

**TEXTS OF IMAGINATION AND EMPIRE:
THE FOUNDING OF JAMESTOWN IN ITS ATLANTIC CONTEXT**
A Summer Humanities Institute for College Teachers
Directed by Karen Ordahl Kupperman
19 June to 28 July 2000

Sponsored by the Folger Institute Center for Shakespeare Studies
Supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities

This institute looks ahead to the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown in 1607 and the beginning of successful English colonization in America. But rather than taking a purely celebratory stance and seeing the English presence as somehow unique in American history, we will seek to place that venture in the context of contemporaneous French and Spanish efforts along America's east coast and within the Atlantic context in which all such enterprises were undertaken. The English who were conscious of their location on the margins of Europe—the “Suburbs of the old world” as John Donne wrote—now found themselves poised to look outward as Europe reoriented toward the west. Those who hoped that American exploits would pull their nation into the ranks of the leading European nations were also interested in Africa and the eastern Mediterranean region. The Powhatans among whom the first colonists settled had had extensive contact with Europeans before 1607 and brought their own understanding of Atlantic realities to this new relationship. Thus, the institute’s premise is that we cannot understand what Jamestown should mean to us without looking at the entire Atlantic context in which it began and struggled through its early years.

We intend to explore the kinds of assumptions and expectations that European promoters and migrants brought to the business of colonization, including their ideas about other peoples, their notions of the engines of economic growth, and their conception of how society is constituted and how it could be replicated in a new setting. We will also explore the assumptions on which the Powhatans and other coastal Algonquians acted in allowing the first settlers to become established. The institute will consider the range of options open to Africans in this early period when the institution of slavery was coming into being in English colonies, and the ways in which they adapted their own traditions in unanticipated circumstances.

In order to accomplish this exploration, the faculty of the institute includes literary scholars, historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists, and the readings draw on a mix of disciplinary approaches and modes of scholarly analysis. The principal focus of the meetings will be on the primary sources of the period. We will look at familiar texts such as Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* and Captain John Smith's *Generall Historie* but also at other less well known sources such as John Pory's translation of Leo Africanus's *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (London, 1600). Encompassing Shakespeare's time as it does, the early period of colonization is illuminated by the Folger's vast collection of early printed and manuscript materials. Participants will work with documents in their first printed versions at the Folger Library, with the remains of the built and archaeological record in Jamestown itself, and with a range of other “primary” materials available on academic and institutional websites. In the course of the institute, participants will create a multifaceted web site with such features as a set of images culled from the Folger's collections, links to documents and other teaching and research materials on the web, and suggested syllabi and bibliographies for undergraduate courses.

Director

Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Professor of History at New York University, will direct the institute. Professor Kupperman is the author of *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, 2000). Her other recent books are *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge, 1993) and *America in European Consciousness* (Chapel Hill, 1995).

Proposed Schedule and Faculty

“Texts of Imagination and Empire: The Founding of Jamestown in its Atlantic Context” will meet four afternoons a week, from Monday through Thursday (with the exception of the week of the 4th of July, when we will be in session on Friday), for the six weeks of 19 June through 28 July 2000. In the mornings, participants will be free to read in the Library or to meet informally with the faculty or their colleagues in the program. Daily tea breaks and occasional receptions will allow for conversation to continue in a more relaxed atmosphere that includes other scholars in residence at the Folger. On some evenings, the Folger will offer films dealing with issues arising from the reading.

The average week will include a sequence of presentations by Professor Kupperman and the consulting faculty members, group discussions of required primary texts and archival materials, and oral reports by participants. Professor Kupperman will usually begin the week by reviewing the readings in primary and secondary sources and framing the discussion for the week. The second and third sessions of each week will feature the designated visiting faculty. On some days the period after tea will be used for participant presentations of research, pedagogical applications, or website analyses. The emphasis throughout will be on discussion and exchange.

Week One (19 – 23 June): English Culture on the Eve of Colonization

During the sixteenth century, English people were constructing anew the story of their own history as well as looking across cultural and political boundaries. Historians revived the notion that the ancient Saxons described by Tacitus were their true ancestors, and Tacitus’s *Germania* and the *Agricola* were translated into English for the first time in the 1590s. The institute will read a number of imaginative presentations of other places and social orders written at this time. With **David Harris Sacks**, Professor of History and Humanities at Reed College, we will read Tacitus and Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia* to gauge the formation of English thinking about human society and the problem of how societies acquire distinctive characteristics. Professor Sacks is the editor of a new definitive edition of the *Utopia*. His earlier works include *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (Berkeley, 1991). **Emily Bartels**, Associate Professor of English at Rutgers University, will lead discussion of Shakespeare’s *Tempest* with a particular focus on English people’s preoccupation with questions of governance. In consideration of Pory’s imaginative construction of Africa in his edition of Leo Africanus together with Shakespeare’s *Othello*, we will explore with Professor Bartels the interplay of rank, inborn characteristics, and self-presentation in the construction of the other. Emily Bartels is the author of *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia, 1993) and a number of important articles on *Othello*, race, and the early record of imperialism. She is currently working on a book with the provisional title “Before Slavery: English Stories of Africa.” We will also look at the work of Richard Hakluyt, the great progenitor of colonization schemes in the last decades of the sixteenth century. His scholarly *Discourse of Western Planting* laid out what American colonies would do for England, and dealt with the issues of legal right, relations with native peoples, and the role of English people of all ranks in the grand scheme.

Reading will be drawn from the following:

Primary Sources: Leo Africanus, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, trans. and intro. John Pory (London, 1600); Richard Hakluyt, *A Particular Discourse concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodities that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoveries Lately Attempted, written in the yere 1584*, ed. David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (London, 1993); Michel de Montaigne, "Of Cannibals," *The Complete Works of Montaigne*, trans. Donald Frame (Stanford, 1957); Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. David Harris Sacks (Boston, 1999); George Sandys, *A relation of a journey . . .* (London, 1615); William Shakespeare, *Othello* and *The Tempest*; Cornelius Tacitus, *The Description of Germanie: and Customes of the People*, trans. Richard Grenewey, and *The Agricola*, trans. Henry Savile (London, 1598).

Secondary Sources: Emily C. Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia, 1993) and "Othello and Africa: Postcolonialism Reconsidered," in *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 45-64; Alan T. Bradford, "Stuart Absolutism and the 'Utility' of Tacitus," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 46 (1983): 127-55; Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York, 1998); William Fitzhugh, ed., *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on Native American Cultural Institutions, A. D. 1000-1800* (Washington, D. C., 1985); Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, 1995); Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London, 1986); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill, 1995); T. J. Luce and A. J. Woodman, eds., *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition* (Princeton, 1993); Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination: Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency* (London: 1989); David B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America* (New York, 1974); David Harris Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (Berkeley, 1991).

Week Two (26 – 30 June): Early Tentative Colonial Ventures

Jane Landers, Assistant Professor of History at Vanderbilt University, will lead explorations of tentative colonial foundations in the Southeast in the 1560s, beginning with the Spanish colony of St. Augustine, the first permanent European settlement on America's east coast. St. Augustine was more than a half century old when Jamestown was founded. Other ventures followed in the 1560s. French Protestants attempted to found colonies in modern South Carolina and Florida. This undertaking produced both a pictorial and a written record by Rene de Laudonniere and Jacques le Moyne de Morgues. Don Luis de Velasco, a young Powhatan man (his native name is unknown), was taken by the Spanish from the Chesapeake in 1561. He lived with Spanish Dominicans and was baptized; he returned home in 1570 with a Jesuit mission and was expected to act as their bridge to his people, but he left the Jesuits as soon as the party arrived back in the Chesapeake and led the later attack that wiped out the missionaries. It is not unlikely that he was still alive among the Powhatans when Jamestown was founded; certainly his memories would still have circulated. Jane Landers has edited *Against the Odds: Free Blacks in the Slave Societies of the Americas* (London: 1996) and coedited *The African American Heritage of Florida* with David Colburn (Gainesville: 1995). Her *Black Society in Spanish Florida* is forthcoming.

Roanoke, which is the subject of one of Professor Kupperman's books, was another failed sixteenth-century colony, and it, like the French venture, produced a rich record of documents and pictures, the latter consisting of the magnificent paintings by John White which were rendered as engravings by the workshop of Theodor de Bry. Analysis of slides of the paintings and engravings will form a major part of the activities of this week. Documents and engravings of the pictures from Roanoke formed the first volume of Theodor de Bry's ambitious project, the *Great Voyages* (1590), and those from the early French colony formed the second (1591). During

this week under the guidance of historian and media specialist **Walter Woodward**, Assistant to the Vice Chancellor for Information Services at the University of Connecticut, we will begin to relate the texts and visual material to the resources of the web and to assist participants in creating their own portfolios of techniques and resources for using the web in teaching and research. The participants will examine the map resources at the Folger Library and will each receive a packet of color images from a recent Folger conference, "Mapping the Early Modern World." They will also study the period holdings of the Division of Geography and Mapping at the Library of Congress, where an ambitious project is underway to digitize the entire *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Abraham Ortelius's landmark atlas.

Readings will be drawn from the following:

Primary sources: *A foothold in Florida: the eye-witness account of four voyages made by the French to that region and their attempt at colonisation, 1562-1568*, based on a new translation of Laudonniere's *L'Histoire notable de la Floride* by Sarah Lawson with annotations and appendices by W. John Faupel (East Grinstead, 1992); Clifford M. Lewis, S. J. and Albert J. Loomie, S. J., eds., *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill, 1953); Arthur Barlowe, *The First Voyage Made to the Coastes of America*; Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the new found land of Virginia*; Ralph Lane, *An Account of the Particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia*; Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, ed. and intro. Neil L. Whitehead (Norman, OK, 1997); John White, "The Fourth Voyage Made to Virginia," and his final letter to Raleigh in David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*, 2 vols (London, 1955).

Secondary sources: Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's Great Voyages*, trans. Basia Miller Gulati (Chicago, 1981); J.H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700* (Yale, 1989); Charlotte Gradie, "Spanish Jesuits in Virginia: The Mission that Failed," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 96 (1988): 131-56; Paul Hoffman, *A New Andalusia and A Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, 1990); Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704* (Athens, GA, 1994); Paul Hulton and David Beers Quinn, *The American Drawings of John White*, 2 vols. (London and Chapel Hill, 1964); Paul Hulton, *America 1585* (Chapel Hill, 1985); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, NJ, 1984); James Muldoon, *The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1994); Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven, 1995); David B. Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke* (Chapel Hill, 1985); David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn, eds., *The First Colonists* (Raleigh, NC, 1982); David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, 1992).

Week Three (3 – 7 July): Colonies Around the North Atlantic Rim

Many of all ranks who were recruited for early American colonial ventures drew on their experience in England's first colonies in Ireland. **Andrew Hadfield**, Professor of English at the University of Wales at Aberystwyth, will lead discussion of the English record in Ireland, of whether Irish ventures provided the template for American colonies, and in what ways transatlantic ventures departed from the Irish model. Professor Hadfield is the author of *Literature, Politics, and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1994). With Brendan Bradshaw and Willy Maley, he has edited *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660* and, again with Willy Maley, Edmund Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (Oxford, 1997). **Dominique Deslandres**, Professor of History at the Université de Montréal and author of the forthcoming book (from Fayard in 2000) provisionally entitled "Croire et Faire Croire: Identité, Alterérité, et Mission," will examine the founding of

Quebec and the explorations of Samuel de Champlain throughout the Northeast at the same time as Jamestown was settled. Both Jamestown and New France produced true histories, and these allow comparative analysis of the course and goals of colonialism in the first decade of the seventeenth century. With Professor Deslandres we will discuss Samuel de Champlain's account of his voyages in the north at the same time and of the founding of Quebec including the masque he wrote for performance in America. From Jamestown's beginning we will read the accounts of Captain John Smith and George Percy, with principal focus on the early relationship between the colonists and the powerful Indian chiefdom in which they had settled and on the leaders' analysis of why the colony's performance was so poor in the early years. We will also examine the surviving documents from the simultaneous attempt to found a second Virginia colony at Sagadahoc in Maine.

Readings will be drawn from the following:

Primary sources: Samuel de Champlain, *The Voyages to Western New France . . . from the year 1603 until the year 1629*, in H. P. Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 6 vols. (Toronto, 1922-1936); Marc Lescarbot, *History of New France* (1609), 3 vols., trans W. L. Grant (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1907-14); George Percy, *Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606*; Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1969) I, 129-46; Captain John Smith, *A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia, 1608* and *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624) in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1986); Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1598), ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford, 1997).

Secondary sources: James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (Oxford, 1985); David Baker, *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell and the Questions of Britain* (Stanford, 1997); Emerson W. Baker, Edwin A. Churchill, Richard D'Abate, Kristine L. Jones, Victor A. Konrad, and Harald E. L. Prins, eds., *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture, and Cartography in the land of Norumbega* (Lincoln, 1994); Rick Bowers, "Le Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle France: Marc Lescarbot and the New World Masque," *Dalhousie Review* 70 (1991): 483-501; Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore, 1988); Christopher Highley, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland* (New York, 1997); Gordon M. Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* (Chapel Hill, 1997); Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge, 1995); Debora Shuger, "Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997), 494-525; Bruce G. Trigger, "Early Native North American Responses to European Contact: Romantic Versus Rationalistic Interpretations," *Journal of American History* 77 (1991): 1195-1215.

Week Four (10 – 14 July): Tracks on the Land

This week will focus on the development of Jamestown in the extremely insecure early years, the institution of a new charter and form of government in 1609, and continuing warfare with the neighboring Powhatans. The week will center on a two-day field trip to Jamestown to see the archaeological sites on the original land and the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation's reconstruction of the Jamestown settlement. **Cary Carson**, Vice President for Research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, **William Kelso**, Director of Archaeology for the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, and **Helen Rountree**, Professor of Anthropology at Old Dominion University, will meet with the institute at these and other sites in Jamestown. Cary Carson is author of "Material Culture History: The Scholarship Nobody Knows," which appears

in *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, edited by Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison (Winterthur: 1997). He is a coeditor of the volume of essays, *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: 1994). William Kelso leads the team that has uncovered the site of the original Jamestown fort and is author of a series of field reports on this dig, among others. Helen Rountree is the leading authority on the Powhatan Indians and author of *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman, OK, 1989), *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (Norman, OK, 1990), and "Powhatan Indian Women: The People Captain John Smith Barely Saw," *Ethnohistory* 45 (1998), 1-29.

As a guide to these years, we will read a variety of accounts by people who in various ways gained something of an insider's view of Indian cultures. One will be the account of Henry Spelman, a fourteen-year-old boy who was left with Chesapeake Algonquians by Captain John Smith to cement an agreement and to learn the language.

Readings will be drawn from the following:

Primary sources: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities website; George Percy, "A Trew Relacyon of the Proceedinges 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," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, III (1922): 259-282; Henry Spelman, "Relation of Virginea," c. 1613, in E. Arber and A. G. Bradley, eds., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1910); William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*, 1612, ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London, 1953).

Secondary sources: Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln, 1997); Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations* (Berkeley, 1983), *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York, 1990), and ed., *New World Encounters* (Berkeley, 1993); Ivor Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure* (New York, 1994); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Apathy and Death in Early Jamestown," *Journal of American History* 66 (1979): 24-40; Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, eds., *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States* (Washington, DC, 1988); Stephen R. Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley* (Charlottesville, 1993); Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman, OK, 1989); Alden Vaughan, *American Genesis: Captain John Smith and the Founding of Virginia* (Boston, 1975).

Week Five (17 – 21 July): Crawling Toward Success

The debacle in Jamestown's early years led to examination of fundamental issues of what would be required to replicate English society in a new setting, and how to force or cajole people into behaving virtuously, and the seminar will analyze these discussions with **James Horn**, Saunders Director of the International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello and author of *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, 1994) and the forthcoming *Tobacco Colonies: The Chesapeake, 1580-1780*. A prolonged period of hostilities with the neighboring Indians marked Jamestown's first decade. But slowly things began to change. **James Axtell**, Kenan Professor of Humanities at the College of William and Mary, will lead discussions of both the relationship and changes within it. Professor Axtell's many books include *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford, 1981) and the multiple award winning *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (Oxford, 1985). **Walter Woodward** will return and participants will have opportunities to work further on contributing to a website with approaches

to electronic media for teaching and research, especially as we look beyond the end of the formal institute.

Readings will be drawn from the following:

Primary sources: Samuel Argall, "A Letter of Sir Samuëll Argoll touching his voyage to Virginia," in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 1625, 20 vols. (Glasgow, 1906), 19; Raphe Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (London, 1615); John Rolfe, "The coppie of the Gentle-mans letters to sir Thomas Dale, that after married Powhatans daughter, containing the reasons moving him thereunto," in Hamor, *True Discourse*, 61-8; and *A True Relation of the state of Virginia lefte by Sir Thomas Dale Knight in May last 1616* (Charlottesville, 1951); William Strachey, "A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight," in Louis B. Wright, ed., *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609* (Charlottesville, 1964), 1-101, and *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall, etc.* (London, 1612), reprinted in Peter Force, comp., *Tracts and Other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, 4 vols. (Washington, DC, 1844; rept. 1963); 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* (London, 1610).

Secondary sources: Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge, 1995); James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, 1994); Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley, 1992); Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975); Martin H. Quitt, "Trade and Acculturation at Jamestown, 1607-1609: The Limits of Understanding," *William and Mary Quarterly* 52 (1995): 227-258.

Week Six (24 – 28 July): Stability and Extension

In the final week with **Ian Smith**, Assistant Professor of English at Lafayette College, the institute will return to the imaginative incorporation of American things and people in the English world and to the shaping influences classical texts have on discourses of nationhood. Professor Smith is working on a book on the ways in which racial identity was constructed rhetorically in the period according to the oppositional paradigms of classical rhetoric. One body of texts to be examined concerns the visit of Pocahontas, now the Lady Rebecca Rolfe, with her husband and infant son to London. Not only did the visit cause a sensation that occasioned many texts of various sorts, but it also led to much discussion about the nature and future of empire. Almost imperceptibly, Virginia was entering a new phase with changed principles on which colonists were recruited, a phase that we will examine with **John Murrin**, Professor of History at Princeton University. With the beginnings of a successful tobacco crop and the promise of land for all servants who served out their terms, the colony began to be firmly established, and this transition was marked by the first meeting of the Virginia assembly reported by John Pory, a document in which he also mentioned the arrival of Africans. The colony's dramatic growth led to the great Indian attack of 1622, which ironically freed colonists of constraints from London and accelerated the burgeoning of the plantations. With **Ira Berlin**, Professor of History at the University of Maryland and author of the multiple prize-winning book *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), the institute will look at the roles of African migrants in the early years and the ways in which these roles were transformed and hardened as tobacco culture became widespread. Jamestown entered this new phase just as other regions began to draw new colonial projects, and the week will end by looking ahead to the foundings of Plymouth, New Netherland, and Barbados in the 1620s.

Readings will be drawn from the following:

Primary sources: *The Vision of Delight*, a masque by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones; John Donne, *A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation*, published in his *Five Sermons Upon Special Occasions* (London, 1626); Michael Drayton, "To Master George Sandys, Treasurer for the English Colony in Virginia" and "Ode. To the Virginia Voyage"; George Chapman, *The Memorable Masque* (London, [1613]); "The Voyage of Sir Henrye Colt Knight to the Islands of the Antilleas . . ." in V. T. Harlow, ed., *Colonising Expedition to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623-1667* (London, 1925); John Pory, "A Reporte of the Manner of Proceeding in the General Assembly convened at James City" in Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington, DC, 1906-1935), III; Samuel Purchas's *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, 3rd ed (London, 1617); Sir Walter Raleigh, "The Large Apologie," (1618) in V. T. Harlow, *Raleigh's Last Voyage* (London, 1932); George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (London, 1621, expanded 1626); Edward Winslow, *Good Newes from New England*, 1624, in Alexander Young, ed., *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* (Boston, 1841), 270-375; Johan de Laet, *The New World*, excerpts in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland* (New York, 1909, rpt. 1967); Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622).

Secondary sources: Virginia Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1991); Bernard Bailyn, "The Idea of Atlantic History," *Itinerario* 20 (1996): 19-44; Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (1996): 251-288; Kathleen J. Bragdon, *The Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650* (Norman, OK, 1996); T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "Myne Owne Ground": *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York, 1980); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1996); J. Douglas Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore During the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1993); John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1970); Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, 1972); Edward Gray and Norman Fiering, eds., *The Language Encounter in the Americas* (Berghahn Books, forthcoming); Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill, 1968); Gary A. Puckrein, *Little England: Plantation Society and Anglo-Barbarian Politics, 1627-1700* (New York, 1984); Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (New York, 1986); John Kelly Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (New York, 1998) and "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619," *William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (1998): 421-434.

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PLAN OF READINGS

Week I.

Monday

Cornelius Tacitus, *The Description of Germanie: and Customes of the People and The Agricola*, chap. 21-40

Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings* (Chapel Hill, 1988), parts I-II [SE]

A copy of Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, 2000) will be on reserve for those who would like to take a look at it.

Tuesday: David Harris Sacks

Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. David Harris Sacks (Boston, 1999) \$13.50 [SE]

Cornelius Tacitus, *Annals*, Book III, chap. 25-29 [H]

Peter Martyr, *The Decades of the newe worlde*, 1555, 7r-8r [H]

The Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, in Martin Waldseemüller, *Cosmographie Introductio*, trans. Joseph Fischer and Franz von Wieser, pp. 92-102 from first voyage [H]

Wednesday Emily Bartels

William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*

Leo Africanus, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, trans. & intro. John Pory, 1600 [H]

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

Film of Othello.

Thursday

Richard Hakluyt, *A Particuler Discourse concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodities that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoveries Lately Attempted, written in the yere 1584*, ed. David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (London, 1993) This also appears in E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (London, 1935). [H]

Week II.

Monday

Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, and introduction by Neil L. Whitehead (Norman, OK, 1997) \$19.95 [SE]

Tuesday Jane Landers

Eugene Lyon, *Pedro Menendez de Aviles*, Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks, vol. 24, for Garland Publishing in 1995 [H]

Pedro Menendez' 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 Menendez' Letter to Philip II of October 20, 1566 re: What he'd done

The Spy's Report of Jean Ribault's 1565 Reinforcement for Florida

David O. True, ed., *Memoir of Dr d'Escalente Fontaneda respecting Florida*. Written in Spain
about the year 1575. [H]

H. P. Biggar, trans., *Jean Ribaut's Discovereye of Terra Florida, 1563*, 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) [H]

J.H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700* (Yale, 1989), part I.

David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, 1992), Intro, and Chaps 1,
2 and first half of 3.

Wednesday-Thursday Walter Woodward

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

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

Walter Woodward, "Jamestown Estates," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., XLVIII (1991),
116-117. [H]

Week III.

Monday

David B. Quinn 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) ISBN: 0865261954, \$12

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)

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 Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the new found land of Virginia*

Tuesday July 4 holiday

Wednesday Andrew Hadfield

Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1598), ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy
Maley (Oxford, 1997) \$23.95 [SE]

Quinn and Quinn, *The First Colonists: John White to Richard Hakluyt, 4 February 1593*

Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore,
1988), Introduction

Debra Shuger, "Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50
(1997), 494-525,

Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-
1625* (Oxford, 1998), chap. 2.

Thursday Dominique Deslandres

H.P. Biggar, ed. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1922), 6
vols. (bilingual edition, assignments=half of apparent length)

Please skim

Vol I. "Brief Narrative", p.1-80

Vol II. "of Savages", p. 91-189

Read with more care:

vol III. ch.I-II, p. 247-266

vol IV. ch. 1, p. 1-30, (skim 2) but read ch. 3, p. 37-42, ch. 5-7, p. 48-70

skim 8, but read 8, p.78-79, ch. 9-11, p.80-120, skim ch. 12, but read 13, p.136-152

(Bk 4,) ch. 1, p.163-170, ch. 2 p.176-196, skim 3-6, but read ch.7-8, 244-338

Vol.V. ch.1, p.1-10, skim 2-4, but read ch.5, p.57-80, skim 6-7 but read 8, p.103-108

(Bk 2) 1, p.141-156, skim 3-6

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

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

Week IV.

Monday

*Edward Wright Haile, ed. *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony* (Roundhouse Press, P.O.Box 155, Champlain VA 22438-0155; 804-443-4813) [SE]

ISBN 0-9664712-0-2

Captain John Smith, The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles (London, 1624), Book III, 215-349

George Percy, "A Trew Relacyon of the Proceedinges and Ocurrentes of Momente which have hapned in Virginia from the Tyme Sir Thomas Gates was shippwrackte upon 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

Read in Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman, OK, 1989). \$11.16

Tuesday-Wednesday Jamestown site visit.

Kupperman, ed., *Captain John Smith*, parts III-IV

*"1699: When Virginia Was the Wild West!"

Thursday

John Pory, "A Reporte of the Manner of Proceeding in the General Assembly convened at James City" in Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington, DC, 1906-1935), III [H]

Week V.

Monday

Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives*

William Strachey, *A True Reportory of the wrack and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates*, 1610, 381-443

Tuesday James Axtell

Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives*

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," 850-6

Martin H. Quitt, "Trade and Acculturation at Jamestown, 1607-1609: The Limits of Understanding," *William and Mary Quarterly* 52 (1995): 227-258.
James Axtell, *After Columbus* (New York, 1988), chap. 10

Wednesday James Horn

David B. Quinn, et al, eds. *New American World*, 5 vols. (1979), vol. 5. [H]

"Instructions for Sir Thomas Gates," May 1609, 212-17.

Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, 1609, 235-48

Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives*

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* (London, 1610), 468-77.

John Rolfe, *A True Relation of the state of Virginia left by Sir Thomas Dale Knight in May last 1616*, 865-77

David Konig, "Dale's Laws," *American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 26 (1982).

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

Recommended:

Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery American Freedom*, (New York, 1975), chap. 4.

Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility, English Imperialism and Native America*, (Ithaca, 1999), 48-68.

Thursday

WWW: Walter W. Woodward on the Web

Week VI.

Monday Ian Smith

George Chapman, *The Memorable Masque* (London, [1613]) [H]

Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, *The Vision of Delight*, 1617, in Stephen Orgel, ed., Ben Jonson: Selected Masques (New Haven, 1970), 149-59. [H]

John Donne, *A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation*, published in his *Five Sermons Upon Special Occasions* (London, 1626) [H]

Michael Drayton, "To Master George Sandys, Treasurer for the English Colony in Virginia" and "Ode. To the Virginia Voyage" [H]

Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History Of the Island of Barbadoes* (London, 1657, 1673), 7-18, 43-54 [H]

Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1996), chaps. 1-2

Tuesday John Murrin

NB: 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.

Warren Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill, 1975), 127-74 \$22.95 [SE]

Richard Frethorne to his mother and father, March-April, 1623 in Kingsbury, ed. *Records of the Virginia Company*, IV, 58-62.. [H]

Virginia's first comprehensive slave code, 1705, from W. W. Hening, *Statutes at Large...* (1809-23), III, 447-62 [H] All laws concerning slavery in the first century are on the web at <http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vcdh/jamestown/laws1.html#51>

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

Wednesday Ira Berlin

Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), preface, and

"From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (1996): 251-288

John A. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1998), chaps. TBA

Thursday

Kupperman, ed., *Captain John Smith*, part V

T. H. Breen, ed., "George Donne's Virginia Reviewed: a 1638 Plan to Reform Colonial Society," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., XXX (1973), 449-66.

A Bibliography of Primary Sources

Johannes Leo Africanus, 16th c.

A Geographical Historie of Africa

Translated and collected by John Pory

Londoni: Impensis Georg. Bishop, 1600

Folger Library Call Number: STC 15481 Copies 3 and 4

Johannes Leo Africanus, 16th c.

De Totius Africae Descriptione, libri IX

Antwerpiae: Apud J. Latium, 1556

Folger Library Call Number: DT 7 L5 1556 Cage

Robert Beverley, ca. 1673-1722

The History of Virginia, in four parts

London: Printed for B. and S. Tooke, F. Fayram ..., 1722

Folger Library Call Number: F 229 B55 1722 Cage

Theodor de Bry, 1528-1598

Americae Pars Decima

Oppenheimii: Typis Hieronymi Galleri, 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: Johann Theodor de Bry, 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: by G. Eld, for George Norton, [1613?]

Folger Library Call Number: STC 4981

John Donne, 1572-1631

Four Sermons upon Special Occasions

London: for Thomas Jones, 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: for Thomas Jones, 1624

Folger Library Call Number: STC 7052

Martin Fotherby, Bishop of Salisbury, 1559-1619

Atheomastix: Clearing Foure Truthes, Against Atheists and Infidels

London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1622

Folger Library Call Number: STC 11205

Richard Hakluyt, 1552?-1616

The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation

London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 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

Francfortiad moenum: Typis Ioannis Wecheli, 1590

Folger Library Call Number: STC 12786

James I, King of Great Britain, 1566-1625

A Counter-blaste to Tobacco

London: by R.B., 1604

Folger Library Call Number: STC 14363

Joannes de Laet, 1581-1649

Novus Orbis seu Descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis, Libris XVIII

Lugd. Batav.: Apud Elzevirios, 1633

Folger Library Call Number: 186582

Joannes de Laet, 1581-1649

Responsio ad Dissertationem Secundam Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum

Amstelrodami [sic]: apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 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

Londoni; Impensis Georgii Bishop, 1609

Folger Library Call Number: STC 15491

Michel de Montaigne, 1533-1592

Les Essais

Leyden: Jehan Doreau, 1602

Folger Library Call Number: PQ 1641 A1 1602 Cage

Sir Thomas More, 1478-1535

Utopia

Basileam: Apud Joannem Frobenium, 1518

Folger Library Call Number: PR 2321 U82 1518 Cage

Sir Thomas More, 1478-1535

Utopia

Translated into Englysh by Raphe Robynson
London: by Abraham Vele, 1551
Folger Library Call Number: STC 18094 Copy 1

Sir Thomas More, 1478-1535

Utopia

Translated into Englysh by Raphe Robynson.
London: by Abraham Vele, 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: Printed by William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1617
Folger Library Call Number: STC 20507

Sir Walter Raleigh, 1552?-1618

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

London: by Robert Robinson, 1596
Folger Library Call Number: STC 20634 Copy 2

George Sandys, 1578-1644

A Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610

London: Printed for W. Barrett, 1615
Folger Library Call Number: STC 21726 Copies 1 and 2

George Sandys, 1578-1644, trans.

The First Five Bookes of Ovids Metamorphosis

[London]: Imprinted for W: B:, 1621
Folger Library Call Number: STC 18963.5

Sir Henry Savile

In Taciti Histor. Agricolae Vitam et Commentarius de Militia Romana

Amstelodami: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 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, 1580-1632

The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles

London: By I.D. And I.H. for Michael Sparkes, 1631
Folger Library Call Number: STC 22790c.2

John Smith, 1580-1632

The Sea-man's Grammar and Dictionary

London: Printed, and are to be Sold by Randal Taylor, 1691

Folger Library Call Number: 239591

John Smith, 1580-1632

The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith, In Europe, Asia, Affrica and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629

London: Printed for Thomas Slater, 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: Society of Stationers, 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: for Walter Burre, 1612

Folger Library Call Number: STC 23350

Cornelius Tacitus

The Annales of Cornelius Tacitus: The Description of Germany

London: by Arnold Hatfield for John Norton, [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: Printed for William Barret, 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: by G. Eld, for Robert Mylbourne, 1622

Folger Library Call Number: STC 25104

Week III Readings

Monday

Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Emphyre of Guiana*, and introduction by Neil L. Whitehead (Norman, OK, 1997). [SE]

Tuesday July 4 holiday

Wednesday Andrew Hadfield

Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore, 1988), Introduction.

Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford, 1998), chap. 2.

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

Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1598), ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford, 1997). [SE]

John White to Richard Hakluyt, 4 February 1593. In Quinn and Quinn, *The First Colonists*.

Thursday Dominique Deslandres

H.P. Biggar, ed. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1922), 6 vols. [H: for selections, see weekly handout].

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

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

Supplemental Readings:

James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (Oxford, 1985).

David Baker, *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell and the Questions of Britain* (Stanford, 1997).

Emerson W. Baker, et al., ed. *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture, and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega* (Lincoln, 1994).

Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1969) I, 129-46.

Rick Bowers, "'Le Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle France': Marc Lescarbot and the New World Masque," *Dalhousie Review* 70 (1991): 483-501.

Christopher Highley, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland* (New York, 1997).

Marc Lescarbot, *History of New France* (1609), 3 vols., trans. W. L. Grant (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1907-14).

George Percy, *Observations gathered out of a "Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606."* David B. Quinn, ed. (Charlottesville, 1967).

Gordon M. Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* (Chapel Hill, 1997).

Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge, 1995).

Captain John Smith, *A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia, 1608* and *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624) in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1986).

Bruce G. Trigger, "Early Native North American Responses to European Contact: Romantic Versus Rationalistic Interpretations," *Journal of American History* 77 (1991): 1195-1215.

Week V. 17–20 July

Monday

Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives*

William Strachey, *A True Reportory of the wrack and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, 1610*, 381-443.

Tuesday James Axtell

Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives*

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.

Martin H. Quitt, "Trade and Acculturation at Jamestown, 1607-1609: The Limits of Understanding," *William and Mary Quarterly* 52 (1995): 227-258.

James Axtell, *After Columbus* (New York, 1988), chap. 10.

Wednesday James Horn

David B. Quinn, et al, eds. *New American World*, 5 vols. (1979), vol. 5. [H]

"Instructions for Sir Thomas Gates," May 1609, 212-17;

Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia, 1609*, 235-48.

Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives*

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* (London, 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.

David Konig, "Dale's Laws," *American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 26 (1982).

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

Recommended:

Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery American Freedom*, (New York, 1975), chap. 4.

Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility, English Imperialism and Native America*, (Ithaca, 1999), 48-68.

Thursday

WWW: Walter W. Woodward on the Web

Supplemental Readings:

Samuel Argall, "A Letter of Sir Samuell Argoll touching his voyage to Virginia," in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 1625, 20 vols. (Glasgow, 1906), 19.

Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge, 1995).

James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, 1994).

Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley, 1992).

Louis B. Wright, ed., *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609* (Charlottesville, 1964), 1-101, and *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall, etc.* (London, 1612), reprinted in Peter Force, comp., *Tracts and Other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, 4 vols. (Washington, DC, 1844; rept. 1963).

RECOMMENDED READINGS

Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings* (Chapel Hill, 1988) weeks 1 and 4

Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. David Harris Sacks (Boston, 1999) week 1

Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, and introduction by Neil L. Whitehead (Norman, OK, 1997) week 2

Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1598), ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford, 1997) week 3

Warren Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill, 1975), 127-74 week 6, and also on the web