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This exhibition catalogue has been published to commemorate the forthcoming Quincentenary of the European discovery of America and to celebrate the imminent completion of European Americans: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1492-1750 (New York: Readex Books, 1960-82; New Canaan, Connecticut, 1987- ) after some twenty years of application to the project by the John Carter Brown Library. The Library wishes to express its gratitude to the Associates of the Library for financial assistance that made the publication of this catalogue possible.
The Literature of the Encounter

A SELECTION OF BOOKS FROM EUROPEAN AMERICANA

Catalogue of an Exhibition by

DENNIS CHANNING LANDIS

Editor, European Americana

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Preface

The complete European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1492–1750, in six hefty volumes, will contain some 32,000 entries, each of which gives basic bibliographical information about the titles mentioned. Of necessity, however, the work contains little substantive historical information. From one point of view, then, European Americana is an abstraction, a detailed list only, more useful on the surface, perhaps, to librarians and antiquarian booksellers than to historians. Yet European Americana is also something more, a master-key to 32,000 doors, each of which opens into a room from the past containing historical treasures, although the determination and ingenuity of the scholar is required if these treasures are to be found.

The editor of five of the six volumes of European Americana, Dennis C. Landis, because of the pressure of work on the project, has had little opportunity himself over the past ten years to open some of these doors. But as Dr. Landis’s labors approach fulfillment and the deadline of the Quincentenary anniversary nears, it seemed fitting that he be invited to do some exploring himself in the rich literature that he has tirelessly documented, to prepare a work, in other words, that would show something of the power of European Americana as a research tool for historians. To this invitation Dr. Landis has responded superbly, selecting from the thousands of European books printed before 1750 containing some reference to America, a fascinating array of titles, into each of which he gives us a glimpse.

Dr. Landis had the rare privilege, of course, not only of reviewing the pages of European Americana for appropriate titles for this exhibition, but also of actually finding in the stacks of the JCB, as could be done nowhere else with such success, an extraordinarily high percentage of the most important books listed in European Americana. The Literature of the Encounter is, among other things, also a timely quincentennial celebration of the John Carter Brown Library itself, with its great holdings of European books about America.
We had another reason for wanting to mount such an exhibition at this time. In early June of this year, the Library will be bringing together an assemblage of scholars from around the world to discuss the question of how the encounter with the New World altered the development of European thought and culture before 1750. What difference did it make to the shaping and development of political philosophy, theology, literature, social thought, "anthropology," economic theory, and other areas of intellectual life that vast new and unheard of continents with alien peoples suddenly entered European consciousness? This four-day international conference is entitled, "America in European Consciousness, 1493 to 1750: The Intellectual Consequences of the Discovery of the New World," and we wished to have ready for the occasion a demonstration of the potency of the JCB collection as a resource for historical study of the questions under consideration.

A good part of the strength of the John Carter Brown Library collection derives from the support the Library has received for nearly fifty years from its Associates, a group of approximately 800 friends from many parts of the world who contribute annually to the institution. We are grateful to the JCB Associates for their contribution to the publication cost of this catalogue.

Norman Fielding
Director and Librarian

Introduction

The John Carter Brown Library is known worldwide as an important repository of early printed material relating to the New World. European Americana, a bibliographical project based at the Library, was designed to be a guide to all the early European books relating to North and South America, beginning with the JCB collection and going well beyond it. European Americana's chronological sequence describes all the known titles printed in Europe in the first 250 years of the post-Columbian era.

This exhibition catalogue presents 61 books that illustrate the kinds of writing that were generated—or at least influenced—by the unprecedented meetings of European explorers and native American populations that occurred during those years. All of the books are drawn from the collections of the John Carter Brown Library and are briefly described in the six volumes of European Americana.

If European Americana is a study of one facet of the European publishing enterprise in the course of two-and-one-half centuries, then it is fitting that its inception owes much to a publisher. The late Albert Boni, one of the publishing marvels of this century and the founder of such enterprises as the Modern Library and Brace Books, created a monumental microcard and microfiche series incorporating most of the books listed in Charles Evans's American Bibliography (1901-1959), vastly multiplying the accessibility of those early North American imprints. In 1966 he approached the John Carter Brown Library with plans for a similar project for European books, using Joseph Sabin's Bibliotheca Americana; A Dictionary of Books Relating to America (1868-1910), as a basis for selection and organization.

Thomas R. Adams, then completing his first decade as JCB Librarian, was prompt to point out the inadequacy of Sabin's work as the bibliographical basis for such a series. He stressed that a whole new bibliographical apparatus was needed—one that would be, like Evans, chronologically arranged. It would be-
quire modern and standardized bibliographical descriptions that would maintain higher standards of verification and presentation than either Sabin or Evans had provided. It would also omit the numerous American imprints—well-covered elsewhere—that Sabin listed, many of which were textually unrelated to America. Finally, such a catalogue would need to exclude the nineteenth-century material that predominates in Sabin, while including a vast array of scientific, literary, and other works never listed there.

Albert Boni was undaunted by the challenge of such a large project and met it head-on. He arranged for Readex to support research leading to the production of a computerized rearrangement by date of all the Sabin entry numbers. This work was accomplished in 1968 by a special team of JCB staff members under the direction of Donald Farren, the John Carter Brown Library’s Chief of Cataloging. Farren then proceeded, with Readex support, to the eighteenth-century portion of the project, describing books and collecting data from other institutions.

Continuance of the project was threatened by the advancing illness that would eventually claim Albert Boni’s life. Fortunately, William Boni, in taking over the reins of command from his father, was also enthusiastic in his support for a new bibliography of European books about America. By 1976, Thomas R. Adams was able to attract the Boston Public Library’s retired Keeper of Rare Books, John Alden, to the new post of Editor. Still with Readex funding, Alden spent a year compiling descriptions of the earliest books, from 1493 to 1600, and laid the procedural foundations for the multivolume series called European Americana. With the award of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1977, and continuing support from Readex, project staff were hired and the project went ahead in earnest.

The project’s formal beginning represented the culmination of curatorial hopes stretching back to the early years of this century; organizational attempts had begun as early as 1938. The successful publication of Volume I: 1493–1600 in 1980 was a triumph owing not only to John Alden’s scholarship and tenacity, but to the organizational acumen of Thomas Adams and the entrepreneurial vision of Albert Boni.

Yet by the time Volume II was produced, the completion of the project was by no means certain. One grant application had been turned down in Washington, and Readex itself was not to be spared the hazards facing the publishing enterprise in the late twentieth century. The company was confronted by a host of problems, not the least of which was the ominous interpretation of the Thor Power Tool decision by the Internal Revenue Service. For all publishing companies, the printed word, stored in warehouses, was now treated no differently than so many spare parts. The publishing enterprise, an institution so important to the Founding Fathers that they chose to protect it in the First Amendment to the Constitution, was now threatened, ironically, by the federal government in ways that were only beginning to be felt. Just the increased cost of doing business was untenable for many publishers. For Readex, which had already undergone the costly conversion to microfiche of what was originally a microcard project, the best option now was its sale to a larger concern.

With the acquisition of Readex by NewsBank of New Canaan, Connecticut, under the presidency of Daniel Jones, Readex moved its headquarters from New York and assumed new priorities. Though European Americana could no longer count on grant support from the publisher for editorial work, Dan Jones was committed to completing publication of the series through to the year 1750, the announced goal of the series for several years. As of this writing, the compilation on computer disk of the last two volumes of the six-volume series is approaching completion, and Readex’s officers are studying Albert Boni’s original plan for a microform series. Boni’s dream thus appears to be on the verge of fruition.
The present exhibition catalogue, *The Literature of the Encounter*, contains selections from the wide array of materials that form the listings of *European Americana*. These have been grouped somewhat arbitrarily in six chapters: geography and history, missions and religious history, ethnology, science, commerce and government, and literature. In fact, it will be found that the works in each chapter have resources relating strongly to the topics of other chapters. Many books could have taken the places of those presented here, but those I have chosen are representative in many ways of the works described in *European Americana*.

I have made an effort to include broad geographical representation in the sixty-one books discussed. The authors used include at least ten nationalities, while the printing of at least ten countries—not necessarily corresponding to authorship—is displayed. At least nine languages are involved, including Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, English, German, Hebrew, and Turkish. Italy and Poland are represented here by authors and imprints, though not by language.

This modest attempt at a polyglot representation is dwarfed by that of *European Americana* itself, which adds the languages of Italian, Romancsh, Greek, Czech, Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, Catalan, Basque, Welsh, Dutch, Swedish, Icelandic, and Low German. The treatment of subjects is necessarily limited, but the reader is directed to the preface remarks that precede each chapter, and may wish to pursue further information through the list of selected sources at the end of the volume.

In the preparation of this catalogue, I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Molly H. Barrett, who typed much of the manuscript and provided many helpful comments. I am indebted to Ann P. Barry for her thoughtful reading of the manuscript and her aid in translation, and to Richard Harley for the fine photographic work accompanying the text. In the mounting of the exhibition, I would like to acknowledge the invaluable help of Susan Danforth, as well as of Daniel Slive and Lynne Harrell. I am also grateful to Ilie Kramer for her advice, to Gwen Jones for translations, and to Norman Finley, Günther Burghheim, and others who have helped by reading part of the manuscript. In addition, I would like to acknowledge the cheerful patience and support of my wife through the months of long hours needed to produce this catalogue.

Dennis C. Landis
Editor, European Americana
I

Geography and History

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, European explorers encountered islands and a great land mass hitherto unknown to their geographers. At the same time, they met peoples whose customs and way of life confounded many of the precepts they held concerning "civilization." They also began to notice new forms of plant and animal life they could not identify. These "discoveries" all required integration into the Europeans’ long-fried world views, which were themselves ultimately compelled to change.

For the natives of the New World, the arrival of the Europeans was likewise a challenge to attitudes and ways of life carried on, in many cases, with little change for thousands of years. What we know of their reactions to the explorers, who arrived with woven clothing, technologically superior weapons, and great ships, has been preserved almost solely through the perceptions of Europeans. Even so, the manuscript and printed accounts of the Europeans are among our best—and in many cases, our only—resources for understanding the encounter that took place, in its many forms.

Access to this literature, however, has been haphazard; often, the most revealing material has been virtually unknown to potential readers. When the information has been of an incidental nature, buried in a book that did not advertise its American content, it has sometimes gone simply unrecognized for centuries. Even books that are well-documented bibliographically have often been described only by subject bibliographers who have published for specialized interest groups, with the result that such works have never received the wider dissemination intended by the material. It has been the aim of European Americans to bring together in one listing these disparate printed records of the encounter between the New World and the Old. While the discoveries eventually had an impact on nearly every discipline, it is the early historical and geographical accounts that form the basis for much other writing.
1 CRISTOFORO COLOMBO
De Iis Novissimis Indiis
[Brest: J. Wolff, 1498]

The earliest American, or book about America, is
the famous letter of Christopher Columbus to the court
of Spain, reporting on his findings. (See fig. 1.1.) Its
corpus anticipates much about how the Spaniards,
the first colonizers, viewed the new lands and would
continue to view them.

While describing the islands’ physical features,
Columbus’s report focuses on three key points: first,
that the islands are rich in gold and other natural
resources; second, that these riches are near the
property of Spain; and third, that the islands are populated by
an attractive and trainable people who by his actions have
become subjects of the king and queen. He also believed
them to be imminent converts to the Holy Faith.

Columbus saw himself not as an emissary to
these people, but as the agent of this new ruler. The role
of emissary was reserved for his meeting with the
Great Khan, the leader of a civilization comparable to Spain’s,
for which he expected to find on the Asian mainland. As
a technologically inferior culture, the islands were
automatically deemed appropriate for conquest.

The explorer stressed that his arrival was an event
of high importance and that his claim for Spain repre-
sented a victory granted by God to the king and queen.
The riches, which gold was most frequently mentioned,
were intended to accrue to the rulers of Spain. In justifi-
cation of his journey, Columbus promised all the gold
that his Magellanic quest might require, as well as spices, cotton,
maize, guns, drug ores, and—finally—slaves.

The island natives, who, Columbus observed,
were without clothing, were described as treacherous,
gli
dous, and vulnerable, as well as intelligent, skillful, and
pleasing in form. Columbus assumed a mantle of paternal-
ism and generosity, making many gifts and forbiding
the sailors to take advantage of the people. Since
the Spaniards had no iron and lacked weapons comparabil-
to the European’s, he was confident that they rep-
resented no danger to the Europeans. Aware of their belief
that he was sent on a mission from heaven, Columbus was also
unconcerned about the dangers posed by their stories of
fierce natives from another island, who were said to be
warlike and to practice cannibalism.

Columbus’s conception of his mission existed in
two dimensions, earthly and spiritual, and was of over-
whelming importance, he believed, in both. The worldly
benefits were so close to Spain, he concluded,
but to all Christians. At the same time, great fame was
to be gained on the sovereign through the religious
conversion of unwilling nations to the new lands—a
monumental spiritual event.

Thus began the greatest colonial undertaking of
modern times, an empire to rival that of the Romans.
Spain would exploit the resources of the New World as
its assumed just right in the age-old role of conqueror.
It would also export European culture, laying
claim on a people who appeared to be without the prac-
tice of religion. It was a Holy Mission in two realms,
and it was to be fulfilled as Columbus envisioned.
There is in his letter no slyest suspicion, however,
that the new lands would also have a tremendous impact
on the lands of his fathers.

2 MARTIN WALDSHEIMMÜLLER
Cosmographic introduction...towards quater
America: Vespucci navigations
St. Diet. G. Ladin, 1507

Columbus sought a shorter path to the “Indies” and
assumed at first that he had reached Asia. “Cuba,” for
example, he took to be the local name for Japan. While
the explorer took note of native names and reported
to his sovereigns, the name “Indies” became ine-
tractably linked with what Columbus recognized by the
time of his third voyage to be a rich new territory. He
applied the term “Indies—Oceaniens” or West Indies,
in his own writings.

The name “America” happens to resemble a vari-
ety of native names, such as America, but we owe its
application to the continent to a German geographer. In
1507, Martin Waldsheimmüller published two world maps
written in Latin and identified as “America.” Waldsheimmüller
justified such usage in his pamphlet Cosmographic intro-
duction, which also accompanied Amerigo Vespucci’s ac-
counts of his New World voyages. The pamphlet en-
joyed at least four metastations or issues the same year,
and the map itself was printed in at least 1,000 copies.
The success of Waldsheimmüller’s booklet propelled the
name “America” into popular usage and resulted in the
comparing usage of “Americans” for the native inhab-
ants, who continued to be known as “Indians” in other
publications.

Waldsheimmüller used Vespucci’s voyages as his
source of geographical information on the New World
and mistakenly identified him as the discoverer of the
fourth part of the world, after Europe, Asia, and Africa.
The name was specifically applied to South and Central
America and the West Indies islands. Waldsheimmüller
drew the curious conclusion that it was proper to name
the continent for this eminent male explorer because
Europe and Asia took their names from women. The
geographer erred even in this perhaps lighthearted sug-
gestion, since the names for Europe and Asia probably
derived from the Assyrian words for “West” and “East.”
The symbolic representation of the continents as wom-
men does, of course, enjoy a long tradition.

The success and wide-ranging influence of Wald-
sheimmüller’s early maps and writings overtook his own
professional reconsideration. By the time he realized his
error in assigning priority to Amerigo Vespucci, and
attempted to recall the use of the name Americi, it was
too late. The name was already too deeply entrenched
in common usage.

Vespucci’s book of travels appeared in no fewer
than thirty editions even before the end of the sixteenth
century. It was printed everywhere from Rome to Ant-
werp and from Paris to Leida. While Amerigo Ves-
pucci was not the bold innovator we know in Colum-
bos, he did take part in as many as four transatlantic
voyages between 1497 and 1503, and he provided a
relatively lengthy and adventuresome account of his com-
pany’s encounters with natives, describing their appear-
ance and customs. One of the earliest portrayals of New
World cannibalism appears in his relation. In the story
of his third voyage, he described females who killed and
ate a young member of the crew while the other Span-
sids watched in horror. Telling it is Vespucci’s account
of the process of policy making on the first voyage the
Spaniards first determine to treat the natives as their
friends; failing that opportunity, they will treat them as
enemies, but in the end they intend to capture as many
as they can and make them slaves.
3 Jan ze Stornicy

introduit à Phidias Cossinographin
Czesław P. Uglinski, 1912

While the earliest Polish American is Joannes de Sacro Bosco’s \textit{Introduction} of 1506, Jan ze Stornicy’s \textit{Introduction} to Prusyany, the second most venerable work, is of greater visual interest because of the two maps apparently issued with it. These maps are duplicates of the hierarchic representations that appeared at the top of Martin Waldseemüller’s large map of the world in 1507. One of the maps presents the known extent of Europe, Africa, and Asia. The other, the American map (see fig. 13), was based to part on the reports of explorations up to that time, but also required a sizable leap of Waldseemüller’s imagination in terms of the placement and extent of the land mass. The essence of his achievement is the representation of two continents connected by a peninsula, with information on the Pacific coastline and northern coasts being necessarily limited and conjectural, but with factual separation from Asia. Waldseemüller’s remarkable graphic proposal was not confirmed until 1901. It is to the Polish author’s credit that Waldseemüller’s work was thus disseminated, though it is unfortunate that he failed to credit the German cartographer. These maps are probably the earliest of any to be printed on Polish soil, and the captions, less than ideally legible, differ in several ways from the Waldseemüller original. The name “America” does not appear.

4 Claudius Ptolemaeus

MICHAEL SERVENTUS (ed.)

Geographiae Emblematum Libri IX
Lyons, M. & G. Teedel, 1578

The power of the ancient Romans was great, and their travels so widespread, that they necessarily acquired a vast and sophisticated knowledge of geography. Such information was in fact systematically collected. Roman knowledge passed to the Arabs, who preserved and developed it, and it was only with the Renaissance that this ancient knowledge was recovered by Europeans. The discovery of the New World and the growing recognition of its importance in its way diminished the discipline of ancient geography, which remained a subject of active scholarship, as new or modified geography became a field in its own right.

The last great astronomer of ancient times, Ptolemy, was a Greek-Egyptian mathematician and geographer in the second century a.d. He is most famous for working out the earth-centered cosmography that was commonly accepted until the heliocentric Copernican system began to displace it in the sixteenth century. Ptolemy knew perfectly well that the earth was round and prepared estimates, admittedly small, of its size. His treatise on geography is almost as important as his work on astronomy, although it is less well known.

The first printed edition of Ptolemy’s geography appeared in 1478, and from 1508, editions began to be published with some additions of the new discoveries in the West. The edition of 1535 is of special interest to Americans because of the editorial comments of Michel de Villeneuve, i.e., Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician and scholar who worked and traveled across Europe. As an example, on the back of map 23, “Ocean Orientalis seu Terra Nova Tabula,” Servetus makes an effort to correct existing misinterpretations:

Therefore, those who strive to name this continent “America” are very much mistaken, since Amerigo [Vespucci] went to the same land long ago; Columbus did not die on the Spanish, but with the Portuguese, in order to exchange his views.

Michael Servetus is best known in the history of medicine and science for his landmark discovery of the circulation of the blood through the lungs, announced in book five of his \textit{Christianus repulsus} (1553). The impact of this discovery was diminished severely by the early destruction of all but three copies of that publication. To his ultimate misfortune, Servetus also applied himself diligently from his youth to the study of the Scriptures, using the recently printed polyglot texts that widened the availability of the Bible to scholars. Servetus went in search of what he felt to be a simpler basis of theology, distinguishing himself from the Trinitarian conceptions of church doctrine. The Unitarian viewes resulting were published in \textit{De insigni aeterni libri septem} (1531) and \textit{Dialogus de rerum natura} (1535), which aroused the enmity of Catholic and Protestant authorities alike. The books, printed when Servetus was barely twenty years old, were banned and burned, and the author condemned.

The young student assumed the name Michel de Villeneuve (as listed in the \textit{Polonye}), found work as an editor of Classical texts, and pursued a medical career. Despite his success in gaining an even identity and working as a physician for two decades, Servetus eventually fell impelled to seek further publication of his theological views. As a result, he was captured while traveling through the Yugoslavia of Genoa. Having been tried for heresy by Jean Calvin, the founder of the Reformed Church, he was burned at the stake in 1553.

In the end, Servetus seems to have been one of the first to have identified America as a refuge from the persecution that characterized his life and the Reformation. Calvin’s record of the event reports that Servetus charged he would announce to him the new lands, where he would establish opposition to Calvin’s tyranny.
map of 1538, which had its basis in Ptolemy. The Mercator names eventually achieved nearly universal acceptance, although some non-standard usage persisted well into the eighteenth century. Some German workers, for example, called most of North America "Kanada," reserving the name "America" for the lands to the south.

Gerardus Mercator began a great atlas in 1595 which was completed by his son Rumoldus ten years later. The AEtnae Cosmographicae meditationes (first published, Düsseldorf, 1595) is the first complete version of the three-part work. For a detail of the 1595 edition, see fig. 14. Mercator's atlases were extensively published, modified, and augmented in Latin, German, English, French, and Dutch. The Atlas minor, das ist: Ezech barzuch fudisch gemaltliche Beschreibung des ganzen Welt (Amsterdam, 1631) was a more modest atlas, aimed at a wider market, and was an enormous success.

Mercator's greatest impact, however, was the new projection of the world presented in many of his maps after 1564. For navigators' maps of the world, the Mercator projection has been used more widely than any other projection. It has the advantage of showing true direction, and preserves latitude and longitude as straight lines that intersect at right angles. On the other hand, this cylindrical method increasingly interprets areas and distances as one moves away from the equator.

6 THOMAS HARDY

Wunderbare Reise durch Wirkliche Erkundungen, von der Geographie und Salten der Wilden in Virginia
Frankfurt a.M. J. Wechel, for T. de Bry, 1590

"Virginia," the fine English colony in America, was a project promoted by Sir Walter Raleigh, an adventurer seeking to elevate his position in the court. Among those chosen to accompany the colonization attempt in 1585 were his Oxford tutor, Thomas Hariot, and a gifted artist, John White. Hariot, who later established a reputation as a mathematician, had the assignment of studying the customs of the native population and describing the new land's geographical features. White, who served as governor of a later settlement, was to draw and paint what he saw, and act as surveyor.

Raleigh had much to gain from the success of the colony and saw to the publication of Hariot's report as A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia in 1588. On a visit to London, the Frankfurt engraver Theodor de Bry was encouraged, possibly with the aid of Richard Hakluyt, to publish the report together with engraved versions of the watercolors of John White. The magnificent publication that resulted was printed and engraved the same year in four languages, Latin, German, French, and English. It also formed the first volume of de Bry's great series of lavishly illustrated travel accounts, known collectively as his America series, or the Grand Voyages."

Hariot's report, while generally accurate, also served the purposes of propaganda, painting the colony in the most positive light. The illustrations of John White are characterized not only by evident artistic skill, but by a high level of botany. His portrayal of Indians and nature would establish a standard of presentation, and the images themselves would be copied countless times in the centuries ahead (see fig. 11). The work of both men is prized in a careful representation of local conditions at the time of the settlement. Occasionally, the de Bry engravings differ slightly from White's watercolors, bestowing a more Europeanized appearance on the Indians. Contemporary copies of White's originals have largely been preserved and are kept in the British Museum; they have recently been published.

The area actually treated by White and Hariot is Roanoke Island and the coast of what is now North Carolina. The report emphasizes natural resources and products, such as metals, fats, dyes, nuts, turkeys, herbage, and local food crops; also provided is an account of the indigenous population and their way of life, accompanied by observations and anecdotes. Even as a man of science, Hariot cannot fully account for the unmitigated impact of this European invasion. As it is expressed in the English edition, "within a few days after our departure from every such town, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space.... This happened in no place that we could learn but where we had been." The unavoidable introduction of alien disease to those without immunity (in this case perhaps smallpox), so pernicious to New World populations, could not yet be recognized. Nevertheless, Hariot does his account with his positive hopes for the new colony, "saying therefore the aire there is so temperate and wholesome, so the soyle so fertile." He assumed that an amicable coexistence with the Indians would be possible.

7 HESSEL GERRITZS (ED.)

Beschryvinghe Van der Samynkend Landt in Tartarien
Amsterdam: H. Gerritz, 1612

The first work in this small compendium edited by the Dutch cartographer-hydrographer Gerritz is Isaac Massa's description of Russia, which gives the volume its title. Massa, born at Hardern in 1585, and hence a countryman of Gerritz's, was sent to Moscow in his teens to learn about commerce, especially the silk trade. He returned in Russia for eight years, during which time he also learned much of Russian geography and history, and compiled reports from explorers.

Massa's account of Russia and Tartary focuses on the people and natural phenomena, but he dates it with the opinion that the inhabitants of America arrived there by crossing the "Asian Strait" between Asia and America. This idea had already been proposed by José de Acosta in 1588, but it is all the more significant when voiced by a visitor to Russia who had contact with explorers at a time when little was known about Siberia. Massa reported estimates of the Asian Strait's breadth to be as great as 100 miles, though he thought it more
narrow. What we recognize today as the Bering Strait has a width of only 26 miles.

The two hemispheres shown in Gerbert’s world map (fig. 1.5) feature the various discoveries mentioned in the volume and display both the further reaches of Asia and the assumed extent of North America. On the overleaf to this map of Siberia, Gerbert elaborates on the question of migration, mentioning Massa’s proposal and New France. In his preface he discusses Henry Hudson’s search for a Northwest Passage, as well as Martin Frobisher, Newfoundland, Virginia, Peru, and the writings of Acosta. The last item in the volume is Pedro Fernández de Quevedo’s Véritas, invento . . . Australia insignia, translated from his 1651 Pasiphae memorial requesting permission to establish a new colony in the Pacific.

Later the same year, Gerbert issued a new edition with a supplement containing the first printed accounts of Hudson’s North American discoveries, as well as the earliest separate maps of Hudson Bay and the adjacent country, detailing the area shown on the world map in this first edition. The full work soon appeared in Latin and was reprinted in 1613, finding its way also into the de Bry family’s first Indian series in German and Latin.

8 GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, EL INCA

The Royal Commentaries of Peru

London: M. Fletcher, for J. Torsen, 1688

Anchored in two worlds throughout his life, Garcilaso de la Vega was born at Cuzco, Peru, in 1539, the son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess. His cultural dichotomy and the relationships from which he stemmed informed his life’s work. As a child he was subjected to the oral tradition of the Inca, whose history he was encouraged to chronicle. Yet at the age of twenty he was taken to Spain and lived out his whole life there, never to return to South America.

His first work, La Florida del Inca, written about 1574, was first published in Lisbon in 1585. This study of Hernando de Soto, while a work of fiction, had something of the narrative quality of a novel, with its battle scenes and dialogues. The author viewed de Soto’s mistakes journeys as a tragedy reflecting both man’s greatness and the ultimate futility of many of his endeavors. Significantly, the book was not published in Spain until the eighteenth century, but was already translated into French by the mid-seventeenth century.

Garcilaso’s second important work, the culmination of his life’s efforts, was the Comentarios reales, que tuvieron los indios antiguos, bajo que fueron los Reyes de Chinchaysuyu (1609) and completed, 1616, just before the author’s death. While indisputably a historical narrative, the literary properties of this book qualify it as the first great work of Spanish American literature.

The first part, a treasury of native American heritage, relates the story of the Incas before the arrival of Europeans. It gives an account, as retained from stories learned by Garcilaso as a child and youth, of Inca history, government, religion, and culture. The second part relates the Spanish conquest of the Incas, including criticism that would be unavoidable in any history other than a white man’s.

While recognized today as a responsible work of history, it incurred the wrath of contemporary Spaniards, who pointed to the author as an Indian and defender of Spain. Yet Garcilaso had no such intention, truthfully recounting historical facts and even judging the Spanish conquest as a worthy and important development for his people, in its bestowal of Christianity. In this regard, he differed from Bartolomé de las Casas, who discredited the whole colonial undertaking. Nevertheless, the Spanish court eventually forbade the sale of Garcilaso’s book as a rebellious and anti-Spanish document.

An abridgment appeared in English as early as 1629, and the first part was translated into French by 1611. By 1688 the full work appeared in English. While the imperfect translation of Garcilaso’s original, this English edition is of greater visual interest than the first Spanish edition, which is not illustrated. Chapter eleven of the second part relates the arrival of Pizarro in Peru, tells of the fear of the Indian upon seeing a tall European in armor, Pedro de Candia. The complex entanglement of the author with the narrative is conveyed by Garcilaso’s note that he wrote to school with the son of this Pedro de Candia. One is touched by his mention of using a Spanish source for another anecdote, a story from Pedro de Cieza de León, “that so might have the Testimony of a Spanish Author, in confirmation of the truth of what I have wrote.”
9 HENDRICK DONCKER
The Sea-Atlas or The Water-World. Showing all the Se-Coasts of ye Known parts of ye Earth
Amsterdam: H. Doncker, 1665

One of the essential tools of the navigator was the nautical chart that accurately portrayed the seaways. In the seventeenth century it was the Dutch who, as masters of the seas, pioneered in the production of quality land and sea maps and charts. Working chiefly in Amsterdam, they penned in Dutch, French, Latin, English, German, and Spanish, fairly dominating the European trade for a century.

Hendrick Doncker was one of the most prolific publishers of maritime works in the larger part of the seventeenth century. His success is evident in the wide distribution of his sea charts and navigation books, which were distinguished by being the most up-to-date of any available in his time. Doncker’s Zee-atlas, first published in 1659, was an important, original creation that went through numerous editions with prefatory text and title pages in English (Het Sea-Atlas, 1665), French (L’Atlas de Mer, 1689), and Spanish (El Atlas del Mundo, [1676]), as well as many Dutch editions. His later, Nieuwe Grote Honderdende Zee-Atlas, 1666, was a still larger work in format and volume, and its publication was continued and further improved by Doncker’s son, also named Hendrick.

The elder Doncker’s Sea-Atlas, as here represented, merely masquerades as an English edition; it is a collection of navigational charts with place names in Dutch and is tinted over with the standard Dutch palette—only the title page is in English. Yet at least one 1660 copy survives with text in English, proving the existence of that edition.

The preface describes such colonies as Brazil, Cuba, Florida, and Peru, and provides a short history of world navigation, including the American discoveries. The ten American maps in this copy show contours stretching from Greenland and New France in the north to the Strait of Magellan, as well as the islands of the Caribbean.

“Prefects,” appearing on the map of New Netherland, Virginia, and New England, is thought to be the first appearance of Providence, Rhode Island, on a printed map. (See color plate, page 102.) The listing of such neighboring places as “Warrick,” “Kilps kill” (Fall River), “Peyman,” and “Ilsan” indicates the settlement of importance. New Netherland as here laid out is shown in the twilight of its existence; in 1664 it would yield to British control. The Dutch settlements eventually became part of the states of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania.

10 LOUIS HENNEPIN
Nouvelle Descouverte d’un tres grand Prae Sainct dans l’Amérique
Utrecht: G. Broedeler, 1636

Hennequin’s Description de la Louisiana (Paris, 1635) was the first printed account of Louisiana, as well as the earliest description of Niagara Falls. The work is amplified in his Nouvelle données, which also provides the first engraved views of the falls (see fig. 1.6). In the London edition of 1658, A new discovery of a vast country in America, he writes,

Between the Lake Ontario and Erie, there is a vast and prodigious cascade of Water which falls down after a surprising and astonishing manner, so much that the Universe does not afford its parallel. . . . The Water, which falls from this terrible precipice, doth expand and shew after the most baysous manner imaginable, making an outrageous Noise, more terrible than that of Thunder. . . . From the Great Fall . . . the two banks of the River so prodigious high, that it would make one tremble to look stedily upon the Water, rolling along with a rapidity not to be imagined.

The author discourses comparisons with Switzerland and Sweden as inadequate to describe the Niagara.

Hennequin was a Francisque Recollect friar who took part in the expedition that discovered the upper Mississippi. He was captured by the Sioux but released a few months later, and returned to France, where he began to publish. The magnificent achievement of his narratives is shrouded in controversy as a result of his extravagant claims that he was the expedition’s leader and that he traveled on to the mouth of the Mississippi. Despite an earnest desire to return to North America, he failed to gain royal approval. The narratives remain a rich source for descriptions of Indian life and of nature, even if Hennequin’s assertions cannot always be accepted.

Fig. 1.6
Niagara Falls, with Indians in foreground, from Louis Hennequin, Nouvelle Descouverte d’un tres grand Prae, 10.
II

Missions and Religious History

The early history of organized missions is, with few exceptions, a Roman Catholic history. Groups of Protestants abroad in many cases sought to bring their religion to the indigenous peoples neighboring their settlements, but their efforts did not in any way compare with the projects of the Catholic Church and its various orders. For Protestants, serious missionary activity did not begin until the seventeenth century. The ecclesiastical decentralization and autonomy brought on by the Reformation left little room for the spread of the Gospel abroad. The focus of Protestant theologians’ attention was the establishment of new doctrines and the setting of church conflicts. For a time, there was little awareness of, or even interest in, the needs of the distant heathen. The Puritans at first rejected the very idea of missions; for them the church was a covenant of but a few select believers. In time, however, the New World became a battleground of competing religious ideologies, each offering the native Americans its own unique gift. The propensity for purification led to persecution of some Protestants by others, and some ardent religiousists looked to new settlements for more peaceful development of their theological perceptions and practices.
11 CATHOLIC CHURCH. POPE, 1492-1503
(ALEXANDER VI)
Capita dela bona dela concesion...delas Indias
[Logotheto: A. G. de Brocas; ca. 1511]

In the era of the discoveries, the Catholic Church in Rome was not only the seat of responsibility for foreign missions, but was still the only supranational authority available for the arbitration of conflicting interests. By the closing years of the fifteenth century, the papacy was approaching the peak of its outward splendor, even if its claim to universal political sovereignty had been broken with the death of Pope Boniface VIII, nearly two centuries before. Alexander VI, pope from 1492 to 1503, was a Spaniard whose illegitimate half-brother included Cesar and Lucrezia Borgia. The personal power and corruption associated with his reign made his name symbolic of worldly impurity.

In 1493, Alexander VI established the legality of Spain’s New World claims by setting a line of demarcation in the Atlantic Ocean, assigning lands and waters east of the line to Portugal, and those west to Spain. Being but one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, it effectively granted all of America to Spain, while excluding Africa and Brazil to Portugal. The following year, the countries themselves confirmed the pope’s ruling through the Treaty of Tordesillas, but revolved the line 276 leagues further west, in the interest of Portugal’s African and maritime pursuits. The new line, running through the eastern projection of South America, established the legal basis for the future Portuguese colony of Brazil. As the date of the treaty, geological knowledge was still very limited, and it continues to be debated whether Portugal was secretly aware that the movement of the line to the west would give it control over a large portion of South America.

The 1493 Bull was of sufficient importance for Spain to be printed twice around 1513 (see fig. n.2), but neither Spain nor Portugal chose to make the land grants to the papacy that a bishop had proposed in 1493 as a reward for the pope’s role in arbitration. Lacking the resources for the large campaigns needed for the conversion of the natives, the Church turned the financing and administration of missionary activities over to the Spanish crown.

Fig. n.2
Bull of Alexander VI, Catholic Church. Pope,
1492-1503 (Alexander VI). Capita dela bona, n.1

Fig. n.3
Moral question of chocolate: A. R. de León Pinaelo, Question Moral, 15

12 CLAUDE D’ABBEVILLE
Histoire de la Minisir des Pères Capucins en
L’Ile de Maranhão
Paris: F. Hubi, 1654

Claude d’Abbeville’s history of the French Capuchin mission to Maranhão seems to be the earliest account of that island off the coast of Brazil. It is also an expression of the competitive spirit between the Capuchins and their rival missionaries, the Jesuits, with whom they also competed in Canada. The Capuchin author only remained for about four months in the colony, returning to Paris with six Indians whose presence in the city caused a sensation. He sought to promote the colony, emphasizing the positive, as exemplified in the portrayal of the ideal of peaceful conversion of the naked masses. The accompanying illustration (fig. n.1) shows Spaniards and Indians, soldiers and priests conversing together, all equal before the symbol of the Church.

The French colony was a political liability, however, being conducted on land already claimed by Portugal. The mission was cut short after the marriage of Louis XIII in 1613 to a Spanish princess. In an effort to maintain good relations with Spain, which was then in political union with Portugal, Claude d’Abbeville’s descriptions of nature and the Indians of Maranhão remain as the intellectual legacy of that short-lived mission.

13 ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ DE LEÓN
PINELLO
Question Moral SI el Chocolate quebranta el
surne Eclesiástico
Madrid: Widow of J. González, 1596

The author of numerous legal and historical papers, León Pinaelo was born in Peru and served Spain’s Consejo de las Indias as its advocate. In Question moral, he pondered the ethical problem of the profuse consumption of chocolate as a drink before mass (fig. n.3). He concluded that it does not break the fast, but discovered at length on chocolate’s origin and methods of preparation. His work stimulated a controversy that continued into the eighteenth century. Along the way he also considered the issue of priestly smoking. Citing various
eclesiastical regulations, Leon Pople concluded that priests would sin grievously by smoking tobacco prior to the celebration of mass.

In this same volume, the author described nearly every beverage known at the time (118 in all), particularly those of America. The drinks include cassia beverage, a drink made from the coca plant, and pulque, which is made from the aloe plant. The author took a negative view of the excessive consumption of some beverages by Indians.

14 ROGER WILLIAMS

A Key into the Language of America

London G. Dethier, 1643

The exacting spiritual standards Roger Williams employed and his particular interpretation of Christianity’s mission led to erupted conflicts with his fellow churchmen in New England. He took issue with the various ways civil authorities in Massachusetts infringed on freedom of conscience, with the eventual result of his banishment in 1635. Traveling southwest in 1636, Williams turned his energies toward the creation of a new colony where differing religious views could flourish in a spirit of toleration. His leadership in Providence and nearby settlements also led to the development of government forms that were in general more responsive to the conscience of the governed than those in Massachusetts had been.

Roger Williams was among the first ministers in New England to take a serious interest in the conversion of the Indians. The moral he spent living among them and learning about their way of life gave birth to his book, A Key into the Language of America. At the time, Williams was nearly unique among English colonists in his interest in native culture and religion, treating his Indian neighbors as equals. He was also the first New Englander to consider their legal rights, arguing against the legitimacy of royal land grants in Massachusetts, and purchasing land directly from Indians when he founded the colony of Rhode Island. He continued to work for fair and egalitarian treatment of the Indians, with the result that he was able to forge successful alliances that benefited all of New England until the time of King Philip’s War.

Williams’ linguistic treatise touched on every aspect of Indian life, providing Narragansett vocabulary and anecdotes to assist the reader’s understanding. The topics of chapters included agriculture, eating and entertainment, sleep and lodging, names for numbers and family relationships, household business, parts of the body, basic communications, telling time, and the seasons. Further chapters dealt with travel, the heavens, weather, animal and plant life, fish and the sea, medicine and clothing, religion, government, money, trading, hunting, games, war, art, illness, and death.

Everywhere there is evidence of his egalitarian spirit. In naming the parts of the body, Williams observed, “Nature knows no difference between Europe and Americans in blood, body, or God having of one blood made all mankind. Acts 10.” In his chapter on religion (see fig. 44), he was careful to include Indian religious terms and concepts along with those he used to explain Christian doctrine. He reported a discussion with a Connecticut Indian in which the source of religious authority was at issue. The Indians accepted their ancestors’ oral tradition that souls go to the southwest, but no one could tell of the destiny of souls by experience. An Indian noted, however, that the Englishman brought “books and writings, and one which God himself made, concerning many souls, and therefore may well know more than we have here, but take all upon trust from our forefathers.”

Already in New England, Williams had had doubts about the legitimacy of conversion as his religious thinking continued to develop, he began to question whether Indian religious practices should be displaced by those of the Europeans, a sentiment that ended his work in missions.

15 GIOVANNI LORENZO LUCCHESINI

Rosa di S. Maria Virgo Luminis

Augsburg: N. Ursinus, 1668

The very first American to be declared a saint by the Roman Catholic Church was Rosa, of Lima, in 1674, nearly two hundred years after Columbus first carried Christian beliefs to the New World. Born in 1566 to parents of Spanish extraction, she appears to have been an unusually devout child. Having taken a vow of virgility and charity, she devoted herself to the study of religion and to helping the poor. She taught in a convent and was later assigned to the care of the sick. Despite her efforts to live a life of poverty and simplicity, she was known for her kindness and generosity. She died in 1674 and was canonized in 1674.

Fig. 44

From the chapter on religion in Roger Williams, A Key into the Language of America, 1643.
giving fairly early in life, as well as showing many other signs of a worldly existence, she became a Dominican nun at the age of twenty. Especially in adult life, she turned to self-denial and mortification, habitually wearing a spiked metal crown and a girdle of iron chain, and lying upon a bed of thorns, glass, stones, and pebbles. The hallucinations associated with severe fasting understandably took, for her, the form of religious imagery.

Following her death in early abolished in 1617, various miracles are said to have taken place. She was beatified in 1667, just fifty years later. The standard biography of the Portuguese saint, Leonhard Hansen’s Vita meritoria . . . , appears in St. Maria, was first published in Rome in 1664, quickly becoming a bestseller across Europe. It was printed in Spanish in 1665, in Polish in 1666, and in German in 1667, in Flemish in 1668, and in Portuguese in 1669. Multiple editions appeared in each language as Rosa’s fame spread among the faithful.

Even before the success of Hansen’s volume could be predicted, those who wished to promote Rosa’s cause sought the widest possible circulation for her life story. Antonio González de Acuña, advocate for her beatification in the Viceroy, arranged for the preparation of a concise biography, based upon Hansen, that could be sold more cheaply than the latter book. A young theological student in the Roman College, Giovanni Lorenzo Lucchini, agreed to take on the task.

The resulting volume, the product of Lucchini’s literary skill, had success comparable to the work on which it was based. The Compendium ad omnem vitae Rosa de S. Maria Meritoria (Rome, 1667) was reprinted in Latin under various titles, carrying in the name of González de Acuña, who had seen to its approval and publication. The edition exhibited (see fig. 11) also included documents regarding her beatification. French and German translations were printed in 1668, and a Spanish edition appeared at Rome in 1671. Several French editions were even followed by an abridged French version. The work was commonly associated with the Dominican González de Acuña’s name until 1699, when the name of Lucchini at last appeared on the title page of the sixth Latin edition, printed at Rome. Despite accusations of plagiarism, the literary responsibility of Lucchini, a Jesuit, was ultimately vindicated. Understandably, various editions continue to be cataloged under González de Acuña’s name even today.

16 JOHN WINThROP
Antinomians and Families Condemned by the Synod of Elders in New-England
London: R. Smith, 1644

Witchcraft religion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while generally impotent with heresies of whatever kind, seemed to have a special reserve of fate to visit on those religious traditions that, like that of the Quakers, that permitted women to contribute to religious thought. Such an element was certainly involved in the persecution of Anne Hutchinson, who became part of the Antinomian controversy. The name “Antinomian” was applied to those who were perceived as placing themselves above the moral law of the Old Testament. John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts colony, describes her in this way: “Mistress Hutchinson ... a woman of a naughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, and a very voluble tongue, more bold than a man, though in understanding and judgement, inferior to many women.” Winthrop grants her whole-some scriptural teaching, but contends that she “assembles” in order to join the church of Boston, and charges that she private religious meetings, she quickly began “to set forth her own sermons.” Moreover, as a midwife, she was in a position to have considerable influence in the community.

Winthrop lays the exchanges with Hutchinson in court, where she was charged. Her reasoned replies to her interrogators are rich with scriptural references and sensible observations. The authorities’ reply, however, was “you show not an inch by what authority you take upon you to be such a publick instructor.” Her chief doctoral crime seems to have been her belief in a “covenanted grace” in which the individual may experience direct intuition of divine grace and love, as opposed to the accepted doctrine of the “covenanted works.” Hutchinson’s offense, however, may be attributed in equal measure to her having overstepped the bounds of her femininity station. She defended herself by arguing that she was trying to follow the Apostles, a role traditionally associated with males. The assembled gentlemen appeared genuinely to fear that the gospel would be driven out of New England, and the result was a sentence of banishment. Hutchinson was identified with the other Antinomians of Europe, with Satan threatening the Kingdom of Christ.

Anne Hutchinson and her family first moved with some supporters to a new colony on Agamenticus Island, present-day Newbury, Rhode Island. Following the death of her husband, the family moved to New-Netherland, a colony known for its religious tolerance. There, all but one member of her household were burned by Indians in 1643.

17 Antiquitates et Excursiones Pannoniae et Germaniae Aquilae
[Fresenheit, a.M.] 1702

To state Church conservatives, the left-wing radical reformers were anarchists. In particular the Anabaptist or Memoriens, largely peasants with simple Christian enthusiasms, were marked by associations of name with the more radical of their number, the revolutionaries who established a commune at Münster in Westphalia. From the modest, conservatively-sourced, agricultural Memories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Anabaptists at Münster sought in 1539 to “reform” the very foundations of society, forbidding private property and traditional marriage. When Catholic forces with much slaughter retook the city, in their extreme reaction they forbade any forms of Protestantism.

More than a century later, the Society of Friends—the Quakers—were also to become the subject of much fear and learning. While emphasizing inward spiritual experience in reaction to the formalism of Christianity in seventeenth-century England, the Quakers had some adherents who, in their enthusiasm, turned to shock and trembling with religious ecstasy. Others exhibited various forms of unusual behavior, appearing nude at public meetings, prophesying, or wearing satchels. The Anabaptist or Ecclesiastical Reform, a complex collection of German traits featured here, highlights strange stories of Quakers committing murder and defiling religious articles. The work sought to expose all such excusive behavior, presenting stories and portraits of those who were felt to be the chief theological maltakers, like James Nayler, a Quaker with messianic tendencies Jacob Arminius, who sought to soften the harsh doctrine of Calvinism; and Menno Simons, a leader of the Dutch Anabaptists. Other illustrations emphasize violence and blithe behavior. In fact, every de-
18 Cotton Mather
Magnalia Christi Americana or, The Ecclesiastical History of New-England
London: T. Parkhurst, 1702

Even as successful experiments in religious toleration were being conducted in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, another voice in Massachusetts pointed back with nostalgia to a simpler past, when only right thinking was rewarded, and those who strayed from the prescribed path faced punishment and death. Cotton Mather, the brilliant son of a family prominent in Boston church history, prepared a theological retrospection that explained the Puritan struggle in the first eight decades on American soil. Opening with a line paraphrasing Virgil, "Magnalia Christi Americana" was intended to be a great epic history of New England. Through a collection of biographies, chiefly of ministers and governors, it painted such a rich portrait of early colonial life that it served as a source for numerous American authors, including Hawthorne and Melville.

Emphasizing the lives of exemplary men such as John Eliot, John Winthrop, and William Bradford, Mather's biographies presented moral lessons and encouraged anecdotes be deliver'd pugnaciously accounts like the Indian captivity of the bravely resolute Hannah Swarton and admirable stories of model "praying Indians." The narrative also contains sermons and attacks against what Mather regarded as a decline in religious values. The idea that one might achieve salvation in any text, as long as one conducted life diligently and conscientiously under its teachings, seemed to hint a principle "tinct for Mahometans than Christians" (6 fig. 11). The latter part of Mather's history concerns those he felt to be the enemies of the New England Congregational establishment, figures like Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, and the separatists in the Salem witchcraft trials. Though he was a man of science known to intellectual circles in Europe, and an early proponent of inoculation against smallpox, Mather accepted the existence of witchcraft as a reality, and related in detail the accusations against the supposed witches. The thoughtful author of 450 printed and manuscript works nonetheless cast a critical eye on some of the proceedings, conceding that mistakes had been made in the Salem trials.

19 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London
An Account of the Society
London: J. Downing, 1709

The English were the first Protestants to mount organized missionary campaigns. Under Cromwell, an ordinance was passed in 1649 establishing the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. The charter of this organization was strengthened when the monarchy returned to the throne. Soon the Society of Friends, or Quakers, began their own efforts. In 1701, Dr. Thomas Bray, having visited Maryland under the official auspices of the Church of England, seized a

patent for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Anglicans Church thus launched a campaign not merely directed at the souls of the Indians, but in cooperation with the Catholic Church, especially with their renowned front line troops, the Jesuits.

The Society's plans and reports were routinely published in printed sermons and other papers. One of the earliest such sermons contains the discussion of a report from Robert Livingston, Secretary for Indian Affairs in New York. Livingston maintained that the Indians of New York were in urgent need of ministers to instruct them in Christianity. The "French Jesuits," he noted, were by all Arts and Terrors endeavoring to make Paces notes of these and had drawn over a considerable number of them to Canada, ... where they had Priests to instruct them, Land to plant, and Soldiers to protect them in Time of War.

Livingston urged the "redemption of the poor Indians from this Slavery to the Papish Priests" and the establishment of programs to instruct them in the "plain and true Principles of Christianity" (as opposed to the Roman doctrines). He then set forth how this was to be done.

Missionaries, he said, should go and live among the Indians, learning their language, and erect a chapel and house. "And that each Minister should be furnished with some cheap Toys, to give to the Indians, and so engage their Affections, as was the Custom of the French Jesuits among them ... ."

The concerns expressed in the report are not only focused on spiritual welfare, but touch on other abuses threatening the Indians' survival. As related by another correspondent in the same report (Mr. Mann),

The Indians are daily wasting away, and in forty years it seems probable that there will be scarce an Indian to be seen in all the English Parts of America. In the mean Time the Christian selling the Indians so much Rum, is a sufficient Bar, if there were no other, against their embracing Christianity. The reports discuss numerous problems faced by the missionaries, such as the difficulty in convincing Indians that Englishmen wish them a place in heaven, when they steadfastly deprived them of space on earth.
20 DOMENICO VANDIERA, OF SIENA

Nature Wohlbef., mit sich bringen eine
wahrhaftige Historie einiger von dest. Patrizii der
Gesellschaft Jesu in Paraguay nachgelehenen
Ueber
Vienna: P. Strahl, 1733

The particularly strong missionary commission of the Jesuit order and the political dimension that was commonly one of its forces are both displayed in this book as these traits came to be employed among the Chiquito Indians of Paraguay. Originally composed in Italian, the work was first published in Spanish as the Relacion historica de las missiones de los Indios, gobernados Chiquitos (Madrid, 1736). The first German edition appeared in 1739 under the title Erzahlungen der Chiquitos, Italian and Latin editions were printed a few years later.

While chiefly an account of new missions to the Chiquito Indians, including descriptions of the population and environment, the work also contains stories of journeys and missions to various other Indian groups, the discovery of the Rio Paraguay, and the incursions of interlopers from Sao Paulo on the Paraguayan missions. The German editions (see fig. 117) added a description of Guiana and Cristobal de Acuna's account of the Amazon River, originally published in French in 1682.

The Jesuits in Paraguay oversaw the most famous of the "redactions," communal settlements of Indians begun in the seventeenth-century colonies to facilitate the teaching of Catholicism and Spanish ways and to make the most effective use of native labor. The missions prospered and the Jesuit catechists tried to protect the Indians against outsiders who robbed or kidnapped them for slavery.

Martin Delrizzoli, an Austrian Jesuit missionary who later came to Paraguay and prepared his own ethnographic study, wrote that some of the Indians accounts related by Vandiera strained his credulity. The work nevertheless provides a fascinating record of missionary efforts and perceptions.

21 NICOLAUS LUDWIG, GRAF VON ZINZENDORF

Pennsylvaniaische Nachrichten von dem Reich Christi
[Hedingen: J. C. Stohr, 1742]

Born at Dresden in 1726, Zinzendorf was raised in the atmosphere of German Pietism. The movement emphasized study of the scriptures and personal religious experience, in opposition to the formalism of orthodox Lutheran practice. Much of Zinzendorf's belief was formed by his godfather, Philipp Jakob Spener, the early leader of the Pietist movement; in time, Zinzendorf developed the view that Christianity could more effectively be spread by loose collections of believers outside the Lutheran church.

In 1722, Zinzendorf began accepting German refugees at his estate in Saxony. Members of the Moravian Brethren, an independent Christian sect predating the Reformation, were being Catholic persecution in Bohemia and Moravia. The village of Hermihitl, established on his estate, soon attracted not only many Moravians, but adherents of various other persecuted sects. Zinzendorf established a common order of worship for the assembled Moravians, Pietists, Separatists, Schwenksfelders, and others, and organized them on the model of family life. A vigorous publishing program issued vast numbers of books, tracts, hymnals, manuscripts, and small Bibles.

Under his leadership, the Moravians were the first Protestant body to declare officially that the evangelization of the "heathen" was a duty of the church. From 1732, a broad program of missions began, sending representatives to slave populations and Indians in the West Indies, Greenland, and North America. Before Zinzendorf's death, missionaries also traveled to the Baltic countries, Surinam, North Carolina, parts of South America, the East Indies, and South Africa. Zinzendorf himself traveled to the Caribbean and North America on behalf of the Moravians, as related in part by his

Pennsylvaniaische Nachrichten, a week first published as a series of pamphlets in Philadelphia. In this work, the author tells of a remarkable conference at Germantown in January 1741/2, when he approached all the evangelical Pennsylvania sects with his unifying ideal. In the first of several conferences, Quakers, Moravians, Dunkers, Schwenksfelders, Separatists, Hermits, members of the Epiphanius community, and others delivered opinions and were brought to joint agreement on several resolutions. If Zinzendorf had intended with these meetings to forge a single religious body under Moravian leadership, he was disappointed, but the firm missionary commitment of the Moravian Brethren survived him.
III

Ethnology

The requirement that new knowledge conform to the traditions of Biblical myth and legend was as much a problem for interpreters of the New World as it had been for the proponents of a heliocentric cosmography. All life went on "under the sun," but there had been no Biblical explanation of America, its people, or the creatures and plant life that abounded there. In the course of a generation, the awareness gradually formed among Europeans that America was neither a part of Asia, nor anywhere near it, and questions began to be raised of who the Indians actually were and where they had come from. Early writers like Pietro Martire d'Anghiera began to point to the Biblical story of Ophir and cite supposed cultural links such as a custom of circumcision reported in Yucatán. In the course of the seventeenth century, Spanish thinkers investigated every conceivable link America might have to the stories of the Old Testament and to the myths and histories carried down by the writers of ancient Greece and Rome. Late in the century, theoretically-based interpretations began haltingly to yield to less sweeping assertions produced by experience and observation. As the debate spread to northern Europe, where new colonial involvement awakened cultural and scientific interest, many writers continued in traditions of thought already well-established by the Spaniards. While some made cultural comparisons and sought confirmation in texts of old, others increasingly turned to the methods of modern science.
22 THOMAS HARIOT

Merveilles et Estrange Rappor... des Commodités qui se Trouvent en Virginie
Frankfurt a.M.: H. Wechel, for T. de Bry, 1600

The town of Secotan, as painted by John White, was one of the illustrations used by de Bry's version of Hariot's "Virginia" pamphlet, here shown in its French translation, Merveilles et Estrange Rappor (see fig. 1). The engraving shows the Indian habitation, gardens with tobacco (E) and pumpkins (F), a ceremonial fireplace (K), a graveyard to spot animals in the cornfield (F), planting distance between cornfields (E), the place of the cornmeal dance (C), the place of ceremonial dancing (D), a place of prayer (B), and the tombs of their rulers (A). White's original watercolor lacks the identifying letters, but labels the three cornfields as showing different stages of growth.

The English edition of Hariot's work is fairly familiar, but the French edition is less often exhibited. Like items number 6 in this catalogue, Hariot's German edition, this volume represents the first book in Thesaurus de Bry's monumental illustrated series on the Americas. Only with this first work did de Bry attempt to publish French and English editions in addition to those in Latin and German; but it did prove feasible to produce another twelve volumes in uniform Latin and German editions. The de Bry family also issued a similar, splendidly illustrated series to publicize the voyages made to the East Indies, "Indiis Orientalibus." The John Carter Brown Library holds complete sets of both series, as well as various subsequent editions.

23 JOHANN BOEMUS

The Manners, Laws, and Customs of All Nations... The first ed. of the History of America, or Brazil, written by John Lusi... London: G. Eld, 1611

Johann Boemus was a Catholic priest in Ulm, Germany, where he earnestly studied Hebrew language and literature, learning much from the town's Jewish population prior to their forced departure in 1496. Boemus's intense interest in other cultures led to a comparative study of customs and mores. This frequently published work, first printed in 1520, was amended as early as 1522 to include American material. From that year, extracts from various sources, including Damiano de Gosti, Girolamo Giovanini, and Jacob Ziegler, were added to the editor's and translators. In 1604, a portion of Jean de Lery's famous work on Brazil was added to a Latin Boemus edition and both texts were translated into English in 1611. Of the many editions of Boemus, in various languages, only a few contain the Lery extract.

Lery's original Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Brésil (La Rochelle, 1578) concerned Villégagnon's attempts to found a French colony in Brazil. Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, a pupil of Joan Calvin, had advertised his intention to establish a non-creole colony in Brazil, a sort of spiritual predecessor of William Penn's city of brotherly love, Philadelphia, a century later. Jean de Lery was one of the French Protestant colonists who answered the call to settlement. Upon their arrival, the Huguenots met instead with persecution. They fled the colony, hiding among the Indians until they were able to escape to Europe. A subsequent report by André Thévet portrayed the Protestants as troublemakers and poor colonists. Lery, who later became a minister at Geneva, published his relation to counter the tendentious misrepresentations he felt had been promulgated by Thévet.

In the course of his account, Lery devoted some time to reporting on the environment and people. The extract that appears in the Boemus (pages 148-150) describes plants, animals, and human behavior. The reader learns of such things as the macaca, a deer-sized mammal used as a musical instrument, the "boucan" or barbecue, and the way Indian women carry children on their backs as they perform other chores. There is also a full explanation of the preparation of manioc as a food and beverage.

Lery describes at length the fondness of the Tapi for a life of nudity, explaining the burdensome inconvenience clothing poses for them. He assuages his European readers that, at least after initial exposure, the nakedness of the Indian women is less a "provocation to lust and lasciviousness" than the elegant clothing, hairdressing, and makeup employed by European women. Having placed himself at some peril in his deliberate, reasoned defense, he goes on to cite the story of Adam and Eve, declaring that we owe should think them favoring the adoption by Europeans of "this wicked and beastly custom" that he has allowed for by "those wretched and miserable Americans."

24 JOSÉ DE ACOSTA

Neuntzten und Letzterr Thier Americae, darin gleichzeitig und von gelehrten der Eléments Natur Art et insignia der Nationen Welt
Frankfurt a.M.: W. Richter & M. Becker, for W. & S. T. de Bry, 1661

José de Acosta, a Jesuit missionary, was the first European to approach in a truly objective fashion the question of Indian origins. Having worked closely with native populations in the course of seventeen years in Peru and Mexico, he relied more on experience and observation than on philosophy and tradition. Distancing himself from the conventional theories based on cultural comparisons with ancient races, Acosta introduced the tools of logic, eliminating every theory that would not stand up to reason. The theories involving transatlantic sailings were rejected because the Indians had no compass or heliometer; passage over land or a narrow strait therefore seemed most probable to him. Rejecting the European notion of the lost continent of Atlantis, he thought the migration of peoples had most likely occurred either by way of Tierra del Fuego, Greenland, or the "Azorean" strait then presumed to lie between North America and Asia.

Though not a scientist, Acosta was an acute observer and a clear thinker who practiced restraint in his
pronouncements and sought to align his theories with a body of law. His thinking with regard to the Indians was closely allied with his observations on plants and animals. While providing little in the way of enumeration, he raised key questions about how America could have a thousand different plants and animals unknown to Europe. Much more pointedly than other Spanish observers of New World flora, such as Oviedo or Molina, Acosta emphasized the tremendous diversity between the biology of the New and the Old World. He noted, importantly, that Oviedo’s use of Spanish names for “similar” plants masked striking variations. However, as with any theologianically trained thinker of the time, Acosta had to incorporate in his understanding the story of Noah and the Flood. He rejected the idea some proposed for the “stoned” ask for Amerindians. The animals, too, had to have gotten to America by means of a land link, or shallow strait.

Acosta’s positive contributions to the empirical thinking of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were especially influential in northern Europe. His De Natura Rerum Indicarum et Americarum, published in Seville, 1590 as Historia natural y moral de los indios, was soon published in Italian (1599), Dutch, German, and French (both in 1601), and English (1604). Exhibited in the German edition of 1601, one of numerous seventeenth-century reprint. The illustration of Acosta’s ritual sacrifice is drawn from one of Acosta’s studies of religious practices in Mexico and Peru (see fig. 18.3).

HANS STADEN

Wahapilhe Historia und berichtung derer Landschaft der Widen, Nickene, Cuningham, Montapurers, Lufahen, et . . . Amerika

Marburg, A. Kolbe, 1587

For Europeans, the most repellent practice of indigenous Americans was their alleged anthropophagy. The earliest writers, including Columbus and Vespucci, distinguished timid, peaceful Indian groups from fierce, warlike cannibals. Some modern, revisionist histories have proposed that the role of cannibalism was superimposed on the natives by the conquering powers as a means of justifying exploitation, subjugation, enslavement, or annihilation. Nonetheless, detailed, believable accounts of cannibalistic customs among at least some Indian groups can be found in the contemporary printed literature.

One of the most popular early accounts is that of Hans Staden, a German from the town of Hamburg in what is now the federal state of Hessen. Staden made two voyages to South America in the mid-sixteenth century, motivated by curiosity about the Indians. On his second visit, while in Portuguese service, he was taken into captivity by the Tupi Indians of Brazil, and for nine months was exposed to their life and customs, as well as to their punishments and threats. Upon his release and return to Europe, he was encouraged to publish his experiences in the form of simple illustrations. The resulting book is one of the earliest and most widely dispersed works on Brazil, having been frequently reprinted and translated.

While among the Indians, Staden continually feared for his life, but particularly of being eaten. He repeatedly turned to his Christian faith for comfort, and utilized it in efforts to calm his fellow prisoners. Staden witnessed various acts of cannibalism, and related in detail the manner of preparation (see figs. 18.3 & 18.4).

His imprisonment was abetted by a French trader who believed him to be Portuguese. The German was finally released through the intervention of other French traders who devised a ruse that touched the sensibilities of his captors. As throughout the affair, it is apparent that those who were eaten by the Tupis were those considered to be their enemies and sufferers, whether the hated Portuguese colonizers or neighboring tribes. The French traders, with whom the Tupinambis maintained friendly business relations, were, as equals, able to negotiate Staden’s freedom, despite his early misidentifications.

The Wahapilhe Historia is the first edition of one of the earliest captivity narratives and an important source for the ethnology of early Brazil. In the year of publication, there were three more German editions, and the book was also published in Latin and Dutch before the close of the century, it continued to be published in Dutch well into the eighteenth century. This work of Protestant piety is striking because of the narrator’s sincerity and objectivity.

26 BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS

Narratio Regni Indicarum per Hispanis laudatos amatorius versiones

Oppenheim, J. T. de Bry, 1614

The Spanish thought of their settlements in the New World as a sort of Holy Land; Christianity and European civilization were to be brought as gifts to the peoples of America. The sense of rectitude, pride, and self-confidence they felt as a nation was very much like that felt by the great colonial powers of the eighteenth century and the international commercial powers of the twentieth. It was therefore with considerable distress that they received the published reports of Bartolomé de Las Casas, a priest in Spain, for many years.

Las Casas, the son of a man who had accompanied Columbus to America, studied law at Salamanca, but became a priest in Hispaniola a few years later. The young missionary was soon involved in what would be a lifetime obsession, his work for native American rights and welfare. Those Indians who had survived the initial conquest had become the virtual slaves of their Spanish colonizers. Las Casas’s concern for their plight led to persistent lobbying efforts that were instrumental in winning over, more humane laws for Spain’s Indies in 1542. His work necessarily offended existing property interests, and the laws were weakened by amendments. Las Casas opposed the laws’ feudal aspect, however, and sought to bring his cause directly to public attention.

In 1552, Las Casas began the publication of a series of pamphlets, the first of which was entitled Brevisima Relación de la Deportación de los Indios. The pamphlets painted in brutal detail what appeared to be nothing less than the extermination of a people, including shocking estimates of lost populations. The priest had come to view the whole colonial enterprise as a vast, morally bankrupt fraud, masked naked savagery with ecclesiastical banners. Las Casas’s obsession and convictions drove him of any vestige of impartiality, however, and he targeted Spanish national character in his propagandizing polemics, exaggerating to an extreme degree in defense of what he felt to be the essential truth. He saw Spain’s colonization as an unpardonable offense committed against a sovereign people. Religious conversion and acceptance of Spanish rule should have been free decisions, he argued.
Within three decades, the story told by Las Casas had been published in Holland, France, and England. It appeared in Latin and German by the end of the 1560s. Italian and many more Dutch editions were printed in the early seventeenth century. Shocking illustrations in some editions fueled not only the righteous indignation of the northern European Protestant and rival Catholic countries, which had an interest in undermining Spanish authority and power, but undoubtedly also fed public fascination with depictions of torment, much as later cinematic purveyors of violent images would do (see fig. 10.5). Some of the images draw on the tradition of the iconography of Christian martyrdom.

Las Casas’s writing became the cornerstone of the Black Legend, that is, the tendency to take the image of Spanish colonial misdeeds as the norm of all European behavior. Much of the rest of Europe, predisposed to view Spain as the evil empire of its day, accepted the American abuses to the minds of the Inquisition, and the crimes committed in the Low Countries during Spain’s occupation of them, all aspects of an institutional tyranny.

With the advent of the historical study of disease in the nineteenth century, the likelihood emerged that smallpox viruses unknown to the New World, such as smallpox, rather than天花, had been the primary scourge of the indigenous native populations, wiping out whole areas. Still, some radical intellectuals, focusing on colonialism, asserted that the Las Casas accounts were actually representative and demonstrate a pattern that has been carried on up to the present time, especially by repressive Latin American governments and business interests, as native rights are ignored in favor of other objectives. 

27 MANÁSEH BEN JOSEPH BEN ISRAEL

Esposizione di Israel

Amsterdam: Samuel ben Israel Soenens, 1540

(In 1540)

The idea that the Indians descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel seems to have been discussed early in the sixteenth century, but was not proposed in print until 1567. Joannes Fredericus Lumbricus’s De Extremiti Divi Iudicis et Israelevnicis (Antwerp, 1567) was apparently the first book to set forth the thoughts associated with this concept. Several Spanish writers, some of whom worked in sixteenth-century Mexico, also circulated in manuscript form the idea of a Hebrew origin. Antic legends of great migrations helped to inspire this view, but for the Spanish, it was just one of several competing theories.

The Hebrew origin theory gained new vitality in 1644, when a Portuguese Jew named António Montevisco arrived in Amsterdam from South America. Montevisco spoke of a mysterious “Holy People” hidden in the mountains of the Spanish colonies. The people had disclosed themselves to Montevisco as Jews, he said, but had kept their religious hidden from the Spaniards, though they had lived long ages converted the nature of their midst to Judaism. It was their intention to come forth, rid themselves of the Spaniards, and reunite with Israel. Montevisco’s account created a stir among the Amsterdam Jews and interested many gentiles.

The story was disseminated in print by Rabbi Mansaiah ben Israel, who was also of Portuguese background. Mansaiah was a brilliant scholar and writer and the book was one of several successful publications. The work was published the same year in Latin (Spa Icones) and in English (The Hope of Israel), and numerous other editions were printed. In addition to presenting the story of Montevisco, Esposizione di Israel also related Mansaiah’s own views on the subject, showing comparisons between American Indian customs and Jewish tradition, and predicting a return to Jerusalem.

In this complex relation, drawing on much existing thought, Mansaiah even refers to the first Hebrew American colonists, Abraham Parésed’s Jews of which the king (Venice, 1580).

The most famous of all books on the subject, Mansaiah’s work appears at about the same time as several others, including Thomas Thorowgood’s Jews in America, or Probable Justification of the Americans (London, 1659). Thorowgood’s millenarian sentiments corresponded well to Mansaiah’s. Thorowgood wanted to banish the final Christianization of the Jews, fulfilling the Biblical prophecies, while Mansaiah saw full dispersal of the Jews as a necessary step leading to the coming of the Messiah. The worldly objectives of both men were the redemption of the Jews to England, from which they had been banned since 1390. Despite efforts made in Parliament, however, the naturalization of Jews in Great Britain was still a century away.

28 ABRAHAM VAN DER MYL

Meervoudige Diaspora van den Uebergang der Thier und Auszieg der Volkens

Salzburg: J. B. Mayr, 1700

Most writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries interpreted literally the story of the Flood and Noah’s ark. Confronted by the realities of American aborigines and unfamiliar species, many sought to modify the story, suggesting the existence of a second ark, or of a special creation of life in America, or tried to juggle the supposed diaspora not critical of the Indians’ arrival there with the dating of the Flood. The Dutch author, Abraham van der Myl, who was trained in theology, read all the great works on the subject and tried to explain out a Biblical basis, in a volume he wrote at the age of seventy, how life in the New World had come into being. His De origine animantium, et migrate populorum (Groningen, 1667) was published thirty years after his death and was translated three years later into the German edition shown (see fig. 10.6), to which the translator, J. C. Birtenkranz, added some contributions of his own.

Myl fully accepted the literal details on America could be gathered from the Bible, and that evidence could be found that connected ancient peoples to those in the New World. King Solomon was thought to have sent a shipping fleet to America and built the temple in Jerusalem with Peruvian gold. America was populated, however, by people who passed across a strait and covered the two parts of America in their travels.
29 John Lawson
A New Voyage to Carolina
London: 1709

Lawson, a traveler and surveyor, is best known for his account of North Carolina. The book, which saw four early English editions and two in German, offered a remarkably good account of the natural history of that region and also of the indigenous population and its customs. He described many birds and fish, a number of mammals, reptiles, and amphibians. His account of the 120 different North Carolina species is remarkable when one considers that Carolin Linnæus, the father of the modern classification of plants and animals, was able to describe for the entire globe only 4,100 species. Lawson’s descriptions contain numerous curious observations, as in the case of the skunk: “The Indians love to eat their Flesh, which has no manner of ill smell when the Belcher is out.”

Lawson observed the Indians closely, not failing to note the appeal of the women:

When young, and at maturity, they are as fine-shaped creatures (take them generally) as any in the Universe. They are of a tawny Complexion; their Eyes very brisk and amorous; . . . . and their whole Bodies of a smooth Nature . . . . Nor are they Strangers or not Proficients in the soft Passion.

His views of Indian languages were less positive. He was distressed by the supposed imperfection of their modes and tenses, judging them “deficient.” The widely varying languages of different groups of Indians were seen as a serious deterrent to their social development: “Now this Difference of Speech causes Jealousies and Fears amongst them, which bring Wars, wherein they destroy one another, otherwise the Christians had not (in all Probability) settled America so easily as they have done.”

A six-page glossary of words and expressions in English, Tuscarora, Pamlico, and Waccog suggests the sorts of exchanges that occurred between a contemporary Englishman and a Carolinian.

On returning to England and publishing this work, Lawson was named surveyor-general of North Carolina. He also became involved in a plot that sent a colony of 600 Germans and Swabians to the region, resulting in the foundation of New Bern. In 1711, while on an expedition in North Carolina, Lawson was seized by Tuscarora Indians and parted to death, probably by torture he had himself described.

30 Joseph François Lafittau
Mémoires des Sauvages Amérindiens, Composées aux Mœurs et Pinces du Temps
Paris: Sangrain, the elder, & C. E. Hechereau, 1774

A Jesuit missionary to the Iroquois in Canada prepared this comprehensive study of aboriginal customs, which is represented here by its first edition. A defender of Indian rights, Lafittau worked especially hard against the trade in branded captives. The book was important enough to be translated into Dutch in 1771, as De zedel der indien van Amerika. Lafittau’s work discusses such questions as the Indians’ origin, essentially covering all the origin theories, their religion, government, marriage customs, education, village occupations, hunting and fishing methods, the activities of women, war, communal relations, commerce, games, medical knowledge, death and mortuary customs, and language. In the original essay, he seeks to establish a link with ancient peoples, providing many sources of comparison; this theme continues throughout the book.

Even on the subject of games, Lafittau takes pains to relate his observations to supposed similarities with early peoples (see fig. 31.7). In discussing lacrosse; "e
Jeu de Croce," he cites examples in classical writings, including Polibius and Martialis, to suggest that the Indians have preserved the pastimes of ancient Europeans; another ball game of relative simplicity is similarly linked to ancient Rome.


The present volume, the sixth of an eight-volume series on the religious ceremonies and customs of peoples throughout the world, focuses on those of the West Indies, or America. Because it was edited by Jean Frédéric Bernard, the publisher, authorship has often been attributed to him. It is, however, a compilation from the writings of a number of French authors. The collection was translated into Dutch and published from 1727 to 1738 as Nauwkeurige beschryving der eeuwige gedachtenis-en-pleiden, . . . van alle volkeren der wereldt: an English edition, The religious ceremonies and customs . . . of the known world, was printed in London between the years 1731 and 1739.

Some of the illustrations in this original French edition are rather fanciful, placing Indian insertings that suggest ancien Roman architecture and statuary or traditional European carpentry, furniture, and decorative wooden floors. Bernard's collection treats such individual topics as combat, sacrifices, religion, funeral customs, romance, and marriage, touching on many of the same themes as Lafontain, but drawing from disparate sources for their interest value. Rather than the concentrated didactic work of a single scholar-priest, it is a diverse collection of materials drawn from many writers, forming something like an early coffee-table book. Indian groups throughout the known American territory are treated.

In the chapter "Ceremonies Nuptiales des peuples de la basse du Hudson, du Mississippi & du Canada," one of the sources Bernard draws on is "Histoire," or Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron Lafontain, who traveled widely in New France, and reported on his observations in Nauwkeurige reiziger, . . . dans l'Amérique septentrionale (first published, The Hague, 1703). Lafontain has been described as a freethinker who had little regard for the clergy. His work appears to be authentic, being in many respects borne out by others writing independently on the same subjects. It has also been recognized, however, that his stories are sometimes embellished. Lafontain used the full freedom of a secular viewpoint, considering Indian customs on their own merits, free of orthodox value judgments. His popular writings were published largely in the Netherlands, where the press was subject to fewer strictures, although a few editions appeared in London and Protestant German cities. None were published in France.

Lafontain did not hesitate to consider the full extent of the question of romance. He even suspected the morality of Jesuit priests, suggesting that girls and young women not be exposed to the views expressed in his work. He relates in some detail how the Indians of Canada conduct their affairs after dark (see fig. 31:8). The young man enters the hut well-covered, bearing a small torch lit from the embers of the campfire. The female may reject him by withdrawing more deeply into the covers. If she should extinguish the flame, he lies down next to her. The English expression "carrying a torch," to describe being in love, derives from this description.

Lafontain is especially mystified by the high level of sexual independence which seems to precede marriage. With expressions of astonishment he relates, in an early English translation, "They'll suffer anybody to sit upon the foot of their bed and have a little chat; and if another comes in an hour after, that they like, they do not stand to grant him their last favours." Lafontain assumes the reader that the young girls drink the juice of some roots either to prevent conception or to terminate a pregnancy. It is said of Caribbean natives early in the sixteenth century that they also possessed herbal agents for inducing abortions. He notes that a girl will not be able to get married if she has a child.

![Fig. 31:8](image-url) Courtship rituals, from Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses des Peuples Indiens, 31
IV

Science

The pursuit of science, based on careful observation of nature, had flourished among the ancients, to the extent permitted by their technology. The principles of biology founded by Aristotle in the fourth century B.C., with additions by Theophrastus and Galen, formed the basis of the classification of plant and animal life for more than a millennium. It was only at the time of the Italian Renaissance that the original work of botanists resumed, as plants were carefully compared with ancient descriptions. With the growth of printing, new images and descriptions of plants were disseminated across Europe, fostering local comparisons with vegetation that varied by region. The invention of the microscope near the end of the sixteenth century allowed biologists to make observations on an unprecedented level of detail.

Vital contributions and stimuli to the new developing sciences came to Europe from New World observers. Among the first explorers, a necessarily vital curiosity about American geology and climatic features found its beginning. They also noted unfamiliar flora and fauna in passing, using Old World frames of reference, but their greater interest lay in the mineral riches that promised vast wealth. It was the succeeding generations of visitors who increasingly made New World plants and animals the subject of specific study. European scientists were above all interested in the medical applications of these new biological gifts, and focused their works upon them. Those who studied the plants and animals also explored their value as foods, carefully recording the ways they were used by the indigenous populations, as time went by, and the disciplines of science developed, they were studied as ends in themselves.

Indians and explorers alike were unaware of another means of biological exchange they carried within their bodies. The exchange of microorganisms not even recognized by the science of the time brought illness and death to those
without the antibodies to resist them. The whole social fabric of Europe was threatened by the advance of syphilis—the "French" disease—associated with the return to Europe of Columbus's crew and passengers. For the American populations, even more ruinous were smallpox and other diseases borne by the European visitors. Medical scientists combed the American pharmacopoeia in search of treatments for syphilis, and inoculation against smallpox was finally introduced into New England in the 1720s, following its discovery in Europe.

Fig. IV.2
Indians mining, from Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, La historia general de las Indias, 32

32 GONZALO FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIDE Y VALDÉS
La historia general delas Indias
Seville: J. Cremonberge, 1555

Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, known to the English-speaking world as Oviedo, was named overseer of mines in Hispaniola in 1533, an office he assumed the following year. It was a position that afforded him an excellent opportunity to observe and report on all things found in the Spanish Indies. Oviedo crossed the Atlantic at least a dozen times and lived in America for more than twenty years, advancing to the governorships of Carthagena and Hispaniola. The early explorers had routinely listed and described the plants and phenomena they were exposed to, but it was Oviedo who for the first time approached his subject in a historical context in his 1526 De la nueva historia and his 1535 Historia general, a work commissioned by Emperor Charles V.

Oviedo was the first field naturalist to produce an organized study of American plants and animals. He recognized that the subjects of his observation were not known to ancient writers, but he did not entertain questions of their origin. Using Classical texts as a guide, he described new and unfamiliar animals and plants in terms easily understood by Europeans. Because Europeans had occupied the areas studied for nearly four decades, Old World flora and fauna introduced by them had become part of the environment, and Oviedo referred to these by names used by Pliny. For plants and animals unfamiliar to European science, he generally used Indian names, but common Spanish names were applied to flora and fauna similar to those of Spain. He distinguished the native peculiarity, for example, from the imported European pig.

Focusing on Hispaniola and Panama, Oviedo described a few plants, including cacao, trees, and crops planted for harvest, but his greater interest lay in animals, especially the more unusual, including the armadillo, sloth, and opossum. He also described parrots, hummingbirds, turkey, racoons, turtles, manatees, sloths, and flying fish. Plants described included yams, sweet potatoes, pineapples, and various other fruits. An overseer of mines, Oviedo also took a professional interest in Indian methods of mining (see fig. IV.2), describing the gold, silver, copper, and precious metals he
had seen evidence of. Breeds from corn, cassava, and yucca were discussed, it were "turkey corn," and the "barbexes," and "hummocks" of the Indians.

Oviedo, who was personally acquainted with Coimbra and his family, was also the first to prepare an essay on the subject of Indian corn. While exploring the idea that the ancient Carthaginians or peoples of America, he concluded that the native ancestors were Spanish mariners of old who sailed across the Atlantic. The Spanish origin theory did not elicit wide support, but the Carthaginian theory nominally raised was to make a substantial impact, even though Oviedo himself rejected it.

33 FRANCISCO LÓPEZ DE GOMARA

[Türk-i Hind-i-gathi]  
[Constantinople: I. Matuteño, 1710]

López de Gómara, widely referred to as Gómara, was the secretary to Hernando Cortés, and wrote a biography of the explorer that proceeded through several editions. He was apparently the first to suggest in print that the "Atlantean" mentioned by Plato and other writers might be the ancestral home of the Indians. He also allowed the possibility that Carthaginians or other ancient peoples could have traveled to America and helped create the native races.

His La historia de las Indias, which was first published in Seville in 1555, was a very popular book, generating many editions and translations even before the end of the sixteenth century, and would continue to flourish, had it not in excess called forth official disapproval. After 1555, it was not published again in Spain until 1729. The writer's original contributions were necessarily limited, since he never set foot on American soil.

Regrettably, the aim of López de Gómara's writing was in particular to promote the reputation of Cortés, and in general to serve colonial aims, treating Indians as a less than praiseworthy people, for urban entertainment was justified. His contemporaries, however, brought forth many rebuttals from other writers, including Bartolomé de las Casas.

The very first "African" American has been shown to be largely based on López de Gómara's natural history, printed in Turkish, (with Arabic characters) at Constantinople by Ishmail Matafarka, the book was based on a manuscript completed about 1557 by an Ottoman emir. The wide distribution of information from the west was rare within the Ottoman realm. The reason for this lay in the exclusive and conservative nature of Islamic cultural forces, which limited what was accepted into the established body of knowledge. There was little interest in learning about what were perceived as inferior cultures, outside Islam. The Ottoman compiler and translator made a successful attempt to assimilate this the New World into an established geographical consciousness.

As a landmark of Americana, López de Gómara is frequently exhibited, but it is unusual to present the work in a language as unfamiliar to westerners as Turkish. This edition also contains modest textual elements derived from the writings of Oviedo, Águila de Zarate, and Père Martín Anglès, all standard texts from the first six decades of reportage on America. The illustrations represent sincere efforts by a Turkish artist to depict what the writer has described, but without the benefit of direct observation.

One of the woodcuts portrays American natives struggling with mermen (see fig. 13). Reports of such mermen are often related to sightings of the mermaid, a nearly hairless aquatic mammal inhabiting the American coast and islands from Florida to the mouth of the Amazon. The females have two symmetrical glands on the chest and feed their young at the water's surface, easily inspiring tales of mermaids. Marauders were hunted for their tails, hide, and fat, but are now protected in Florida.

34 NICOLÁS MONARDEZ

Joyful News out of the new found world  
London: W. Norton, 1577

The first Spanish writer to examine closely the botany of the New World was Nicolás Monardes. Born in 1549, Monardes reported on some of the earliest American discoveries in his De Historia (Seville, 1555). The story is enlarged upon in his Historia medica del la cosa que se encuentra en los Indios Occidentales (Seville, 1574). The work was soon translated by John Fampton in England and published in 1577, initially as The Three Books, then released under the more enticing title of Joyful News.

Monardes was unburdened by the existence in America of plants unknown to the Old World, having noted that vegetation differed as encountered across Europe. It was understandable, therefore, that the Spaniards' discovery of new realms should yield "new medicines and new enticements." Interest in botany has been from the earliest times been rooted in the search for medical applications, and Monardes is part of this tradition.

The standard American pharmacopoeia, which encyclopedias again and again in later publications, is simply represented here: camucah, cacao, tobacco, quinine, cholla, sarsaparilla, mesquite, tobacco, sassafras, beaver, as well as those plants known better now as foods or seasonings, like the sunflower and India pepper, and many drugs found less commonly in the literature, like extracts from the amarillo. The discussion of medicines often provides Monardes with the opportunity for a digression on some relevant topics; his essay on quassia includes a short history of syphilis, tracing the disease from America through Europe, citing its various names and claiming that the disease began in Naples with sexual relations between Europeans and Indian women brought there by Columbus.

Monardes devoted two pages to a description of coca, first as harvested and used by the Indians as a mode of exchange and also as a stimulant that when chewed enabled the Indians to walk a long distance or work under difficult conditions at high altitudes without food or drink. He noted also that the Indians at times used coca pure for pleasure, chewing it by itself or mixing it with tobacco, "and the goy as they were out of their wits, like as they were drunk, which is a thing that dooth give them great contentment to bee in that sorte." "Surely it is a thing of great consideration," Monardes wrote.

But to see how the Indians are so disposed [to be deprived of their wits, and to be without understanding, saying that they do this of the Coca with the Tobacco ... for that they would bee without understanding.

Despite such concerns, the chewing of coca leaves is to this day vital to Indian life at high altitudes, where
35 John Gerard

The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes

London: E. Bolliliam, for B. & J. Norden, 1597

Though Gerard is the most famous English herbalist, the work on which his reputation is based is not entirely original. Upon the death of the translator Robert Pratt, Gerard was asked by a publisher to complete a translation of Rembert Dodoens’s Symbolum historiae plantarum (Antwerp, 1583), which contained numerous references to American plants. Gerard completed and re-arranged the work, adding his own name and falsifying the work’s origins in the preface.

Gerard, a barber-surgeon, was nonetheless an ardent horticulturist and made many personal observations, however limited. One of the 1,200 woodcut illustrations in the work presents the earliest printed image of the potato, though the description does not clarify which sort of potato it is. Martin de L’Obel, the botanist whose order of presentation Gerard had adopted, was asked to correct the numerous errors Gerard had made in matching illustrations with descriptions. Gerard’s method was to present folk-belief as if it had been empirically confirmed, when in fact no such thing had occurred. Gerard’s herbal had little competition in its class, however, and continued in popularity until 1652, when Thomas Johnson was asked to rewrite Gerard’s descriptions in order to remain competitive with another herbal about to be published by John Parkinson. The new edition, brought in line with the facts and enriched with improved woodcuts, was a much greater success in terms of scholarship. Nevertheless, Gerard produced what long remained a popular book, due to his manifest interest in the subject, and his attractive prose style.

Maize or “Turke wheate” is but one example of the numerous American plants described in the herbal (see fig. 19.1). What Gerard calls “Corn of Asia” has grains, when mature “of sundrie colours, somtimes red, and somtimes white, and yellow, as my wife have seen in mine owne garden, where it hath come to ripenes.” His “Turke wheate,” on the other hand, are “somtimes white, and somtimes red, or of tande savour and pleasant.” He goes on to state that these were brought to Europe from Asia (Turkey) and America, without being aware that Turkey was merely a way station for the American grains. Gerard noted that Americans make bread of it, but he described it as unappetizing and claimed it was “of hard digestion, and yeldeth to the body little or no nourishment.” It “bindith the belly,” he said. He discounted Indian fondness for it as a “vurme of necessity” and concluded that it was “more convenient food for swine than for men.”

Though field corn does remain a staple feed in the pork industry, the value of corn is much greater than allowed for by Gerard. In fact, maize is recognized as one of the most important food crops. The planting of corn can produce a good harvest in a great variety of climates. It generates a very high yield per unit of land, virtually doubling the yield of wheat, and does so in a short growing season. It can be planted in fields too wet for wheat to grow, and on land too dry for rice. It has been described as perhaps the single greatest asset provided by the New World.

36 Willem Piso

Georg Marggraf

De Indis Ursinarum seu Naturali et Medico Libri Quatuordecim

Amsterdam: L. & D. Eebers, 1668

Brazil’s vast wealth in natural organisms and vegetation still yields new discoveries on a daily basis. Even as the rain forest loses acreage every day to the forces of economic development, ecologists identify new species and varieties that have never before been described. The first book to examine systematically the plants and animals of Brazil and to create an image of this immense treasure was the Historia naturalis Brasiliæ of 1648, prepared by Georg Marggraf and Willem Piso. This magnificent book, the most noted work of science in seventeenth-century Holland, was a product of that century’s Dutch
conquest of a portion of Brazil. It remained the one great illustrated work on the natural history of Brazil until the major expeditions of the nineteenth century generated new publications.

In the heyday of the Dutch occupation, many skilled and artistic persons were sent to draw or learn about the country. Maurgra, a German domiciled in Holland, went to Brazil in 1602 for the purpose of scientific study. Following his untimely death in 1614 in Africa, his extensive coded notes were given by Brazil's governor to John of Lusi for publication. Lusi deciphered and organized the notes in seven sections on plants, birds, fish, quadrupeds and reptiles, and insects; in 1615 he added a section of his own on native Brazilian and the indigenous people. The whole was produced by Willem Pais, his "Medicins Brazili", a pioneer working on tropical medicinal. The more than four hundred illustrations were based largely on original drawings by Maurgra.

Willem Pais served as a personal physician in Prince Johan Maurice of Orange-Nassau, governor-general of the Dutch colony at Paramaribo. He had travelled to Brazil with Maurgra in 1616, and also pursued scientific studies. Pais was displeased with the way John of Lusi had prepared the material, with the result that he published his own version in 1652, using most of the same illustrations, and much of Maurgra's material; the product was a work in four parts, adding Jakob de Borda's "Historia naturalis medicinae Orientalis liber tertius" and Pais's "Mansueti auctoris," the question of the relative intellectual responsibility of Maurgra or Pais engendered some controversy, but the immensity of their joint achievement in the two works is undeniable. In addition to the many drawings of plants and animals, the book presents various illustrations of sugar processing and a Brazilian vocabulary keyed to Latin. Pais's "Mansueti auctoris" includes a long discourse on chocolate and cacao. Among the many noteworthy illustrations drawn from nature is that of the antheraceae, known to some contemporaries in Brazil as "Tannins-Cacao" (see fig. 3).

37 ROBERT BOYLE
Some Considerations Touching the Unphilosophy of Experimental Natural Philosophy
Oxford: H. Hall, 1664-71

American subjects often appear in the copious writings of Robert Boyle, the great English chemist and natural philosopher. He had various links to the English volun
cie, whether through his government of the Corpor
for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England or his role on a council managing the colonies. He sometimes became directly involved, as when he pro
vided John Eliot with financial assistance for an edition of the Puritan's English language Bible printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Boyle's "Some Considerations Touching the Natural Philosophy" (originally published in Oxford in 1661), contains numerous references to American phenomena and natural resources, especially to food, drink, and medicines.

For almost every day either discloses new Cras
tures, or makes new Discoveries of the Usefulness of things; almost each of which hath yet a kind of New Invention, as unadventured to the world. How many new Concretes, rich in Medical virtues, does the New World present the Inquisitive Physicians of the Old?

Music, which grows where wheat will not, is just one of the many natural treasures that excite and amaze him. As shown in the exhibition, Boyle's "Appendix," page 13, discusses tobacco, indigo, and the wonderful way Indians use the cacao plant. In other writings he
played still other facets of the natural world of America, from hurricanes and Andean winds to Indian mining techniques.

Another side of Boyle's consciousness, informed by his religious convictions, emerges in his book, The Excellence of Theology, Compared with Natural Philosophy (London, 1674), a work later translated into Latin and German. There he discusses what he perceived as the relative inauspiciousness to human civilization of the Spaniards' monumental mining operations in America. Boyle rejected the whole the pervasive materialism inherent in the advancement of commerce that was brought on by the new discoveries in geography. For Boyle, the true value of the New World lay not in its rich veins of mercury, gold, and silver, but in the new forms of life that excite the intellect and the new foods and medicines that would improve the lives of all humans.

38 SIMON PAULII
Commentarius de Acharn Tabacum Americanae
Furti, et Habito Thea Americanae
Strassburg: Soc of S. Paulii, 1651

The greatest impact of any non-food natural product found in the New World was that made by tobacco. The drug sampled by Columbus was already quite familiar to Europeans even before it was first illustrated in the writings of Monardes. Smoking was the one social custom of the Americans that would be widely adopted by the Europeans and their descendants. At the same time, it would prove a greater financial asset as an agricultural crop than all the gold so coveted by the Spaniards.

The religious and ceremonial employment of tobacco that seems to have existed in so many forms throughout the Americas found only the firmest resistance in the social rituals that developed around it in the Old World and elsewhere. On the other hand, the relatively limited use of tobacco by the cultured for medicinal purposes stands in contrast to the centuries-long European effort to utilize tobacco smoking, chewing, snuffing, and ingestion for the treatment of every imaginable malady. By the last third of the sixteenth century, the plant was widely regarded as a panacea, used by countless doctors in pure forms or as an ingredient in medicinal compounds. Completely unaware of the physiological dangers of nicotine, the early physicians tended nonetheless to advise against the recreational use of this potent medication.

In the seventeenth century, medical critiques of the fashionable drug slowly began to develop. At about the same time, literary complaints began to appear, attacking the increasing social use of tobacco, which was regarded by many as an "Indian vice" and a disgusting practice. King James I vehemently opposed the drug in England, while in parts of Asia and eastern Europe its use was made punishable by death or exile. By the end of the seventeenth century, public concern snowballed as was so advanced that Spanish plans to erect a tobacco factory in Seville met a storm of protests against the perceived environmental dangers. Among the concerns were air pollution and threats to pregnant women.

Simon Pauli's treatise on the abuse of tobacco represents one of the earliest comprehensive attacks on it as a dangerous and fundamentally harmful drug. In the same work he also contrasts the relatively new product, tea, suspecting that its lesser dangers have not yet been recognized amid its growing popularity. Pauli, royal physician to the king of Denmark and Norway, aimed his work at medical professionals, who he thought should know better. He also directed the custom of stopping hours smoking in taverns, and characterized tobacco as a pernicious social influence, corrupting the values of families.

39 NICOLAS LÉMERY
Théâtre Universel des Drogués Simples
Paris: L. Joffroy, 1699

The chemist Nicolas Lémery learned his art from apothecaries and chemists in Rouen, Paris, and Montpellier, later setting up his own laboratory. As a Huguenot, he was forced to leave France for England in 1668, but later returned to study medicine. Devoted to the medical livelihood by the revolution of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, he turned to the teaching of chemistry. After finally accepting Catholicism in 1686, however, he was able to carry on professional work in both fields.

Lémery wrote extensively, describing numerous American drugs in his publications. His Gérard de l'argent, first published in Paris in 1673, was a medical best seller, producing many editions in French and English, and being translated into Latin and Dutch. His Roast du naturel usse (Paris, 1674) also engendered numerous editions. In his Traité universel des drogués simples (first published, Paris, 1680), he described a large number of American plants and wrote in praise of their medicinal qualities. "We would not have found Cinchona and ipecacuanha, which produce such good effects, if the merchants had not pushed their research into the New World?" The American medicines listed include numerous standard
Maria Sibylla Merian was one of the most remarkable women of the seventeenth century. Born into a German family prominent in art and publishing, her artistic gifts were recognized and encouraged from an early age. Her father, Matthäus Merian, was an artist, engraver, and bookdealer who became famous for his drawings and etchings of towns and landscapes. His first wife was the daughter of Johann Theodor de Bry, the prominent Frankfurt engraver who is best known for completing his own father's illustrated series of travel narratives. Matthäus Merian remained in 1666 and named his new daughter, Maria Sibylla, born in 1647, for both wives. Though Matthäus Merian died in 1665, and Maria’s mother married a local painter who became the daughter’s first teacher.

Maria Sibylla painted her stepfather’s subject preferences, but was distinguished by a pronounced interest in detail, including the caterpillars and butterflies she found on her models. In her work, she emphasized realism and precision, and pursued studies of natural science in order to understand her subjects more adequately. The quality of her work made her famous. She arranged for her paintings to be engraved, performing most of the work herself and writing accompanying text.

A work on the metamorphosis of caterpillars and the flowers they feed on began publication in 1679 in Nuremberg. Merian had married a Nuremberg painter, J. A. Graff, in 1665, and spent much of her married life in that city. In addition, her half-brother, Matthäus Merian the younger, a renowned portrait painter, had also settled there. For professional reasons, her publications linked her with the name of her father.

Merian seems to have been a woman of great independence. For personal reasons, she left her husband in 1665 and returned to Frankfurt with her daughter, retaining the use of her family name. After completing a second part of her caterpillar study, she moved the family to the Netherlands, where she had access to a collection of insects brought from the West Indies. This inspired her to travel to America in pursuit of living models. Obtaining a travel grant from the Dutch government, she moved to Suriname with one of her daughters in 1699. Together they spent two years painting and writing. Returning to Holland in 1701, she held a public exhibition of her work and proceeded to publish it in copperplate engravings with Latin text. Some copies of this beautiful work were reportedly hand-colored by Merian herself. A Dutch edition in 1717 had to be completed by her daughter because of Merian’s death, apparently due to tropical illness.

Merian’s description of caterpillars feeding on a potato reflects the careful observation that was a cornerstone of modern science (see color plate, page 166).

The white potatoes are a fruit which grows well in the ground but are not eaten by man. I had taken a great many of the caterpillars which creep upon the root, but by scratching and eating the box into which I laid them, they escaped from one of their prison, seeking liberty by flight. On the fourth of April I found a hole in the ground in my garden in which were two of the worms, rolled up in a lump, near the potato roots. One of these, thus rolled up, changed into a beautiful butterfly; the others changed into the same sort but smaller, all of them being at first white and soft, but in a few minutes growing hard, their green and gold color, covering on by degrees, was very temperamental and beautiful. The sixth of June, I found on the root of the plant, the worm which creeps on the stem, and also rolls itself up, as it is drawn at the top of the picture, was soft and white, but in a few hours after being exposed to the air, became hard and black, and by degrees was changed into the beetle flying at the top of the picture.

Note: Observe Merian’s preliminary remarks on the eating of potatoes, their eventual acceptance as a food in Europe and revolutionized the nourishment of that continent. The potato saved the lives of countless Europeans from Ireland to Russia, while in general boosting the population beyond levels formerly known. The tuber was recognized fairly early, with some reservations, as a useful food crop, but required some time to be accepted by the population at large. It proved especially beneficial to poor populations in western Europe, producing more nutrition from an ordinary plot of land than any other crop. It was in Ireland that the potato’s rich potential was first exploited, and across Europe, governments encouraged its cultivation by a wary and reluctant populace.

41 Mark Catesby
Piæicum Serpentinum Heterocladum Ambiguæformæ
Nouellææ Aætimææ Narrææ et novæ Plantææ
Quæram prædææ Imaginææ . . . Die Abbildungen
verschiedener Fauna, Schlangen, Insekten, einer anderen Theile, und Pflanzen
Nuremberg: J. J. Heilschmian, 1750 [68]

Seemingly under the influence of Merian, Mark Catesby pursued the same path in his writing on animals, though there is no longer necessarily the assumption that the plant represents a food source for the animal portrayed. His Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands (London, 1743-44) maintained and extended the high level of precision established by Merian. Catesby spent the years 1723-25 and 1726-28 in America, painting by direct observation. The resulting collection contained 220 plates illustrating 171 plants, from the sweet potato to Virginia pines to the cockroach, from the hummingbird to the flamingo, 46 species of fish, 33 reptiles and amphibians, including the alligator and the rattlesnake; 31 insects; and nine mammals, among them the skunk and the bison. His first edition contained supporting text in English and French.

Catesby’s work is the richest and best-known hand-colored, illustrated book of American flora and fauna. Only its birds would be surpassed in fame by Audubon, about a century later. Much effort was put into aesthetic presentation, though Catesby apparently erred in some details. Carolus Linnaeus, the Swedish botanist who established the modern system of classification and nomenclature of plants and animals, did not bold Catesby in high regard, but did have some species on his descriptions and paintings. Catesby also included essays on Carolina’s climate and soil, its bodies of water, and the Indians of Carolina and Florida.

Considerably less familiar than the English Catesby is the German and Latin edition that appeared in Nuremberg in 1720 and 1728. The volume of 1720 is taken from the second part of Catesby’s study. The plates shown (page 99) portrays the water-fish seen in the Bahamas, (Porticus piscis virdes, Bahamianus) (Southern vivisal), a green-scaled fish with brown, common, and other colors, and with red and yellow eyes. In the first English edition, Catesby remarked, “This fish is more remarkable for its Beauty, than esteemed for its Delicacy; they are taken on the Coast of Hispaniola, Cuba, and the Bahamas Islands.”
Commerce and Government

One of Columbus's early letters to the Spanish court dwells at length on accounting and security procedures for the vast wealth in gold he expected to send home. His trips were founded, for Spain, on economic motives, and its financial risk in supporting them was richly rewarded. So huge were the amounts of gold and silver shipped to Spain that a rampant inflation spread from there to the rest of Europe in the sixteenth century. Precious metals from America found their way to many countries, establishing an especially visible presence in the opulently decorated churches of the baroque and rococo periods. Ironically, much of the metal had come to Europe in the form of unique pre-Columbian artworks that were soon melted down.

Even greater than the riches of gold and silver and precious stones, however, were the riches of American biology, unique forms of life that would be fished and farmed and harvested, stocking European pots with new foods and spices, with salt cod and tomato paste. The search for spices, vital as flavorings and preservatives, yielded a host of new ingredients. Sugar, chocolate, maize, potatoes, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, and many kinds of peppers revolutionized the way Europeans ate and so fundamentally altered nutritional patterns that illnesses common in medieval times eventually disappeared, and the lessen mortality contributed to a boom in population.

These achievements were not, however, without negative implications. Choosing the most economical means to raise the new products, Europeans founded the plantation system, importing labor from Africa. The organized commerce in human beings, conducted by Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French, and British business interests, developed the ancient practice of slavery to unprecedented levels. Moreover, the natural products themselves were not entirely positive in their impact. Tobacco quickly became popular, used as a medicine and for recreation, but its impact on health was viewed with increasing distrust; there was
also early recognition of the dangerous potential of coca, a plant vital to life in the Andes. Whatever their effects on those who consumed them, the plant products of America created huge profits for those able to cultivate them on a grand scale.

The story of commerce in the era of European Americans is one of close government involvement in business activity. States pursued commercial goals directly through corporations and trading companies; they carefully regulated imports and exports, collected duties, enacted laws, and secured treaties, all with the aim of effectively guiding national economic life. Among the nations, new concepts in international law came forward in the interest of commercial imperatives. In the colonies, new governmental forms, greatly varying in their social objectives, were established in Spanish America, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Georgia.

The universe of trade and business extended far beyond the plantations, encompassing those who fished or trapped for furs and the network of entrepreneurs that developed on the European side. The world of maritime and colonial commerce helped fuel the growth of the middle class and changed the life of the worker. The purveyors of naval stores and provisions, the tobacconists and café owners, the engravers of charts, and the printers of navigational guides and manuals were all participants in the business life that grew out of the discoveries.

42 Gottfried Zenger

New Europa, oder Die Alte in die Neue Welt
Leipzig: G. C. Winter, 1720

An expression of the friendly relations between Germans and Englishmen that was fostered by the installation of the house of Hanover on the English throne in 1714. Zenger's New-England is in the construction of a perceptive and visionary work. Written at a time when European interests in the New World had already become well-defined, New-England presents a Eurocentric, Christocentric image. In the author's view, the American continent was, by divine plan, created, populated with animals, plants, and Asian immigrants, and left in relative pristine condition for later use by the European Christian powers. The book's subtitle, "Die Alte in der Neu-Welt," presages the essence of the New World cultures as extensions of European thought and institutions.

The realm of each colonial power is treated in turn, with chapters for the Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, Dutch, German, Danish, Swedish, and Scottish colonies. Zenger dwells on the history, resources, and commercial activity of each nation colony. The author also expresses large hopes, less well placed, in the promise of the French Mississippi Company, the Sibley, and the Fincher companies. The dedication of the work to King George I casts him in the role of Joshua, who with Britain's naval and military might will drive the Spanish Caribbeans out of the "American Palestine," creating a balance of power in Europe at the same time.

Zenger devotes another chapter to establishing America's superiority over other parts of the world in size, fertility, and wealth. Although Europeans surpass Americans in reason, arts, and customs, he says, America surpasses Europe in natural resources. First of all, it is, he thinks, as big as Europe, Africa, and Asia combined;
it has all the purest temperature zones, and equal fertility, abounding with previously unknown trees, plants, fruits, herbs, and flowers—so many that countless volumes cannot describe them. He praises the yield of Indian corn and the vast harvests of sweet-grafting melons.

Zetter goes on to speak, presently, of the vast impact those food riches will have for European tables, and the substantial benefit it will bring to Europe that will be derived from the eventual emigration of its population to the New World. So many families are settling there; Zetter says, that it may rightly be called "New Europe." The land promises immense vitality, even Spaniards who are indolent at home become industrious in the New World. The overwhelmingly positive conceivations of America's discovery cannot be in view, the negative impact, as exemplified by syphilis and the European inflation brought on by large imports of gold and silver.

In his chapter on German "colonies," Zetter explains from the outset that this large and powerful nation could not mount a great colonial effort because of its political disunity. Noting the power of the Hanse commercial union of centuries before, however, he argues that Germany could be the leader of a colonial power as Spain, Portugal, or Holland. "Nothing is lacking the German Nation," Zetter notes, "but an adequate naval power in order for it to carry out great deeds in other parts of the world." The second half of his essay is devoted to accounts of German involvement in colonial development: the Welser in Venezuela, Johann Joachim Becher with the Dutch in Guinea, German settlement in Pernambuco, and Jost Rachower's plan for Carolina. Zetter cites the greatest friendship of the English, who have accepted the Germans as their brothers in the American colonies.

The author views American colonization in the context of the historic migrations of peoples in Europe, a stronger people always overcoming a weaker. The Scythian peoples of Asia were America's first settlers; now it is the Europeans who will move there with God's blessing. Africa, too, as in the move, supplying it with slaves and servants. Zetter, the ultranationalist colonizer, sees the powers of the Old World re-imagined in America, everything is beautiful and splendid, as in youth. Despite his enthusiasm, Zetter himself never visited the New World.

43 GIROLAMO BONZONI
Amicae Parum Quasar, qui stella hemisphericus
Hesperiorum

Girolamo Bonzoni, a Milanese, sailed to America as a young man and remained for fourteen years. The book he wrote upon returning to Italy, La istoria del Mundo Novo (Venice, 1596), was very successful, generating seventeen editions and translations by the close of the eighteenth century and continuing to be printed for hundreds of years. Early editions exist in Italian, Latin, German, Dutch, French, and English.

As in the Spanish realm, Bonzoni turned a critical eye on Spain's administration of its colonies. He observed the empire's problems and abuses, and avoided the self-congratulation typical of Spanish historiography. In the introduction to this Latin edition, he describes African slaves who were put to work in sugar mills after the mines had been depleted (see fig. v.i). Elsewhere he relates the sadistic treatment of slave workers by the Spaniards; his record of Spanish atrocities contributed to the controversy over the treatment of the Indians as well.

Bonzoni's text was richly suggestive for illustrators, and the engraver Thodore de Bry chose to divide it into three sections, each accompanied by a series of plates. These formed parts four, five, and six of de Bry's great American series, the Latin versions being called American Pars Quarta (i-XXIII). The illustrations were accompanied by captions extracted from Bonzoni's text. Many of the subjects for engraving seem to have been selected for their shock effect, emphasizing Spanish and Indian brutality, but some, like depictions of commercial activity, are without intent to incite a reaction. The engravings in part five also include treatment of a slave revolt, naval battles, and scenes of French depredations by the Spanish colonies. Bonzoni's numerous accounts provide vivid details on many such events witnessed by him, or about which he was told. There are also many details on Indian life and the colonial environment.

It seems likely that Bonzoni was involved in some way in commerce, since he gives no evidence of being a soldier but does show familiarity with trade and economics. He takes note of the Indian practice of bartering with salt, fish, and pepper, and refers to the large markets held in prosperous times, where they deal in such goods as grain, fruit, feathers, gold, and pearls. It is evident from his remarks that he thought little of the plunder and the commerce in human beings, American and African, so commonly carried on in the New World.

44 HUGO GROTIIUS
De Mart Libero, et P. Merula de Matthes
Leiden: Eevelius, 1633.

It was the Romans who first sought to codify maritime law as an international legal system incorporating the particular laws of various nations. Oceanic commerce in the Middle Ages was regulated to some degree by legal codes employed by France, Sweden, and England. In the post-Columbian world, Spain and Portugal reigned for a century, largely unchallenged, over the ocean routes serving their overseas colonies, but increasing Dutch naval activity early in the seventeenth century raised new questions of rights and justice.

Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist and humanist, was intrigued by the legal issues that arose from an early age and was the first modern writer to seek a basis for law and government outside the Bible and the church. In 1604, when he was in his twenties, he composed a manuscript on prize law called De jure praedae, drawing on established notions of natural law, but including much original thought on the broad spectrum of international law and ethics. The manuscript was eventually published in more mature form as De jure belli et pacis while Grotius was at Parisian exile in 1625. The work set forth Grotius's reasoning for the legal basis of war.

Supposedly without Grotius's permission, a chapter from the original manuscript was published at Leyden in 1606 as De jure liberi et naturæ, it was reprinted as De

Item: 436

Fig. v.i

Pension of the seas. Hugo Grotius, De Mart Libero, 44.
Representing the Dutch East India Company, Geotius defended the capture on the basis of the idea of freedom of the seas, underscoring the notion that the waters surrounding the East Indies were the private property of Portugal. The treatise was written in response to public unrest against the company’s perceived injustice; in particular, the Dutch Missions were consistently opposed to any act of war and attacked its basis in law. To the Geotius piece did not attract international attention until some years later, when English ambitions began to clash with those of the Dutch. The first serious response was John Selden’s Anti-Danubum (London, 1658), published in English in 1652 as Of the Dominion of the Sea. Selden viewed the issue from the standpoint of English law, which emphasized British sovereignty over its territorial waters. The Geotius tract was nonetheless to have wide impact on concepts of maritime law.

Commonly regarded as the father of international law, Geotius applied his talents to other great subjects where he hoped to have an impact. In De rebus religiosis Christianis (first published, Leyden, 1629, asensis theologus), his presentation of evidence for the truth of Christianity sought to unify the Church, overcoming the schism into Roman and Protestant branches. The work, which also tried to identify elements of Old Testament teachings among the pre-Columbian Indians, was widely reprinted and translated, and remained popular well into the eighteenth century, often being used for missionary purposes. He continued the Indian theme in his De origine gentium Americanorum et Asiaticorum (Amsterdam, 1642), in which he attempted, through rudimentary weed comparisons and a superficial study of costumes, to establish the origins of the Indians of North America, the Indies, and Peru from the Norse, Egyptians, and Chinese peoples, respectively. The problems of the latter thesis were quickly exposed by Johan de Laet, whose advice before publication Geotius had rejected. The exercise in anthropological dabbling never enjoyed the solid success of his legal and religious works.

45 ANTONIO COLMENERO DE LEDESMA
Chocolate Indi
Nuremberg, W. Elipoli, 1644

The first work printed in Europe that dealt exclusively with the cacao was Colmenero de Ledesma’s Cuisine indienne, first published in Madrid in 1615. The Spanish original was translated into English, French, and Italian, in addition to the Latin edition displayed (see fig. v.4). Turning away complaints that chocolate makes those who drink it fat or harms their digestion, the author focuses on chocolate’s medicinal benefits. He describes the types of cacao and the way it is grown. Above all, he relates diverse ways of preparing chocolate and suggests recipes that will allow the reader to concoct these health-giving drinks.

Colmenero de Ledesma was careful to mention in each case the method of preparation used by the American natives. He thoughtfully discussed each of the ingredients people used in preparing chocolate, advising against the use of some kinds of pepper. Very satisfactory additions are sugar, cinnamon, cloves, almonds or other nuts, and various sorts of dried red pepper from Mexico. Another ingredient, mezcalil (apparently vanilla), is cited for its purgative qualities. In one recipe, the author recommends that one let the chocolate potion sit at least a month—ideally several months—before consuming it, but he advises against eating the drops at the bottom of these beverages, for it has a melancholic effect. Finally, he discusses chocolate’s aphrodisiac properties.

A later edition pronounced the drinking of chocolate by the healthy as well, combined with such ingredients as milk and eggs. An editor remarked that many now drink chocolate, not only in the Indies, but also in Spain, Italy, and Flanders, and especially at court. Such recreational consumption was to become so popular that Europeans could make huge profits by raising cacao on plantations. The drinking of chocolate with sugar as a luxury beverage in the second half of the seventeenth century was only the beginning of cacao’s commercial exploitation.

46 JOHN LEDEER
The Discoverer of John Leeder, in three years from Virginia, to the West of Carolina
London: J. C. for S. Heyrick, 1702

John Leeder, a German of some education who knew several languages, made his way to the colony of Virginia in 1668. Having been granted the governor’s command to explore the interior of the colony, he undertook three expeditions into areas never before seen by Europeans. On the third journey, his English companions desired him out of fear, taking the compass back with them. He continued on alone with an Indian guide, pressing west beyond the falls of the Rappahannock.

On Leeder’s return he experienced the full fury of nationalistic jealousy. As reported by Sir William Tailhott, who translated his report from the Latin, "That a Stranger should presume..., to go into those Parts of the American continent where Englishmen had never been... was, in Virginia looked on as so great an insolence, that our Traveller..., met nothing but Afronts and Reproaches... He was not safe in Virginia from the outrages of the People." Contributing to this persecution, his enemies had spread a story that his expedition had cost the government the year’s tax levies. Leeder fled to the safety of Maryland, where he prepared the first scientific report on the explored territory’s native inhabitants, plants, animals, and geology.

Leeder’s last two chapters offered advice for those planning a North American expedition, and suggestions for conducting trade with the Indians. He pointed out the good qualities of maize, which he used for bread, and praised the utility of hammocks. He also discussed the importance and use of Indian corns, and the value of fires around a camp, as well as offering practical suggestions on the arming and placement of other Indians in an expedition. Noting that selling arms to Indians is prohibited in all English colonies, he advised on other mediums of exchange and on bartering techniques. "In dealing with the Indians, you must be positive, and at a word: for if they persuade you to fail any thing in your price, they will spend time in haggling for further abatements, and seldom conclude any bargain."
visits but also supplies such historical details as he was aware of. When his ship departed from Tortuga, Exquemelin had the misfortune of being sold as a servant to the brutal governor of that island. Shortly thereafter he found refuge in the society of pirates, but he maintained some moral discipline from what he regarded as a necessary choice.

Exquemelin describes the features of the island of Hispaniola at length, as well as the character of life there, explaining, among other things, the way potatoes, cassava, tobacco, and humans are handled. He then turns to stories of individual pirate leaders, assuring the reader that all the tales are of adventures he has himself experienced. The tales of Buccaneers and pirates are nevertheless largely related in the third person. He provides accounts of Pierre de Grand’ (Pierre le Grand), Bartholomew the Portuguese, a Dutchman named Rock the Brazilian, François Lomelin, and “John,” i.e., Henry Morgan, who is given the most lengthy treatment. All the while the author explains how a pirate ship operates. The text is especially rich in details of goods captured, such as Campeche wool (used for draying), indigo, cotton, gold, silver, and various oddities. He does not hesitate to describe in some detail the cruelties visited by the pirates on many of their prisoners, not to mention Captain Morgan’s persistent efforts at the seduction of a Spanish gentilwoman. There are also numerous accounts of Indians and details on their behavior and customs, including unusual stories like that of a dedication ceremony for infants.

Though later editions include other augmentations, the original account ends with an appendix on the Spanish king’s American holdings and sources of income, as well as the Catholic Church’s offices in the new world, with financial details, and the titles of government administrators in each colony; the appendix closes with a very brief account of each non-Spanish colony. Throughout the narrative, it is the Spanish colonial possessions that typically provide the freebooters with their livelihood.

48 Jacques Savary
La Fédération
Paris: L. Delattre, 1779

This guide to commerce enjoyed solid success, going into numerous French editions well into the eighteenth century and being translated into German and Dutch. Savary, a famous French merchant and economist, rendered a great service to business by his publication. His views carried on this tradition, producing the important Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce (first published in 1749), which was also a best seller.

Savary’s compendium of useful information presents the ideal of the bourgeois gentleman, an inspiration for poor young men. It recommended the proper qualities for aspiring businessmen, including cheerfulness and a devotion to their trade. Savary dispensed with the traditional educational pursuits of Latin, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, preferring vocational training for a commercial career. He outlined what he considered to be good behavior for apprentices, prefacing the advice of Benjamin Franklin and Andrew Carnegie for achieving success.

Savary also discussed international competition for commerce, noting Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch positions respecting France, and devoted a chapter to French commerce in America and Africa. He displayed an interest in French discoveries and a concern for foreign attempts to restrain French trade. Here he includes a paragraph for each colony, including Cayenne, Martinique, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Saint Barthélemy, Saint Christopher, Saint Martin, Saint Croix, Tortuga, Haiti, and Canada. Fish, fish, tobacco, sugar, indigo, and ginger are among the products discussed.

49 William Penn
The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania
[London]: 1682

In a time when state-established religion was the rule, William Penn’s plan for the government of his proprietary colony inscribed religious toleration on a statutory basis. The thirty-five laws provided that all individuals...
that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in Civil Society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their Religious Persuasion or Practice in matters of Faith and Worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any Religious Worship, Place or Ministry whatever.

This differs markedly from the laws of the Massachusetts Colony, where all were expected to support the established church and divergent beliefs were frowned upon at best. With the passage of time, Pennsylvania offered a secure environment not only for Quakers, but for Moravians, Dunkers, Moravians, Schwenkfelders, Lutherans, Scottish Presbyterians, the German Reformed and other religious groups.

This fundamental right is but one element of a basic liberality and idealism that pervaded the entire document. Penn subsumed that any government is free "where the Laws Rule, and the People a Party to those Laws," and that hardly any frame of government will do badly if it is just placed in good hands. "Let Men be good, and the Government can't be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it; but if Men be bad, let the Government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp it and spoil it in their Turn." Yet Penn's laws, simply and elegantly crafted "to support Power in Revolution with the People, and to secure this People from the abuse of Power" proved an excellent framework to provide for a good and tolerable life in colonial Pennsylvania.

Penn's plan explained the government body that would rule and make laws; it outlined the methods to be used to elect officials, and stipulated a public announcement of all bills thirty days prior to the session that would make them law. He even saw fit, as a good Quaker, to propose a committee of "Manners, Education, and Arts" in order that "all Wicked and Scandalous Living may be prevented, and that Youth may be successively trained up in Virtue and useful Knowledge and Arts." This committee was to be on a level with those of Trade, Justice, and Plantations.

Appended to the Frame were forty laws that Pennsylvanians' governor and framers had already signed upon in England. These included provisions for courts in which all persons might plead their own cases, or be represented by friends. All such pleadings were to be in English, rather than Latin, "in order to prevent and plan Character, that they may be understood," a desirable feature still comprehensible today. Prisoners were to be workhouses rather than mere holding-places, and food and lodging in them was to be free of charge. It was also established that the estates of felons and murderers be used to aid the person wronged. Various other laws provided for the rights of children, indentured servants, and the poor. Even if law thirty-six years mildly coercive today in requiring observation from labor on the first day of the week, it is liberal in its application: that the people "may the better discharge themselves to Worship God according to their Understandings."

50 The Importance of the Sugar Colony to Great-Britain Stated

London: [J. Roberts, 1737]

In various English pamphlets of the early eighteenth century, one begins to sense the diverging interests of one colony from another, and from the home country. The importance of the sugar colonies was written in support of a bill advanced in Parliament to aid England's Caribbean possessions. The work attempted to show that the laws were designed to punish, not to isolate the mainland colonies conducting trade with foreign, that is, French sugar colonies. It was New England interests in particular that were the bill's opponents (see p. 64).

The author submits that even the smallest sugar colony is of greater economic importance to Great Britain than "all Rhode Island and New England put together." The threat of the protective bill was to prohibit New England from exporting horses and hogs to the French sugar colonies, and to prevent their importation of foreign sugar, rum, and molasses. He alleged that a consumer could not "think of procuring the provisions of the State to aid in the maintenance of the sugar colonies; but to assist the colonies of their own manufacture, in order that they may be able to export more of their produce than is at present done, in order to increase the consumption of such sugar in France, and to prevent the English from taking those goods which they now secure for themselves."

51 Malachy Postlethwayt

The African Trade, the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America

London: J. Robinson, 1745

The numerous publications of Malachy Postlethwayt on economics include several on the subject of the slave trade, which he so loudly supported. Nearing the damage done to British trade by French competition in the sugar, indigo, coffee, and tobacco trades, he saw France as a threat to the success of England's whole American endeavor. The answer to this threat, as he proposed in The African
32. SAMUEL URLSBERGER

Der aufsehenswerten Nachrichten von der . . .
Coloniö Saliugubischer Emigranten in America, erst errichtet Thiel
Halle: Ophovanghe, 1714-15

What life in colonial British America was really like for these refugees who had no other choice is made clear in magnificent detail in the Georgia chronicles of Urlsperger. The voluminous printed diaries edited by the minister who shepherd the first of the Salzburg Protestants to a new home at Ebenezer, Georgia, stretch on for thousands of pages. Prefaced by an account of the circumstances under which English governmental and charitable interests came to take up their cause, and then describing their passage across Europe, the journals focus on the Austrian Lutherans' daily struggles in creating a life in the new environment (see fig. 18). The first pages are filled with Indian contacts, rampant disease, expressions of faith, and hard work.

The settlers of Ebenezer had fled the preservation of the Archbishop of Salzburg, who in the early 1730s began an effort to purify the area that once belonged to his church. The movement stirred great concern in the International Protestant community. Frederick William I, King of Prussia, provided a home for 12,000 Salzburg refugees in East Prussia. Others sought refuge in Scandinavia. In England, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts placed its hope in an American colony, and Georgia was attractive to King George, a German speaker himself, for strategic reasons.

The settlement in Georgia is the scene of unending trials of the settlers' faith and endurance. Their fields are flooded, their crops lost to worms, their pigs to mountain lions and bears, their children to sickness, yet they serve to maintain their good will.

The Salzburgers now carry home the little corn that the worms have left them in the fields and, insofar as I have spoken with them, they all declare their contentment and satisfaction with that which God has bestowed upon them. They will have a greater increase in bears, where these have not been devoured by deer, as happened in many areas. . . . The fountain of God hath a fullness of water. [September 1s, 1733]

Yet despite their hopes, the reports given ten years later are still replete with sufferings.

Samuel Urlsperger completed his theological studies at the University of Tübingen with such distinction that he was awarded a travel scholarship that was eventually heightened to four years. He spent his time in Halle and other German cities, in Holland, and in England, meeting great theologians and becoming familiar with missionary organizations.

Urlsperger then began a bright career, achieving positions of distinction in the ecclesiastical establish-

ment. As court preacher, however, he experienced difficulty when his ethical convictions confronted a disinterested period in the life of Duke Eberhard Ludwig. After an especially strong excommunication inspired by his mentor, A. H. Prancke, Urlsperger was thrown in the dungeon and might have been executed but for the intervention of a high government official. Later, his concern for the plight of the Salzburg Protestants led to his involvement in their migration to England and from there to Georgia.

Fig. 18
Plan of Ebenezer, Georgia, from Samuel Urlsperger, Der aufsehenswerten Nachrichten von der . . . erst errichtet Thiel, 32
VI

Literature

While literature in the widest possible sense is the subject of this entire catalogue, literature in a more narrow sense—poetry, drama, and fiction—merits separate consideration. Such an examination should also include the more ephemeral formats by which news was spread: broadsides and newsbooks. Broadsides, nominally folio items, but a term sometimes applicable to single-sheet quarto imprints, often included an illustration of the event reported. The newsbook, commonly a thin quarto pamphlet, conveyed about the same amount of information as the folio broadside. These publications often reported on distant discoveries, naval battles, and other events; an example is the anonymous *Copia der Neuen Zypang aus Preßlig Lande*, [Nuremberg, 1547], reporting on the return from Brazil of a Portuguese ship of exploration.

America and its phenomena made their earliest appearances in formal literature (aside from an early verification of the Columbus letter) simply as incidental topics in poetic works aimed at popular entertainment and edification. Poems by Sebastian Brant and Pico della Mirandola are among the earliest books in this category. Even the first work of fiction actually set in the New World, Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, did not really concern the character of life there; a reference to Vespucci's voyages in More's [Leuven] 1516 original is the single anchor to American fact. With greater familiarity, and with the publication of historical narratives that served as source material, whole plays and novels and epic poems on real or imagined American events conveyed new literary images to the European public. By the eighteenth century, American subjects even found their way into musical theater and the ballet, in *Les Indes galantes*, by Couperin and Rameau, published in 1735. American motifs and topics, from the fabled mines of Potosi and the treatment of Indians to the smoking of tobacco, appear again and again as elements in the literary writing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
53 SEBASTIÁN BRANT
Stadtbriefe Novell,
Stuttgart: J. Grüninger, 1477

The earliest literary reference to the discovery of the New World appeared in 1494 in Brant's Die Nurnberg
This collection of moral satires was soon translated
into Latin, Low German, Dutch, English, and French.
The 1497 Latin edition shows it carried its message all
ever Europe. When the English edition appeared in
1539, it was the first work with an American reference
to be printed in the English language. The Nürnberg
Stäufl went through numerous editions and translations,
nearly fifty with American references in the four century.
It was the greatest German bestseller until the time of
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

The combination of conventional moral verses and
supporting woodcuts contributed much to the book's
success (see fig. 52). A humorous illustration was
created to match each chapter, making the books attrac-
tive even to those who could not read. The skillful
woodcuts are sometimes attributed to Albrecht Dürer.
The book also differed from previous works of its genre
by aiming its criticism at all levels of society; the result
was the beginning of a satirical tradition in German
literature. In 1532, poet Ariosto, the author bemoans
foolish behavior of every kind, from idle table manners
to "corporal voluptuary." In an attack on a less obvi-
ous source of foolishness, he disparages geographers,
including those who describe "the new found lands." The
London, 1570, English translation records the pas-
sage in this fashion, citing the vanity of such men as
Pentay and Polenay, who presumed to know all the
world.

It is a facetor also one to take payne
In such thynge as proved are untrue.
For nowe of late hath large lande and grounde
Beene founde by mariners and craftye governours,
The which lande were never seene nor founde
Before our tympe by our predecessours.
And hereafter shal be by our successors
Perished in the lande, whereon men recke not.
Of whom we were before the same heard tell,
Ferdinando that late was king of Spayne,
Of lande and people hath he founde plenty and store,
Of whom the biding to us was anertayne,
No christian man of them heard tell before.
This it foly to tende unto the lande.
And manye taunces of vanitie genereus,
None man can knowse all the world perfectly.

54 LUIZ DE CAMÕES
Os Lusíadas
Lisbon: A. Gonçalves, 1572

The Portuguese led the way in many of the maritime
undertakings subsequently emulated by the Spanish and
others. With their long seacoast, well-developed fishing,
and strong commercial clime, they were well pre-
pared for such a role. Their conquest of nearby islands
began in a way of insuring their control over fishing and
trade interests. In time, the skill of Portuguese navigators
opened up new trade routes that revolutionized Euro-
pean commerce. A sense of national pride in the seafar-
ing achievements of the Portuguese found significant
expression in Os Lusíadas, an epic recognized as the most
important work in Portuguese poetry and a major con-
tribution to world literature.

Camões, a soldier and sailor who traveled to India
and the South China Sea, wrote from experience, but as
a Humanist, he also employed the tools and images of
Classical epic. Vasco da Gama appears, but so do Venet,
Mars, and others, who comment on, but are also in-
volved in, the proceedings. The hero in the Portuguese
customs itself, both as discoverer and as bearer of Chris-
tianity to new lands. Camões' natural union of Classical
and Christian elements is one aspect of an essential con-
flict of values that pervades the work: it is a celebration
of adventure, achievement, and arts of war, but also a
condemnation of war and of the thirst for power and
wealth that helped precipitate the overseas adventures.
The volume displayed presents on its title page the
same facsimile publication associated with the first edition,
but it differs typographically from that edition. An
apparent forgery of the 1572 original, this presumably
printed edition was perhaps published in the early 1680s.
The book is opened to leaf 171, referring to Brazil.

55 ALONSO DE ERCILLA Y ZÚÑIGA
Primer, Segundo y Tercera Partes de la America
Madrid: P. Madrigal, 1590

The most ubiquitous face the Spaniards encountered in America
were the Aztec people who lived in the mountains of Chile. The attempts at their subjugation
brought to the longest span in Spanish colonial history, lasting almost to the nineteenth century. That such
ferocity and independence were viewed with admir-
ation by the Spaniards is manifested by the popularity of
Ercilla y Zúñiga's epic poems, La Araucana. Beginning
publishations in 1569, the three parts resulted in two
separate editions by 1606. By 1619, the poems had even been translated into Dutch. As a people only a
decade earlier had themselves emerged from a brutal
evolution against the rule of Spanish occupation, the
Dutch were understandably enamored of the poet's
subject matter.

Ercilla y Zúñiga was himself a Spanish combatant
in the American wars and wrote from direct experi-
ence, sometimes using his own language. His La Araucana
was such a polished work of epic verse that it is regarded as a
high point in the Spanish Renaissance. Cervantes wrote
of the excellence of his speech, and Voltaire ranked the
author's achievement with Homer, Virgil, Tasso, and
Camões. Even the descriptions of actions and historical
events have been judged accurate, while divergences
based on hearsay are labeled by the author. The poem
has also been praised for its descriptions of the Chilean
landscape and the sympathetic way the Araucanians are
portrayed. That the Indians virtually became the heroes
of the epic is claimed to have diminished Ercilla's favor
with the Spanish crown. His success, however, inspired
a variety of mimicking epics, the first of which was a
"continuation" by Diego de Santillán Oñativia in 1597.

56 Beschreibung von Eierhand der Spanischen Silber
Flota ... In De Inland Cuba
Amsterdam: N. J. Fischer, 1628

The vast treasure in previous eras brought home from
America in Spanish ships transformed Spain in many
ways, making possible an opulent life at court, an im-
pressive bureaucracy for colonial administration, and
the greater inflations throughout Europe. Peter
Peterszoon Héén's capture of the Spanish Silver Fleet in
1628 was so much wealth in a single act of state-spon-
sored piracy that it is said to have subjected to a Golden
Age of Dutch culture. The celebrated naval battle of
Mazaram Bay, Cuba, also inspired numerous poems to

Hein, regarded as one of the greatest Dutch naval heroes of the seventeenth century.  

The broadside displayed, Beschrijving van Eernewoud, with its engraving and brief descriptive text of the battle, is but one kind of narrative used to spread Hein’s fame and celebrate the event (see fig. vii.3). Though retold in the third person, it was probably derived in part from Hein’s own Examen van de beroemde zeemans Eisvogel of de Zeeschijf, edited by Hendrick van der Post (Amsterdam, 1629). The text is a testament to the power of the broadside, which was disseminated widely in the Netherlands and beyond. Hein’s story was told and retold, not only in print but also in oral tradition, ensuring its continued popularity and relevance.

In addition to the broadside and illustrated accounts, such verses as Franciscus Martinez’s Doce sonetos de la Batalla de Texel (Amsterdam, 1629), the anonymous Plaetsen van de Spansche oorlog (The Hague, 1629), and Duyfseau’s Spanneharen’s Triomphi van vroeger en nederzettinge, a play on de Zeeuw (Rotterdam, 1629) reflected the pride of Dutch military achievement against the might of the Spanish forces.

Born the son of a Dutch hermit boat owner, Pieter Peterszoon Hein (or Hey) sought a life of adventure as a fisherman and sailor. Having been captured by Spanish forces during the Netherlands’ rebellion, he was condemned to service in the galleys but was released in a prisoner exchange in 1620. After a decade of commercial shipping, he joined the Dutch West India Company, attaining the office of vice-admiral in the 1626 Willem van der Heyden expedition to Brazil. He performed distinguished service in the 1624 capture of San Salvador, in a later battle at sea, and in the capture of the silver ship at Cuba on September 8, 1628. Hein was admired by the public acclaim generated by the victory at Matanzas Bay, regarding it as a test of his military ability against the earlier victories.

Despite his intention to retire after Cuba, Hein answered the government call to lead the Dutch navy upon the death of its lieutenant-admiral. The lifetime sailor promptly instigated far-reaching reforms, raising the pay of sailors, improving their provisins and the administration of justice, and in general laying the basis for the formidable Dutch navy of the seventeenth century. Hein’s brief but influential career as lieutenant-admiral ended abruptly at Dunkirk in 1629, when he died after taking a bullet in the shoulder. He was buried with great honor, inspiring many printed elegies that celebrated his military virtues.

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57 John Dryden  

The Indian Emperor, or The Conquest of Mexico

London: H.erringman, 1668

In England, Dryden was the major literary figure of the later seventeenth century, and his plays were popular successes on the London stage. The Indian Queen (with Sir Robert Howard), a lavishly staged dramatization of Montezuma’s early life, was one of the great theatrical triumphs of its time. About a year later, early in 1665, Dryden’s sequel The Indian Emperor appeared, using the same elaborate staging and costumes, and became an instant success (see fig. vi.3). Though the theaters were closed from the spring of 1665 through the end of 1666, due to the plague and the London fire, Dryden’s play resumed production and attracted large audiences for many years.

Montezuma is portrayed as a tragic hero, a sympathetic victim of ruthless Spanish conquerors and a foolish priest. Cortez, Pizarro, and Vasquez are the chief dramatists of the conquering power. In the play’s cryptically devised final scene, a Spanish print shows Cortez on the throne of Montezuma, surrounded by his wife and children. The print is a symbol of the conqueror’s victory, a reminder of the empire’s fall, and a caution to the audience about the consequences of hubris. The play concludes with a fire that sweeps across the stage, destroying everything in its path.

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58 Erasmus Francisci  

Geschiedeniss der Amsterdamer Bloemen-Dutch Nurenumberg: C. Gerhard, for P. Forst, 1669

A popular writer whose prolific output belongs more to the genre of literature than to biography or anthropology, Erasmus Francisci produced a wealth of books compiled from facts and anecdotes related by other books. His work focuses on the sensory aspects of his subjects, a mix of observation from around the world. Francisci loved the juxtaposition of differing foreign cultures, reporting now on the burlesque customs of China and Mexico, now on the brats of India and Peru. His illustrations tend to be copies of images familiar from other works, like the key volumes, but sometimes have a rather amusing aspect to their execution. His writing aimed at the readers of the day, apparently selecting what he judged as having the capacity for more appeal.

The author’s recent exhibition of American material undoubtably contributed to the reading public’s perceptions of the New World. Material on geography, plants, animals, and native customs is derived from such writers as Acosta, Clara de la Llave de Caramo, and Alexander Bowle. One of his favorite topics was that of encounters with fierce animals, as in the example of a "crocodile" of 1-100 skins, and in the case of a "tucan," killed in Peru. Providing an illustration of an alligator’s hunt, he describes how the Indians use a pole to overpower them (see fig. vi.4). Such "crocodiles," say the reports, are much larger than those of Guinea or Egypt. He then proceeds to report on the supposed medical properties of storks found in the alligator’s stomach, citing use by Spaniards and Indians against fever.
The extravagance of Louis XIV resulted, by his
death in 1715, in a national debt of approximately
3,000,000,000 livres, while the annual national budget
stood at only about 146,000,000 livres. The idea of na-
tional bankruptcy was considered, but rejected, and
other means used to control the crisis partly resulted
in worsening the economy. The government’s desperate
advisors turned next to an idea proposed by a Scottish
expertisee, John Law.

Law, a student of mathematics and commercial
theory, led a hedonistic existence, fleeing England after
his death in 1715. In 1705, he published Money and trade
considered, with a Despatch for supplying the nation with
money, a work that did not attract much support at home.
In 1716, Philippe II, Duke d’Orléans, regent of France,
began in stages to accept Law’s elaborate plan. The first
step, a private bank, was a great success. By 1717, Law
was permitted to establish the Compagnie de la Louisi-
ana and d’Occident, commonly called the Mississippi
Company, which was accorded considerable privileges
over commerce in French America. Complex schemes
were devised for the payment of interest on investments.
Late in 1718, the bank was transformed into a
government institution as La Banque royale, with in-
notes guaranteed by the king. The trading company was
combined with two almost dormant far eastern trading
companies, with the resulting Compagnie des Indes able
especially to control the foreign trade of France. Despite
various conspiracies against the scheme, public con-

cidence in Law was only increased as he skilfully dealt
with each challenge. Finally, Law turned to the project
of assuming and managing the national debt through an
elaborate plan by which notes and stock shares were
issued. With the promise of substantial returns on
overseas investment, and with great confidence in Law,
the shares were bid upward far beyond their value,
reaching forty times their nominal price by the end of
1719. Foreigners and people from the provinces flocked
to Paris in a frenzy of investment.

The reality was that the trade and financial de-
velopment of Louisiana had only been begun in a modest
way and would not be able to provide usable dividends
for many years. The company’s whole income was
barely sufficient to pay five percent on the original in-
vestment, and the stock shares were market-priced so far
beyond their value that five percent dividends on the
huge investments were impossible. When this became
evident, the rush to sell the shares caused a serious drop
in their value. The worth of paper money also depre-
ciated, as the cost of all goods soared. Despite a series of
bank edicts, financial collapse was inevitable. Law was
arrested, the notes converted to the government’s ad-

dvantage, and the bank abolished.

The narrator of Le Banqueur trembles the story of
this commerce in Mississippi air and wind, detailing
how he and his friends were enticed into investing in
their holdings. He then proceeds with an account of another
bankrupt figure with whom he pursues a dialogue. The
book expresses anger that awakes could lead people to
accept the bad advice that carried them directly to finan-
cial ruin. The anger is also directed at those who found
their livelihood in brokering the stocks. The man who
bankrupts every day a loaf of bread, let alone a
dowry or tresses for his daughters near the end of the
book, a song in eight stanzas relates the bankrupt
man’s sorrow. The narrator concludes that gambling in
the lottery is a more reliable fixed investment than sink-
ing one’s capital in a stock, with hopes of interest. For
Mississippi inventors, both were lost.
60  JUANA INÉS DE LA CRUZ

Título Primero. Poemas de la Unica Poética Americana

Madrid: A. P. Rubo, 1725

Juana Inés de Asbaje Ramírez, who in her youth served the viceregal household in Mexico City, was an unusually intelligent, driven, and poetically gifted woman. That there were few places for such a woman in colonial South America was an obvious source of conflict. The support she received from the vicerey’s wife and the fame garnered from the poetry she wrote encouraged her to follow the life of the mind. Given the social restrictions of seventeenth-century Mexico, this included the limiting role of traditional marriage. In search for freedom, the young woman chose to enter a monastery. These, however, the religious devotion into which she had expected to channel her full intellectual industry was instead supplanted by the unquenchable demands of a thirst for knowledge.

The convent was not an ideal environment for an intellectually ascetic and creative female, but Asbaje, as Juana Inés de la Cruz, found it in the relative freedom to proceed with a literary career (see fig. vi.6). Her work would establish her reputation as the most renowned literary figure in colonial Spanish America. In achieving this distinction, she required a mental firmness and acuity that also made her the earliest American pioneer of the liberation of women. Her achievements were in areas traditionally associated with men, since women were not granted access to the education and employment that permitted intellectual development and the practice of creativity. Only in the Church was this possible, and even there she repeatedly encountered female jealousies and male prejudices that frustrated her creative expression and her urge to acquire knowledge. Why, she asked in a pseudonymous letter, should a woman be ashamed of wanting to learn? Do men believe they are clever only because they are men?

Regrettably, Sor Juana’s career ended in her early forties. An atmosphere of censure had clouded her name of purpose when she died in an epidemic in 1695, but her character and achievements were reordered by the posthumous publication of fifty endorsements by supporters in her praise. Her reputation was vindicated above all, however, by the volumes of poetry, plays, and essays she left behind, an epic exploring both the realm of the Church and the secular.

61  DANIEL DEFOE

Het Laven van de onverduisterbare Genallen van Robinson Crusoe

Amsterdam: Jan van Wessel, 1720-21

America was fertile territory for the imagination of Defoe, a prolific essayist and one of the creators of the English novel. His numerous writings on commerce and politics, including The Complete English Tradesman (first published, London, 1724), provide many insights into the role of America in English affairs in his period. Yet Defoe is not best known for this wealth of esopotic prose; his fictional writings have gone much further in introducing him to the reading public, and helped form a popular image of American life. The Fortunate and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders (London, 1722) span the picturesque tale of a woman convict transported to Virginia. The same colony provides the setting for The History and Remarkable Life of . . . Col. Jacke (London, 1723), in which the protagonist is a kidnapping victim. Tales of an adventurous seafaring life form the basis of other novels, such as The King of the Pirates (London, 1726) and The Life, Adventures and Travels of . . . Capt. Singleton (1724).

One of the most popular books of all time was Defoe’s The Life and Strange Surprising Adventure of Robinson Crusoe (first published, London, 1719), here represented by a Dutch translation from the following year. Together with Defoe’s sequel and translation, the works resulted in 83 separate publications by 1750. It also inspired many imitators. Set on an island near the mouth of the Orinoco River, the novel revolves in the first person in an Englishman’s journal of his new life after a shipwreck.

The resourcefulness exhibited by Crusoe in dealing with the elements evoke an image of the new kind of man needed to survive in the colonial wilderness.

Considered by many to be the first modern English novel, Robinson Crusoe undoubtedly drew part of its impact from its claim to be a true story. The fiction was easily maintained by Defoe’s technique of citing the main events in the smallest details, as in the account of the construction of an Indian canoe (see fig. vi.7). The work is actually based on the experience of Alexander Selkirk, who lived on a Pacific island for nearly five years before being rescued by Woodes Rogers, as related in 1712 in the latter’s A voyage to South Sea, in the years 1704 & 1705.
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