1622 he proposed writing a history of Virginia, a proposal which was never endorsed by the company. The following month, it should be noted, Smith's friend, the prolific Samuel Purchas, was given shares in the company as were other corporate promoters such as the poet John Donne. The absence, therefore, of any reference to the Virginia Company and the enhancement of Smith's own emblem on the map itself should be seen as visual and graphic counterparts to his written attempts to enhance his own role and diminish that of the investors and managers who hired him and sent him to Virginia.

**S**mith was an important player in the propaganda war which preceded the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1624. Smith positioned himself as an expert on Virginia, but in fact he had not been there for a decade and a half when he answered the questions put forth by the Royal Commission on Virginia. He had little information that could not be gained from others returning to England with more up-to-date news on the vast changes which had taken place in the colony. Nevertheless, Smith's participation suggests that his views were well known and that he could be relied upon to oppose the current management.

**A**t the time, the company was deeply divided into factions, groups of investors with different objectives and different ideas about how the colony should be run, who should run it, and how it should make money. Smith appears to have sided with the party of the Earl of Warwick (a leading investor in pirate ships), and the great merchant Sir Thomas Smythe (a former governor of the London Company). They were seeking to wrest control of the Virginia Company of London from Sir Edwin Sandys (the parliamentary leader), and the Earl of Southampton (Shakespeare's patron). In this conflict, an aging King James sided with the Earl of Warwick: he had long hated Sir Edwin Sandys and twice had tried to remove Sandys from the office of governor of the company. The King was always looking for money and saw the Virginia Company as a good source of cash—either through 'voluntary' loans and donations or by means of taxes on tobacco.



**T**he endgame over the company's charter began in April 1623. At the instigation of Smythe's son-in-law, the Privy Council began an investigation into the operations of the Virginia Company. That investigation was directly tied to failed negotiations over a contract to import tobacco from Virginia to England, which had dragged on for a year. It was the tobacco contract and not the 1622 Indian massacre (as many American historians assume) that raised red flags in London. From April 1623 to May 1624, control of the company was fought for in the Privy Council, in the royal courts, in Parliament, and in the court of public opinion. It was during this period that John Smith compiled his *Generall Historie of Virginia*.

Close scrutiny of Smith's role suggests that he was not a disinterested observer simply promoting colonization but a partisan player. He had been trying to get himself hired by the management of the company but the Sandys-Southampton leadership had expressed no interest. In April 1624, the company was declared void in the courts, and government of the colony was taken into the crown hands. In June, the King appointed a new commission for Virginia, and in July, Smith's *Generall Historie* was published. Within the year, Smith's arms were recorded at the College of Arms. The timing is curious since the arms were awarded for services provided in Turkey more than two decades earlier, and they were based on a rather vague document. One is tempted to see in the recognition of Smith's arms (and the right to call himself a gentleman) a reward for services recently rendered to the King of England. In contrast to the famous map, the 1624 title page of Smith's *Generall Historie* bore not only regal portraits of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, but also three corporate seals as well as Smith's heraldic achievements. The prominent display of the seals of Virginia, Bermuda, and New England was meant to suggest a corporate endorsement which John Smith never received.



In May 1625, Virginia and Bermuda were formally proclaimed part of the royal empire ruled by Charles I. Captain John Smith's map of Virginia, with his own arms prominently displayed and the royal seal front and center—and topped by an imperial crown—stated ownership of the land in no uncertain terms. The Virginia Company was erased from history, just as it was erased from Smith's map. In its stead, Captain Smith and the royal family took pride of place.

#### Suggestions For Further Reading

Brown, Alexander. *The Genesis of the United States*, 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1890.

Craven, W. F. *Dissolution of the Virginia Company*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1932.

Kingsbury, Susan Myra. *Records of the Virginia Company*, 3 vols. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906.

Rabb, Theodore K. *Jacobean Gentleman, Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561-1629*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Ransome, David. *Sir Thomas Smith's Mismanagement of the Virginia Company*. Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1990.

Scott, William Robert. *Joint-Stock Companies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1910.

*Texts of  
Imagination  
and  
Empire*

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



Bibliographies

## Syllabus

### Week I: English Culture on the Eve of Colonization

#### Monday

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000. [Text on reserve]

Smith, John. *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings*. Edited by Karen Ordahl Kupperman. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988, Parts I-II.

Tacitus, Cornelius. *The Description of Germanie and The Agricola*. Translated by W. Hamilton Fyfe. New York: Oxford University Press, 1908, Chapters 21-40.

#### Tuesday

Visiting Faculty: David Harris Sacks, Professor of History, Reed College

Martyr, Peter. *The Decades of the Newe Worlde*. London, 1555, 7r-8r.

More, Sir Thomas. *Utopia*. Edited by David Harris Sacks. Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Tacitus, Cornelius. *Annals*. Translated by John Jackson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925-37, Book III, Chapters 25-29.

*The Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci*. In Martin Waldseemüller, *Cosmographie Introductio*. Translated by Joseph Fischer and Franz von Wieser. New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1907, 92-100.

#### Wednesday

Visiting Faculty: Emily Bartels, Associate Professor of English, Rutgers University

Leo Africanus. *A Geographical Historie of Africa*. Translated by John Pory, 1600.

Bartels, Emily C. "Othello and Africa: Postcolonialism Reconsidered." In *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 45-64.

*Othello* [film adapted from Shakespeare's play]. Dir. Oliver Parker. Perf. Laurence Fishburne, Irène Jacob, Kenneth Branagh. Miramax, 1995.

Shakespeare, William. *The Tempest*. Edited by Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine. New York: Washington Square Press, 1994.

#### Thursday

Hakluyt, Richard. *A Particuler Discourse concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodityes that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoveries Lately Attempted, written in the yere 1584*. Edited by David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn. London: Hakluyt Society, 1993.

[Also in *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*. Edited by E. G. R. Taylor. London: Hakluyt Society, 1935].

### Week II: Early Tentative Colonial Ventures

#### Monday

Raleigh, Sir Walter. *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*. Annotated and Introduced by Neil L. Whitehead. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

#### Tuesday

Visiting Faculty: Jane Landers, Assistant Professor of History, Vanderbilt University

Ribaut, Jean. *Discovereye of Terra Florida*. Translated by H. P. Biggar. In *English Historical Review* XXXII (1917): 253-270.

[A facsimile edition was published together with Biggar's version by the Florida Historical Society, *Publications of the Florida State*

*Historical Society* 7, 1927].

Elliot, J.H. *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700*. Part I. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Lyon, Eugene. *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*. Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks. Vol. 24. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.

[see especially]:

- Pedro Menéndez' Memorial to King Phillip II about the Necessity to Settle Florida.
- Report of the Governor of Jamaica on the Florida Frenchmen Captured in Jamaica.
- Interrogation of French Mutineers, Escaped from Florida, Who Were Captured by the Spaniards.
- Pedro Menéndez' Letter to King Philip II of October 20, 1566
- The Spy's Report of Jean Ribault's 1565 Reinforcement for Florida.

Escalante Fontaneday, Hernando d'. *Memoir of Do. D'Escalante Fonteneda Respecting Florida*. Edited by David O. True. Coral Gables, Florida: Glade House, 1945.

Weber, David J. *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

[see especially Introduction and Chapters 1, 2, and first half of Chapter 3].

### **Wednesday-Thursday**

Visiting Faculty: Walter Woodward, Director of Education, Plimoth Plantation

Electronic resources:

<http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vcdh/jamestown/>

<http://www.apva.org/>

Woodward, Walter. "Jamestown Estates." *William and Mary Quarterly* XLVIII (1991): 116-17.

## **Week III: Colonies Around the North Atlantic Rim**

### **Monday**

Quinn, David B. and Alison M. Quinn. *The First Colonists: Documents on the Planting of the First English Settlements in North America, 1584-1590*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1983.

[see especially]:

- Arthur Barlowe, *The First Voyage Made to the Coastes of America*.
- Ralph Lane, *An Account of the Particularities of the Employments of the English Men Left in Virginia*.
- Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*.

[This collection was earlier published under the title *Virginia Voyages from Hakluyt*, and the documents are also available in vol. I of David B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*, 2 vols. London, 1955].

### **Tuesday, July 4 holiday**

### **Wednesday**

Visiting Faculty: Andrew Hadfield, Professor of English, University of Wales, Aberwystwyth

Canny, Nicholas. *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988. [see Introduction].

Hadfield, Andrew. *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545- 1625*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. [see especially Chapter 2].

Quinn, David B. and Alison M. Quinn. *The First Colonists: Documents on the Planting of the First English Settlements in North America, 1584-1590*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1983.

[see especially John White's letter to Richard Hakluyt, 4 February, 1593].

Shuger, Debora K. "Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians." *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997): 494-525.

Spenser, Edmund. *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1598). Edited by Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

#### **Thursday**

Visiting Faculty: Dominique Deslandres, Professor of History, Université de Montréal

Champlain, Samuel. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*. Bilingual Edition. 6 vols. Edited by H. P. Biggar. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1922.

[see especially]:

- Vol. I: "Brief Narrative," 1-80.
- Vol. II: "Of Savages," 91-189.
- Vol. III: Chapters 1-2, 247-266.
- Vol. IV: Chapter 1, 1-30; Chapter 3, 37-42; Chapters 5-7, 48-70; Chapter 8, 78-79; Chapters 9-11, 80-120; Chapter 12; Chapter 13, 135-52. Book 4: Chapter 1, 163-70; Chapter 2, 176-96; Chapters 7-8, 244-338.
- Vol. V: Chapter 1, 1-10; Chapter 5, 57-80; Chapter 8, 103-108. Book 2: Chapter 1, 141-156. Chapters 3-6.

Trigger, Bruce G. "Champlain Judged by His Indian Policy: A Different View of Early Canadian History." *Anthropologica* 13 (1971): 85-113.

Young, Brian and John A. Dickinson. *A Short History of Quebec: A Socio-Economic Perspective*. Toronto: Copp, Clark & Pitman, 1988, 13-34.

### **Week IV: Tracks on the Land**

#### **Monday**

Haile, Edward Wright, ed. *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony*. Champlain: Roundhouse Press, 1998.

[see especially]:

- Captain John Smith. *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles* (1624), Book III, 215-349.
- George Percy. "A Trew Relacyon of the Procedeinges and Ocurrentes of Momente which have hapned in Virginia from the Tyme Sir Thomas Gates was shippwrackte uppon the Bermudes anno 1609 untill my departure outt of the country which was in anno Domini 1612," 497-519.
- Henry Spelman. "Relation of Virginea" (c. 1613), 481-95.

Roundtree, Helen C. *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

#### **Tuesday-Wednesday: Jamestown site visit.**

Smith, John. *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings*. Edited by Karen Ordahl Kupperman. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. [see especially parts III-IV]

#### **Thursday**

Pory, John. "A Reporte of the Manner of Proceeding in the General Assembly convened at James City." In *Records of the Virginia Company of London*. 4 vols. Edited by Susan Myra Kingsbury. District of Columbia: Government Printing Office, 1906-1935.

### **Week V: Crawling Towards Success**

#### **Monday**

Haile, Edward Wright, ed. *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony*. Champlain: Roundhouse Press, 1998.

[see especially]:

William Strachey, *A True Reportory of the Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates* (1610), 381-443.

#### **Tuesday**

Visiting Faculty: James Axtell, Kenan Professor of Humanities, College of William and Mary

Axtell, James. *After Columbus*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. [see Chapter 10].

Haile, Edward Wright, ed. *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony*. Champlain: Roundhouse Press, 1998.

[see especially]:

- Ralph Hamor. *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (1615), 792-840.
- John Rolfe, "The coppie of the Gentle-mans letters to Sir Thomas Dale, that after married Powhatans daughter, containing the reasons moving him thereunto," 850-56.

Quitt, Martin H. "Trade and Acculturation at Jamestown, 1607-1609: The Limits of Understanding." *William and Mary Quarterly* 52 (1995): 227-58.

### **Wednesday**

Visiting Faculty: James Horn, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture

Fausz, J. Frederick. "'An Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides:' England's First Indian War, 1609-1614." *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 93 (1990): 3-56.

Haile, Edward Wright, ed. *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony*. Champlain: Roundhouse Press, 1998.

[see especially]:

- Virginia Company, *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise* (1610), 468-77.
- John Rolfe, *A True Relation of the State of Virginia Lefte by Sir Thomas Dale Knight in May last 1616*, 865-77.

Konig, David. "Dale's Laws." *American Journal of Legal History* 26 (1982): 354-76.

Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery, American Freedom*. New York: Norton, 1975, Chapter 4.

Oberg, Michael. *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism and Native America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999, 48-68.

Quinn, David B. and Alison B. Quinn, eds. *New American World*. 5 vols. New York: Arno Press, 1979, Vol. 5.

[see especially]:

- "Instructions for Sir Thomas Gates," May 1609, 212-17.
- Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia* (1609), 235-48.

### **Thursday**

Walter W. Woodward on building a website for this summer institute.

## **Week VI: Stability and Extension**

### **Monday**

Visiting Faculty: Ian Smith, Assistant Professor of English, Lafayette College

Brown, Kathleen M. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Chapman, George. *The Memorable Masque* (1613). In *Works: The Plays and Poems of George Chapman*. Edited by Thomas Marc Parrott. New York: Routledge, 1910-14.

Donne, John. *A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation*. In *Five Sermons Upon Special Occasions*. London: 1626.

Drayton, Michael. "To Master George Sandys, Treasurer for the English Colony in Virginia" and "Ode. To the Virginia Voyage." In *Poems*. Edited by John Buxton. New York: Routledge, 1953.

Jonson, Ben and Inigo Jones. "The Vision of Delight" (1617). In *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques*. Edited by Stephen Orgel. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970, 149-59.

Ligon, Richard. *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*. London: 1657, 1673. Chapters, 7-18.

### **Tuesday**

Visiting Faculty: John Murrin, Professor of History, Princeton University

[Nota Bene: Many of the documents in the three following primary sources are available at

<http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vcdh/jamestown/>. Paper copies for purposes of comparison will be on reserve at the Folger].

Billings, Warren, ed. *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975, 127-74.

Richard Frethorne to his mother and father, March-April (1623). In *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. Edited by Susan Myra Kingsbury. District of Columbia: Government Printing Office 1906-1935, IV, 58-62.

Virginia's first comprehensive slave code (1705). In *Statutes at Large of Virginia* (1809-23), III, 447-62. Edited by W. W. Hening.

[All laws concerning slavery in the first century are on the web at <http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vcdh/jamestown/laws1.html#5>].

Thornton, John. "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619." *William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (1998): 421-34.

### **Wednesday**

Visiting Faculty: Ira Berlin, Professor of History, University of Maryland

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

—. "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America." *William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (1996): 251-88.

Thornton, John. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

### **Thursday**

Breen, T. H., ed. "George Donne's Virginia Reviewed: a 1638 Plan to Reform Colonial Society." *William and Mary Quarterly* 30 (1973): 449-66.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl, ed. *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. Part V.

*Texts of  
Imagination  
and  
Empire*

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



**Bibliographies**

## Bibliography of Primary Sources Consulted

- Johannes Leo Africanus, 16th c.  
*A Geographical Historie of Africa*  
Translated and collected by John Pory  
London, 1600  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 15481 Copies 3 and 4
- Johannes Leo Africanus, 16th c.  
*De Totius Africae Descriptione, libri IX*  
Antwerp, 1556  
Folger Library Call Number: DT 7 L5 1556 Cage
- Robert Beverley, ca. 1673-1722  
*The History of Virginia, in four parts*  
London, 1722  
Folger Library Call Number: F 229 B55 1722 Cage
- Theodor de Bry, 1528-1598  
*Americae Pars Decima*  
Oppenheim, 1619  
Folger Library Call Number: G 159 B7 1590 v. 4 Cage
- Bartolomé de Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, 1474-1566  
*Narratio Regionum Indicarum Per Hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima*  
Oppenheim, 1614  
Folger Library Call Number: F 1411 C2 L2 1614 Cage
- George Chapman, 1559?-1634  
*The Memorable Maske of ... the Middle Temple; and Lyncolns Inne ... performed before the King ... 15. of February. 1613 ... By ... Innigo Jones*  
London, [1613?]  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 4981
- John Donne, 1572-1631  
*Four Sermons upon Special Occasions*  
London, 1625  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 7042
- John Donne, 1572-1631  
*A Sermon ... Preached to the Honorable Company of the Virginian Plantation, 13. Novemb. 1622*  
London, 1624  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 7052
- Martin Fotherby, Bishop of Salisbury, 1559-1619  
*Atheomastix: Clearing Foure Truthes, Against Atheists and Infidels*  
London, 1622  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 11205
- Richard Hakluyt, 1552?-1616  
*The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*  
London, 1589  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 12625 Copy 2
- Thomas Hariot, 1560-1621  
*A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*  
Frankfurt, 1590  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 12786

James I, King of Great Britain, 1566-1625

*A Counter-blaste to Tobacco*

London, 1604

Folger Library Call Number: STC 14363

Joannes de Laet, 1581-1649

*Novus Orbis seu Descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis, Libris XVIII*

Leiden, 1633

Folger Library Call Number: 186582

Joannes de Laet, 1581-1649

*Responsio ad Dissertationem Secundam Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum*

Amsterdam, 1644

Folger Library Call Number: E 61 G89 Cage

Marc Lescarbot

*Nova Francia: or the Description of that Part of New France, which is One Continent with Virginia*

London, 1609

Folger Library Call Number: STC 15491

Peter Martyr, 1457-1526

*The Decades of the newe worlde of west India*

London, 1555

Folger Library Call Number: STC 645

Michel de Montaigne, 1533-1592

*Les Essais*

Leiden, 1602

Folger Library Call Number: PQ 1641 A1 1602 Cage

Sir Thomas More, 1478-1535

*Utopia*

Basel, 1518

Folger Library Call Number: PR 2321 U82 1518 Cage

Sir Thomas More, 1478-1535

*Utopia*

Translated into Englysh by Raphe Robynson

London, 1551

Folger Library Call Number: STC 18094 Copy 1

Sir Thomas More, 1478-1535

*Utopia*

Translated into Englysh by Raphe Robynson.

London, 1556

Folger Library Call Number: STC 18095 Copy 1

Samuel Purchas, 1577?-1626

*Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed ... Contayneth a Theologicall and Geographicall Historie of Asia, Africa, and America*

London, 1617

Folger Library Call Number: STC 20507

Sir Walter Raleigh, 1552?-1618

*The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*

London, 1596

Folger Library Call Number: STC 20634 Copy 2

George Sandys, 1578-1644

*A Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610*

London, 1615

Folger Library Call Number: STC 21726 Copies 1 and 2

George Sandys, 1578-1644, trans.

*The First Five Bookes of Ovids Metamorphosis*

[London], 1621

Folger Library Call Number: STC 18963.5

Sir Henry Savile

*In Taciti Histor. Agricolae Vitam et Commentarius de Militia*

Romana  
Amsterdam, 1649  
Folger Library Call Number: 209038

Christopher Saxton, b. 1542  
*Atlas of England and Wales*  
London, 1574-1579  
Folger Library Call Number STC 21805.5

John Smith, 1580-1631  
*The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*  
London, 1624  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 22790c.2

John Smith, 1580-1631  
*The Sea-man's Grammar and Dictionary*  
London, 1691  
Folger Library Call Number: 239591

John Smith, 1580-1631  
*The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith, In Europe, Asia, Affrica and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629*  
London, 1630  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 22796 Copy 1

Edmund Spenser, 1552?-1599  
*A View of the Present State of Ireland*  
In  
Sir James Ware, 1594-1666  
*The Historie of Ireland*  
Dublin, 1633  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 25067a Copy 1 and in Copy Two, Part 3.

William Strachey, 1572?-1621, comp.  
*For the Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall*  
London, 1612  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 23350

Cornelius Tacitus  
*The Annales of Cornelius Tacitus: The Description of Germany*  
London, [1605]  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 23645 Copies 1 and 2

*A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, With a confutation of such Scandalous Reports as have Tended to the Disgrace of so Worthy an Enterprise. Published by the Advise and Direction of the Councill of Virginia*  
London, 1610  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 24833

[Edward Waterhouse] fl. 1622, comp.  
*A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia. With a Relation of the Barbarous Massacre ... Treacherously Executed by the Native Infidels upon the English, the 22 of March Last*  
London, 1622  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 25104

William I, Prince of Orange, 1533-1584  
*The Apologie or Defense of the Most Noble Prince William*  
Delft, 1581  
Folger Library Call Number: STC 15209

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute



## Bibliographies

## Web Resources

*1492: An Ongoing Voyage*

<http://lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/1492/intro.html>

An on-line exhibit of the Library of Congress.

Association for the Preservation of American Antiquities

<http://www.apva.org>

An on-line introduction to the Jamestown Rediscovery archeological project.

Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*

<http://wsrv.clas.virginia.edu/~msk5d/hariot/main.html>

An on-line edition including facsimiles and transcriptions.

Columbus and the Age of Discovery

<http://muweb.millersv.edu/~columbus>

An on-line database of text articles, bibliographies, and other materials.

The John Carter Brown Library, Brown University

[http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John\\_Carter\\_Brown\\_Library](http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library)

Library of Congress' Geography and Mapping Division

<http://lcweb.loc.gov/rr/geogmap>

National Museum of the American Indian

<http://www.conexus.si.edu>

NativeWeb

<http://www.nativeweb.org>

Resources for indigenous cultures including links to Mattaponi and Powhatan Nations homepages.

University of Pennsylvania Library Exhibit on Colonization and Print in the Americas

<http://www.library.upenn.edu/special/gallery/kislak/index/cultural.html>

An on-line exhibit showcasing images, objects, and texts related to early American print culture.

Virtual Jamestown

<http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vcdh/jamestown>

A digital research-teaching-learning project to explore the legacies of the Jamestown settlement and "the Virginia experiment."

*The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700*

[http://www-](http://www-ucpress.berkeley.edu:3030/dynaweb/public/books/history/sacks)

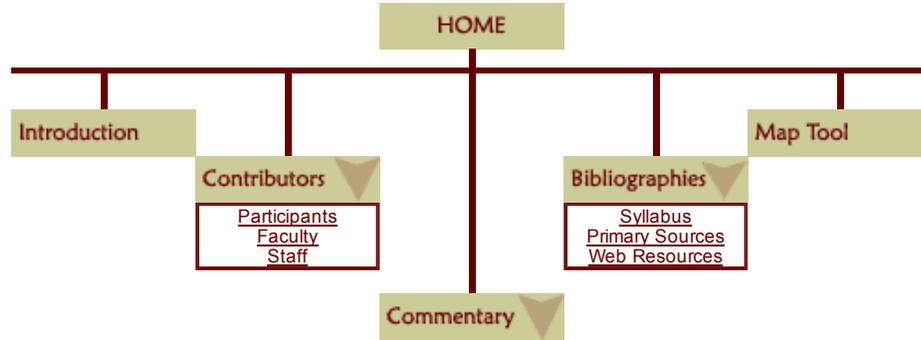
[ucpress.berkeley.edu:3030/dynaweb/public/books/history/sacks](http://www-ucpress.berkeley.edu:3030/dynaweb/public/books/history/sacks)

An online edition of David Harris Sacks's study of the port from which most British indentured servants departed.

# Texts of Imagination and Empire

A Summer 2000  
NEH Institute

Site Map



## ***The Archaeology of Jamestown, Maria Franklin***

[Image:](#) Jamestown Pipes

[Image:](#) Spanish Olive Jars

[Image:](#) Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, plate XX

[Link:](#) Archeological Evidence

[Link:](#) Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities

## ***Cartographic Practices, Lisa Blansett***

[Link:](#) T-in-O Map

[Image:](#) Digges, *Pantomeria*, page 49, chapter 35

## ***Choosing the Settlement Site, Curt Gaul***

[Link:](#) Map of the Bay's Southern Shoreline

[Image:](#) Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, fold-out map of Virginia

[Link:](#) Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities

[Link:](#) Colonial National Historical Park

## ***The European Presence on the Chesapeake Bay before Jamestown, Karen Paar***

[Image:](#) de Bry, *Americae Pars Decima*, fold-out map, page 65

[Image:](#) de Bry, *American Pars Decima*, vol. I, plate VII

[Link:](#) Drawing of James Fom

## ***The First Virginia, Andrew Harris***

[Image:](#) Gower, *Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth*

[Image:](#) Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, fold out between pages 58-59

[Image:](#) Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, fold-out map of Virginia

## ***Forced Afro-Atlantic Migration and the Middle Passage, Phyllis Peres***

[Link:](#) Below Deck

## ***Indentured Servants and the Pursuits of Happiness, Crandall Shifflet***

[Link:](#) The Written Contract

[Link:](#) Letters: Richard Frethorne

[Link:](#) Bristol Registration

[Image:](#) Saxton, *Atlas of England and Wales*, first map of Anglia after title page

## ***John Smith's Fish: Mapping Natural Resources, Cultural Habits, and Food, Robert Appelbaum***

[Image:](#) Hogenberg, *Palatium Regium* . . . , detail

[Image:](#) Harsdoerffer, *Vollstaendig vermehrtes Trincir-Buch handlend, frontis*

[Image:](#) Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, fold-out map of Virginia

[Image:](#) Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, illustration XVI

[Image:](#) Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, illustration XIII

[Image:](#) Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia*. . . , page 58

[Image:](#) Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia*. . . , page 44

[Image:](#) Saxton, *Atlas of England and Wales*, map of Sussex, Middlesex, Surrey and Kent

## ***Naming Territory and Negotiating Power, Rebecca Ann Bach***

[Image:](#) *Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgrims*, page 1752

## ***Powhatan as Emperor, Pompa Banerjee and John Wood Sweet***

[Link:](#) White's Drawings

[Image:](#) Gower, *Sieve portrait of Queen Elizabeth*  
[Image:](#) Smith, *The True Travels. . .*, image of "Princess Pocahontas"  
[Image:](#) Smith, *The Generall History of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, fold out between pages 58-59  
[Image:](#) James I, *The workes of James. . .king of Britaine*, frontis

### **The Site as Contested Property, Constance Jordan**

[Image:](#) Beverley, *The History of Virginia, in four parts*, page 64  
[Image:](#) Beverley, *The History of Virginia, in four parts*, page 65  
[Image:](#) de Bry, *Americae Pars Decima, Additamentum*, plate XII, detail  
[Image:](#) de Bry, *Americae Pars Decima*, plate VII after page 72, detail

### **The Shadow of the Black Legend in John Smith's Generall Historie of Virginia, Eric Griffin**

[Image:](#) de Bry, *America Pars Quarte . . . Scripta ab Hieronymo Benzono*  
[Link:](#) *The Virgin of the Navigators*  
[Image:](#) de Las Casas, *Narratio Regionum Indicarum Per Hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima*, title page

### **The Susquehannock Bowman, John Wood Sweet**

[Link:](#) Untitled Drawing by John White  
[Image:](#) Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, fold out between pages 58-59  
[Image:](#) Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, fold-out map of Virginia  
[Image:](#) Hollar, *Unus Americanus ex Virginia, Aetat 23*, engraving no. 29  
[Image:](#) Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, plate III  
[Image:](#) Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, first page following third title page

### **The Tempest: A Modern Perspective, Barbara Mowat**

[Image:](#) Lykosthenes, *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon*

### **Timber, Ellen Eslinger**

[Image:](#) Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*  
[Image:](#) Hermann, *Horti Academici Lugduno-Batavi Catalogus exhibens Plantarum*  
[Image:](#) Wood, *New Englands Prospect*

### **The Three Turks' Heads: Travels in the Middle East Before Jamestown, Karen Ordahl Kupperman**

[Image:](#) Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, fold out between pages 58-59  
[Image:](#) Smith, *The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith. . .*, fold-out before page 1.  
[Image:](#) Sandys, *The First Five Bookes of Ovid's Metamorphosis*, title page  
[Image:](#) Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610*, fold-out map before page 1  
[Image:](#) Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun Ad: Dom: 1610*, title page  
[Image:](#) Leo, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, map of Africa before title page  
[Image:](#) Smith, *The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith, In Europe, Asia, Affrica and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629*, f. A verso, detail

### **The Turkish Influence on English Drama, Pompa Banarjee**

[Image:](#) Smith, *The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith. . .*, fold-out before page 1.

### **The Virginia Company, Emily Rose**

[Image:](#) Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, title page  
[Image:](#) Stow, *The Survey of London: contayning the originall, increase, moderne estate, and government of that city, methodically set downe*, page 620  
[Image:](#) James I, *The workes of James. . .king of Britaine*, frontis