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HOW NOBLE THE SAVAGE? THE IMAGE OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH TRAVEL ACCOUNTS, CA. 1550-1680.

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1979

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HOW NOBLE THE SAVAGE?

THE IMAGE OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH TRAVEL ACCOUNTS, CA. 1550-1680

by

LAURA SCHRAGER FISHMAN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1979

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In September of 1892, the Czech composer, Antonin Dvořák, arrived in America, and in May of the following year, completed his famous symphony, The New World. Four hundred years after Columbus sailed westward across the Atlantic Ocean, America still appeared as a new world in the consciousness of many Europeans. Throughout the centuries since the discovery of the New World, Europeans perceived America through a lens colored by their own dreams and ideals, fantasies and fears. European artistic and literary depictions of America do not reveal an objective reality,but rather a subjective interpretation--the Old World created its own images of the New.

America was truly a new world for Europeans of the early modern era. Contemporaries were accustomed to reading bizarre and exciting travel accounts about mysterious lands to the East, but they thought the westward sea contained only a few islands, and most of these were within the realm of legend rather than fact. At the turn of the sixteenth century, Europeans still believed the world was divided into three parts: Europe, Asia, and Africa. America--the New World, and its people--had no definite place within the contemporary conception of the world. Columbus was not aware that he had

discovered a new continent, but rather was convinced that he had reached the easternmost portion of Asia. Since he believed he was in the Orient, Columbus referred to the native inhabitants as Indians, perhaps one of the most persistent misnomers in history.

The existence of the American Indian, a people previously unknown to Europeans, was a striking new fact which had to be incorporated within the contemporary European epistomological and theological framework. No mention of the native Americans had ever been made in any written history or genealogy, either sacred or secular. The existence of life in the New World had to be harmonized with traditional Biblical concepts regarding the origin and early history of all human life on earth. Europeans of the early modern era believed that all mankind descended ultimately from Adam and then Noah, and thus shared a common parentage. Contemporaries were highly puzzled, however, regarding the specific origin of the Amerindians, and the manner and date of their arrival in the New World.

European accounts of the American Indian were largely an attempt to render familiar the unfamiliar, to place the Indian within a known context by relating him to various peoples of the Old World, either of the past or of the contemporary era. Europeans created various images of the Indian which facilitated his intellectual assimilation by the people of the Old World. Indian society was evaluated according to European

standards, and therefore European portrayals of native Americans reveal as much about the values of contemporary Europe as they do about the societies of the Indians, and yield considerable insight into European cultural and political ideals, as well as religious assumptions. Above all, in the eyes of contemporary Europeans the American Indian appeared as a living representation of man in a pure state of nature, lacking all order, restraints and possessions. European images of the Indian and primitive life here reflect European definitions and standards of savagery and civilization, barbarism and humanity.

Yet it would be inaccurate to describe the European image of the Indian as totally distorted and marred by the preconceptions and stereotypes of the Old World. Travelers to the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were fascinated by, and highly curious about the natives they encountered, and recorded a substantial amount of descriptive ethnographic data regarding such varied aspects of Indian life as social and political organization, religion, warfare, routine occupations, handicrafts, family life, diet, dress, and physical appearance. Numerous native customs surrounding the key events in the life cycle, i.e. marriage, childbirth, death, and initiation into adulthood, were described by many travelers in minute detail. The travelers' accounts of the American Indians thus heightened European awareness of the great diversity of human customs and practices throughout the world. The information reported by the travelers was not all accurate,

but contemporary European readers generally accepted the entire contents of the travel accounts as factual information, recorded by eyewitness observers. The reports of travelers to the New World thus expanded the intellectual horizons of Europeans of the early modern era, and broadened the scope of traditional knowledge to include many new facts.

European views of the Indian were not static, but changed from one historical era to the next. A discussion of the early modern European portrayal of the American Indian must avoid the imposition of attitudes based on evidence from the more recent past. Europeans, and then Americans, continually sought to change the Indian and his traditional tribal culture, adopting policies of either persuasion or coercion. Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sought to "civilize" the Indian, but their attitude was mitigated by a general absence of racial prejudice. Contemporary Europeans believed the Amerindians to be rational human beings, inherently no different than themselves. The Indians were not deemed physically or biologically inferior to Europeans, and were not perceived as belonging to a separate race. Scorn for the society and culture of the natives of the New World was not extended to the person of the Indian. The Europeans were truly sympathetic upon observing what they regarded as the material and, more important, spiritual state of poverty in which the Indian lived, but they believed this condition could be remedied. The Europeans viewed the Indian as clearly deficient in the realm of religion, culture, and education, but there was a genuine optimistic belief that he

could be converted and taught. The majority of contemporaries initially hoped that after the Indian was Europeanized, the peoples of both the Old World and the New could peacefully coexist in America.

The following study is an analysis of the image of the American Indian contained in French and English travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is a study in intellectual history, utilizing literary sources, and is essentially concerned with European reactions to, and perceptions of the more primitive societies and cultures of the Amerindians. This study does not attempt to provide an accurate portrayal of the various Amerindian societies encountered by French and English travelers, but rather focuses on European images of the natives. Although the early modern European image of the Indian may have been quite different from the reality of native life in the New World, Europeans believed the Indian to be as they pictured him--the image thus constituted the reality for European contemporaries. References will be made to certain general points regarding French and English relations with the Amerindians when relevant to the discussion, but the purpose of this study is not to narrate the history of Indian-White relations, nor to relate the deatils of European exploration and settlement of the New World, topics which all have been previously discussed by many historians.[1]

It is only recently that historians have begun to study the impact of the discovery of America on European intellectual life.[2] Some historians have questioned the extent to which information about America penetrated the European intellectual community in the sixteenth century.[3] It is true that most contemporaries did not regard the discovery of America as the single most important event of their time. Travel literature was popular in the early modern period, but there was a far greater interest in, and output of works dealing with the East, lands which were firmly established within the parameters of the known world, than with the newly discovered lands in the West.[4] This time lag between the discovery of America and its intellectual assimilation is evident in the general histories and cosmographies purporting to deal with the entire world which devoted only a small fraction of space to America, or else entirely neglected the continent's existence.[5]

Those that traveled to the New World, though, did record their experiences and observations, and thus America found her way into sixteenth and seventeenth-century travel accounts. This body of literature was read by a wide circle of contemporaries, who were fascinated and entertained by exciting stories of voyages to strange, far away lands. This appeal to the reader's taste for adventure and the bizarre was an important element in the popularity of travel accounts. In addition, travel literature was predominantly written in the vernacular, and thus reached a literate public which

extended beyond the traditional scholarly elite. Travel accounts were really not part of the "haute littérature" of this era, and instead may be viewed as indicative of the, "...intellectual milieu of men of average culture."[6] Travel accounts must therefore be regarded as part of a separate stratum of European intellectual history. The fact that much of this vernacular literature appealed more to the curiosity, credulity, and spirit of adventure of the middling elements of the population than it did to the refined and traditional taste of scholars may further help to explain the slowness with which new information from America penetrated the European intellectual community.[7]

Transportation and communication were slow in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and therefore the New World did not bear directly on the Old with the same immediacy and intensity which characterize the more rapid acceptance and analysis of new discoveries in the modern era. The boundaries of traditional knowledge may not have been quickly broken down during the generations after Columbus' voyages, but they certainly were stretched and broadened to accommodate the new facts--and the travelers were insistent on asserting the factual quality of their reports, based on firsthand observation--which arrived from the West.

This study is based on an analysis of approximately sixty travel accounts, twenty-four written by Frenchmen, and

thirty-six by by Englishmen, the English material generally being much shorter than the French. Approximately fourteen English accounts and seven French ones appeared in more than one edition.[8] Only a total of eighteen titles date from the sixteenth century, nine French and nine English; this reflects the relatively late dates at which the French, and especially the English began to take an active interest in the New World. The prime objective in the selection of source material for this study was to achieve a representative sampling of the broad corpus of early modern travel literature. In addition to the writings of travelers to the New World, the collections of travel writings compiled by those who never crossed the sea are also included. The accounts of explorers and early colonizers have been studied, but although such names as John Smith and Jacques Cartier may be more familiar, the writings of this group are not given any special emphasis, since the focus here is not a narrative history of exploration and settlement. The writings of laymen, both English and French, have been considered, along with the accounts of men of religion. If any one segment is over-emphasized in this study it is the French Catholic missionaries of the seventeenth century due to their voluminous literary output. The writings of French Huguenots, though, have not been neglected. The English travel accounts studied include Anglicans as well as Puritans. The selection of primary sources has also aimed at being chronologically representative, dealing with works from the earlier, middle, and later decades of the period under consideration.

The image of the Indian in the works of such prominent contemporary European intellectuals as Montaigne and Shakespeare will be discussed separately in a later chapter, as the writings of notable scholars and literary figures are in a category quite different than that of the travelers themselves.

Throughout this study, references will be made to the Spanish response to the New World and its inhabitants, however primary source material is limited to English and French travel accounts, since contemporary Spanish writings about the Indian have been sufficiently discussed by scholars elsewhere.[9] English and French travel accounts dealing with the American Indian, however, have not yet been analytically studied.[10]

Concentration on travel accounts written by members of two distinct national groups, the English and the French, has led to some observations which transcend the central problem of how Europeans in general reacted to the more primitive societies of the newly discovered American natives. Almost a century ago, the noted colonial historian, Francis Parkman, observed, with reference to the Indian, that, "...English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."[11] Such a sharp contrast between the reactions of the French and English towards the Indian is not an accurate description of these

travel accounts, as ambivalence often characterized the response of each national group towards the natives. Yet there is a general difference in attitude which does persist throughout the travel accounts. The French tendency to idealize certain aspects of Indian life, and praise the innocence, simplicity, and natural virtues of the Indian, is noticeably lacking among English accounts. The English are more insistent upon converting the Indian to their "civilized" way of life, whereas certain French writers believe it is the Indian who should serve as the model of conduct for "corrupt" Europeans. Also, French accounts surpass those of the English in both the quantity and quality of ethnographic information reported about the American Indian.

It is for this reason that English and French source material is defined as that which was written by either native Englishmen or native Frenchmen. Travel literature published in England, but written by Spanish travelers, for example, will not be considered as part of the body of English source material for this study. Also, any contemporary French travel accounts which were translated and published in England will be considered as French, and not English, travel literature. The English and French contemporary reading public had access to a broader assortment of travel literature, i.e. foreign accounts in translation. But in spite of the presence of these foreign translations, distinct English and French conceptions of the Indian are still evident.

Because this study is thus specifically concerned with English and French travel accounts, it deals with source material which did not appear until almost two generations after the initial voyages of discovery to the New World. The influence of Spanish and Italian accounts which appeared in translation will be considered, but the French and the English were much slower in traveling to, and writing about the New World. There were no native French writings about America in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries,[12] and prior to 1550, English travel literature dealing with the New World was practically non-existent.[13] Thus, although too late to gauge the first general impressions Europeans had formed of the New World, 1550 is an appropriate date to begin a study of the initial images of the American Indian in the writings of French and English travelers.

The differing attitudes towards the Indian evident in French and English travel accounts should not be discussed solely within the realm of intellectual history. France and England followed very different patterns of settlement in America. Economic and demographic realities in the New World will be considered as important factors in molding French and English views of the Amerindians, but this study hopes to delve deeper and examine important intellectual currents and mentalities which may help explain why the French and the English developed consistently different attitudes towards the Indians which were evident at a very early date.

Thus, the focus here will be on the eastern side of the Atlantic. The image of the American Indian conveyed by French and English travelers to the New World, although greatly shaped by novel experiences in America, was clearly a product of the travelers' European background. The travel accounts do indeed contain a great deal of factual reporting concerning Indian culture and society, but the intrusion of popular myths and convenient stereotypes can be clearly detected as well. This intellectual baggage of the early modern European traveler to the New World will now be considered.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The literature dealing with Indian-White relations and the impact of European colonization on Indian societies is vast and continually growing. Works dealing with this subject matter include: Gary B. Nash, Red, White and Black. The Peoples of Early America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974); Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, eds., Attitudes of Colonial Powers Toward the American Indian (Salt Lake City, 1969); Marcel Trudel, The Beginnings of New France, 1524-1663, trans. Patricia Claxton (Canada, 1973); Corneluis Jaenen, Friend and Foe. Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York, 1976); Alfred G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700 (New Brunswick, Canada, 1937); Bruce Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660, 2 vols. (Montreal, 1976); Eleanore B. Leacock and Nancy O. Lurie, eds., North American Indians in Historical Perspective (New York, 1971); Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth Century America (Chapel Hill, 1959), 33-60; Wesley Frank Craven, "Indian Policy in Early Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 1 (1944): 65-82; James Axtell, The European and the Indian. Essays in Cultural Contact in Colonial North America (forthcoming); Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (Chapel Hill, 1975); Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Indian and the White Man (New York, 1964); Washburn, The Indian in America (New York, 1975); Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier. Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675 (Boston, 1975); and Vaughan, "'Expulsion of the Salvages': English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 35 (1978): 57-84.

For a discussion of the history of exploration and early settlement in the New World, see David Beers Quinn, North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: the Norse Voyages to 1612 (New York, 1977); Samuel Eliot Morison, The European Discovery of America, 2 vols. (New York, 1974); W.J. Eccles, France in America (New York, 1972); J.H. Parry, The Spanish Seaborne Empire (London, 1966); these are but a tiny sampling.

[2]J.H. Elliott, The Old World and the New, 1492-1650 (Cambridge, 1970), is a comprehensive introduction to this problem, raises many of the fundamental issues involved, and provides key bibliographical material. Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land. European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time (New York, 1975), although

chronologically broader in scope and primarily dealing with artistic conceptions of America, also highlignts those aspects of the New World experience which penetrated the works of important intellectuals and literary figures; the bibliography of secondary source material is excellent. The collection of scholarly essays, Fredi Chiappelli, ed., First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1976), stresses the role of the Renaissance in providing a framework for the European assimilation of the New World, as reflected in literature, art, science, geography, language, and political theory; few essays go beyond the sixteenth century. Robert F. Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian. Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York, 1978), traces those stereotypes which the author believes consistently dominated the "idea of the Indian" as formulated by both Europeans and Americans; primary source material is utilized only sparsely. Doctoral dissertations have also begun to reflect this recent trend in historiography. See Churchill E. Ward, "The English Conception of America" (Case Western Reserve University, 1974); Amy Glassner Gordon, "The Impact of the Discoveries on Sixteenth-Century French Cosmographical and Historical Thought" (University of Chicago, 1974); and Michael T. Ryan, "New Worlds of Pagan Religion in the Seventeenth Century" (New York University, 1974).

[3]Elliott, "Renaissance Europe and America: A Blunted Impact," in Chiappelli, 1:11-22; and The Old World and the New, 7ff. See also G.V. Scammell, "The New Worlds and Europe in the Sixteenth Century," Historical Journal 12 (1969): 392; and G.K. Hunter, "Elizabethans and Foreigners," Shakespeare Survey 17 (1964): 37-52.

[4]Sixteenth-century France saw four times as many books published about Asia than about America. See Geoffroy Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Française (Geneva, 1935; rpt. 1969), 9ff., 250.

[5]Johann Boemus, The Fardle of Facions (London, 1555). Boemus' popular travel book, published originally in Latin in 1520, is a collection of diverse manners and customs found throughout the world, which for Boemus, consisted of only three parts--Europe, Asia, and Africa. Peter Heylyn, Microcosmus, or a Little Description of the Great World (Oxford, 1621), devoted only the last 18 pages out of a total of 418 to America.

[6]Atkinson, xvi, xix, 4, 102, 301. Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithaca, N.Y., 1958), 508ff., regards travel literature as primarily written and read by the literate average citizens which constituted the middle class.

[7]Even the voluminous geographic compilation of the noted Richard Hakluyt, although greatly contributing to an increase in scientific geographic knowledge, appealed more to the literate middle class than to the intellectual community. See Wright, 524ff., who maintains that contemporaries regarded Hakluyt as both entertaining and utilitarian, providing key information for merchants, traders, and seamen.

[8]Joseph Sabin, Bibliotheca Americana. A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, 29 vols. (Amsterdam, 1961-62).

[9]The work of Lewis Hanke is especially important here, notably Aristotle and the American Indian (Bloomington, Ind., 1959) and The First Social Experiments in America. A Study in the Development of Spanish Indian Policy in the Sixteenth Century (1935; rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1964); also Benjamin Keen, The Aztec Image in Western Thought (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971). The fundamental problems involved in the European intellectual assimilation of the New World discussed by J.H. Elliott are derived from his study of Spanish source material, The Old World and the New, and "The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man," Proceedings of the British Academy 58 (1972): 101-125.

[10]The main scholarly works dealing with French travel accounts approach their subject from the point of view of literary history, and are concerned with tracing precursors of the "noble savage" and other currents of the Enlightenment. Gilbert Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain dans la Littérature Française au XVI^e Siècle (Paris, 1911; rpt. Geneva, 1970) and L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècle (Paris, 1934); Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons and Les Relations de Voyages du XVII^e Siècle et l'Evolution des Idées (Paris, 1924; rpt. Geneva, 1972). The American Indian in English literature is briefly discussed by Robert Ralston Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama (Boston, 1938); and Hoxie Neale Fairchild, The Noble Savage. A Study in Romantic Naturalism (New York, 1928). English attitudes towards the Indian have primarily been examined within the context of American colonial history. Roy Harvey Pearce, The Savages of America. A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization, rev.ed. (Baltimore, 1965); Nash, "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind," in Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak, eds., The Wild Man Within. An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism (Pittsburgh, 1972); and Vaughan, New England Frontier.

[11]Francis Parkman, The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century (Boston, 1892), 44.

[12]Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, 7.

[13]Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620 (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 313.

CHAPTER II

THE TRAVELERS' BAGGAGE: PRECONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

The European travelers who journeyed westward across the Atlantic may have encountered a land and people previously unknown and unaccounted for, but their writings about this New World did not really reflect the novelty and freshness of their experience. The image of the American Indian contained in travel accounts of the early modern period is largely a composite picture drawn from various currents rooted deep in European cultural and intellectual history. This chapter hopes to unravel these diverse, and sometimes contradictory strands which constituted the intellectual baggage of these voyagers.

One obvious starting point is an examination of the contribution of the Renaissance to the mentality of the travelers, since this period preceded and coincided with the voyages of discovery to the New World. The intellectual currents of the Renaissance were quite important in molding the Europeans' initial images of the American Indian. In one respect, a Renaissance outlook was an important asset to these travelers and may have enhanced their powers of observation regarding the American native. This was due to the revival of interest in classical antiquity, which

produced serious and detailed studies of the different cultures of another era. The Renaissance had begun to view the classical past with greater detachment, and was thus increasingly aware of the distinctions between these older civilizations and the societies of contemporary Europe. This heightened awareness of the existence of cultural differences among peoples may have influenced the travelers of this period by sharpening their perceptions of the New World and its inhabitants. The Europeans were thus better prepared to encounter the strange societies of the American Indian, and record the striking novelties which they observed. The Renaissance openness towards the study of antiquity encouraged the detailed examination of other alien societies as well.[1]

But this appreciation of cultural diversity was not sufficiently developed for the early modern traveler to formulate an objective appraisal of Indian life and society. In order to assimilate the Indian into a pre-existing mental framework, the French and English travelers of the early modern period often found it helpful to relate the unknown to the known; the Indian was to be understood by comparing him to other peoples of whom Europeans already had some knowledge.[2] Since the Americans apparently lived in a state far more primitive than that of contemporary Europeans, one solution arrived at was to approach these new people as living fossils, examples of how earlier societies may have lived. In this regard, the contribution of the Renaissance

is of even greater significance in the formulation of the earliest images of the American Indian. The older civilizations of classical antiquity, which Renaissance Europeans turned to with renewed interest, thus served as handy and comfortable models which aided in the interpretation of the strange new societies discovered in America. The discovery of the Indian, coinciding with the rediscovery of the ancients, encouraged a juxtaposition of the two civilizations.[3] This intellectual milieu was not conducive to an objective and realistic appraisal of Indian life and society. Rather, the background of Renaissance thought contributed to the crystallization of a distorted image of the American native. The Indian was not studied solely in his native context, but instead was regarded as a living replica of man frozen in an earlier stage of development.

Direct comparisons of the Indian to various peoples of classical antiquity are indeed quite frequent in the travel accounts. This practice was not short lived, existing only during the period of initial contact, but persisted well into the seventeenth century. Arthur Barlow, involved in the first English attempts to establish a colony on what is now Roanoke Island, North Carolina, observed that when the Indians went to war, they carried an idol with them, "...of whom they ask counsel, as the Romans did of the oracle of Apollo."[4] William Strachey commented that the Virginia Indians buried their valuables in the ground, "...as the Romans did with their treasure."[5]

Comparisons of the American Indians to the ancient Romans can also be found among French authors. Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, a Recollet missionary to Canada, noted that the Hurons did not have any beards, as was also true of the ancient Romans until the time of Hadrian, "...puis que les ancien Romains mesmes...."[6] A Catholic priest in French Guiana compared the ceremonies performed by the Galibis Indians to attain the rank of captain to those rites practiced by the young men of ancient Rome upon becoming warriors.[7] Still another French missionary viewed the recounting of the great deeds of the deceased at the funerals of Indians in Brazil as similar to the custom of the ancient Romans, "...les Anciens Romains avoient cette coustume de faire porter les defuncts en la Place Publique...dechifrant toutes les loüanges qu'il poivoit du mort...."[8]

William Wood, who spent about four years among the Indians of Massachusetts, observed that they made sacrificial offerings to their god, Ketan, "...as the ancient heathen did to Ceres."[9] The cosmography of the English non-traveler, Peter Heylyn, explained the term, "Inca," which the Indians of Peru used to designate their emperor, by likening it to the term, "Pharoah," used by the ancient Egyptians.[10] The Frenchman, André Thevet, who visited Brazil, was fond of making comparisons between the Indians he observed and numerous peoples of antiquity. The American natives practiced magic, as did the ancient Persians; they kept track of time by counting moons, as

the Athenians did; "And before that they execute any greate enterprise...they assemble and come together, chiefly the eldest sorte...the which considering with my selfe, commeth to my remembrance the moste commendable custome of the governors of Thebes...."[11]

The Lacedemonians were another classical people to whom the American Indians were frequently compared by European travelers. Jean de Léry noted that old men among the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil were respected and obeyed, as was also observed among the Lacedemonians.[12] The French Protestant, Charles de Rochefort, mentioned that the Caribs of the Antilles, "...eat many times together in a publick house...as the Lacedaemonians were heretofore wont to do...."[13]

Strange and different Indian customs were made to appear in a more comprehensible light by comparisons to still another ancient people--the Germans, as described by Tacitus. Rochefort described how the Caribs washed themselves in the river every morning, as was also practiced by the ancient Germans, and that, "They commonly eat sitting on low stools...as Tacitus affirms, that it was practised among the ancient Germans...."[14] Sagard, in his discussion of Canada, mentioned how Huron women nursed their own babies, as Tacitus praised the ancient German women for doing.[15] The most frequent comparisons of the American Indians to the Germans as described by Tacitus were made by the French layman, Marc Lescarbot, who traveled to Canada in the early seventeenth century.[16]

Such direct comparisons included the Indians' care of their children, "And for this maner of nursing their children, are the ancient German women praised by Tacitus..."; hospitality, "They have also Hospitality...Tacitus giveth the same praise to the Germans..."; manner of dress, "And after this maner were the ancient Germans clothed, by the report of Caesar and Tacitus..."; as well as eating habits, and custom of holding a council for the chief to obtain advice before going to war.[17]

Perhaps more than any other writer of travel accounts in this period, Lescarbot filled his work with comparisons between the Indians and numerous other peoples who were more familiar to literate Europeans.[18] Although Lescarbot devoted a lengthy section to Indian life and society, he punctuated his narrative with frequent comparisons between native customs and those of other societies of which Europeans may have had some knowledge. Lescarbot's description of body painting among the Indians, a practice bound to strike a seventeenth-century Frenchman as bizarre indeed, is accompanied by examples of other ancient peoples who engaged in the same activity, "The Romans did anciently paint their bodies...people of Libya, did plaister their bodies over with red chaulke...And thereof is come the name that was given to the Picts...because of the paintings which they used upon their naked bodies...." Indian hospitality is seen as similar to that practiced by the ancient Gauls, and native dancing is compared to descriptions

of this activity in the Old Testament. Also, Lescarbot's relation of Indian mourning customs is accompanied by numerous illustrations of similar practices among various ancient peoples, "It is a thing woorthy marvelling that nations so far distant doe agree in those ceremonies...For in ancient times the Persians...did make such lamentation... The Aegyptians did as much...The Romans had hired women to weepe for the dead...."[19] Lescarbot apparently hoped to render this unknown Indian society more comprehensible by relating it to more familiar cultures, albeit those of a far earlier era. Although such a comparative approach may have facilitated Europeans' understanding of the newly discovered American Indian, a clear image of native life did not emerge, but rather a picture clouded with various peoples, who, in actuality, were far removed from the reality of life in the New World.

Renaissance culture provided another important theme which aided in the intellectual assimilation of the American Indian--the myth of the Golden Age. A prominent Renaissance literary motif, the Golden Age myth emphasized the ease and simplicity of a life uncorrupted by civilization. The characteristics of life in the Golden Age were drawn primarily from Hesiod's Works and Days, which described this primeval existence as pleasant, tranquil, and free of care, with man living a long life, and the earth freely yielding her fruits. The Latin poet, Ovid, expanded this description in his Metamorphoses, essentially characterizing the Golden

Age by the absence of all the evils which plagued contemporary man; in the Golden Age there was no trade or commerce, no coercion, and no work.[20] Upon encountering the totally foreign American Indian, many European travelers of this era transposed the familiar image of life in the Golden Age onto the New World as a means of interpreting what appeared to them as societies of utter simplicity.[21] The analysis of the travel accounts in subsequent chapters will indicate that many of the travelers to the New World described the Amerindians with the same imagery that had been used to characterize the mythical Golden Age. Indian life was believed to be tranquil and free of care, lacking the concerns and occupations of European society. The natives were perceived as living long and healthy lives, and the travelers believed that the Indians did not work.

The vision of life in the Golden Age, derived from secular poets, of a simple, idealized existence enjoyed by mankind in an earlier era, had its counterpart in Christian culture as well, expressed through speculation regarding the life of man before the Fall, in Paradise. The myth of Paradise was deep-seated in Western culture; man was believed to live in a state of innocence and pleasure, free of sin, enjoying a long and healthy life. There was nakedness, but no shame; man was free from toil, and woman from the pain of childbirth. Once again, these same elements were often seen as characterizing the lives of the American Indians.[22] Throughout the medieval period and into the

Renaissance, Europeans believed Paradise had an actual geographic existence on earth. Some legends located it in the East, but other reports maintained that Paradise existed on the legendary Islands of the Blessed, located in the sea westward. In fact, on his third voyage to the New World, Columbus was convinced that he had indeed discovered terrestrial Paradise. Thus, the transfer of characteristics traditionally associated with man before the Fall onto the newly discovered American Indian was easily effected.[23]

The myths of earthly Paradise and the primeval Golden Age complemented each other, and together provided a crucial lens through which early reports of the New World were filtered. Once again, contemporaries compared the Indians to peoples existing in the past. This idealized distortion of primitive life in America was initially the work of two Italians, Peter Martyr of Anghiera and Amerigo Vespucci.[24] It was through the writings of Martyr and Vespucci that the French and English reading public formed their first images of the American Indian.

Peter Martyr, born in Italy, was a humanist diplomat and tutor at the Spanish court from about 1490 into the early sixteenth century. Though he himself never traveled to the New World, he interviewed Columbus on his return, and compiled the writings of Columbus, Vespucci, and other travelers. Martyr's Decades of the New World, the first parts of which appeared in Latin in 1515, was widely translated and circulated throughout Europe. Due

to the great popularity of this work and the highly favorable picture of life in America conveyed, Peter Martyr may be deemed America's first "publicity agent."[25]

A translation made by Antoine Fabre of extracts of the first three decades of Martyr's work appeared in Paris in 1532, Extrait ou Recueil des Isles Nouvellement Trouvées en la Grand Mer Oceane...Faict Premierement en Latin par Pierre Martyre.[26] Richard Eden translated selections from Martyr's work into English, which were published in 1555 as, The Decades of the Newe Worlde, or West India.[27] Peter Martyr directly compared the life of the American Indian to that enjoyed in the Golden Age, "...wherin men lyved simplye and innocentlye without inforcement of lawes, without quarrellinge Judges and libelles, contente onely to satisfie nature...." According to Martyr, the Indians did not worry about the future; there was no money, which only breeds mischief; no weights and measures, which cause deceit among Europeans; and no desire for superfluous things, after which Europeans constantly strive. The Indians practiced true dealings with each other, and in short, "...seem to lyve in that goulden worlde of the whiche owlde wryters speake so much...."[28]

A similar idealized portrayal of the American Indian appears in the writings of the Italian explorer, Amerigo Vespucci, who sailed to the New World under Portuguese auspices in 1501 and 1502. Vespucci's Mundus Novus,

published originally ca. 1502, attained great popularity in the vernacular throughout continental Europe. The first French version appeared in Paris in 1516, translated by Mathurin Du Redouer, Le Nouveau Monde et les Navigations Faites par Emeric de Vespuce, and six editions were issued in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[29]

Brief extracts from Vespucci's writings appeared in English as early as ca. 1511 in a short work consisting of excerpts from other travel accounts compiled and translated by Richard Eden and printed at Antwerp. In describing "Armenica," Vespucci stated that, "...the people of this lande have no kynge nor lorde nor theyr god But all thinges is comune/this people goeth all naked...they lyve commonly iii.C. 300 yere and more as with sykenesse they dye nat...."[30] Vespucci thus also emphasized the simplicity of primitive life in America. In other passages he expanded this theme, and characterized the natives as leading pleasurable lives, free of restraints. There was no work, no commerce, no private property, and all things were held in common.[31]

This wholesale idealization of the life of the newly discovered American Indian, however, did not continue unabated. Explicit use of the Golden Age myth declined after the first decades of the sixteenth century.[32] Yet elements of this romanticized characterization of life in the New World are clearly present in French travel accounts as late as the seventeenth century. Although

direct reference to the Golden Age is not common, many of the French travel writers still emphasized the innocence, happiness, and natural goodness of the Indian, along with his freedom from all worry and anxiety.[33] Thus the initial images of the Indian which were derived from the combined myths of earthly Paradise and the Golden Age continued to influence the perceptions of many travelers for well over a century.

An even more significant and long-lived impression which the Golden Age myth left on subsequent travelers, both French and English, was the portrayal of the life of the American Indian as one of extreme simplicity. The Indian appeared as living close to nature, free of the complexities, external trappings, and restraints which were the hallmarks of more developed societies. Indian society was characterized by the absence of those elements which provided order, structure, and restraint in European culture. The natives in America were perceived as living in complete freedom--there were no laws, no kings, no governments, and no work. This gross oversimplification of Indian society, which in turn could lead to either idealization, or condemnation of life in a state of nature, persisted in French and English travel accounts. The travelers' inability to observe any overall structure in Indian society was perhaps their greatest failing.

The French and English reading public, however, was

provided with an alternative model of Indian life by Spanish commentators on native societies in the New World. France, and England especially, lagged behind Spain in exploration and settlement in America, and hence Spanish writings, which appeared in translation in France and England, were another important early source of information about the New World and its inhabitants.[34]

It was through these Spanish writings that Europeans obtained an image of the sophisticated and highly developed Indian civilizations of Peru and Mesoamerica.[35] Francisco López de Gómara's Historia General de las Indias, which was first published in Zaragoza in 1552, was highly popular and widely read in France; the translation by Martin Tumée appeared in at least six editions between 1568 and 1606.[36] The English translation made by Thomas Nicholas, which contained only the second portion of Gómara's general history, was issued in 1578 and again in 1596 as, The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, and dealt exclusively with the Spanish experience in Central America.[37] Although primarily concerned with the narrative of Cortez's conquest of Mexico, Gómara provided the reader with an awareness of the complexity and greater sophistication of Mesoamerican society. Unlike the simple Indians described by Peter Martyr and Amerigo Vespucci, the natives of Mexico were part of a more advanced culture. Gómara's chapter headings include, "The Letters which the Indians used in Mexico," The

Coronation of the Kings of Mexico," "The Order of Matrimony among the Indians," and "Of the Judges and Order of Justice."[38]

The writings of the famous Spanish Dominican missionary, Bartolomé de Las Casas, portrayed Aztec society as worthy of the respect of Europeans. The cultural achievements of these Indians provided evidence of their intelligence and rationality. Above all, Las Casas is noted for his vivid depictions, and denunciations of Spanish cruelty towards the Indians in America. Although he held the Indian in high esteem, the popularity of Las Casas' writing in France and England was probably due more to the anti-Spanish sentiment conveyed than to the sympathetic portrayal of the Indian. The first English translation appeared in London in 1583 as, The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and Gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the Newe World. The French eidtion, translated by Jacques de Miggrodes, Tyrannies et Cruautés des Espagnols, was issued first in 1579, and twice more by 1609.[39]

Another important Spanish writer for the French and English reading public desiring information about the Indians in the New World was the Jesuit priest, José de Acosta.[40] First published in Seville in 1590, his Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias described a good many of the elements that constituted the advanced societies of Mesoamerica and Peru. Besides scrupulously detailing the idolatry, human sacrifices, and other religious rites

of the Aztecs, with as much shock and horror as one might expect,Acosta also conveyed an impression of two highly structured and developed Indian cultures. His history includes such chapters as, "Of the Supputation of Times, and the Kalendar the Mexicaines Used," "Of Registers and the Manner of Reckoning which the Indians of Peru Used," "Of the Manner of Government and of the Kings which the Indians had," "Of the Edifices and Manner of Building of the Inguas," "Of the Inguas Revenues, and the Order of Tributes they Imposed upon the Indians," "Of Artes and Offices which the Indians did Exercise," "Of the Justice, Lawes, and Punishments which the Inguas have established...," "Of the Manner of the Mexicaines Commonweale," and "Of the Great Order and Diligence the Mexicaines used to Instruct their Youth." In short, Acosta believed that those people,"...erre in their opinion, which holde the Indians to wante judgement."[41] Robert Regnault Cauxois' French translation, Histoire Naturelle et Moralle des Indes, went through at least two editions in 1597 and 1600, and the English translation by Edward Grimston appeared in 1604.[42]

In addition to providing the French and English reading public with information about more advanced Indian societies, Acosta's work was perhaps of even greater importance in its establishment of cultural categories for the purpose of classifying and evaluating various societies. Acosta's scheme implied an evolutionary process undergone by all nations from a state of savagery to one

of civility; Acosta hierarchically ranked various societies according to their degree of development.[43] Acosta believed it was important to study all human societies, no matter how backward, since such investigation would give European, or civilized man an insight into his own original condition. Once again, less developed societies were regarded as living examples of older, or chronologically earlier cultures. Acosta ranked Japanese and Chinese societies as the most advanced of the barbarians; although they lacked Christianity, they had developed the knowledge and use of a written alphabet. The Aztecs and Incas were only given an intermediary position within this hierarchy; although they had developed organized systems of government and religion, they lacked writing. The lowest level of barbarians, that of the savage, described the Carib and Brazilian Indians of the New World. Acosta categorized them as living no better than beasts, since he, like so many of his contemporaries, was unable to discern any organization or structure in their societies.[44]

Thus, although Europeans acknowledged that the Indians of Mexico and Peru were more advanced than other New World societies, they nevertheless regarded these natives as barbarians. But those Englishmen and Frenchmen who were soon to travel to America themselves, would not personally encounter Aztec or Inca civilization. Instead, their experiences would be with the more primitive Indians who inhabited the eastern coast of North America, as well as

Canada, Brazil, and various islands in the Caribbean. Although Europeans were aware that it was possible for American Indians to develop more advanced societies, the natives of the Caribbean had already been stereotyped as leading lives of utter simplicity. Whether adopting the idealization of the primitive popularized by Peter Martyr, or utilizing Acosta's categorization of these natives as bestial savages, it was the denial of any social, political, economic, and religious organization which dominated the characterizations of these more primitive Indians encountered by the English and the French.

In attempting to better understand and incorporate the American Indian into an existing framework of knowledge, English travel writers were able to turn to a related experience in their national history which provided an all too convenient stereotype for categorizing primitive, or savage cultures. The Elizabethan period saw renewed efforts to strengthen England's colonial position in Ireland, and subdue the native populace. Since this activity was contemporaneous with England's initial exploratory and colonial efforts in the New World, Ireland and America were closely associated in the minds of many Englishmen. This juxtaposition rested on even more than a perceived similarity of circumstances, since many of the central protagonists in England's colonial activity in America had been previously involved in military and colonial operations

in Ireland.

Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh, both of whom traveled to and wrote about America, had been engaged in military activity in Munster prior to their voyages to America. Other Englishmen who had experienced conditions in Ireland firsthand prior to traveling to, and commenting about the New World included Martin Frobisher, who explored northeastern Canada while attempting to find a northwest passage; George Peckham, who accompanied Frobisher, and recorded details of the voyage; William Strachey, and the more renownd John Smith, both active in establishing the English colony in Virginia; and Thomas Hariot, famous for his late sixteenth-century statistical survey of the land, resources, and people of Virginia.[45]

For Elizabethan Englishmen, the "wild Irish" became the standard comparison which was applied to other less developed, or primitive societies.[46] This well-entrenched stereotyped characterization of primitive life was a decisively negative one, which emphasized the savagery and barbarity of such an existence, and clearly conveyed a sense of English cultural superiority.[47] Typically, the Irish were regarded as barbarous, filthy, and, "...not much unlike to wild beasts."[48]

English travel accounts contain frequent direct comparisons between the customs of the American Indians and those of the Irish. One commentator who viewed the natives of Massachusetts observed that they were,

"...accustomed to build them houses much like the wild Irish."[49] Also, the Virginia Indians' custom of sleeping from six to twenty people in one house was likened to a similar practice among the Irish.[50]

More commonly, English travelers compared Indian and Irish funeral customs and manner of dress. Indian mourning customs were described as, "...somewhat like the howlings of the Irish,"[51] and, "...deepe groanes, and Irish-like howlings."[52] This comparison was by no means a favorable one, as Edmund Spenser had faulted the Irish for being, "...yntemperate in there waylinges, of their dead...."[53]

Regarding manner of dress, John Smith noted that the Indians of Virginia wore, "...large mantels of deare skins not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantels."[54] In New England, Edward Winslow described native dress as, "...breeches and stockings like the Irish,"[55] and Thomas Morton observed, "...when they have their Apparrell one they looke like Irish in their trouses."[56] Another traveler commented, "...many of them weare skinnes about them, in forme of an Irish Mantle."[57] These comparisons may not appear objectionable until one returns to Edmund Spenser, who condemned the Irish mantle as, "...a fitt house for an outlawe...and apte cloake for a theif."[58] In summary, comparisons of American Indians to the Irish in this body of English travel literature were meant to be taken in a highly derogatory sense. An extreme, but by no means

minority position, was taken by John Josselyn, who described the Indians of Massachusetts as, "...all of them Cannibals, eaters of humane flesh. And so were formerly the Heathen-Irish, who used to feed upon Buttocks of Boyes and Women's Paps; it seems it is natural to savage people so to do."[59]

There is yet another parallel between travel accounts pertaining to Ireland and those dealing with the New World, namely the tendency to focus on the same elements of culture. In observing alien societies, Europeans sought to isolate those aspects which were familiar and might in some way correspond to their own patterns of social organization. Common categories of analysis included religion, marriage, burial and mourning customs, manner of waging war, language, clothing and physical appearance, and diet.[60] Travelers of the Renaissance and early modern period thus sought to understand alien and primitive people by searching for similarities between these foreign societies and those cultures which were more familiar to Europeans. In many cases the analogies involved civilizations of a far older era, but contemporary European society could serve as a standard of comparison as well. The Irish, or the Indian, may have appeared to behave strangely, but in actuality his life consisted of many of those same basic elements which constituted European social structure and daily life. This approach can be viewed as a positive effort, since it emphasized the universality of human existence--all societies, no matter how primitive or advanced, contained many of the

same basic elements. Yet by relying too closely on familiar forms, the European traveler narrowed his vision, and his appreciation of the uniqueness of foreign cultures was thereby limited.[61]

The utilization of stock cultural categories to describe the societies of alien peoples was a general characteristic of Renaissance travel literature.[62] A prime example of this approach is the popular collection of foreign manners and customs compiled by the German, Johann Boemus. This account first appeared in 1520 in Latin as, Omnium Gentium Mores, Leges, Ritus ex Multis Clarissimis Rerum Scriptoribus.[63] Boemus' work dealt with such peoples as the Turks, Tartars, Scythians, Ethiopians, and East Indians. This account circulated widely in vernacular translation. The first French edition was issued in 1539 as, Recueil de Diverses Histoires des Trois Parties du Monde, and seven more editions appeared by 1558.[64] In English, Boemus' work was translated as, The Fardle of Facions, and underwent three or four editions between 1555 and 1611.[65] Boemus, who never traveled himself, described the various foreign societies included in his work by concentrating on the same essential categories already noted: religion, warfare, funeral practices, marriage and the family, diet, and dress. As his work was highly popular, Boemus may have been important in encouraging the same pattern in other travel writers. The ultimate result

was to view newly discovered primitive peoples in terms of older, traditional categories, thus discouraging the development of more appropriate means of ethnographical classification.[66]

Boemus' account, and other similar contemporary works, were not highly organized or analytical. Boemus provided only very brief, capsule descriptions of the societies he discussed, and often devoted no more than one sentence to each cultural element highlighted.[67] The modern reader is left with a general impression of confusion and haphazard arrangement, with information about a diverse range of activities lumped together. These characterizations lacked truly descriptive detail, and thus could easily function as handy stereotypes, suitable for transfer from one nation to another. A prime example of this aspect of Boemus' style is his description of the Brahmans of India:

> Amonge these, is ther a people called Brachmanes, whiche...live a pure and simple life,...This people longeth for no more then nature requyreth naturallye...thei know not so many kindes of sickenesses, ne so many names of diseases as we doe....
>
> Thei have no neide to crave one anothers helpe and reliefe, wher no manne maketh clayme by (thine) and by (myne) but every manne taketh what he lusteth and lusteth no more then he niedeth. Envie cannot dwelle ther, ne none of her impes, wher all be equalle, and none above other, and all alike poore, maketh all alike riche. Thei have no officers of Justice among them, because thei do nothing that ought to be punished....
>
> The whole people hath one onely lawe, to do nothinge against lawe that nature prescribeth....[68]

Boemus' description of the East Indian Brahmans emphasized the naturalness and simplicity of their existence,

along with the absence of the regulations, restraints, and anxieties that were characteristic of more developed nations. This passage clearly resembles the early, idealized characterizations of the American Indian discussed above. Appearing in both England and France in the first half of the sixteenth century, Boemus' travel account antedated much of native English and French writing on the New World, and should be considered as still another component of the intellectual baggage of French and English travelers to America. Boemus' portrayal of the East Indians could easily be transposed onto the people newly discovered in the West.

Contemporaries were slow to realize that Columbus had landed in a new continent, and had not merely reached the outskirts of Asia, and therefore the confusion between the East and West Indies persisted in the minds of Europeans throughout the sixteenth century. Contemporaries initially believed the American natives and the inhabitants of East India were one and the same people. Characteristics long associated with the East Indian Brahmans, such as their utter simplicity, equality, and scorn for all material and superfluous things, functioned as a familiar stereotype which Europeans transferred onto the American natives. Contemporaries attempted to understand the newly discovered Amerindians by relating them to a people already known to Europeans, but in the case of the East Indian Brahmans,

unconscious confusion rather than deliberate comparison between nations was involved.[69]

Europeans were long familiar with reports of the virtuous life of the "unchristened" Brahmans, as these formed a popular element of many medieval travel accounts dealing with journeys to the East.[70] By far the most popular of all such medieval works was, The Travels of Sir John Mandeville. Mandeville's Travels first appeared ca. 1357, written by an anonymous Frenchman who probably never traveled himself. The manuscript circulated widely in the vernacular, and has been considered one of the most popular secular books of its time.[71] Although a modern reader might characterize Mandeville as a combination of fact and fiction, contemporaries did not make such a distinction, and regarded the entire contents of this work, including the tales of monsters and marvels of the East, as accurate and truthful.[72]

The fictional Mandeville traveled to such Eastern lands as Babylonia, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Cathay, and sundry islands as well. Professing an interest at the very outset of his work in the diverse manners and customs of the different nations of the world,[73] Mandeville focused on those common cultural traits discussed above, including religion, marriage, funeral customs, language, physical appearance and dress, diet, manner of waging war,

as well as the wealth and status of various kings and princes. He also described the Brahmans of India as leading virtuous lives, without any law, malice, vice, or sin.[74]

But Mandeville's appeal to contemporaries was based more on what modern readers distinguish as the fictional elements of his work. Mandeville's Travels is a prime illustration of travel literature as entertaining adventure stories, which appealed to the reader's taste for the curious and the bizarre. This work is most commonly noted for its depictions of various monstrous creatures, part human and part animal; there also is an assortment of strangely deformed beings. For instance, Mandeville observed that in Ethiopia, there were people with only one foot, large enough to shade the entire body while lying down. The various islands Mandeville visited purportedly contained such novelties as people with no heads, having their eyes and mouths in their shoulders; dwarfs that had no mouths, people with ears long enough to hang down to their knees, also giants and hermaphrodites, as well as amazons who cut off one breast.[75] One likely source of Mandeville's monstrous races was Vincent de Beauvais' thirteenth-century encyclopedia, Speculum Naturale, whose list of monsters included amazons, giants, pygmies, hermaphrodites, cannibals, men with dogs' heads, men with only one foot, and men without heads.[76]

It must be reiterated that contemporaries did not make more modern distinctions between fact and fiction, and the entirety of Mandeville's Travels was accepted as truthful. Descriptions of strange and monstrous creatures were presented alongside, and in the same manner as the author's more realistic discussions of foreign peoples; readers did not distinguish between the two. Contemporaries even considered this work to be more truthful than the writings of the real traveler, Marco Polo.[77] What is of greater consequence for this study is the popularity of Mandeville's Travels among those who were to travel to, explore, and write about the New World. Mandeville was read by Columbus, and throughout Europe the popularity of this work increased as more and more journeys to America were undertaken. Mandeville even found his way into the reputable compilation of geographic writings edited by Richard Hakluyt, who included the Latin text of Mandeville in his 1589 edition of The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation.[78] Mandeville's Travels was thus one of the most important medieval contributions to the formulation of early European images of the New World.[79]

Medieval legend provided another figure which could also be easily transported to the unknown setting of America--the wild man. A familiar protagonist of popular medieval folklore, art, and mythology, the wild man was characterized by his combination of animal and

human traits, clearly an ambiguous creature. The wild man was essentially a human who had degenerated, and led the life of a beast. The wild man always appeared as a hideous creature; he wore no clothes, and was covered with a thick coat of hair or fur. His life was guided by passion and irrationality, as opposed to reason, and he was noted for his uncontrollable sexual appetite.[80]

This savage life of the medieval wild man provided another familiar context within which the strange and unknown American Indian might be more easily comprehended by Europeans.[81] In fact, the vocabulary used to refer to the American native was the same as that which denoted the wild man, i.e., "savage," or the French, "sauvage." Many travelers to the New World anticipated that the Indians would resemble this half human, half bestial creature. One French missionary in the Antilles, Jean Baptiste du Tertre, although clearly professing his own view to the contrary regarding the "savages" of the New World, acknowledged that the majority of people, at hearing the word "savage," think of barbarous, cruel, inhuman men, without reason, deformed, as big as giants, dressed like bears, more like monsters than reasonable men.[82] The existence of this preconceived image of savage life was still another factor which encouraged travelers to America to minimize the amount of social and political organization operating among the Indians. The wild man, or savage, was typified as living in isolation, adhering to no law or religion. This medieval

legend was another factor which contributed to the over-simplification of Indian life which characterized the majority of travel accounts dealing with the New World.[83]

The credulity which so dominated the supposedly firsthand observations recorded in the travel accounts is an indication of the tenacity of these older myths and legends. The persistence of this medieval mentality, evidenced by numerous references to the existence of the standard monstrous creatures in the New World, also clearly places these travel writings within the realm of a more popularly based literature, which sought to fascinate, entertain, and titillate the curiosity of the reader. Direct references to the classical myth of the Golden Age, so popular among those of Renaissance, humanist background who were the first to write about America, soon faded from the travel accounts, but images of wild men and monstrous races derived from popular medieval culture were of longer duration. These references to strange creatures in the New World were more marked in the writings of lay travelers.

Walter Raleigh, who journeyed to Guyana at the end of the sixteenth century in the hope of founding an English colony there, is a prime example of the credulous traveler. Raleigh reported as truth the stories of the various Indians he encountered who told of the existence of amazons, as well as a nation of Indians without heads, having eyes in their shoulders and mouths in their breasts.[84] Raleigh admitted

he had not personally seen such creatures, but maintained that they must exist since so many Indians told him the same story, and significantly added, "...such a nation was written of by Mandeville."[85] Lawrence Kemys, who took part in this same enterprise, also maintained that an Indian guide certified the existence of headless men with wide mouths in their breasts. This Indian also hinted at the existence of a nation of even more monstrous people, but was unwilling to divulge any further information.[86]

One account of Martin Frobisher's explorations in northeastern Canada described how the sailors examined an old Indian woman believed to be a witch by, "...plucking off her buskins to see if she was cloven footed."[87] The Frenchman, André Thevet, although capable of factual and sometimes detailed descriptions of the life and customs of the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil among whom he stayed, believed nevertheless that the Straits of Magellan were inhabited by giants, the natives of Peru were barbarous and wild, and there existed a country of warlike amazons, maintaining that there can be found, "...no comfort among these rude and savage women."[88]

The persistence of such popular myths regarding monstrous creatures in the New World is evident in seventeenth-century travel accounts as well. Despite the accumulation of knowledge about the New World which resulted from the increase in travel to America, credulity continued. The

English travel writer, Peter Heylyn, who never traveled himself, described the Indians of Chile as being of gigantic stature, over eleven feet tall.[89] And the same author, in an even later account which provided a good history of European discovery and settlement in America, with descriptions of the geography, topography, natural resources and principal cities of the various regions, asserted that the Camacuiara Indians of Brazil were a savage nation with, "...Paps almost down unto their knees, which they tie about their waste when they run." Another nation of Indians in Brazil were described as, "...Rarities, if not Monstrosities in Nature: hairy all over like Beasts, such as Orson is fained to have been in the old Romance..."; vestiges of the medieval wild man are here clearly evident.[90]

Samuel de Champlain, although noted for his straightforward, factual descriptions of Canadian geography and natural history, was not immune to believing the Indian tales which described a savage monster called Gougou, very terrible and tall, in the shape of a woman, capable of eating people, and making horrible noises. Champlain said that he was, "...led to believe their tale by the general fear which all savages have ot it."[91]

Paul Boyer, who sojourned briefly among the Galibis Indians of French Guiana in the middle of the seventeenth century, related a native account of a monstrous race of frightful savages known as Ciparis, who were reported to have no heads, their eyes and mouths located in their stomachs.[92]

Otherwise, Boyer's account provided a detailed and perceptive analysis of the various Indian tribes in the region, their exact locations, and who their allies and enemies were.

Still another account testified to the existence of warlike women, or amazons. Jean Mocquet, who traveled throughout the world, clearly sought to entertain his readers with bizarre tales and relations of his adventurous voyages. He emphasized the nudity of the Indians to a far greater degree than the majority of his contemporaries. The essence of Mocquet's style is visible in his description of the amazons:

> As to that which some say, that they wear but one Breast, and Burn off the other, according to the manner of the ancient Amazons...they are nothing but Fables. 'Tis true, that these Women do on purpose lose the Milk of one Breast that they may the better draw the Bow...these Women wear the Hair of their Privy-Parts very long, Combing them like their Heads, and that they are of a very great stature....[93]

Thus, well into the seventeenth century, credulity persisted in the travel literature. Highly informative and factual accounts often contained elements of the fantastic as well. Such simultaneous presentations of fiction and fact were likely to render credible the fictional elements. Indeed contemporaries did not distinguish between the two, and accepted these accounts in their entirety as factual portrayals of the New World and its inhabitants.[94] These credulous travelers believed in the existence of strange and monstrous races, but it must be emphasized that none of them ever claimed to have

actually observed such creatures firsthand. All of their fantastic relations rested solely on tales purportedly told to them by those Indians whom they did encounter, and the physical descriptions of these natives bear strikingly little resemblance to the curiosities contained in medieval legends.[95]

Since this study is concerned with material which appeared over the course of approximately one and a half centuries, it is important to consider any significant changes which may have characterized the travel literature as time progressed. One might assume that the travel accounts dealing with the New World generally developed a more critical attitude in the seventeenth century, but much depended on the quality and motives of the individual observers. A decade earlier than Walter Raleigh's account of headless men in Guyana, appeared Thomas Hariot's factual survey of the land, resources, and people of Virginia.[96] Hariot's account provided basic information which would aid future English settlers in America. His prose is straightforward and based solely on his observations, with no intrusion of fanciful or legendary creatures. Hariot's work has been considered a prime example of Renaissance scientific methodology.[97]

Another striking contrast between travelers almost exactly contemporaneous with each other involves two

Frenchmen who visited Brazil in the second half of the sixteenth century, and wrote about the Tupinamba Indians of that region. André Thevet, mentioned above as a prime example of the credulous traveler, gave a very confused account of his experiences. He claimed to have traveled widely throughout America, and the reader often has trouble determining which tribe of Indians the author is describing. Thevet's account is unorganized, as he jumbled together a lot of diverse information. A brief sampling of Thevet's chapter headings will reveal this confusion, "Of False prophets and Magicians...and of a Tree named Ahouai," How these Wild Men exercise Husbandry...and of a Tree that they have named Penoabfou," and "The Manner how to Trade among these People: of a Bird named Toucan, and of the Spicerie of that Country."[98] Although many of the sections dealing with the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil, the tribe which Thevet actually did observe, contain valuable ethnographic material, Thevet damaged his credibility by claiming to have traveled in Africa and North America, areas which he never visited. Nevertheless, he included what he purported to be firsthand descriptions of the natives of these regions. Thevet here borrowed from other authors, without giving credit to the sources of his information.[99]

Only two decades after Thevet's uncritical account appeared, another work was published which dealt with the same Indians of Brazil. Jean de Léry's Histoire d'un Voyage Faict en la Terre du Brésil, published originally

at La Rochelle in 1578, bears little resemblance to the credulous and unorganized writing of Thevet. Léry's account is factual, and devoid of the strange and monstrous creatures that inhabited the pages of other travel writers. The author asserted that his descriptions were based solely on his experience, and Léry did indeed confine his discussion to the Tupinamba Indians, among whom he actually lived for about one year. Léry clearly stated that he was describing only this particular tribe, and not Americans in general. Léry's chapters are clearly organized, with information concerning the natural history of the area distinctly separated from descriptions of the Indians: "Description de la rivière de Ganabara...," "De la varieté des oyseaux de l'Amerique...," "Des arbres, herbes, racines, & fruits exquis que produit la terre du Bresil," De la guerre, combats, hardiesse & armes des sauvages," "Ce qu'on peut appeler religion entre les sauvages Ameriquains," "Du mariage, polygamie, & degrez de consanguinité observez par les sauvages...."[100]

It must be acknowledged that other travel accounts of the same high caliber as Jean de Léry's are not part of the general body of sixteenth-century French and English travel literature.[101] Accounts from this period tend to provide only very sketchy information about the American Indian, and observations regarding the flora and fauna found in the New World often appear right alongside comments about the natives. French writers, though, appear

to have developed a greater critical or analytical sense at an earlier date than did English travelers.[102]

French travel accounts of the early seventeenth century often exhibit the same clear organization and perceptive recording of ethnographic information as evident in Léry's work. Marc Lescarbot's detailed account of the Micmac Indians of eastern Canada, written originally in 1606, contains such highly informative and organized chapters as: "Of their religion," "Of the feeding of their children," "Of their language," "Of their clothing and wearing of their haires," "Of marriage," "Of their warre," and "Of their funerals."[103]

A French Capuchin missionary to Brazil in the early seventeenth century also exhibited analytical skills of a high quality. Claude d'Abbeville, whose account was published in 1614, discussed the natural history of Maragnan in chapters separate from those which were devoted to ethnographic information regarding the Indians. Abbeville's account deals solely with the Tupinamba Indians of that region, and the author did not make uncritical generalizations about the life of all the Indians in the New World.[104] A high degree of detail and organization persists in French travel literature dealing with the New World throughout the seventeenth century.

Such a comparable critical and analytical approach in writings about the American Indians did not appear in the works of English travelers until the middle decades

of the seventeenth century. Late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century English travel accounts are generally sketchy and not clearly organized, tend to be extremely brief, and offer little information about the natives, emphasizing instead a narrative account of the voyages and subsequent explorations in the New World. Since these early travelers never stayed too long in one place, only a very exceptional few were able to record any ethnographic observations of value.[106] Although never rivaling the French in both the quality and quantity of reporting about the American Indian, greater detail and better organization become evident in English travel literature around the middle of the seventeenth century.[107]

Thomas Morton's description of Massachusetts, published in 1637, is divided into three distinct books: the first deals with the Indians and their customs, the second discusses, "...the naturall Indowments of the Country," and the third is devoted to a history of English colonization in that region. The section that exclusively deals with the Indians is further divided into such specific chapters as, "Of their Houses and Habitations," "Of their Religion," and "Of the Indians apparrell."[108] Roger Williams' account is similarly arranged and exhibits even greater detail, "Of eating and entertainment," "Concerning sleepe and lodging,""Of the family and businesse of the house," and "Of their persons and parts of the body."[109]

George Alsop, writing about Maryland in 1666, clearly organized his information by devoting separate sections of his account to such topics as natural history, "Of the situation and plenty of the province of Maryland"; colonial history and descriptions of English settlers, "Of the government and natural disposition of the people"; and information concerning the specific tribe of Indians inhabiting the region under study, "A relation of the customs, manners, absurdities, and religion of the Susquehanock Indians in and near Maryland." Alsop, however, did not provide much detail regarding native life.[110] Daniel Gookin's 1674 account of the Indians of New England is straightforward and factual. The author showed a keen awareness of the different tribes in the area of Massachusetts, their population, exact location, and division of territory among native chiefs. Information about Indian customs and manner of living is clearly separated from narrative dealing with the English efforts to convert and civilize the natives, which is clearly Gookin's prime concern.[111]

It is difficult, though, to categorize precisely this body of travel literature according to chronology. As discussed above, certain earlier travelers were capable of detailed and insightful observations which they recorded in a highly organized and clear manner. The opposite of this is also discernible, i.e., the persistence of fantastic myths and legends even at a relatively late date among many travelers. The quality of each travel account was

largely determined by the perceptiveness of the individual writer, as well as the quantity of time he spent among a specific tribe of Indians. Yet, our modern distinctions of fact and fiction, observation and myth, can only be applied with caution in attempting to analyze this early modern travel literature, since many contemporaries did not draw these distinctions, and regarded the total contents of the travel accounts as accurate representations of life in the New World.

One new development that is clearly evident in travel accounts of the second half of the seventeenth century is the emergence of an historical perspective in portrayals of the American Indian. Travelers began to realize that the natives they were describing lived in a manner far different from their way of life prior to contact with Europeans; there was a definite awareness that the aboriginal condition of the Indians had been altered. The English non-traveler, John Ogilby, observed in 1671 that the Indians of Labrador were, "...formerly of a nature...somewhat brutish and savage, but by long conversation with the French are said to cast off their original wildness and become more civil mannered."[112] Also, the non-traveler, Peter Heylyn, commented that the people of Nicaragua no longer practiced their old, "barbarous" customs, but have adopted Spanish behavior, language and customs.[113] English travelers to Massachusetts observed that, since the time of their contact with Europeans, the

Indians became less cruel in their treatment of prisoners of war, adopted guns and pistols as opposed to their former weapons, began to use tin cups and glass bottles, preferred to drink rum instead of spring water, and made fiddles to imitate the English.[114]

French travelers in the second portion of the seventeenth century noted that the Indians, "...n'ont plus cette simplicité, dans laquelle ils vivoient, quand on e na fait la découverte."[115] Charles de Rochefort observed that, "...since the Caribbeans became familiar, and have conversed with forreign Nations, they have remitted much of their ancient Customs..."; they now utilize defensive warfare, are no longer as chaste and virtuous as they once were, and their language has deteriorated into a, "bastard speech," punctuated with European words.[116] The missionary, Jean Baptiste du Tertre, noted in the "Avant-propos" to his detailed study of native life that he hoped to describe what the Indians were like prior to French occupation of the Antilles, noting that great changes had occurred in native culture over the past forty years.[117] Similar observations regarding the condition of the Micmac Indians of eastern Canada were recorded by the French layman, Nicolas Denys, who noted that the natives, "...n'ont plus la pureté du passé...." In a lengthy section devoted to Indian life and customs, the author reiterated that the contents of this section pertained only to the native condition prior

to the arrival of Europeans; he then noted the changes in Indian life in his next chapter, "La difference qu'il y a entre les coustumes anciennes des Sauvages, & celles d'apresent."[118]

Thus, many travel accounts of the middle and later seventeenth century can be distinguished from earlier ones by an increased attention to factual detail, better organization of information, greater length, and the development of an historical perspective. However, earlier images of the American Indian which were derived from more traditional myth, legend, and even actual experience with other "savages," were never entirely erased from the travelers' minds. Despite a great increase in the accumulation and reporting of factual data about the Indian as the seventeenth century progressed, Europeans were still unable to accept the native as he was, but rather preferred to relate him to other, more familiar people, either real or legendary. This chapter summarized the most important of these European intellectual currents which helped mold various preconceived images of the Indian in the minds of the travelers; these forces greatly influenced the European perception of reality in the New World. One of the most crucial legacies of the classical Golden Age myth, the medieval legend of the savage wild man, and the stereotype of the "wild Irish," was the gross oversimplification of the life of all primitive peoples, either by excessive idealization, or degradation of their

condition. Yet the minds of these English and French travelers were not so closed as to ignore all of the reality of Indian life. The native Americans presented the Europeans with what must have appeared as many bizarre and unusual customs and manners, and a good many of these were recorded in detail, if for no other reason than to entertain or shock a curious reading public. The following chapters will examine the enormous amount of ethnographic data contained in this travel literature in an attempt to see which elements of Indian life and society Europeans focused on most frequently, and ultimately, how this information contributed to their evaluation of alien cultures and primitive life.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Charles Trinkaus, "Renaissance and Discovery," in Fredi Chiappelli, ed., First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1976), 1:3-9; and John Howland Rowe, "The Renaissance Foundations of Anthropology," American Anthropologist 67 (1965):1-20.

[2]J.H. Elliott, The Old World and the New, 1492-1650 (Cambridge, 1970), 41, feels that comparisons of the Indian to peoples already known helped to, "...blur the difference between the old world and the new."

[3]Geoffroy Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Français (Geneva, 1935; rpt. Geneva, 1969), 405; Elliott, "Renaissance Europe and America: A Blunted Impact?", in Chiappelli, 1:18; and Trinkaus.

[4]Arthur Barlow, The First Voyage Made to the Coasts of America (1584; rpt. Boston, 1898), 10.

[5]William Strachey, The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia (MS. ca. 1613; London, 1849), 113.

[6]Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons (Paris, 1632), 181.

[7]Antoine Biet, Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en L'Isle de Cayenne (Paris, 1664), 376ff.

[8]Yves d'Evreux, Suitte de L'Histoire des Choses plus Memorable Advenuës en Maragnan (Paris, 1615), 140.

[9]William Wood, New Englands Prospect (London, 1634), 82.

[10]Peter Heylyn, Cosmographie (London, 1652), 1070.

[11]André Thevet, The New Found Worlde, or Antarctike, trans. Thomas Hacket (Paris, 1558; London, 1568), 56f., 61.

[12]Jean de Léry, Histoire d'un Voyage Faict en la Terre du Brésil (Geneva, 1580; rpt. 2 vols. Paris, 1880), 2:30.

[13]Charles de Rochefort, The History of the Caribby-Islands, trans. John Davies (Rotterdam, 1658; London, 1666), 297.

[14]Ibid., 225, 298.

[15]Sagard, 169.

[16]Also observed by Myron P. Gilmore, "The New World in French and English Historians of the Sixteenth Century," in Chiappelli, 2:522.

[17]Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia, trans. P. Erondelle (London, 1609), 142f., 213, 176, 239, 287.

[18]Gilbert Chinard, L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII[e] et au XVIII[e] Siècle (Paris, 1934), 111.

[19]Lescarbot, 188f., 213, 217, 296.

[20]Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (Bloomington, Ind., 1969), 14ff.

[21]More than any other factor, the Golden Age myth has been discussed by scholars as the prime ingredient in European preconceptions regarding the life of the natives of the New World. See Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain dans la Littérature Française au XVI[e] Siècle (Paris, 1911; rpt. Geneva, 1970); Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land. European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time (New York, 1975), 6ff.; Hoxie Neale Fairchild, The Noble Savage. A Study in Romantic Naturalism (1928; rpt. New York 1961), 13; Howard Mumford Jones, O Strange New World. American Culture: The Formative Years (New York, 1964), 17f.; Henry S. Bausum, "Edenic Images of the Western World: A Reappraisal," South Atlantic Quarterly 67 (1968):672-687; Atkinson, 127ff.; and Elliott, The Old World and the New, 25f.

[22]See below, chapters 3 and 4.

[23]Arnold Williams, The Common Expositor. An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527-1633 (Chapel Hill, 1948), 94ff., states that Renaissance commentators on Genesis were very much interested in the condition of man before the Fall in Paradise. Also, such noted geographic writers as Walter Raleigh, Samuel Purchas, and Peter Heylyn, included sections in their works discussing the true location of Eden. Henri Baudet, Paradise on Earth. Some Thought on European Images of Non-European Man (New Haven, Conn., 1965); Jones, 4f.; Fairchild, 6ff.; and Charles L. Sanford, The Quest for Paradise. Europe and the American Moral Imagination (Urbana, Ill., 1961), all see the myth of Paradise as deep-seated in Western culture, and of crucial significance in shaping the early European image of the New World and its inhabitants. George Boas,

Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages (Baltimore, 1948), maintains that speculation on the blissful nature of man's life in Paradise constituted the prime expression of primitivistic thought in the medieval period.

[24]Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, 7ff., emphasizes the role of Italians in formulating and disseminating the early European image of America and the Indian. See also Gilmore, 519; Honour, 6ff.; Levin, 60f.; and Bausum, 672ff.

[25]Honour, 6; Jones, 16; and Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620 (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 291.

[26]Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, 15ff.

[27]Edward Arber, ed., The First Three English Books on America (Birmingham, 1885; rpt. New York, 1971).

[28]Peter Martyr, The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India, trans. Richard Eden, in Arber, 71, 78.

[29]Atkinson, 26; Rudolph Hirsch, "Printed Reports on the Early Discoveries and their Reception," in Chiappelli, 2:537-558; and Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, 10, who points out that this work was not an exact translation of Vespucci, as translators of the period were accustomed to taking great liberties with their texts. This work was the first account of the New World to appear in French.

[30]Of the Newe Landes and of ye People Founde by the Messengers of the Kynge of Portyngale named Emanuel, in Arber, xxvii. The identification of Vespucci as the author of this passage can be found in Joseph Sabin, Bibliotheca Americana. A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, 29 vols. (Amsterdam, 1961-62), 26:473f.

[31]Honour, 8ff.; and Levin, 64.

[32]Elliott, The Old World and the New, 103, views this within the context of the decline of humanism in general. See also, Honour, 56.

[33]See chapter 6, below, for discussion of this, along with speculation as to why such idealization of the primitive is absent in English travel accounts.

[34]Also observed by Gilmore, 519.

[35]Benjamin Keen, The Aztec Image in Western Thought (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971), is an excellent survey of the

primary Spanish source material on the Aztecs; for a summary of the various European translations of this literature in the period 1550-1600, see 138ff.

[36]Atkinson, 26.

[37]Francisco López de Gómara, The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, intro. Herbert Ingram Priestley (London, 1578; facs. rpt. New York, 1940), vi f.

[38]Ibid., 369, 379, 389, 391.

[39]Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indian (Bloomington, Ind., 1959); Keen, 144ff.; and Atkinson, 11, 158.

[40]Keen, 206.

[41]Joseph Acosta, The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies, trans. Edward Grimston (London, 1604), 433, 448, 453, 459, 461, 466, 468, 482, 489, 431.

[42]Joseph Acosta, The Natural and Moral History of the Indies, trans. Edward Grimston, ed. Clements R. Markham, 2 vols. (London, 1880; rpt. New York, 1970), 1:xiii f.

[43]Elliott, The Old World and the New, 39, describes Acosta's system as Aristotelian.

[44]Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers 30 (1964):1-19; Keen, 122; Honour, 78ff.; and Elliott, The Old World and the New, 49f.

[45]David Beers Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), 107ff.; Nicholas P. Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," William and Mary Quarterly 30 (1973):595f.; James Muldoon, "The Indian as Irishman," Essex Institute Historical Collections 111 (1975):270; Jones, 167ff.; and Arber, ed., The Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, rev. ed. (New York, 1967), viii.

[46]This included the Africans as well as the American Indians. See Quinn, 25f.

[47]Canny, 592, 596ff.; and Muldoon, 269. Richard G. Cole, "Sixteenth-Century Travel Books as a Source of European Attitudes toward Non-White and Non-Western Cultures," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 116 (1972):59-67, believes that the development of printing was crucial in giving permanent expression to, and facilitating the spread of such negative prejudices and cultural stereotypes.

[48]Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary, 4 vols. (1617; rpt. Glasgow, 1907), 4:198, 203.

[49]Thomas Morton, New English Canaan or New Canaan (Amsterdam, 1637), 24.

[50]Strachey, 72.

[51]John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England (London, 1674), 132.

[52]Wood, 93.

[53]Edmund Spenser, A View of the Present State of Ireland, ed. W.L. Renwick (1596; London, 1934), 73.

[54]John Smith, A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey, Commodities, People, Government and Religion (Oxford, 1612), in Arber, ed., Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, 66. See also Strachey, 65.

[55]Edward Winslow, Good Newes from New England (London, 1624), 60.

[56]Morton, 29f.

[57]Wood, 65.

[58]Spenser, 67.

[59]Josselyn, 125. This work appeared in a second edition in 1675. See Sabin, 9:340f.

[60]Spenser, 63ff.; and Richard Stanihurst, Description of Ireland (1586), in Raphael Holinshed, ed., Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 6 vols. (London, 1808), 6:66ff.; both described Irish society in terms of these cultural categories. Travelers to the New World focused on the same aspects in their analysis of Indian societies. See chapter 4, below.

[61]Elliott, "Renaissance Europe and America," in Chiappelli, 1:17, speaks of the "selective eye" through which the New World was viewed.

[62]Margaret Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia, 1964).

[63]Ibid., 131ff.

[64]Atkinson, 25.

[65]Hodgen, 132f. Despite the increase in travel to

the New World and consequent accumulation of knowledge about America and its people, Boemus' work, which made no mention of America, was continually reissued without revisions over the course of approximately one century.

[66]Ibid., 135, 138, 162ff. Hodgen, 181, points out that this type of cultural categorization was ultimately derived from Herodotus.

[67]Ibid., 178. Hodgen sees these compact descriptions as derived from the medieval scholastic encyclopedias.

[68]Johann Boemus, The Fardle of Facions, 3 vols. (London, 1555; rpt. Edinburgh, 1888), 3:9ff.

[69]Thomas Hahn, "Indians East and West: Primitivism and Savagery in English Discovery Narratives of the Sixteenth Century," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 8 (1978): 77ff. See also Honour, 12. For a discussion of Columbus' failure to truly "discover" America due to his belief that he was in Asia, see Edmundo O'Gormon, The Invention of America. An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and Meaning of its History (Bloomington, Ind., 1961). The use of the term,"Indian," to describe the American natives derived from Columbus' erroneous notion that he was in Asia. Europeans continued to refer to the Americans as "Indians," since this term enabled Europeans to more easily stereotype the natives of the New World by viewing all these people as a single, collective entity. This is the thesis of Robert Berkhofer's recent study, The White Man's Indian. Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York, 1978).

[70]Boas, 140ff.; and Hahn, 77ff.

[71]M.C. Seymour, ed., Mandeville's Travels (Oxford, 1967), xiii, xx.

[72]Ibid., xiii; and C.W.R.D. Moseley, "The Availability of Mandeville's Travels in England, 1356-1750," The Library, ser. 5, 30 (1975):125-133.

[73]Seymour, 15.

[74]Ibid., 211.

[75]Ibid., 115, 147f., 205, 113.

[76]Ibid., xv; and Bruno Roy, "En Marge du Monde Connu: Les Races de Monstres," in Institut d'études Médiévales, Aspects de la Marginalité au Moyen Age (Montreal, 1975), 72ff.

[77]Seymour, xiii.

[78]Ibid., xx; and Moseley, 125-133.

[79]The importance of medieval tales and legends for the early explorers has been pointed to by Luis Weckmann, "The Middle Ages in the Conquest of America," Speculum 26 (1951):132ff.; Penrose, 10ff.; Honour, 12ff.; and Moseley, 125-133.

[80]Richard Bernheimer, Wild Men in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Mass., 1952).

[81]François Gagnon, "Le Thème Médiéval de L'Homme Sauvage dans les Premières Représentations des Indien d'Amèrique," in Aspects de la Marginalité au Moyen Age, 82-103, maintains that classifying the Indian as a wild man, and thus sub-human, served as an important ideological justification of European colonization in the New World.

[82]Jean Baptiste du Tertre, Histoire Generale des Antilles Habitées par les François, 4 vols. (Paris, 1667), 2:356.

[83]Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," 5.

[84]It is common for other travelers to also assert that Indians testified to the existence of strange and monstrous creatures. The travelers may have falsified, or misunderstood native tales so that they would conform to European legends.

[85]Walter Ralegh, The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana (London, 1596; rpt. London, 1848), 28, 85f. This work was the most popular late sixteenth-century English travel account, issued in four editions in 1596. See F.W. Bateson, ed., The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1966), 1:788.

[86]Lawrence Kemys, A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana (London, 1596), n.p.

[87]Dionise Settle, Second Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher made to the West and Northwest Regions, in the Year 1577, in Richard Hakluyt, The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (London, 1600), 35.

[88]Thevet, 89, 99ff., 112.

[89]Heylyn, Microcosmus, or a Little Description of the Great World (Oxford, 1621), 414.

[90]Heylyn, Cosmographie, 1079. Heylyn's two compilations of travel writings were extremely popular in seventeenth-century England. Microcosmus was issued in seven editions by 1639, and Cosmographie appeared in six editions by 1677. See Sabin, 8:260f.

[91]Lescarbot, History of New France, trans. W.L. Grant, 3 vols. (Paris, 1618; Toronto, 1907), 2:170. Lescarbot's third book contains excerpts of Champlain's account of 1604, Des Sauvages, ou Voyage de Samuel de Champlain. W.L. Grant, 172n, does note, though, that Champlain was later to repudiate his belief in this strange story,and omitted it from the 1613 edition of his voyages.

[92]Paul Boyer, Veritable Relation de Tout ce qui s'est Fait et Passe au Voyage que Monsieur de Bretigny fit à L'Amerique Occidentale (Paris, 1654), 245.

[93]Jean Mocquet, Travels and Voyages into Africa, Asia, and America, the East and West Indies, Syria, Jerusalim and the Holy Land, trans. Nathaniel Pullen (Paris, 1617; London, 1696), 75. This account was a highly popular one, issued twice at Paris in 1616 and 1617, twice at Rouen in 1645 and 1665, and translated into English in London in 1696. See Atkinson, The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700 (New York, 1920), 4f.

[94]Atkinson has emphasized that the mixture of credible and incredible found in travel literature continued through the seventeenth century, and was an important element in the popular appeal of these works. See his, Les Relations de Voyages du XVII[e] Siècle et L'Évolution des Idées (Paris, 1924; rpt. Geneva, 1972), 26ff.; Les Nouveaux Horizons, 14, 51, 74f.; and The Extraordinary Voyage, 2ff., 42ff.

[95]See chapter 3, below.

[96]Thomas Hariot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia (London, 1588)

[97]A.L. Rowse, The Elizabethans and America (London, 1959), 210ff.; Quinn, "Thomas Hariot (1560-1621): An Original Practitioner in the Scientific Art," Times Literary Supplement (October 23, 1969), 1237-38; and John W. Shirley, ed., Thomas Hariot, Renaissance Scientist (Oxford, 1974). Hariot's work appeared in a second edition in 1589. See Bateson, 1:788.

[98]Thevet, 53, 92, 73.

[99]Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, 85ff., discusses Thevet as an example of the persistence of an uncritical and medieval mentality among travelers. See also Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons, 289ff.

[100]Léry, 1:35f., 114, 170; 2:9, 29, 59, 85. Despite the appeal of the credulous travelers, Léry's work was probably the most popular of all French travel accounts, undergoing five editions between 1578 and 1604. See Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons, 24. Except for the first edition which appeared at La Rochelle, all the others were issued at Geneva.

[101]Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons, 47, categorizes Jean de Léry as atypical of this period due to the exceptional quality of his writing.

[102]Ibid., 245, 283f.; and Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, 242f. Both Atkinson and Chinard feel that a growing critical sense could be found in French travel accounts by the end of the sixteenth century, although credulity never entirely disappeared from this literature. Atkinson, 42, parallels this increased clarity of thought and expression with technical improvements in the art of printing, which made possible more precise engraving.

[103]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 145, 142, 168, 174, 201, 285, 294. P. Erondelle, a Huguenot refugee in England, translated what was to appear as books IV, V, and VI of Lescarbot's L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France (Paris, 1609). The second French edition appeared in 1611 and 1612, and a third edition was issued in 1618. See W.L. Grant, trans., The History of New France, xviii f.

[104]Claude d'Abbeville, Histoire de la Mission des Peres Capucins en L'Isle de Maragnan et Terres Circonvoisines (Paris, 1614).

[105]Such works include: John Brereton, A Brief and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia (1602), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society 28(Boston, 1843); James Rosier, A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage...in the Discovery of the Land of Virginia (1605), in Collections; Thomas Churchyarde, A Prayse and Reporte of Maister Martyne Forboishers Voyage to Meta Incognita (London, 1578); Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia (London, 1615); Barlow; and Settle.

[106]Exceptions to this general tendency are two early seventeenth-century works dealing with Virginia

written by William Strachey and John Smith. Both authors are straightforward, factual, and pay great attention to detailing the native political structure and network of tribal alliances. Of all actual English travelers, John Smith was the most popular writer in seventeenth-century England. His Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, which included his earlier work, A Map of Virginia, was issued six times between 1624 and 1632. See Bateson, 1:788.

[107]Richard S. Dunn, "Seventeenth-Century English Historians of America," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America (Chapel Hill, 1959), 215, sees the Restoration period as marking a change in English travel literature dealing with America, due to an increasing public demand for facts about the New World, as opposed to a taste for mythical tales and adventure stories. Dunn attributes this change in attitude to the realization that the American colonies were playing an increasingly important role in English economic development.

R.W. Frantz, The English Traveler and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732 (Nebraska, 1932), attributes the growing factual and critical sense among travel writers in the post-Restoration era to the influence of the Royal Society, which urged travelers to accurately record their observations. For a discussion of the relationship between seventeenth-century science and depictions of the American Indian, see chapter 7, below.

A change in tone is observable in seventeenth-century English travel literature dealing with America, but at a date somewhat earlier than the Restoration.

[108]Morton, 24, 27f.

[109]Roger Williams, A Key into the Language of America (London, 1643; rpt. Providence, 1936), 10, 17, 31, 48.

[110]George Alsop, A Character of the Province of Maryland (London, 1666; rpt. New York, 1869), 35, 44, 71.

[111]Daniel Gookin, Historical Collections of the Indians in New England (1674), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1 (Boston, 1792):147ff.

[112]John Ogilby, America: Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World (London, 1671), 129.

[113]Heylyn, Cosmographie, 1054.

[114]Josselyn, 135, 138, 148; and Gookin, 151f.

[115]Biet, 353.

[116]Rochefort, 249f., 325, 271, 259.

[117]Du Tertre, 2:2f.

[118]Nicolas Denys, Description Geographique et Historique des Costes de L'Amerique Septentrionale, 2 vols. (Paris, 1672), 2:481, 448, 460.

CHAPTER III

THE IMAGE OF THE INDIAN: PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Of all the aspects of Indian life and society, perhaps the one that most aroused the curiosity of French and English travelers to the New World was the natives' physical appearance. No matter how minimal their observations, all travelers included physical descriptions of the Indians in their accounts. Many Europeans expected the natives of America to resemble the deformed monsters and hairy wild men of medieval legends. Although the travelers may have believed these creatures to exist somewhere in the New World, their descriptions of the Indians they actually did encounter were all extremely favorable. No traveler, no matter how negative his assessment of primitive life may have been, described these natives as ugly or hideous. Quite to the contrary, all travelers testified to the attractive appearance of the Indians.

In this instance, the Europeans were able to put aside the familiar stereotype of the savage contained in the medieval legend of the wild man. Instead, the travelers' physical descriptions of the Indians were influenced by classical ideals of beauty which permeated the cultural life of the Renaissance. A prime hallmark

of this standard of physical excellence was proper body proportion. In their positive assessment of the American Indians' physical appearance, French and English observers stressed the fact that the natives' bodies were all well proportioned.[1]

Early English explorers noted that the Americans were, "very handsome," "...men of large corporature and good proportion," and, "...generally tall and straight, of comely proportion."[2] Later English travelers to North America continued the same praise of the Indians' physical appearance, noting that they were,"tall and Handsome," "...straight bodied...amiable to behold," and, "...well proportioned...as proper men and women for feature and limbs as can be found."[3]

Highly favorable physical descriptions of the American Indians, stressing their excellent body proportion, are also present in French travel accounts. Once again, there are no dissenting opinions. One traveler reported that the Indians, "...ont une tres belle disposition du corps, qui est tres bien proportioné, toutes les parties estant parfaictement bien remplie...Ils sont presque tous beaux de visage...."[4] The natives were said to be of medium stature, and their bodies were regarded as well made and proportioned.[5] Native gestures and countenances, although very different from those of the French, were nevertheless found to be pleasing.[6] Travelers reported that the Caribs of the Antilles were, "...handsome, well

shaped, well proportioned, graceful, of smiling countenance and middle stature."[7] The importance of body proportion as the prime ingredient of beauty was stressed by one French missionary, "...dit Demosthene, ce n'est pas un subject digne de loüange en un homme, que la beauté de son visage...mais bien en la stature du corps, proportion des membres...La Nature a donné pour l'ordinaire un corps bien faict, bien proportionné...specialement aux Tapinambos...."[8]

The most striking element of many Indians' appearance was their nakedness. Those Frenchmen who encountered the more primitive natives in the warmer climates of the Caribbean and Brazil were not so much offended or horrified as they were surprised to discover entire societies going about their everyday activities as naked as the day they were born, "...chose non moins estrange que difficile à croire...tant hommes, femmes, qu'enfans,... vont coustumierement aussi nuds qu'ils sortent du ventre de leurs meres."[9] The Indians' nakedness did not diminish the Europeans' positive assessment of the natives' appearance. One traveler asserted that although nature had denied clothes to the Indians, they were nevertheless physically attractive, "...la Nature ayant dénie, par un si long-temps, aux corps des Indiens les vestemens, les a recompensez d'un singulier privilege les formant beaux & bien faicts...."[10] Another writer viewed the Indians' nakedness as the cause of their excellent appearance,

since body development was not restricted by any clothing, "...ils vont nuds, & que n'ayant point esté ferrez par les habits, le corps se remplit comme il faut en toutes ses parties."[11]

The travelers paid special attention to describing Indian women. These portrayals are also highly favorable, yet do not reveal any prurient interest on the part of the European observers. Frenchmen who encountered naked women in the tropical regions of South America commented that they did not find their appearance to be lascivious. Indian women were said to behave in a modest, restrained, and inoffensive manner, "...ces Indiennes sont si modestes & retenuës en leur nudite, que l'on ne voit en elles ny mouvement, ny geste, ny parole...qui puisse offenser...."[12] The travelers, therefore, did not consider it dangerous or sinful to go among these naked women. Jean de Léry, the French Protestant who lived among the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil for one year, also denied that the nakedness of Indian women incited promiscuity. The absence of clothing did not appear striking in its native context, since it was ordinary for the entire tribe. On the contrary, Léry asserted that the dresses, wigs, and other artificial trappings of European women were the cause of greater evil.[13]

English and French descriptions of Indian women also emphasized body proportion as an important element of physical appearance. Contemporaries adhered to a

standard of female beauty which esteemed a plump, rather than a slender figure. Travelers commonly described native women as, "...well favored in proportion," "...low in stature, fat and well favored," "...well formed and plump," having, "...handsome limbs,slender arms, pretty hands...," "...good features, plump and round faces, generally plump bodies...."[14]

Female natives were also favorably compared to European women, "Les femmes de mesme sont tres-bien faites, car il y en a d'aussi belles qu'on en puisse voir dans l'Europe."[15] Walter Raleigh was especially taken by Indian women, "...there was one as well favored, and as well shaped as ever I saw anie in England...many of them... may bee compared to anie of Europe." With reference to the wife of an Indian chief,Raleigh continued, "...in all my life I have seldome seene a better favored woman: she was of good stature, with black eies, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, hir haire almost as long as hir self." Noting that the Spaniards had no compunctions about, "...satisfying of their owne lusts..." with Indian women, Raleigh asserted that, "I neither know nor beleeve, that any of our companie one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yoong, and excellently favored which came among us without deceit, starke naked."[16]

One aspect of Indian nakedness, though, did disturb these European observers--the natives' absence of shame at their condition. After the Fall, Adam sought to conceal his nakedness, and subsequently, all men were to share his shame. The Americans, however, were all naked and showed no signs of embarrassment.[17] They made no attempts to cover themselves, "...sans monstrer aucun signe d'en avoir honte ny vergogne...."[18] One French missionary believed the Devil was responsible for this state of affairs, having convinced the Indians that nakedness was natural, and removing from them all feelings of shame.[19] Jean de Léry, although stating that he was not offended by the Indians' nakedness, nevertheless felt compelled to assert that he did not approve of this condition either, since the natives' absence of shame at their nakedness violated the law of nature.[20] The French Capuchin missionary to Brazil, Claude d'Abbeville, explained the Indians' absence of shame by pointing out that they were not aware that they had done anything wrong. Shame can only proceed from knowledge, and Abbeville compared the Indians to Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, "...nos Premiers Parens ne cacherent pas leur nudité...jusques à ce qu'ils eurent cognoissance de leur peché, la honte ne provient que par la cognoissance du peché...les Maragnans n'ont jamais eu la cognoissance de la loy...."[21] The life of the Indians of the New World thus appeared as a re-creation of that enjoyed by Adam and

Eve in Paradise. They were naked and not ashamed, hence completely innocent, and removed from the onus of original sin.[22]

Other attributes of the American Indians' physical constitution perceived by Europeans which further enhanced the notion that native life was a replica of that enjoyed in Paradise were the Indians' strength, health, and longevity. Commentators on Genesis attested to the excellence of the human body immediately after Creation. Before the Fall, man was supposedly stronger and even physically larger; his life was thought to be considerably longer, and some even believed he enjoyed immortality.[23] Health and longevity also characterized life in the legendary Age of Gold.[24] Popular early accounts of life in the New World which likened the Indians' existence to that enjoyed either in Paradise or the Golden Age[25] may have influenced subsequent travelers to so idealize the health and vigor of the native Americans, as well as to exaggerate the Indians' longevity.

Reports of the Indians' strength and general physical perfection regarding health are extremely frequent in English and French travel accounts of the early modern period. European observers reported that the natives had, "...a perfect constitution of body," and were, "...active, strong and healthful...."[26] English travelers to Massachusetts attested to the Indians' health, longevity, and absence of physical deformities. They reportedly

were, "...not any of them crooked backed or wry legged...."[27] William Wood described the Indians as, "...straight bodied... healthfull and lusty, none born with monstrous defects or deformities." The same writer also said that these natives were not subject to as many diseases as Europeans, and believed that some lived to be one hundred years old.[28]

French travel accounts echo this same praise of the American Indians' physical constitution. The Caribs of the Antilles were considered stronger than the French, and none had any natural deformities; they were said to be healthy, it was believed that some lived to be 150 years old, and that men in their ninetieth year were still able to father children.[29] Du Tertre described these same Caribs as, "...gras, puissans, forts & robustes, si dispos, & si sains, qu'on voit...parmy eux des vieillards de cent ou six vingts ans...." It is significant that he also believed the New World to resemble Paradise, "...la terre y est un petit Paradis...les Sauvages de ces Isles sont...les moins tourmentez de maladies de toutes les nations du monde...."[30]

Travelers to Canada also praised the Indians for their hardiness. Again, the absence of deformity was stressed, "...on en voit fort peu parmy eux qui ayent des defauts de nature...."[31] The Recollet missionary, Sagard-Théodat, noted that the Hurons were not as subject to disease as the French, and attributed their health to their temperate way of life, referring to Aristotle's

dictum that sobriety preserves health.[32] A similar comment was recorded by the French layman, Lescarbot, concerning the Canadian Micmac Indians. Lescarbot believed that one should, "...attribute the cause of this disposition and long health of our Savages, to their maner of life, which is after the ancient fashion... Sobrietie is the mother of health."[33]

The travelers' perception of the Amerindians as healthier than Europeans was not solely an idealized vision of life in the New World. The Indians were generally free of numerous diseases common to Europeans, but this ultimately proved fatal to the natives. Lacking these diseases, they also lacked natural immunities. It was the introduction of infectious diseases common to the Old World which, more than any other factor, contributed to the drastic decimation of the Amerindian population.[34]

French and English travelers thus perceived the American Indian as extremely attractive and robust, free of all natural defects, ailments, and deformities. His physical appearance stood in sharp contrast to the hideous wild man and other monstrous creatures so popular in medieval legends. These images were never completely erased from the travelers' minds, and Europeans continued to believe that strange and monstrous beings lived somewhere in the New World.[35] Although the Europeans were able to put aside many of their preconceptions in reporting the attractive physical appearance of the Indians, the travelers

were not entirely free of the stereotyped image of the wild man--they expected all "savages" to look alike. Besides the absence of monstrous physical deformities, both French and English travel writers frequently reported that the American Indians were smooth skinned and not covered with body hair. The legendary wild man was noted for an extensive coat of hair or fur which covered his body. One of the main points stressed by almost all travelers in their physical descriptions of the Indians was the absence of this body hair.[36] In fact, the natives were said to exhibit a particular aversion to body hair, and even pulled it out as it grew. Europeans were especially struck by the fact that native men did not sport any beards.

English travelers observed that the Indians were, "...smooth skinned of complexion," and that the, "...men have no hair on their faces...one sometimes cannot tell the men from the women but by their breasts."[37] French travelers recorded similar comments, "Les hommes n'ont point de barbe...."[38] The Indians' aversion to body hair was recorded, along with their custom of pulling out such growth, "...d'arracher leur poil par tout le corps."[39]

In discussing the fact that the American natives were not hirsute, some writers specifically stated that the majority of their contemporaries were of a false opinion in believing that all savages were hairy. Thevet entitled a chapter, "Against the opinion of those that

thinke these wilde men to be all heary."[40] Léry expressed the same sentiment, "Je reserve aussi a refuter cy apres l'erreur de ceux qui nous ont voulu fair accroire que les sauvages estoyent velus...au contraire, n'estans point naturellement plus pelus qui nous...."[41] In summation, "...all these people have generally lesser haires than we: for along the body they have none at all: so farre is it then that they be hairie as some thinke."[42]

European travelers were also intent upon observing Indian hair styles. English observers reported that the men of Virginia shaved the hair on one side of their heads, and let the other side grow long.[43] In Brazil, the men were said to commonly shave only the front of their heads.[44] Travelers also frequently noted that all Indians, without exception, had black hair.[45]

Other specific facial features of the American natives were occasionally observed as well. The natives of New England were said to be, "...high foreheaded, blacke ey'd, out nosed, broad shouldred, brawny arm'd...."[46] The Caribs of the Antilles reportedly had, "...white teeth, black eyes...flat noses...."[47] Powhatan's Indian tribes of Virginia were said to have, "...broad, flat noses, full at the end, great big lips, and wide mouths."[48]

The travelers were also concerned with describing native garments, along with such decorative ornaments as head dresses, bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. Native skill in fashioning decorative ornaments out of

feathers was especially admired.[49] Many travel writers devoted specific chapters of their works to detailing these various elements of native physical appearance: "Of the bodies of the Caribbians and their ornaments"; "A true description of the people...of their attire, ornaments, constitution..."; "Of the Indians apparrell"; and "Of their apparell, ornaments, paintings and other artificiall deckings."[50]

European observers paid special attention to describing native customs of body painting and tatooing, as well as lip, ear, and nose piercing. The Indians of Brazil were said to utilize the juice of a native fruit to paint their bodies different colors; the men reportedly preferred such decoration even more than the women.[51] Strachey observed that the natives of Virginia dyed their bodies a tawny color with an ointment that protected them from stinging insects.[52] It was noted that the Caribs of the Antilles preferred to paint their bodies red; this procedure hardened their skin and protected them from insects, as well as extremes of temperature.[53] Travelers also reported that numerous Indian tribes pierced their lower lips, ears, and sometimes nostrils.[54] The Tupinambas of Brazil were said to pierce the bottom lip of young boys as part of a ceremony exhorting these youths to grow up to become brave warriors.[55] Travelers also described the native practice of tatooing, whereby incisions were made in the skin with a sharp object, and then a permanent

dye was rubbed into the cut. It was noted that this was done as a sign of bravery, or when a vow was taken to obtain vengeance from one's enemies.[56]

The travelers were amazed and curious regarding these Indian practices, which were completely novel to Europeans. Although there was some acknowledgement that beauty resides in the eyes of the beholder, and realization that the Indians prided themselves on these ornamentations,[57] many travelers viewed these decorations as the least attractive elements of the Indians' appearance. The Europeans clearly expressed their disapproval of such native customs as body painting, tatooing, and piercing, as they believed that these practices disfigured man's natural appearance, "...if they did not alter their bodies by painting and cutting, marring those excellencies that nature bestowed on them in their original conceptions and birth, there would be as admirable beauties amongst them as any Alexandria could afford."[58] In describing the Indians of Virginia who painted their bodies, John Smith asserted, "...he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behold."[59] Abbeville also stated that although the Indians esteemed it beautiful, body and face painting rendered them disagreeable.[60] André Thevet described how the Tupinambas of Brazil painted their bodies with a dye made from the juice of a native fruit. He admitted that the natives, "...are content with that as we are with satin or any other costly garment..."; but

this custom shocked him, as he remarked that although Turkish women painted their nails, and Scythians painted their faces black for funerals, no other people painted their bodies on the same scale as the Americans. Thevet was repelled by the Tupinambas, who "disform and mishape" themselves by making "filthy and ugly" holes in their cheeks, and then filled the cavities with stones, yet he realized this was pleasing to the natives, "These wilde men doe deform themselves, esteeming it a great glory."[61]

Above all else, in describing the physical traits of the Amerindians, European observers paid specific attention to the natives' skin color. Almost every traveler was intent upon recording this information, and a consensus was arrived at--the Indians were born white, just as the Europeans were. Their darkened skin color, commonly referred to as olive, tanned, or tawny, was believed to be caused by either exposure to the elements, or frequent application of paints, oils, and dyes to the body.[62]

English travelers, in describing the natives of New England, agreed that, "...their swarthinesse is the sun's livery, for they are borne faire."[63] It was reported that the Indians, "...themselves are tawnie, by the sunne and their annoyntings, yet they are borne white."[64] The English maintained that native children were born, "...as white as our nation...," and that their skin was permanently stained tawny by a bath prepared of special

leaves.[65] Travelers described this artificially produced complexion as, "...not unlike the tawny Moors in Africa...," or, "...something more swarthy than the Spaniards."[66] The Susquehannas of Maryland were said to have skin that was, "naturally white," altered by dying.[67] The natives of Virginia were reported to be either brown or tawny, due to the ointments applied to the body, but were believed to be born white.[68]

The more familiar label, "red man," was not used by Europeans of the early modern period to physically categorize the American native. There are occasional references stating that the Indians "reddened" their bodies by applications of certain dyes,[69] but Europeans never viewed this as the natives' innate or natural coloring.[70]

The majority of French writers concurred that the Amerindians were born white, as Europeans were, and that their darker skin color was due to artificial or environmental factors, "Car quand ils naissent...ils sont aussi blancs que les petits enfans de France...la principale cause qui les rend olivastres, provient de l'onction & des peintures...."[71] Natives of Canada were similarly depicted, "Ils sont bazanez, les enfants qui naissent sont blancs comme des François, & cette couleur bazanée ne leur vient qu'avec l'aage."[72] One French Jesuit observed that the skin color of the Indians was similar to that of, "...French

beggars who are half roasted in the sun...there is no doubt that the savages would be very white if they were well covered...."[73] Another French missionary provided the example of a young Indian girl in Brazil who was raised among the Portuguese, and then could not be distinguished from Europeans.[74] Travelers described the Tupinambas of Brazil as "swarthy," and compared them to the Spaniards or people of Provence in this respect.[75] In short, "The wilde men...of America, come forthe of their mothers wombe as faire and as well pollished as oures of Europe."[76]

The only dissenting voice was raised by the French missionary to the Antilles, Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, who specifically refuted the opinion of those who believed the Indians were born white. He stated that those children raised among the French and therefore never having the customary oils and dyes applied to their bodies, still exhibited a darker skin color, which was the only physical trait that distinguished the natives from the Europeans, "La seule couleur du cuir les distingue d'avec nous; car ils ont la peau bazanée comme la couleur d'olive...."[77]

Some French observers also minimized the natural physical differences between themselves and the Indians by asserting that the distinctive facial characteristics of the native Americans did not result from any natural differences, but instead were artificially produced. What were described as the Indians' flat, or pug noses,

and their flat foreheads, were viewed as a result of mothers molding these features immediately after their children's birth, "...le front plat & le nez camus...de l'artifice de leurs meres...."[78]

Thus, English and French travel writers of the early modern period did not perceive any innate, racial differences between Europeans and Amerindians. At birth, the Indians were considered to be physically the same as Europeans. As long as the Biblical account of Creation recorded in Genesis was accepted as the one true and authoritative account of the origin of man, all peoples of the earth were viewed as intrinsically the same, since they were believed to share one common parentage.[79] Contemporaries did not divide mankind into separate racial categories. Instead, differences among societies were interpreted largely in cultural terms.[80] The peoples of the world were considered intrinsically the same, but great differences were acknowledged in the customs and manners which characterized various societies. Contemporaries often attributed these distinctions to the influence of climate, "...autant qu'il y a de climats au monde, autant y voit on de sortes de moeurs et de disparitez d'esprits...."[81] Likewise, any apparent physical, as well as emotional differences between men were generally attributed to environmental influences, "Men thus one by originall, are of diverse complexions of body, and conditions of mind, according to the diverse

climats of the Earth."[82]

Contemporary Europeans did perceive sharp physical distinctions between the Indians and the Africans. The most obvious difference was skin color, and many travelers were surprised that those Americans who lived in warmer regions were not black. This posed serious problems, since if Indians lived in a similar environment and climate as Africans, why was it that the two peoples exhibited physical traits which were quite distinct? Regarding the Indians of Brazil, "Now these wilde men being naked, have a tawny colour, the reason thereof I leave to the judgement of naturall Phylosophers, & why they are not so blacke as the Neigers of Ethiopia."[83] Jean de Léry posed the same question, "Quant à leur couleur naturelle, attendu la région chaude où ils habitent, n'estans pas autrement noirs, ils sont seulement basanez, comme vous diriez les Espagnols ou Provençaux."[84]

Some writers regarded environmental differences between Africa and America as the cause of the different skin colors of Americans and Africans. The travelers asserted that the New World climate was more temperate than that of Africa, and hence the skin color of the Indians was lighter. Claude d'Abbeville explained that the Amerindians were not black, nor did they have fuzzy or frizzy hiar, "...leurs cheveux...les ayant naturellement pleins & unis & non frisez comme les Negres...," since the climate of Brazil was not as hot as that of Africa.[85]

Lescarbot addressed the same issue, "But there is cause of wondering, wherefore the Brasilians, and other inhabitants of America betweene the two Tropikes, are not borne blacke as they of Africa...being under one and the selfesame parallell and like elevation of the Sunne...they have no bigge moorish lippes, as in Africa...." Lescarbot solved this dilemma by stating that the American climate was not identical to that of Africa, but more temperate, due to the presence of numerous brooks and rivers, hence the Indians were of lighter skin color and had different facial features.[86]

The English non-traveler, Peter Heylyn, also perceived the same problem, "The inhabitants (though a great part of this Countrey lieth in the same parallell with Ethiopia, Libya, and Numidia) are of a reasonable faire complexion, and very little (if at all) inclining to blacknesse, so that the extraordinary and continuall vicinity of the sunne, is not as some imagine the operative cause of blacknesse...." Heylyn also dismissed as foolish the notion that the "generative seede" of the Africans was black, while that of the Americans was white. Unable to logically explain the cause of the difference in skin color, Heylyn offered, "...wee must wholy ascribe it to Gods peculiar will and ordinance."[87]

Although unable to fully explain the causes, Europeans were struck by the great physical differences between these two primitive peoples. Europeans admired

the Indians' physical attractiveness, but regarded the Africans as ugly and repulsive; their dark skin and facial features were viewed as signs of inferiority.[88] The black skin of the Africans was attributed to more than environmental, or climatic influences, however, and carried definite negative connotations. Europeans of this period believed that the natural skin color of all peoples was white, and that the Africans, therefore, had degenerated the furthest from the original condition of man. Contemporaries believed these people descended from Ham, the cursed son of Noah, and thus viewed the Africans' black skin as a sign of moral censure, or punishment for past sins. In contrast to this, the newly discovered American Indians were generally viewed as a simple, innocent, "virgin" people, untouched by sin, leading lives analagous to those of Adam and Eve in Paradise.[89]

This difference in perception was reflected in differing treatment of Indians and Africans. Frenchmen and Englishmen did not generally enslave the American natives, but had no scruples about importing African slave labor on a large scale. This "double standard" in treatment of Indians and Africans was rooted in the economic and political realities of colonial life, as well as in differing European theoretical assessments of native Americans and Africans. Europeans were initially dependent on the American natives for their very survival in the New World; the Indians served as guides, and often

provided the explorers and settlers with food and lodging. In Canada, the natives supplied the French with furs, which constituted the economic basis of New France. English and French colonists also formed military alliances with various native tribes to further their own political aims in the New World.[90]

Europeans also considered it more difficult and dangerous to enslave the Amerindians in their own native territory than to import African slaves from abroad. Indian slaves could more easily effect a successful escape, as they were familiar with the land, and were likely to be rescued by their tribal kinsmen. Colonists also feared the Indians to a large degree, as they represented a constant threat to the settlers' security. The English especially were reluctant to integrate the American Indians in any way into their own communities, and preferred instead to remove the natives further and further westward as their own demands for land increased.[91]

Indian slavery was not entirely non-existent in French and English colonies in the New World, though. The Puritans in New England enslaved and shipped to the West Indies those enemy Indians who were captured during warfare, or those natives who violated English law.[92] Frenchmen purchased native slaves from their Indian allies, who had captured and enslaved their traditional tribal enemies during war. French colonists in Brazil bought native slaves from their Tupinamba allies.[93] The Caribs

of the Antilles captured other Indians as slaves during their raids on the mainland, and then sold these to the French.[94]

Yet even those Indians who were enslaved were treated more humanely than were the Africans. Du Tertre noted this distinction between Indian and African slave labor in the French Antilles. Contemporaries generally believed that African slaves were able to tolerate harsh labor, while Indian slaves could not, "...ils sont bien differens des Nègres, dont l'humeur arrogante veut estre traitée avec authorité...regarder un Sauvage...le batre c'est le tuer, batre un Nègre, c'est le nourrir." Du Tertre speculated that it was the black skin color of the Africans that was responsible for their enslavement:

> ...les Nègres seuls en portent toute la peine: & comme si la noirceur de leur corps estoit le caractere de leur infortune, on les traite en esclaves...Je ne sçay ce que cette nation a fait; mais c'est assez que d'estre noir, pour estre pris, vendu, & engagé à une servitude fascheuse qui dure toute la vie.[95]

Spain was the only colonial power that enslaved the Amerindian population on a large scale. Spanish colonists relied on Indian labor to work in the mines, and on the feudal encomiendas. And it was only in Spain that a theory upholding the innate inferiority of the Indians was posited in the early modern period, serving as an important ideological justification for Spanish colonial policies. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, during his officially sponsored debate with Bartolomé de Las Casas

at Valladolid in 1550, argued that the American Indians were natural slaves, according to the criteria established by Aristotle. Sepúlveda maintained that the American natives were naturally inferior, innately rude, and were born with a limited understanding.[96]

Sepúlveda's view of the Amerindians as natural slaves, innately inferior to Europeans, was not unanimously accepted in sixteenth-century Spain. Bartolomé de Las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria, among other scholars and theologians, defended the full humanity and rationality of the Indians by pointing to the high level of achievements and social organization which characterized native societies. Yet even those Spanish officials and clerics who advocated freedom and humane treatment for the American native, showed no concomitant concern for the African. The great humanitarian and defender of Indian rights, Las Casas, exhibited the same duality as the majority of his contemporaries in assessment of the Indian on the one hand, and the African on the other. At one point, Las Casas advocated the use of African slaves in America so as to spare the enslavement of the American native. Although he later repudiated this view, he himself owned African slaves during his sojourn in America.[97]

Ultimately, the native population of America may not have fared any better at the hands of Europeans than did the Africans, but there was a significant difference

in European perception and treatment of these two primitive peoples in the early modern period. Racial prejudice, although applicable to early modern European dealings with Africans, was not a dominant factor in initial European relations with, and assessment of the Amerindians; the latter were believed to be biologically the same as the former. Although economic and political realities militated against the large-scale enslavement of the native population in French and English colonies, the initial perception of the Indian as innately the same as the European may also have discouraged the natives' enslavement. The English and French believed that with the proper instruction, the Indians had the potential to develop in the same fashion as Europeans, and adopt a Christian, and more "civilized" way of live.

As the following chapter will demonstrate, Europeans regarded themselves as culturally superior to the Indians, since the American natives did not measure up to European standards of civility; the Indians were not even considered to have any civilization at all. The English and French believed, however, that education, conversion, and exposure to European life would alter these native defects. The difference between Indians and Europeans was not considered an intrinsic one, "...these Americaines are made of foure elements, as all natural bodies are, so that by this meanes they are subject to the like affections that we

are."[98] Europeans regarded the Indians as men like themselves, "...ces peuples dequels nous avõs à parler sont hommes comme nous...."[99] In conclucion:

> Boast not proud English, of thy birth & blood,
> Thy brother Indian is by birth as Good.
> Of one blood God made Him, and Thee & All,
> As wise, as faire, as strong, as personall.[99]

FOOTNOTES

[1]Gilbert Chinard, L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII[e] et au XVIII[e] Siècle (Paris, 1934), 20, stresses the classical background of the seventeenth-century French travelers as the key influence behind their unanimously positive physical descriptions of the Indians. Depictions of the American native resembling classical figures were also predominant in artistic representations. See Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land. European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time (New York, 1975), 77; and Howard Mumford Jones, O Strange New World. American Culture: The Formative Years (New York, 1964), 27ff.

[2]Arthur Barlow, The First Voyage made to the Coasts of America (1584; rpt. Boston, 1898), 4; Dionise Settle, Second Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher made to the West and Northwest regions, in the year 1577, in Richard Hakluyt The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (London, 1600), 37; and John Smith, A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey, Commodities, People, Government and Religion (1612), in Edward Arber, ed., The Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, rev. ed. (New York, 1967), 65.

[3]John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England (London, 1674), 124; William Wood, New Englands Prospect (London, 1634), 62f; and Thomas Morton, New English Canaan or New Canaan (Amsterdam, 1637), 32.

[4]Antoine Biet, Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en L'Isle de Cayenne (Paris, 1664), 352.

[5]Sieur de La Borde, Relation de L'Origine, Moeurs, Coustumes, Religion, Guerres et Voyages de Caribes, in H. Justel, ed., Recueil de Divers Voyages fait en Afrique et en L'Amerique qui n'ont point esté encore Publiez (Paris, 1674), 29.

[6]Jean de Léry, Histoire d'un Voyage Faict en la Terre du Brésil, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1580; rpt. Paris, 1880), 1:138.

[7]Charles de Rochefort, The History of the Caribby-Islands, trans. John Davies (Rotterdam, 1658; London, 1666) 251f. See also Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, Histoire Generale

des Antilles habitées par les François, 4 vols. (Paris, 1667), 2:357. For a similar assessment of the Hurons of Canada, see Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons (Paris, 1632), 179.

[8]Yves d'Evreux, Suitte de L'Histoire des Choses plus Memorable Advenuës en Maragnan (Paris, 1615), 123.

[9]Léry, 1:75. See also Claude d'Abbeville, Histoire de la Mission des Peres Capucine en L'Isle de Maragnan (Paris, 1614), 270f., who commented that it is rare to find a nation, although barbarous, that did not at one time have the use of clothing.

[10]Evreux, 121f.

[11]Biet, 352.

[12]Abbeville, 270f.

[13]Léry, 1:138f.

[14]James Rosier, A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage made...in the Discovery of the Land of Virginia (1605), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 28 (Boston, 1843):140; John Brereton, A Brief and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia (1602), in Collections, 93; Samuel de Champlain, Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain (1613), in W.L. Grant, ed., Voyages of Samuel de Champlain (New York, 1907), 142; William Strachey, The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia (MS. 1613; London, 1849), 64; and Josselyn, 124.

[15]Biet, 352.

[16]Walter Ralegh, The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana (London, 1596; rpt. London, 1848), 40, 66, 61. See chapter 4, below, for discussion of sexual relations between European men and Indian women.

[17]André Thevet, The New Found Worlde, or Antarctike, trans. Thomas Hacket (Paris, 1558; London, 1568), 45.

[18]Léry, 1:123. The same sentiment, expressed in almost identical terms, can be found in Abbeville, 270.

[19]Evreux, 298.

[20]Léry, 1: 139.

[21]Abbeville, 270f.

[22]Geoffroy Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages du XVII[e] Siècle et L'Évolution des Idées (Paris, 1924; rpt. Geneva, 1972), 133f., maintains that seventeenth-century French libertines who questioned the truth of Christian revelation utilized such facts reported by travelers as the existence of peoples naked without shame, and therefore exempt from original sin, to reinforce their attacks on the Bible. See chapter 7, below, for discussion of the contribution of travel writers to such broader intellectual movements.

[23]Arnold Williams, The Common Expositor. An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527-1633 (Chapel Hill, 1948), 71, 147f.

[24]Elizabeth Armstrong, Ronsard and the Age of Gold (Cambridge, 1968), 56.

[25]See above, chapter 2.

[26]Brereton, 92. See also Alexander Whitaker, Good Newes from Virginia (London, 1613), 25; and Strachey, 68.

[27]Morton, 32. See also Daniel Gookin, Historical Collections of the Indians in New England (1674), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1 (Boston, 1792):144.

[28]Wood, 62f., 92f.

[29]Rochefort, 251f., 342.

[30]Du Tertre, 2:357.

[31]Pierre Boucher, Histoire Veritable et Naturelle des Moeurs et Productions du Pays de la Nouvelle France (Paris, 1664), 92.

[32]Sagard, 179f.

[33]Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia, trans. P. Erondelle (London, 1609), 227. Similar observations concerning the health, vigor, and absence of physical deformities among the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil were recorded by Abbeville, 262, 264ff.; Evreux, 128; Thevet, 56; and Léry, 1:122f.

[34]William H. McNeill, Plagues and Peoples (New York, 1976), 199ff.

[35]See above, chapter 2.

[36]Also observed by Honour, 56; and Robert Ralston Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama (Boston, 1938), 353.

[37]Wood, 62; and Christopher Levett, A Voyage into New England (1628), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 28 (Boston, 1843):178. The absence of beards was also noted by Strachey, 64; and Smith, 65.

[38]Boucher, 92. See also La Borde, 30; and Biet, 352.

[39]Abbeville, 267. See also Sagard, 136f.

[40]Thevet, 47.

[41]Léry, 1:76, 124.

[42]Lescarbot, 183. By the middle of the eighteenth century, theories which stressed the degeneracy of all physical life in the New World gained ground. The absence of body hair, and especially beards, was then often cited as the prime indication of the weakness and physical inferiority of the American Indian. Voltaire was of the opinion that hairless people were always easily overcome by Europeans. See Antonello Gerbi, The Dispute of the New World. The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900 (Pittsburgh, 1973), 6ff., 44ff., 52ff.

[43]Barlow, 5; and Strachey, 66.

[44]Léry, 1:75f.

[45]Wood, 62; Gookin, 144; Strachey, 64; Rochefort, 251f.; Du Tertre, 2:358; Biet, 352ff.; and Léry, 1:134. Cawley, 354, has also commented on the frequency with which English travelers noted the black hair of the Indians.

[46]Wood, 62.

[47]Rochefort, 251f.

[48]Strachey, 64.

[49]Léry, 1:127f.; Abbeville, 273; and Morton, 28, who admired the Indians' ability to weave together coats of turkey feathers.

[50]Rochefort, 249; Strachey, 63; Morton, 28; and Wood, 64. See also Abbeville, 266; and Sagard, 189.

[51]Léry, 1:126, 136.

[52]Strachey, 63, who added that Greek women also were accustomed to painting their faces.

[53]Rochefort, 254ff. Descriptions of body painting can also be found in Sagard, 136f.; Du Tertre, 2: 391;

La Borde, 30; Gookin, 153; and George Alsop, A Character of the Province of Maryland (London, 1666; rpt. New York, 1869), 72.

[54]See Biet, 353; La Borde, 30; Du Tertre, 2:392; Léry, 1:75; and Rochefort, 257.

[55]Abbeville, 268.

[56]Evreux, 49; Abbeville, 273; and Léry, 1:130.

[57]Rochefort, 253f., maintained that, "All barbarous nations and some that are civilized, are wedded to their particular sentiments...," and asserted that it was therefore difficult to arrive at one standard of beauty since various peoples hold different opinions.

[58]Alsop, 80. The travelers decried the Indians' piercing of their ears, noses, and lips, since these activities were perceived as disfiguring man, who was made in God's image. See Cawley, 354f.

[59]Smith, 66.

[60]Abbeville,272.

[61]Thevet, 49, 51f.

[62]The Puritans in Massachusetts believed that the Indians were born white. See James Muldoon, "The Indian as Irishman," Essex Institute Historical Collections, 111 (1975):270; and Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier. Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675 (Boston, 1965), viii, 18ff., who emphasizes that therefore the Puritans did not regard the Indians as belonging to a separate race. See also Cawley, 351.

[63]Wood, 63.

[64]Williams, 52.

[65]Morton, 32.

[66]Gookin, 144; and Wood, 62.

[67]Alsop, 73.

[68]Smith, 65; and Strachey, 63.

[69]Rochefort, 254ff.; La Borde, 30; and Jacques Bouton, Relation de L'Establissement des François depuis l'an 1635 en L'Isle de la Martinique (Paris, 1640), 109.

[70]By the middle of the eighteenth century, the American Indian was classified as a "red man." The second edition of Linnaeus' Systema Naturae, 1740, listed varieties of man based on geography and color--native Americans were therein categorized as red. See John G. Burke, "The Wild Man's Pedigree: Scientific Method and Racial Anthropology," in Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak, eds., The Wild Man Within. An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism (Pittsburgh, 1972), 266.

[71]Abbeville, 267.

[72]Boucher, 92. The same opinion was offered by Sagard, 136f.

[73]Paul Le Jeune, Brief Relation of the Journey to New France (1632), in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 77 vols. (Cleveland 1896), 5:23.

[74]Evreux, 69.

[75]Léry, 1:123.

[76]Thevet, 48.

[77]Du Tertre, 2:358.

[78]Ibid., 2:357. See also Rochefort, 251f.; and La Borde, 29.

[79]Lee Eldridge Huddleston, The Origins of the American Indians. European Concepts, 1492-1729 (Austin, Texas, 1967), stresses that the Indians, and all men, were thought to have ultimately descended from Adam; almost no one questioned the accepted theological framework in this era.

[80]Margaret Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia, 1964), 213ff., discusses how Europeans of this period divided the world into different nations, but not different races, since all men were believed to be of monogenetic origin. J.H. Elliott, "The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man," Proceedings of the British Academy, 58 (1972): 107f., states that the Indians were primarily evaluated according to their cultural, not physical traits.

[81]Abbeville, 311.

[82]Peter Heylyn, Microcosmus, or a Little Description of the Great World (Oxford, 1621), 6. See also François de

Belleforest, L'Histoire Universelle du Monde (Paris, 1570), "Preface," n.p., "...la generalité des hommes... sont formez d'une mesme substãce...les hommes ont des humeurs & inclinatiõs en une, qu'ils n'aurõt point en une autre...les terres diversement disposées, les corps qui y naissent, y reçoivent aussi de diverses impressions." Many sixteenth-century thinkers, relying on medieval encyclopedia as their sources, believed environment, which included celestial as well as terrestrial influences, was the determinant in man's physical and temperamental development. See Marian J. Tooley, "Bodin and the Medieval Theory of Climate," Speculum, 28 (1953):64-83.

[83]Thevet, 46.

[84]Léry, 1:123. The non-traveler, Lancelot Voisin de La Popelliniere, Les Trois Mondes (Paris, 1582), Bk. III:9, recorded the same comment with reference to the Brazilian natives, probably taken from Jean de Léry, "Attendu la region chaude où ils habitet, ils ne sont pas tant noirs que bazanez."

[85]Abbeville, 266f. That the Americans did not have frizzy hair was also specifically noted by Du Tertre, 2:358, "Il s'y recontre peu de frisez...."

[86]Lescarbot, 181ff.

[87]Heylyn, 403.

[88]Katherine George, "The Civilized West Looks at Primitive Africa, 1400-1800. A Study in Ethnocentrism," in Ashley Montagu, ed., The Concept of the Primitive (Toronto, 1968), 183.

[89]David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), 166ff.; Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black. American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill, 1968), 89, 243, 248; and Ibid., 183.

[90]Davis, 166ff.

[91]Jordan, 89ff.

[92]Vaughan, 207; and Gary B. Nash, Red, White and Black. The Peoples of Early America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974), 112.

[93]See Léry, 1:106; and Evreux, 57ff.

[94]See Du Tertre, 2:484ff.; and Rochefort, 201.

[95]Du Tertre, 2:490, 493f.

[96]Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indian (Bloomington, Ind., 1959), 44ff.

[97]Ibid., 9. The Portuguese Jesuits in Brazil also condemned enslavement of the Indians, while remaining silent concerning the use of African slave labor. See Douril Alden, "Black Robes Versus White Settlers: The Struggle for 'Freedom of the Indians' in Colonial Brazil," in Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, eds., Attitudes of Colonial Powers toward the American Indian (Salt Lake City, 1969), 39.

[98]Thevet, 72.

[99]Lescarbot, History of New France, trans. W.L. Grant, 3 vols. (Paris, 1618; Toronto, 1907), 1:229.

[100]Williams, 53.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRAVELER AS ANTHROPOLOGIST: INDIAN DAILY LIFE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

French and English travelers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not consider the American Indian to be physically, or biologically inferior. However, the Europeans did not extend their praise of native health, strength, and physical appearance to the society and culture of the Indians. The travelers assessed the cultures and civilizations of the New World according to the values and standards of the Old. As one might assume, the European observers esteemed their own culture and forms of social organization as truly civilized. The life and society of the American Indian, when evaluated according to this unilateral cultural standard, were generally found to lack those elements of order, structure, and refinement most valued by Europeans. The travelers thus believed the Amerindians were devoid of any civilization.[1]

French and English travelers discussed Indian society in terms of traditional cultural categories familiar to Europeans: religion, government, warfare, funeral customs, marriage, family life, diet, and

language.[2] Although aware of the great differences among peoples concerning manners and customs, Europeans of this era were not tolerant of cultural diversity. They generally did not believe that different societies developed their own cultures or civilizations suited to their particular needs and environment, but rather that all mankind initially shared one common culture, which was lost as the sons of Noah were dispersed after the Flood. Diversity was therefore viewed as a sign of corruption or degeneration which resulted as the various nations of the world wandered further away from the original sources of civilization.[3]

In addition to Christian concepts which equated cultural diversity with regression or decay, the Renaissance revival of classical scholarship provided Europeans with another framework which influenced their perception of the newly discovered foreign societies of the Amerindians. The sixteenth century witnessed a renewed interest in the historical writing of Herodotus, the only cultural historian of antiquity. Herodotus was essentially concerned with examining the differences which distinguished his own culture, that of the Greeks, from the societies of foreign peoples, all of whom were regarded as barbarians. Herodotus was interested in cultural diversity, and recorded the customs and manners of such peoples as the Persians, Egyptians, and Scythians. He focused on such basic elements of life as diet, dress, marriage, religion, and burial,

and here may have provided a model for later travelers seeking to describe foreign societies. Herodotus' method was comparative; the cultures of various "barbarian" peoples were contrasted with that of the Greeks. Herodotus deemed foreign societies worthy of study, but emphasized their alien and strange nature, especially in comparison to the civilization of the Greeks.[4]

Renaissance and early modern Europeans were keenly aware of the distinctions which separated their more advanced societies from those of less developed, primitive peoples. Civilized life was characterized by learning; civility, or a certain degree of courtesy and refinement in behavior and manners; and to utilize the French term, "police," a formalized structure which provided society with order and organization.[5] In the eyes of European observers, it was the absence of these elements which characterized the societies of the American Indian. Since the societies of the New World did not exhibit those same external forms of organization to which Europeans were accustomed, French and English travelers grossly oversimplified Indian life. Indian society was not studied in its own context, but was viewed in terms of what it lacked in comparison to European civilization.[6]

English travelers depicted the native societies they encountered in the New World as lacking all order and civility, and characterized the life of the Indian

as truly savage, no better than that of beasts.[7] Early English voyagers to northeastern Canada portrayed the natives of that region as living in brutish ignorance, practicing, "...unseemly customs...disordered riotous routs and companyes...."[8] These natives were said to live like "brute beasts," rather like dogs than like men.[9]

Similarly, the Indians of New England were often censured for following a, "...scattered and wild course of life."[10] English travelers characterized these natives as rude, uncultivated, and barbarous, "...being strangers to Arts and Sciences, and being unacquainted with the inventions that are common to a civilized people...."[11] The Indians of Virginia were also depicted as gross and barbarous, leading rude and savage lives of confusion, hardly different from that of beasts.[12] It was reported that, "...in Virginia the people are savage and incredibly rude...they wander up and downe like beasts, and in manners and conditions, differ very litle from beasts, having no Art, nor science, nor trade to imploy themselves...."[13] And finally, an English traveler to Guyana described those natives as lawless men, whose lives were marked by, "...daily tumult, fear, doubt..."; he maintained that these Indians needed, "...discipline, justice, and good order to confirm them in a quiet and peaceable course of living."[14]

In their assessments of the societies of the American Indians, French travelers similarly emphasized the perceived absence of all civility and order. In addition they frequently reported that the Indians lived without law, either divine or civil, and thus linked the absence of religion to the overall lack of law and order in native society.[15] Since the Indians had no knowledge of Christian conceptions of divine law, the French believed native societies lacked any basis for ethical conduct, morality, or restraint of individual behavior. One missionary reported that the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil lived without religion, law, or structure, "...la misere des pauvres Indiens Topinamba a toujours esté si grande, que n'ayant ny Foy ny aucun umbre de Religion, ils n'ont aussi eu aucune Loy ny police pour le public...."[16] Another traveler described these Indians as a, "...strange wild and brutish people, without Fayth, without Lawe, without Religion, and without any civilitie: but living like brute beasts...."[17]

French commentators on the life of the Caribs noted that there was no order, organization, or civility among these people, and that everyone acted only according to individual caprice, "Il n'y a aucune police ni civilité parmi eux, chacun fait ce que bon luy semble."[18] These people were seen as leading licentious lives, yielding to no order or restrictions, "...tous abandonnez à toute sorte de voluptez, sans police, sans soin & sans honte...une

vie si desordonée." The brutal and lawless life of these Indians astonished still another French observer, who commented that he knew of no other nation, no matter how barbarous, that did not have at least some knowledge of divine and political laws. Linking the absence of religion with the lack of all law in native society, he observed that, "...comme ils n'ont aucune Religion, ils n'ont aussi aucune loy politique...."[20]

French travelers also portrayed the Indians of Canada as leading uncivil, disorderly lives. The Micmacs of eastern Canada were said to lack all law, and hence their lives were regarded as irregular and painful.[21] Another traveler reported that these people lived in a deplorable state of pitiable ignorance, without law, order, or religion, "...sans Dieu, sans loy, sans religion, vivans en une pitoyable ignorance...ilz vivēt nuds, vagabons, sans police, loy, ny religion...."[22] The Hurons were also described as living without laws, either divine, political, or civil.[23]

The language barrier undoubtedly was a formidable obstacle which contributed greatly to the European failure to understand the meaning and function of many aspects of Amerindian societies. The structure of native languages, as well as the concepts expressed, were highly different than those of European tongues. Even those travelers who made a sustained effort to understand Indian language

testified to the great difficulty of the task. The degree of meaningful communication between European and Indian, especially regarding any abstract or theoretical conceptions, was most likely only minimal. In addition to an overriding belief in the superiority of European culture, inability to understand Indian languages further contributed to the travelers' oversimplification of the structure of the native societies of the New World.[24]

In spite of their failure to discern any ordered life, or civilization, among the American Indians, the French and English travelers to the New World did record a substantial amount of ethnographic information, a myriad of details regarding native customs and manner of life. This data was based on the travelers' firsthand observations of numerous Indian occupations, rites, and ceremonies, activities which could be described and recorded by astute eyewitnesses in spite of their inability to fluently converse with the natives. Here the travel accounts reveal substantial contradiction, as many of those very same travelers who denied the existence of law, order, and structure among the natives, then proceeded analytically to break down Indian society into its component parts, and record detailed information in clearly organized chapters.

Claude d'Abbeville, a French Capuchin missionary to Brazil, saw no law or order among the Tupinambas,[25] yet included in his work discussions of their customs,

marriages and living quarters, occupations, religion, wars, and laws and regulations.[25] Another French missionary, Antoine Biet, described the Caribs of Guyana as lacking all law, divine or political,[27] yet detailed such native practices as the order observed in their assemblies, the ceremonies involved when a native was made a captain or a shaman, the manner of traveling, and native organization for general government.[28] The French layman, Marc Lescarbot, maintained that the lives of the Canadian Micmacs lacked all order or organization,[29] yet was able to record details concerning native religion, child rearing, language, marriage, festivals, funerals, warfare, hunting, and other occupations.[30]

Curiosity undoubtedly was one factor which motivated early modern European travelers to observe and record what appeared to them as strange and bizarre practices. Yet the great bulk of information regarding native life and customs was related in a factual and straightforward manner, devoid of expressions of horror or disgust. This surprising absence of moralizing in the travel literature is partly due to the simple, less subjective forms of contemporary prose utilized by these writers. This directness and simplicity of expression which characterizes this literature may be attributed to the fact that the majority of travel accounts were written by men of a less scholarly bent. The travelers simply and clearly described what they saw, and the modern

reader is struck by the resulting tone of objectivity which dominates this body of literature.[31]

The travel accounts serve as an invaluable source of information concerning the American natives. The earliest European travelers to the New World have provided subsequent generations with written descriptions of native life prior to sustained contact with European culture. Here many travelers suspended deep-rooted preconceptions and stereotypes associated with savage life to record substantial data regarding native customs. The travel accounts should not be summarily dismissed as nothing more than reflections of European prejudices towards the Amerindians.[32] This literature is worthy of critical study by specialists in Indian history and anthropology. The amount of information about native American life and society which can be gleaned from these works is truly enormous. Many twentieth-century anthropologists have testified to the value of this source material, and faulted their colleagues for neglecting the written historical documents provided by early European travelers to the New World.[33]

The focus throughout this study, however, is the image of the Indian contained in the writings of French and English travelers--which aspects of native life and society were most often noted by contemporary Europeans, and how the Europeans reacted to the customs and practices of primitive people. Although the travel literature

makes an important contribution to the study of native life in the New World, the purpose of this chapter is not to write a history of the American Indian, a task which confronts even those experts in Indian studies with numerous difficulties. Anthropologists and ethnohistorians have not attained a consensus regarding many aspects of primitive life. In addition, such great variety existed in the customs and manner of living practiced among the numerous Indian societies of the New World that any attempts to relate how the natives actually lived should deal with each tribe individually. Aboriginal conditions of the Indians may never be determined with certainty, since, from the time of earliest contact, the lives and societies of the native Americans were greatly altered by their encounters with European explorers, travelers, and missionaries; the Indian, as he interacted with the European, even on the most superficial level, behaved differently than he did among his own people.[34] In addition, the language barrier between European and Indian was, no doubt, a substantial obstacle to the travelers' understanding, and hence reporting of numerous native customs and practices.

The degree of accuracy contained in the travel accounts remains a moot point here, but this need not diminish their value. The images contained in these accounts were assimilated by Europeans who then formulated their conceptions of native life in the New World based

on these published reports. Although the writings of the travelers may not have always mirrored the actuality of Indian life, they constituted the reality of the situation as perceived by contemporaries in Europe. This body of travel literature reveals as much about the values and prejudices of Europeans of the early modern era as it does about the American natives. Nevertheless, these accounts, if evaluated critically, do make a substantial contribution to the ethnohistory of the American Indian, and will surprise the modern reader with their objective tone and general absence of moralizing, along with the sheer quantity of detailed information recorded.

The majority of travel accounts that contain valuable, lengthy, and detailed ethnographic descriptions of native life in the New World were written by Frenchmen. There is an important difference between them and the English travelers, who were not as interested in recording information about Indian life, society, and customs. French sources clearly surpass the English in both the amount of data and the richness of detail recorded concerning the American natives. Even the popular, voluminous compilation of Richard Hakluyt does not contain much ethnographic information about the Indians, but rather focuses on narrative accounts of English exploratory voyages to the New World, along with valuable maritime data.[35]

French travelers were truly participant-observers

of Indian society and culture; they were generally more likely than the English to spend extended periods of time actually living among the Indians. Frenchmen were more willing to encounter the Indian in his own native environment. Frenchmen generally came to the New World as individuals, without families. Permanent communities were slow to develop, and Frenchmen intermingled closely with the native inhabitants. In Canada, where fur trapping and trading provided the economic base of French colonialism, Frenchmen relied on the Indians as guides and sources of furs. The French were soon to recognize the advantages of adopting Indian means of transport, such as the light weight birch canoe and snow shoes.[36]

In addition to the Indians' economic integration into the French colonial structure, the natives provided the French with food, shelter, and general hospitality. From 1615 on, a number of Frenchmen, known as "coureurs de bois," lived in Huron villages, in exchange for Indian men who were sent to live in France. In addition to facilitating trade with the Hurons, this arrangement served as a sign of mutual trust and friendship. These men enjoyed living among the Indians, and appreciated the relative freedom of native life when contrasted with the restrictions of European society. Also, intermarriage and sexual liaisons between French men and Indian women frequently occurred.[37] Miscegenation was looked on favorably by French officials as the best means to integrate and

assimilate the Indian into French colonial society.[38]

This close degree of contact with the natives enabled Frenchmen to better observe Indian life and society, and those written accounts which contain the greatest amount of detailed ethnographic information about the Amerindians were written by Frenchmen who actually lived among the Indians for extended periods of time. (It is hardly likely, though, that sexual contact between French and Indian had much to do with better ethnographic reporting, since, as will be noted below, the best accounts of native society were produced by Catholic missionaries who were celibate.)

Samuel de Champlain traveled with the Indians and accompanied them on numerous fighting expeditions in order to better learn about Canadian geography. Champlain asserted that he visited various Indian tribes and associated familiarly with them. After a leg injury, he spent four winter months recuperating among one Huron tribe, and utilized this time, "...to observe their country, customs, dress, manner of living and character of their assemblies."[39] Another French lay traveler to Canada, Marc Lescarbot, provided an extremely long and detailed account of the life of the Algonquian Micmacs. Lescarbot devoted approximately 160 pages to discussions of native religion, child rearing, language, clothing and ornaments, marriage, festivals, songs and dances, illnesses, funerals, warfare, hunting, fishing, and other occupations.[40]

Many Frenchmen who traveled to South America also interacted closely with the Indians, observing their customs firsthand, before returning to Europe to diligently record their experiences. As in Canada, Frenchmen generally came to South America as single individuals. This pattern was very different than that of the English, who settled in the New World with their families, and were thus eager to form their own communities. The absence of family ties and obligations among the French may have encouraged, as well as facilitated a closer degree of interaction between French and Indian in America. The French Protestant, Charles de Rochefort, contrasted the demographic patterns of immigration to the New World of French and English settlers. He noted that the households of English settlers in the Antilles were better furnished than those of the French, as the English, "...most of them married take greater pains to supply themselves...than those are apt to do who lead single lives, as most of the French do."[41] Rochefort's account contains almost one hundred pages of detailed ethnographic information, arranged in clearly organized topical chapters, dealing with the Caribs of St. Vincent in the Antilles. Rochefort described native customs and ceremonies surrounding such activities as religion, wars, festivals, government, marriage, birth, and child rearing, in addition to discussions of the Caribs' language, history, occupations, and character.[42]

Another French Protestant, Jean de Léry, sojourned among the Tupinambas of Brazil for one year, and devoted approximately 120 pages of his narrative to detailing native practices regarding warfare, religion, marriage, childbirth, government, handicrafts, festivals, garments, and diet. Léry lived in an Indian village, enjoyed sleeping in native hammocks, and accompanied this tribe on one of its war expeditions.[43]

Sexual relations between French and Indian also took place in South America. The travel writings of missionaries give evidence that this occurred by their prohibitions against such activity. Claude d'Abbeville believed that relations between French men and native women would not only ruin the souls of the former, but threatened the stability of the French settlement at Maragnan as well.[44] Yves d'Evreux noted the Tupinamba practice of offering unmarried Indian girls to the French as concubines to conclude an alliance of hospitality. The natives formalized these relationships by referring to the Frenchmen involved with specific kinship terms. Evreux went on to describe the physical characteristics of the offsprings of these unions--they retained some French physiognomy and bearing, their skin was lighter and their hair softer than usual among the Indians, and they usually had lighter colored hair. Evreux by no means approved of such liaisons, and believed that venereal disease was a just punishment for those Frenchmen

who had sexual relations outside of marriage with Indian women not yet converted to Christianity.[45]

Yet in spite of their disapproval of this one aspect of Indian-French relations, the travel accounts of French Catholic missionaries of various orders provide the most detailed portrayals of Indian life in the New World.[46] These men of religion lived closely among the Indians, and were thus able to observe native life and customs firsthand. Their scrupulously detailed studies were, undoubtedly, motivated by a desire to learn as much as possible about native society so as to more easily convert the Indians, "...pour reconnoistre toutes leurs coûtumes & manieres de vivre, pour puis apres leur fair entendre plus facilement la fin pour laquelle nous estions là venus...du salut de ces pauvres ames & de l'establissement du Christianisme...."[47] Yet the Catholic missionaries' curiosity about native customs extended well beyond the realm of religion; their travel accounts reveal great insight into native life, and contain valuable ethnographic information presented in a clear and analytical manner.[48]

The Capuchin missionary, Yves d'Evreux, spent two years living among the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil, and devoted almost one hundred pages to a discussion of Indian life and customs, exclusive of religion. His account is highlighted by a detailed analysis of the specific activities and relationships that characterized

each chronological stage of development as the natives matured from infancy to old age. Evreux also provided a table listing the numerous degrees of consanguinity, or kinship relationships, recognized among the Tupinambas.[49] Jean Baptiste Du Tertre offered sixty pages of detailed descriptions of the culture and society of the Caribs of the Antilles, focusing on festivals, diet, birth, marriage, everyday activities, warfare, illness, funerals, and craftsmanship, with a chapter devoted to each subject.[50] Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, a Recollet missionary who lived and worked among the Hurons of Canada, provided 183 pages of detailed ethnographic information, also clearly arranged in topical chapters. Sagard focused on native festivals, lodging, occupations, songs and dances, agriculture, fishing, marriage, birth, child care, health, councils, warfare, and funerals.[51]

It is surprising to find so few English travel accounts of the same high caliber and quantitative bulk, devoted exclusively to portrayals of the Indian and his society. Even those English accounts that do contain separate sections devoted to study of the natives cannot rival the French sources in detailed descriptions of native customs and ceremonies. French travelers exhibited a much greater curiosity towards, and willingness to meticulously observe and record many of the unique practices of the primitive peoples of the New World.

This striking contrast between English and French portrayals of the American Indian is linked with the differing pattern of French and English colonial activity in the New World. Unlike the French, the English generally did not seek out prolonged contact with the Indians, or interact closely with them in their own native environment. Both in Virginia and New England, English settlers were primarily concerned with establishing and securing their own permanent agricultural communities. Although at first the settlers may have depended on the natives for food and other assistance, once their villages were established, the English sought to minimize contact between themselves and the natives. Even the earliest travelers did not live among the Indians for any significant amount of time.

After 1629, the colonists in Virginia began a policy of resettling the Indians further inland, removed from the sites of English habitation; forts were built to segregate the two groups. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Indians did not play any significant role in the colonial Virginia economy.[52] In New England as well, interaction between Puritan and Indian was strictly limited. Indian entry into Puritan towns was restricted, and Puritans were forbidden by law to leave their communities and live among the natives; also, trade with the Indians was restricted.[53]

In addition, there was little sexual activity between English men and Indian women, at least ostensibly. Intermarriage was extremely rare in both Virginia and New England.[54] English travel accounts make no reference to, nor give any indication of sexual relations between English men and Indian women. This may be explained, for the most part, by the fact that the English immigrated to the New World with their families, and hence English women were available for sexual relations. However, even in the early years of exploration and settlement, prior to the arrival of English women, there is little evidence of sex or marriage between Indian and English, despite the fact that the sources do not reveal the presence of any physical aversion towards Indian women. Walter Raleigh, describing his experiences in Guyana, asserted that, "I neither know nor beleeve, that any of our companie one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yoong, and excellently favored...."[55]

One notable exception is the marraige of John Rolfe to Pocahontas, daughter of the Virginia chief, Powhatan. Rolfe, though, felt compelled to justify this union, and in a letter of 1614 to Sir Thomas Dale, claimed that he was not sensually inclined towards his Indian bride, but was rather primarily motivated by religious intentions, "...the converting of one unregenerate, to regeneration." Rolfe expressed his awareness of the,

"...displeasure...which almightie God conceived against the sonnes of Levie and Israel for marrying strange wives...," and his guilt at being, "...in love with one whose education hath bin rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed...." However, Rolfe believed his marriage to Pocahontas would not be deemed immoral as long as his prime motive was her conversion to Christianity.[56]

English travel accounts dealing with the New World reflect a general lack of sustained contact or interaction between English and Indian. They contain much less detailed ethnographic information than is present in the French source material. English accounts are generally briefer, and are often primarily concerned with relating narrative accounts of voyages and settlements. Information about the Indians is generally not included for its own sake, but rather to provide strategic and other pragmatic data for future colonists.

Early English explorers of New England and northeastern Canada related details of their voyages and explorations, but little information about the native inhabitants.[57] Travelers to Virginia primarily wrote narrative accounts of the English settlement there, hoping to encourage potential colonists to cross the Atlantic. Discussion of the Indian was generally confined to statements urging the English to fulfill their duty to the Almighty by converting the American "infidels."[58]

Other accounts dealing with Virginia offered more information about the native inhabitants, but primarily focused on data that could be of use to future settlers. Thomas Hariot's factual survey of Virginia deals mainly with descriptions of natural resources. Information about the natives is sketchy, but Hariot, who sought to encourage English settlement, reassured the reader that the Indian both loved and feared the English.[59] John Smith and William Strachey, although providing much more detailed ethnographic information concerning the Virginia Indians than found in other contemporary English travel accounts, concentrated on the political configurations of native society. Smith and Strachey assessed the numerical strength and geographic location of various tribes, as well as the structure of government and network of tribal alliances, which the English hoped to use to their own advantage.[60] Smith was also interested in the natives' material culture, and noted their manner of hunting, fishing, as well as building houses, boats, and weapons. Yet although offering more information about the American Indians than most contemporary English travel writers, Smith still did not devote more than twenty pages of his narrative to exclusive discussion of native life and society.[61]

Puritan accounts dealing with the New World largely focused on the colonists' efforts to establish their own communities. Information about native customs

is sparse; discussion of the Indian was generally confined to exhortations on the necessity of his conversion to Christianity, and reports on the progress of this mission.[62]

Other English travel accounts dealing with New England do offer considerably more information about Indian life and society, although they never rival French accounts in the amount of detail devoted to native customs and social organization. John Josselyn was primarily concerned with writing a natural history of New England, yet he did devote approximately thirty pages to a discussion of native life, although he did not organize this material in topical chapters.[63] A much more detailed and better organized account was written by William Wood, who spent slightly more than thirty pages describing native dress, diet, character, marriage, government, religion, war, funerals, hunting, fishing, material culture, games, and language. Yet Wood's preface to the reader expressed the author's view that Indian culture, unlike the natural history of New England, was not really worthy of serious study, "Now wheras I have written the latter part of this relation concerning the Indians, in a more light and facetious stile, than the former; because their carriage and behavior hath afforded more matter of mirth, and laughter, than gravity and wisedom; and therefore I have inserted many passages of mirth concerning them."[64]

Two Englishmen, who were both at odds with the established Puritan community at Massachusetts Bay, and had more direct contact with Indian tribes in the region, wrote travel accounts which contain a significant amount of ethnographic information about the natives. Thomas Morton, an Anglican, established his own community in 1626 at Merrymount, which was neighboring, but not part of, the Puritan colony at Massachusetts Bay. Puritan officials considered Morton an undesirable character, and objected to what they regarded as his loose living, symbolized by his erection of a Maypole at Merrymount. The Puritans also opposed Morton's practice of supplying the Indians with firearms. Morton interacted more closely with the neighboring Indians than the Puritans did, trading with them and generally enjoying amicable relations.[65] Morton devoted over forty pages of his account to topical chapters describing native housing, clothing, child rearing, religion, history, myths, trade, fighting, funerals, and general character and mode of life.[66]

Perhaps the most atypical English work dealing with the American Indians was written by Roger Williams, who was banished from the Puritan colony of Massachusetts because of his separatist beliefs, and founded his own community at Providence, Rhode Island in 1636. Williams lived among the Narragansett Indians for extended periods of time, farming and trading with them, and thus had the

opportunity to observe their customs and study their language firsthand.[67] Williams' account is basically a dictionary and phrase book; each chapter opens with Indian words and expressions relevant to the topic under discussion, with English translation provided. Williams' purpose transcended a straightforward description of Indian culture, since he concluded each chapter with a short moralizing verse condemning the un-Christian behavior of many of his contemporary Englishmen. Yet the reader is provided with much information concerning native diet, housing, family life, agriculture, religion, funerals, illnesses, warfare, hunting, trading, marriage, government, as well as manner of counting and keeping track of time.[68]

French and English travelers to America shared similar European cultural assumptions, and these values were often reflected in the travelers' descriptions of the radically different societies which they encountered in the New World. Although French travelers often recorded more detailed observations, the overall depictions of Indian daily life and social structure contained in both English and French accounts are generally similar; the travelers focused on such basic and familiar cultural categories and patterns of social organization as diet, housing, material culture, marriage, childbirth, family life, occupations, death, warfare, government, language,

and religion. The travelers generally adhered to these standard cultural categories, long used by European observers of foreign peoples, as a valuable aid in organizing the data they amassed regarding the Indian. But many travelers did not restrict their observations to general, superficial, or standardized preconceptions of savage life. The travelers, especially the French, were remarkably curious, and in their willingness to record their observations--which was done in a highly factual, straightforward, and objective manner,for the most part devoid of moralizing--expanded the traditional formulae for the study of alien societies to include much detailed information regarding primitive life which was totally new to Europeans.

In their descriptions and analyses of native society, almost all travelers were concerned with relating information about the family. The travel accounts also commonly contain discussions of native customs and practices, or rites of passage, associated with those life functions common to all humanity, i.e., sexual reproduction, childbirth, attainment of maturity, and death.

Marriage

Almost all travelers acknowledged the existence of marriage among the American Indians, "God hath planted in the Hearts of the Wildest of the sonnes of Men, an High and Honourable esteeme of the Marriage bed...."[69] It appeared to the Europeans that little formality or

ceremony was involved, and that termination of the union could be just as easily effected. Among the Tupinambas, marriage was said to only involve mutual consent, and the permission of the woman's family; mutual consent was also sufficient grounds to end marriage.[70] Biet commented that among the Caribs of Guyana, there was nothing in which there was less ceremony than marriage, "Il n'y a rien où les Sauvages fassent moins de ceremonies que dans leur mariages." Biet observed that the only requisite was the permission of the woman's father. There was no form or process to end marriage, and a man could dismiss his wife for being unfaithful or unserving.[71] In addition to obtaining the consent of the woman's family as a requirement of marriage, the groom was often obliged to pay a bride price, or as the Europeans termed it, a dowry, to his prospective wife's family. This practice was common among native tribes of New England, Virginia, and Canada.[72]

The French laymen, Pierre Boucher and Samuel de Champlain, observed elements of the matrilineal and matrilocal society of the Hurons of Canada. After marriage, the man went to live with his wife's family. It was reported that the choice in marriage depended on the woman, as she could reject her prospective groom after spending a few nights together. In addition, all forms of a man's inheritance were passed to the children of his sister.[73] Du Tertre noted that matrilocal residence

was also practiced among the Caribs of the Antilles; the husband went to live with his wife's family after marriage. Among these natives, the man could dismiss his wife at will, but the woman could only dissolve her marriage with her husband's permission.[74]

French and English travelers were struck by the common Indian practice of polygamy, or more specifically, polygyny, the male permitted to have more than one wife at the same time. Yet most of the European observers were able to grasp the function of polygyny in native societies, and did not generally attribute it to excessive lust on the part of Indian men. The stereotyped notion of the savage as having an insatiable sexual appetite[75] is generally absent from these travel accounts. Among the Tupinambas, men were said to have many wives, not purely for pleasure, but as a sign of greatness, as one traveler reported the words of a native on this subject, "...ce n'est pas pour satisfaire à nos plaisirs que nous en prenons plusieurs, mais seulement pour estre grands...."[76] The most valiant and esteemed men of the village had the most wives.[77] Since Tupinamba women took complete care of the household and carried their husband's belongings wherever they went, multiple wives were also valued for the work they performed.[78] The travelers often noted with surprise that although there were many women in the same household, they all lived together without jealousy or bickering. One wife was usually loved the best by her

husband, and she was in full charge of the household and directed the activities of the other wives.[79]

Travelers recorded similar comments concerning polygyny among the Caribs of the Antilles. Men were permitted to have more than one wife, but it was the leaders of the village who especially practiced polygyny, as it enhanced their reputations.[80] Wives served their husband, providing him with all his needs; also, there was no jealousy among wives, "...elle le sert comme son maistre...il ne paroît aucune sorte de jalousie entre elles."[81] Among the Timucua Indians of Florida, it was reported that only the chief, or "king," as the Europeans referred to him, was permitted to have more than one wife, however only the first one was recognized as "queen," and only her children could inherit the property and authority of their father.[82] Although polygyny was allowed among the Micmacs of Canada, most men had only one wife, except for the sagamores, or principal men of the village, who had many wives in order to have many offsprings, children being a sign of their strength and authority.[83] Polygyny was also practiced among the Algonquian tribes of Massachusetts, but although a man might have many wives, one among them was considered to be the principal.[84]

In attempting to understand polygyny among the Narragansetts of Rhode Island, Roger Williams offered two functional explanations--the more wives a man had, the better off he was economically, since he had more

women to work for him and collect the harvest. In addition, Williams observed that native men did not have sexual relations with their wives while the women were pregnant, and did not resume relations until after the child was born and weaned. Since this was, even by Williams' admission, a long time to abstain, the men had other wives to fulfill their needs in the meantime.[85]

Two other English observers, though, exhibited considerable disdain for the Indian practice of polygyny, attributing it primarily to excessive lust on the part of the Indians. John Josselyn reported that the natives of Massachusetts commonly had two or three wives, according to, "...the ability of their bodies and the strength of their concupiscence."[86] William Strachey decried Powhatan's polygyny as "sensual heathenism." Strachey recognized, though, that Indian chiefs wanted many wives in order to bear them many children, who would serve their fathers as warriors and maintain them in their old age. However, he deplored the Indians', "...ymoderate use and multiplicity of women...," and viewed it as the cause of the sparseness of the native population since, "...manie women deviding the body, and the strength thereof, make yt generall unfitt to the office of increase...."[87]

French and English travelers discerned marriage as an existing institution among the American Indians, although what the natives defined as permissible within marriage was far different than that to which Europeans

were accustomed. The travelers recognized that the Indians did not mate and reproduce indiscriminately, as savages were thought to do, but rather that regulations concerning marriage were enforced. European observers frequently noted that the Indians considered adultery a criminal action, and offenders were punished. The travelers generally regarded the pre-marital sexual behavior of the Indians as improper, since relations with the opposite sex were often permitted, but the Europeans admired the usual fidelity observed by the natives once married.

Roger Williams reported that among the Narragansetts, sexual relations between unmarried persons were not frowned upon, but adultery was regarded as a criminal act; the husband was permitted to divorce his spouse, and was entitled to seek vengeance against the offender.[88] Adultery was also considered a crime by the natives of Virginia, with severe punishment inflicted. According to the practices of the Micmacs of Canada, unmarried girls may have sex with whomever they wished, but once married, were chaste, and were only permitted to have relations with their husbands.[89] Although unmarried Tupinamba women were permitted to have sexual relations, after marriage they were obliged to be faithful, as any wife found to be adulterous could be killed by her husband.[90]

A number of astute French travelers also noted that the American Indians regarded sexual relations

between certain persons as incestuous, and these limitations on sexual activity were strictly upheld. Sagard reported that the Hurons of Canada observed three degrees of consanguinity regarding marriage--sexual relations were prohibited between parents and children, brother and sister, and certain cousins.[91] The Micmacs were also said to define certain sexual relationships as incestuous, "Ils observent certains degrez de parenté entre eux qui les empeschent de se marier ensemble...."[92] Rochefort noted that sexual relations between father and daughter were forbidden among the Caribs; marriages among cousins, though, was the general rule.[93] Among the Tupinambas, three degrees of consanguinity were reportedly observed--a man may not marry his mother, sister, or daughter. Other than these, all other relations were permissible, even between cousins, or uncles and nieces.[94]

Only two French missionaries to the Antilles maintained that the Indians allowed complete liberty in sexual activity, with no relationships prohibited. The Jesuit, La Borde, believed the Caribs mixed indifferently, like animals, with no distinctions as to who their parents were, "...leurs femmes qu'ils prennent en nombre sans distinction de parenté, car ils se mêlent indifferement, comme les bestes."[95] Du Tertre also asserted that the Caribs did not observe any degree of consanguinity, with fathers marrying their own daughters, yet he elsewhere noted that a man was required to marry solely from among

his first cousins descended from the feminine line.[95]

The European observers greatly minimized both the complexity and function of kinship systems among the Amerindians. Two French travelers to South America, though, did grasp some of the intricacies of the native kinship systems. Rochefort noted that among the Caribs of the Antilles, nephews referred to their aunts and uncles as mothers and fathers, and that cousins referred to each other as brothers and sisters.[97] Evreux carefully observed the Tupinamba kinship system. He included a detailed table listing the ranks of consanguinity recognized among males and females, and provided the appropriate native terminology for each category. Evreux' account is indeed exceptional for this period.[98]

Pregnancy and Childbirth

English and French travelers were interested in recording Indian practices and customs associated with pregnancy and childbirth. The European observers unanimously agreed that native women delivered their children more easily than European women. The travelers were also impressed with the Indian women's quick resumption of their normal activities after delivery. Europeans thought that pain at childbirth was universal among women, their perpetual punishment for Eve's sin in eating the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden. Once again, it seemed that the natives of America were exempt from this original

sin. Their lives apparently duplicated that enjoyed in Paradise, as evidenced by their health and longevity, absence of shame at their nakedness, and women's freedom from the pain of childbirth.[99]

The travelers did not explore any theological problems which might be posed by the discovery of so many women who appeared not to experience pain in childbirth, but they were intent on recording their observations of Indian practices connected with pregnancy and childbirth. The native women of Massachusetts were reported to be, "...easily delivered of their children..."; they resumed their ordinary work shortly after childbirth.[100] It was also commented that, concerning childbirth, "...their travail is not so extreme as in our parts of the world, they being of a more hardy nature."[101] Narragansett women were said to experience a quicker and easier delivery than European women, because of their hardy constitution; Indian women were also more accustomed to hard work, and considered it shameful to complain while giving birth.[102]

French travelers to South America also unanimously reported the ease with which Indian women appeared to give birth. Carib women were believed to experience little pain at childbirth, "Les femmes enfantent avec peu de douleur...," and normal activity was resumed relatively soon after delivery.[103] Travelers reported that Tupinamba women worked right up until the time of birth, and resumed their normal activity within two days after delivery.[104]

In addition to noting what appeared as the absence of pain in childbirth, French, and some English travelers recorded native taboos associated with pregnancy and menstruation. Among the Timucua Indians of Florida, husbands reportedly neither lived with their pregnant wives, nor ate any food they may have touched.[105] Lescarbot noted that Micmac husbands remained separated from their wives for thirty to forty days after childbirth, adding that this practice was analagous to the Mosaic law of purification.[106] These Indian women were also confined to a special lodging while menstruating, and were forbidden to touch anything anyone else might use, especially food, "...il faut qu'elle se retire à part... ne mangent jamais que toutes seules, elles ne font rien, & n'osent toucher aucunes choses, principalement du manger...."[107]

Travelers also recorded taboos connected with pregnancy observed by the Caribs. A man abstained from sexual relations with a pregnant wife. In addition, husbands of pregnant women were said to observe taboos relating to food; they abstained from eating certain foods for fear the child might die or else be born with certain defects, e.g., if a man ate tortoise flesh while his wife was pregnant, it was feared his child might grow up to be heavy and slow, "Il s'abstient de manger de plusieurs choses...."[108] French travelers were especially struck by the native couvade, a custom whereby after childbirth, the husband lies in bed, moans, and fasts, while his wife

looks after him as she resumes her normal activity. French observers were shocked by the couvade, and did not know what to make of this custom. They referred to it as a foolish, ridiculous, and brutish superstition, thereby altering their usual objective manner of reporting information. Yet the Frenchmen took the time to record this practice in detail, "...une superstition que les hommes pratiquent à la naissance des enfans...comme si le mal de la femme avoit passé jusqu'au mari, il commence à se plaindre...on luy pend promptement un lit...& là on le visite comme malade...."[109]

Child Rearing

English and French travelers to the New World were also interested in observing the native manner of raising children. They praised Indian women for the great love which they exhibited towards their children, and especially noted the mothers' nursing of their own babies, something well-to-do contemporary European women were not fond of.[110] But it was generally believed that the American natives were too indulgent towards their children, failing to correct or punish them when necessary. The travelers regarded Indian practices surrounding child rearing as exemplifying the lack of order and regulation which the Europeans believed was characteristic of native societies.[111]

English travelers to Massachusetts described native mothers as, "...very loving and indulgent to

their children."[112] Lescarbot maintained that Micmac women exhibited a greater love for their children than French women did. Indian mothers did not rely on wet nurses, but nursed their babies themselves, "...God requireth in mothers, is to give the brest to their children...But at this day the most part make their brests to serve for alurements to whoredome...The savage women beare a greater love than that towards their yong ones: for none but themselves doe nourish them...."[113] However, French observers disapproved of the freedom which characterized Huron child rearing, as they noted that native parents never punished or corrected their children.[114]

French travelers to Guyana also reported that Carib mothers greatly loved and cared for their children, and nursed them themselves. Children were seldom corrected, and never hit; they were brought up stark naked, which was deemed beneficial, since many native children were able to walk at the early age of nine or ten months, "La mere a grand soin de nourrir son enfant. Ils ne sçavent ce que c'est parmy eux, que de donner leurs enfans à nourrir à une autre. Ces gens ayment extrémement leurs enfans; ils ne les frappent jamais & ne le corrigent point, les laissant vivre dans une grande liberté...."[115] The travelers, however, also subjected Carib child rearing to criticism. They reported that children were raised no better than brute beasts, and that their parents

did not teach them manners or civility. Children were brought up in total freedom, and their behavior was never corrected, "...ils sont élevez tant de l'un que de l'autre en vrayes brutes, ils ne leur appennent ny civilité ny honneur...sans en estre corrigez...dans un étrange libertinage."[116]

French observers of the Tupinambas were more sympathetic towards native practices of child rearing. Tupinamba women nursed their own children, and washed new born babies in the river.[117] Parents were said to exhibit great love towards their children, hardly ever reprimanding them, but in turn, children seldom acted so as to displease their parents.[118] Infants were not swaddled, and good growth was thus promoted as children's movements were not restricted, "...les enfans, en leurs... jeunesses, n'estoient bien serrez & emmaillotez...il n'est pas possible de voir enfans cheminer ny aller plus droit qu'il font...qu'il vaudroit mieux laisser au large les petits enfans gambader tout à leur aise."[119]

Initiation Rites

In addition to focusing much attention on marriage and childbirth, French and English travelers were also interested in recording native rites of passage observed in connection with the two other universal elements of the life cycle--initiation into adulthood, and death. Edward Winslow reported that among the Indians of Massachusetts, boys and girls wore their hair differently

than men and women; girls did not cut their hair until they were married. Upon reaching adulthood, adolescents were given new names according to their deeds and dispositions. A youth was not considered to be a man until he performed some notable act to prove his resolution and courage.[120] French observers of the Caribs noted that Indian males were required to fast and make incisions, or tatoos, in their skin upon reaching puberty. When a young man was first deemed able to go to war, the occasion was marked by feasting, dancing, and drinking.[121]

Death

The English and French travelers exhibited much greater interest towards Indian burial and mourning customs. Some observers remarked that here the natives followed practices similar to Europeans by burying their dead in the ground. The Susquehannas were said to bury the deceased in an upright position, dressed in finery; their weapons were buried with them.[122] Williams reported that Narragansett mourners blackened their faces and refrained from mentioning the name of the deceased; dead bodies were wrapped in mats before burial.[123] Massachusetts Indians placed wooden planks in the grave around the body of an important person who died; mourners also blackened their faces.[124]

One French traveler expressed surprise that Indians, as well as Europeans, both shared the common

custom of mourning for the dead, "...they have yet at this day that common with the nations of these parts to weepe for the dead...."[125] Sagard reported that the Hurons buried their dead in sadness, although tempered by restraint. Approximately every ten years, this tribe observed the "great festival of the dead." At that time, all the bones of deceased persons were dug up, cleaned, and reburied in a common grave. The nomadic Montagnais, unlike the sedentary Hurons, had no permanent cemetaries, but buried their dead in the forest.[126]

Europeans apparently regarded the custom of burying the dead as a practice of "civilized" people. Thevet expressed surprise that the "savage" Tupinambas buried their dead, "For all that these kinde of people are brutishe and uncivile, yet have they this custome and opinion to lay the dead bodies in the earth...These poore people...shewe themselves after the death of their parentes or frends, without comparison more reasonable...."[127] These Indians reportedly wrapped the deceased in his cotton bed, and buried him along with his possessions; great mourning and lamentations accompanied the burial, with the chief recounting the deeds of the deceased.[128]

Crafts and Technology

In their portrayals of Indian life and society, French and English travelers included much information

about the daily activities and normal occupations of the natives. Many accounts contain detailed descriptions of such objects as canoes, snow shoes, and cotton hanging beds, or hammocks, items which were totally new and foreign to Europeans. The travelers were also interested in describing native manners of hunting and fishing, as well as building huts, and making bows and arrows. John Smith admired the Virginia Indians' skill at building houses which were able to withstand inclement weather, as well as native ability in making fishing hooks and nets, bows and arrows, and boats; he also detailed the native manner of hunting.[129] Strachey regarded these Indians as, "...ingenious enough in their owne workes," which included dressing leather, construction of fishing nets, boats, bows and arrows, household implements, and making cordage of hemp and flax, and cloaks of feathers.[130] English observers of the New England Algonquians also described, as well as praised, native skills of hunting and fishing, building and handling canoes, construction of houses, or wigwams, making snow shoes, bows and arrows, and tomahawks, dressing moose skins, as well as making utensils out of wood, and using shells to make belts, bracelets, and necklaces.[131]

French travelers observed and recorded similar technical achievements among the Indians of North and South America. Denys' account of the Canadian Micmacs contains very detailed descriptions of native manners

of constructing wigwams, bows, snow shoes, and canoes.[132] The Huron manner of building houses and completely enclosing their circular villages with wooden pallisades was noted, along with their skill in making snow shoes and canoes.[133] French travelers to South America were especially impressed with the Indian hanging beds, or hammocks, made of cotton. These beds were described as comfortable, clean, and generally pleasurable to sleep in, "Au reste, je me rapporte à ceux qui en ont fait l'experience, s'il y fait pas meilleur coucher, principalement en esté, que sur nos licts communs."[134] In addition to describing these hammocks, observers of the Tupinambas and Caribs detailed the native manner of fishing, making household utensils and bows and arrows, spinning thread, building canoes and lodgings, and making gardens.[135]

Diet

European commentators showed great interest in Indian diet, describing the staple items and how they were prepared. Indian food was frequently compared to European fare. The travelers took great pains in describing the preparation of those native foods and beverages most closely akin to the more familiar bread and wine. The travelers were struck by the absence of salt, bread, and wine from Indian diet. This was regarded as one of the greatest hardships of native existence, "The inconvenience

which is found in their maner of life is, that they have no bread."[136] English travelers to New England reported that the natives lacked salt and bread. In addition, "They want the refreshing of Beare and Wine, which God hath vouchsafed Europe."[137] French travelers described the diet of the Caribs as consisting of meats that had no resemblance to European foods; they noted the absence of such familiar items as milk, cheese, butter, and salt.[138]

Travelers reported that vines grew in Virginia and Florida, but noted that the Indians of these areas did not make wine out of the grapes.[139] In Florida, the natives were said to make a beverage of herbs instead,[140] and as a substitute for wine in Brazil, the Tupinambas prepared a drink from ground up roots, "...these Indians finde it so good, that therewith they will be dronken, as men will be with wine in our Countrey,"[141] Travelers repeatedly noted the absence of wheat, and hence, bread, but observed that the natives prepared a substitute staple by grinding corn into meal.[142] Among the Tupinambas, roots were the basis of native diet, and were said to be, "...as common with them as bread is with us...."[143] Roots were ground up into meal, which then was made into a substance likened to bread, "...au lieu de pain, ils usent de la farine faicte de racines de Manioch...."[144]

In their discussions of Indian eating habits, as in their characterizations of many aspects of native life, the travelers pointed to what they regarded as a

general lack of regulation and restraint governing behavior. The Indians were said to have no set meal times, and ate whenever they were hungry, "...ils n'ont pas leur repas heurez ou reglez comme nous avons...."[145] They also would eat anything at any time, observing no order or regulation in this regard, "...la volupté qu'ils reçoivent... en leur boire & en leur manger est comme incroyable...."[146] The European observers generally took offense at Indian eating habits. The travelers viewed the natives as dirty and gross, since they did not wash their hands and ate off the ground. Here the accounts stray from their usual objectivity and exhibit a true lack of understanding of the Indians' primitive condition. The travelers faulted the natives for eating, "...without either trenchers, napkins or knives, without scrupling at unwashed hands...."[147] The Indians were reported to eat without, "...neither table, stoole or table cloth...";[148] they had, "...no linen to wipe their hands."[149] The Europeans criticized the natives for their lack of manners and civility while eating; they did not wash their hands, they ate off the ground, and they belched openly.[150]

Occupations

Many travelers observed the division of labor in native society between men and women. Certain occupations were reserved for each sex, and young children were instructed in the proper activities. One would

not find an Indian male performing what was considered "woman's work." The travelers' conclusion was unanimous--women shouldered the major burden of work in native society, while the lazy men contented themselves with such pastimes as hunting, fishing, feasting, and fighting.

The travelers frequently commented upon the plight of the hard-working Indian woman, but made no comparisons to the European peasant woman, whose labors, no doubt, were equally rigorous. The travelers' purpose in describing the manifold duties of native American women was not so much to evoke true sympathy for the female sex, as to ridicule and condemn the "lazy" Indian men, who were perceived as contributing little to the maintenance of native society.

The European observers of this period generally failed to appreciate the important function of hunting and fishing in the Indian economy. The travelers regarded agriculture as the prime example of productive labor, as it was a basic element of the European economy, and provided a major share of food for Europeans of this era. Hunting and fishing, although important sources of food for the Amerindians, were considered by Europeans to be sports or exercises, diversions engaged in by the nobility.[151]

The travelers to the New World observed Indian men engaged primarily in hunting and fishing; any agricultural activity was generally performed by native women. The

Europeans, applying their own standards of productive labor to Indian society, asserted that Indian men were lazy and did not work. The notion that the natives did not work further contributed to the general European assessment of Indian society as totally uncivilized. The image of the lazy Indian is a persistent theme throughout the travel literature. As the citations below will indicate, English travel writers utilized this stereotyped characterization of the Indian more frequently than did the French. The English especially condemned a life devoid of work, and regarded such an existence as truly bestial, or savage.

In his detailed depiction of the daily life and routine activities followed by the Tupinamba Indians, Evreux noted that women performed all the household work, prepared the meals, did the planting, made thread and cord, in addition to following their husbands wherever they went and carrying their belongings. The men hunted, fished, cut wood, made armaments and canoes, and constructed lodgings. As Tupinamba children grew up, they were instructed in the activities appropriate for their sex; boys between the ages of eight and fifteen followed their fathers around and thus learned to hunt and fish, while girls of the same age imitated their mothers' actions.[152] Although commenting that Tupinamba men were very dexterous at hunting and fishing, Abbeville maintained that the women were usually busier than the men, "Les femmes sont

communément plus occupées que les hommes...," as it was their responsibility to care for the household, plant the gardens, and prepare the food.[153] Léry also believed that there was no room for comparison--women worked much more than men, they made earthen pots and vessels, and were in charge of all household activities, "...les femmes de nos Toüoupinambaoults travaillent sans comparaison plus que les hommes...."[154]

In his discussion of the occupations of the men and women among the Caribs, La Borde described the men as foolish and ridiculous, unwilling to aid their wives who performed all the necessary household work, "Les hommes sont si sots, & si ridicules, qu'ils ne voudroient pas avoir touché à la besogne, ni mettre la main au travail des femmes...." Carib women were said to be less lazy than their husbands, and were treated as slaves, "Les femmes sont moins oysives que les hommes, elles sont comme leurs esclaves...." From the age of four or five, girls followed their mothers, and boys stayed with their fathers in order to learn the activities appropriate for each sex.[155] Biet noted a similar sexual division of labor among the Galibis Caribs of Guyana. In a detailed depiction of an average day in the life of the Indians, he observed that women worked constantly, "...elles travaillent sans cesse...," planting gardens, preparing food, and serving their husbands. Biet characterized native men as lazy, lacking all industry, even though he

acknowledged that they hunted, fished, cleared woods, and made bows and arrows, "Les hommes ne font point de travaux laborieux...Les hommes n'ont que l'exercice de la chasse & de la pesche...ils n'y apportent pas beaucoup d'industrie...."[156]

French observers noted the division of labor between male and female among the Canadian Indians. Montagnais men hunted and killed animals; women skinned and cleaned the game, and searched for wood. Men also constructed the frames of canoes and snow shoes, while women did the necessary sewing. The division of labor was clear, and neither sex performed inappropriate work.[157] One Jesuit priest pitied Micmac women for having to endure all the misfortunes and hardships of life, as they were required to perform all work, except for hunting. He regarded Indian men as extremely lazy, since they only worked if forced to out of dire necessity.[158]

Travelers recorded similar observations concerning the Hurons. One Frenchman noted the contrast between the life of the nomadic Algonquian tribes, where men's activities were primarily confined to hunting, fishing, and warfare, and that of the more sedentary Hurons, among whom men engaged in such various occupations as building sheds and pallisades, cutting trees to clear the land, and making various utensils; agricultural work, however, was still the responsibility of the women.[159] Yet even

concerning the Hurons, the majority of travelers still did not regard the activities of native men as true work. Women were in charge of the entire care of the household, in addition to carrying provisions and performing agricultural work. Men were regarded as lazy, "All the men do is to hunt for deer and other animals, fish, make their cabins, and go to war. Having done these things...they give themselves up to festivities and dances...and when these are over they go to sleep, which they like to do best of all things."[160] Sagard acknowledged that Huron men hunted, fished, made war, and built canoes and lodgings. Yet he nevertheless faulted the natives for their idleness, since they appeared to spend much time singing, dancing, gaming, smoking, and feasting. Men refused to perform any activities which were considered to be women's duties. Unlike the majority of his contemporaries, Sagard also viewed native women as lazy. He stated that their household arrangements amounted to little, yet he noted that their work consisted of cooking, sowing and gathering corn, grinding flour, preparing hemp, providing wood, and making pottery, mats and baskets. Sagard reported that the women still enjoyed much leisure, which they spent in dancing, feasting, chatting, and generally wasting time. However, Sagard perceived Huron women as generally more occupied than the men. He asserted that native males put on the airs of noblemen, and thought only of hunting, fishing, and fighting, "...elles ayent beaucoup

plus d'occupations que les hommes, lesquels tranchent du gentil-homme entr'eux, et ne pensent qu'à la chasse, à la pesche, ou à la guerre...."[161]

English travelers to the New World were also interested in the division of labor between male and female among the Indians, and recorded even stronger comments than the French testifying to the general laziness of native men. Among the Susquehannas of Maryland, "...men think it below the honor of a masculine to stoop to anything but that which their gun or bow and arrows can command."[162] In Virginia, native men engaged in such "manlike exercises" as fishing, hunting, and warfare, and were scorned to be seen in any "womanlike" activities, the, "...women be very painful and the men often idle."[163] Although Strachey acknowledged that Indian men took great pains at hunting and fishing, he reported that the men were often idle, and spent much time dancing and feasting.[164]

English observers of native societies in New England again noted the same pattern, "...men employ themselves wholly in hunting and other exercises of the bow...women live a most slavish life...."[165] William Wood expressed sympathy for native women, "...their qualities and industrious deservings may justly...command better usage and more conjugall esteeme...." Wood stated that women's numerous duties included planting and harvesting corn, tending gardens, preparing food, carrying burdens, making mats and baskets, "...besides all their ordinary

household drudgerie which daily lies upon them."[166] Another traveler noted that native men spent time hunting, fishing, and fighting, but nevertheless, he regarded male Indians as idle.[167] Josselyn maintained that Indian men would rather content themselves with little than work for more, "...spending their time in sleep till the next kettlefull is boiled. If they have none of this, as sometimes it falleth out (being a very careless people not providing aginst the storms of want and tempest of necessity) they make use of Sir Francis Drake's remedy for hunger, go to sleep."[168] English observers here exhibited great contempt for Indian men, whom they described as, "...strongly fettered in the chaines of idlenesse; so as they had rather starve than worke, following no employments...and this is indeede one of the greatest accusations that can be laid against them...."[169] The English did not regard hunting and fishing as work, but rather likened these activities to the diversions and sports of the European upper classes. The Indians, "...after the manner of the gentry of civilized nations, remove for their pleasure to hunting or fishing places."[170]

Not finding agriculture practiced in the same manner and on the same scale as it was in contemporary Europe, English observers generally believed that the male American Indians were extremely lazy, did not perform any necessary work, and therefore did not really utilize their land. English travelers emphasized this perceived

absence of agriculture far more than did the French. Travelers to Virginia commented that the natives, "...make so small a benefit of their land...," and that they, "...doe not use their land or put it to any benefit."[171] Walter Raleigh reported that in Guyana, there was no planting or cultivating, the Indians, "...only feede on what nature, without labour, bringeth forth...."[172] In addition many English travelers erroneously reported that the American natives were nomadic, and lacked permanent settlements, since there was no evidence of what Englishmen might regard as towns, buildings, or other improvements on the land. In Viginia, the inhabitants were reported to, "...wander up and downe like beasts...."[173] The New England Indians were portrayed as continually moving from place to place; they were also said to lack any towns or tame cattle.[174]

Englishmen were to use this supposed absence of agriculture and permanent settlements as a prime justification for establishing their own colonies in the New World, and the accompanying process of driving the Indians off their traditional homelands. The English believed that they:

> ...shall easily enjoy such competent quantity of land...considering the great abundance that they have of land and how small account they make thereof, taking no other fruits thereby then such as the ground of it self doeth naturally yield... God did create land to the end that it should by culture and husbandry yield things necessary for man's life.[175]

The English did not believe that the native Americans were in true possession of their land, but rather saw America as "vacuum domicilium," since they regarded it as uncultivated and unsettled. The Puritans further believed that Indian possession of the land was not in accord with God's will, since the natives did not utilize it, "...we labour and work in building, planting, clothing ourselves, & c. and they doe not."[176] The Puritans maintained that God preserved the English in their struggles with the Indians, "...to give that land as an inheritance to our nation...being a great pity that it should long lie in so desolate a state."[177] The English therefore believed that they were obliged to take the land, since they would give it order, farm, and otherwise develop it, and make it fructify.[178] According to English observers of New World societies, Indian men did not work since they were not engaged in agricultural activity. This perceived absence of productive labor was a prime sign of the natives' savage and uncivilized condition in the eyes of the English.

Warfare

Although travelers to the New World depicted Indian men as lazy, the Europeans did pay significant attention to one activity which occupied the natives: warfare. French and English travelers exhibited great interest in Indian manner of, and motives for waging war,

and contrasted these sharply with European practices. European standards were, once again, used to measure native behavior. The travelers were surprised that the Indians apparently did not wage war in order to attain such material goals as territory or wealth, but were rather impelled solely by an all-consuming desire to obtain vengeance against traditional enemies, and earn glory and prestige as successful warriors. The European observers tended to regard these as insufficient, or even petty motives for war, and believed the natives were unreasonable in their implacable animosity towards their enemies.[179]

French travelers reported that the Tupinambas did not fight for riches or power, but rather were motivated by a, "...foolish desire for vengeance...like brute beasts...without reason or cause..."; great esteem was attached to capturing many prisoners of war.[180] Their perpetual and irreconcilable hatred and unwillingness to forget past injuries were considered wicked and contrary to Christian doctrine, "...leurs haines sont tellement inveterees qu'ils demeurent perpetuellement irreconciliables... contre la doctrine chrestienne...ne doivent jamais faire oublier les vieilles injures...." The Tupinambas reportedly fought solely for revenge, not for spoils or territory, "Non pas, quant à ces barbares, qu'ils se facent la guerre pour conquerir les pays & terres les uns

des autres...n'estans poussez d'autre affection que de venger."[181] The Tupinambas valued their reputations as courageous warriors, and after battle the most valorous men received new names and additional tatoos as a sign of their courage; if one offended an individual, the entire nation was offended.[182]

Travelers commented that war among the Caribs of the Antilles was also conducted solely for glory and revenge, not for territory or spoils; prior to battle, a great feast was made where past injuries were recalled, and the tribe was exhorted to obtain vengeance.[183] In Virginia and Canada as well, the natives reportedly went to war motivated solely by revenge, with no intentions of obtaining additional wealth or territory.[184] The Hurons did not fight for additional territory, but to obtain vengeance; it was possible for two entire tribes to be at war for the fault of one man:

> Il n'y a presque aucune nation aui n'ait guerre et debat avec quelqu'autre, non en intention d'en posseder les terres...ains seulement pour les exterminer s'ils pouvoient, et pour se vanger de quelque petit tort ou desplaisir...il arrive le plus souvent que par la faute d'un seul, deux peuples entiers se font une tres-cruelle guerre....[185]

European observers perceived the Indians of New England as, "...resolute in the execution of vengeance...." The natives considered the scars they received in battle as marks of honor.[186]

In addition, French and English travelers to the New World noted that the American Indians waged war in a strikingly different manner than Europeans, who were accustomed to orderly regiments and lines of battle. Here too, the European observers were critical of the lack of regulation in native life, and deplored the Indian practice of, "...making towards their enemies in a disordered manner, without any souldier like marching or warlike postures, being ignorant of falling off, or falling on, of doubling rankes or files."[187] The travelers acknowledged that individual Indians often exhibited great courage and hardiness in fighting, yet they generally regarded the natives as cowardly in war, since they fought solely by means of treachery, surprise, and ambush.

Frenchmen described the Tupinambas as making war by surprises and tricks, without marching in any rank or order, and with no one in charge.[188] Likewise, the Caribs of the Antilles and Guyana reportedly did not observe ranks or files, made war by surprise and treachery, and burnt their enemies' homes, "...ils ne vont pas les attaquer à l'estourdy; mais se vont cacher...pour observer... le temps auquel il est plus facile de les surprendre...."[189] The Caribs were described as lacking armor, and being naked in war as for all other occasions.[190] The Canadian Indians were said to wage war in a fearful and cowardly manner. Their warfare was perceived as consisting of

nothing but treachery and surprise, "Leurs guerres ne sont proprement que des surprises et deceptions...."[191] The natives of Virginia reportedly waged war, "...by strategems, treacheries and surprise..."; they would, "...paint and disguise themselves in the fiercest manner."[192] Although travelers acknowledged that the New England Indians were lusty, strong soldiers, and able fighting men, they still regarded the natives as cowardly, since they fought by ambush and surprise, dividing themselves into small bodies, "...far different from the Christian practice."[193]

Although themselves hardly paragons of virtue and mercy in this regard, the early modern French and English travelers were greatly offended and horrified at the Indians' ferocity, and, above all, extreme cruelty in treating their prisoners. Here the travel writers clearly abandoned their objective manner of reporting, and expressed their disgust and horror at native practices, yet also provided their readers with graphically detailed pictures of native ceremonies and rituals accompanying the torture and execution of prisoners.

Pierre Boucher considered Huron treatment of prisoners of war to be a true representation of hell, with a poor miserable wretch, all naked and scorched, abandoned to the rage of barbarians, "...c'est une vraye representation d'Enfer...un pauvre miserable tout nud, & tout grillé, abandonné à la rage de ces barbares."[194]

The Pequot Indians of Connecticut similarly horrified Europeans with their, "...wicked and barbarous manner of killing...."[195] The atrocities practiced by the Tupinambas were said to go unrivaled, "...not in any historie of any nation, no matter how strange and barbarous...have used the same cruelties as these Americaines...."[196] Frenchmen similarly characterized Carib warfare and treatment of prisoners as brutal and barbaric, animal-like and inhuman; Carib hatred for their enemies was extreme, and they gave no quarter in war.[197] These Indians, "...cast off human nature and put on that of the most bloody and furious beasts."[198]

There was, though, some admission that the American Indians did not hold a monopoly on creulty in war and treatment of prisoners. Williams reported that Narragansett warfare was, "...farre lesse bloudy, and devouring then the cruell warres of Europe; and seldome twenty slaine in a pitcht field...."[199] The Canadian Indians cut off the heads of their dead enemies, but so did the Hungarians, who brought the Turks' heads to the Emperor Maximilian. These natives were said to be more humane than many Christians, whose brutality extended to women and children.[200] Even some witnesses to the warfare of the Tupinambas and Caribs admitted that other nations could exceed these Indians in cruelty. The Caribs did not cut off the heads of their enemies or skin them while

still alive, as was the practice of the Canadian Indians, the Scythians, or the ancient Gauls.[201] Léry deplored the carnage and butchery of the Tupinambas, yet acknowledged that, with reference to the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day and the atrocities that followed throughout France, Europeans were capable of committing more detestable acts:

> ...ces choses tant horrible, exercées journellement entre ces nations barbares de la terre du Bresil, pensent aussi un peu de pres à ce qui se fait par deçà parmi nous...durant la sanglante tragedie qui commença à Paris le 24 d'aoust 1572...voire d'autant plus detestables & pires au milieu de nous...il ne faut pas aller si loin...pour voir choses si monstreuses & prodigieuses.[202]

Cannibalism

One practice of the Caribs and Tupinambas of South America was, however, utterly horrifying and inexcusable in the eyes of the French travelers: cannibalism. Not content to merely torture and kill their prisoners of war, these Indians then proceeded to dismember, cook, and eat their victims. The travelers often described the ceremonies surrounding this ritual in minute detail. Until his death, the prisoner was well treated; while being tortured, he seldom showed signs of fear.[203]

These French observers generally did admit that the cannibalism practiced by the natives was done so out of revenge, and not appetite. The Indians' implacable hatred of their traditional enemies, and insatiable desire for revenge culminated in the literally total consumption of their prisoners. Europeans commented that

the natives did not really enjoy the taste of human flesh, and often were ill after eating; they regurgitated what they were unable to digest, "Ils mangent cette viand par rage & non pas par apetit, pour se vanger & non pour se repaistre, ny pour le plaisir qu'ils trouvent en son goust: car la plus part deviennent malades apres cét excerable repas."[204]

Cannibalism was one of the prime stereotypes associated with, and one of the most common epithets heaped on the American Indian.[205] One sixteenth-century account which popularized the image of the American Indian as a cannibal was the story of Hans Staden of Hesse, a German mercenary in Portuguese service in Brazil. Staden was captured by the Tupinambas, and his account, with accompanying woodcuts, emphasized the cannibalism of these natives.[206] Staden's account circulated widely throughout Europe, appearing in Marbourg in 1557 entitled, Véritable Histoire et Description d'un Pays Habité par des Hommes Sauvages, Nus, Féroces et Anthropophages, Situé dans le Nouveau Monde nommé Amérique. In 1593, Staden's work was issued as volume three of the popular thirteen volume series of travel accounts, The Great Voyages, compiled by the Frankfurt publisher, Theodor De Bry. The engravings made by De Bry to accompany Staden's text provided an even more graphic depiction of the cannibalism of the natives than that suggested by Staden's original woodcuts.[207]

In addition, sixteenth-century Spanish accounts of the Caribs, as well as human sacrifice among the Aztecs, furthered the European image of the American Indian as cannibal.[208]

Most writers who accused the natives of unqualified cannibalism either had only very limited contact with the natives, or else were not eyewitness observers, but rather based their information on others' accounts of the Caribs or Tupinambas. François de Belleforest, who never visited America, said that the Caribs, the Indians of Mexico, and those natives encountered by the Spanish explorer, Nunez, were all cannibals.[209] Non-travelers in England maintained that the people of Brazil were "man eaters."[210] The natives of Florida were also said to eat human flesh.[211] The Indians of South America, or as one author called it, "Peruana," were described as, "...cruel, rude, barbarous men eaters..."; those of the island, "Caribum," were "all anthropophagi."[212]

Early English explorers of northeastern Canada reported that the natives of that region were most likely cannibals, "...anthropophagi, devourers of man's flesh...."[213] Credulous travelers out to shock and entertain a curious reading public stressed the cannibalism of the American Indians to an even greater extent than the majority of their contemporaries. Walter Raleigh, on at least five separate occasions in his narrative, referred to the existence of nations of "inhumaine canibals" in Guyana.[214]

The credulous French traveler, Jean Mocquet,[215] described the Caribs as "man eaters" and, "...anthropaphages and eaters of human flesh...." He also said that the Indians of Brazil killed and ate their prisoners, "...like a company of hunger starved dogs."[216] But even two English travelers who had sustained contact with the natives of Massachusetts in the middle decades of the seventeenth century, and otherwise provided their readers with highly informative accounts, referred to these Indians as, "...all of them cannibals, eaters of human flesh...."[217] The Mohawks were reported to be a, "...cruell bloody people...yea very caniballs they were."[218]

Many travelers were careful to relate that their accounts of Indian cannibalism applied only to the particular tribe under discussion. These commentators noted that cannibalism was practiced for ritual purposes, and human flesh was not a regular item of Indian diet. Nevertheless, the stereotype of the Amerindian as cannibal constituted a significant and persistent element of European literary and artistic images of the American Indian, especially in the works of those who never traveled to the New World.

Political Structure

The travelers' detailed descriptions of various native manners of waging war provided contemporary European readers with exciting, and often shocking tales.

The travelers here may also have been motivated by practical considerations--they hoped to inform future settlers concerning potential conflicts with the American natives. A number of travelers, mostly English, were concerned with various patterns of tribal alliances and animosities, and hoped that European settlers could turn the local political configurations to their own advantages. Strachey and Smith provided detailed accounts of the various Indian tribes of Virginia, the names of their chiefs, or "werowances," where they were located, to whom they paid tribute, the approximate number of fighting men of each, and which ones were allied with Powhatan. Strachey advised the English of the strategic advantages to be gained by allying with Powhatan's enemies, "...of Powhatan's auncient enemies, and how they maie be wrought into league with us, and turned against him, whereby we maie bring him likewise to be in friendship with us...."[219] As the English observed, the natives of Virginia were not politically homogeneous. Powhatan was in the process of forming a confederation of these rival tribes in the early seventeenth century, with a complex hierarchy of leadership progressing in stages from the village level up to Powhatan himself. The explorers and colonists appreciated the complexity of Powhatan's political system, and were keenly interested in assessing its organization and strength for purposes of their own defense and security.[220]

Early English travelers to Guyana reported similar strategic information, including the names and numerical strength of various Indian tribes, their locations, their allies, and the names of their chiefs, or "casiques." Englishmen were advised to gain native good will by allying with the Indians against their common enemies, the Spanish. It was even maintained that the Amazons, who were believed to exist somewhere in the South American interior, would surely aid the English Queen Elizabeth in this venture, being eager to assist a ruler who was of the same sex as themselves![221] English travelers to New England also listed the names of the principal tribes of that region, along with their leaders, strength, location, and allies. Special warnings were given against the treacherous Mohawks.[222]

One French lay traveler to Guyana provided his countrymen with a listing of the various Indian tribes of the region, where they were situated, and who their enemies were. Since Indian hatred of their enemies was so great, he urged the French to take advantage of the strife existing among these tribes, "...instruire ceux qui veulent establir des Colonies en ce païs là, des moyens qu'ils doivent tenir pour profiter de leurr desordres."[223] Léry advised his readers that the Tupinambas were allied with the French, and also cited the various other Indian tribes in the surrounding region.[224] Champlain observed the distinctions among different tribes in the area of

the St. Lawrence, and Sagard named the various Huron provinces and their rulers.[225]

Although as discussed at the outset of this chapter, the great majority of French travelers believed the American Indians lived entirely without law or government, an effort was made to describe any native offices, institutions, or customs which might provide some order and regulation in Indian society. French accounts generally give an impression of a minimum amount of coercion and restriction existing among native societies. French travelers portrayed the Indians as enjoying a good deal of freedom in comparison to Europeans. In addition, the French perceived Indian chiefs as holding far less power than European rulers. Important decisions were arrived at in native councils; leaders were chosen on the basis of merit, and their authority was clearly limited.

Tupinamba villages were described as divided into four groupings, each with its own leader, who was responsible to the chief of the entire village, who, in turn, was responsible to the "principal" of the entire province. The basic unit of each group was the family, headed by the father.[226] The village headman owed his position to his general esteem and reputation as a valiant warrior; he was usually an older, experienced man. Important decisions were made by a council of elders. The chief gave advice, which was usually followed, but had no authority to give absolute commands, "Le Chef ne sert &

n'a autre authorité entr'eux sinon que pour donner son advis...." Although there was no formality or public authority for the administration of justice, if one injured another, the same injury was inflicted upon him.[227]

French travelers reported that the Caribs of the Antilles elected "captains" to lead them in war; these men were the most valiant, but their power was limited only to commanding in war. In addition, each village had its own headman. This position was not hereditary, and was dependent on merit. The administration of justice, however, was a private matter, with the injured party obliged to seek his own revenge.[228] Biet discerned no law among the mainland Caribs of Guyana, but he acknowledged that these natives upheld a certain manner of living which they passed from father to son, and guarded as inviolable. These Caribs had chiefs whom they obeyed on specific occasions, but unlike kings, these men were not regarded as any greater than other people, "...ils ayent des Capitaines...aux ordres desquels ils obeissent dans les occasions: neanmoins ils ne sont pas plus que le reste, & ne portent aucune marque de leur préeminence... Ils n'ont point de Rois...." The Caribs held general assemblies to discuss important public affairs, decide on waging war, negotiate with other tribes, and celebrate an important marriage or funeral; local assemblies were held to plant a garden or build a house. The elders

of the tribe presided at all such occasions, and were not interrupted when they spoke.[229]

Frenchmen noted that the Hurons of Canada were "plus policez," or better governed, or organized than the neighboring, nomadic Montagnais. The Hurons had headmen, or "captains," who performed such important functions as maintaining order, leading in war, taking charge of torture and execution of prisoners, and crying out the news. These men led their people by means of suggestions and advice, rather than by absolute orders or commands. The Hurons respected and obeyed these "captains," but only as long as they fulfilled their duties and acted appropriately, "Ils respectent beaucoup leur Capitaines, & leur obeyssent promptement, sur tout quand ils ne sont point vicieux...."[230] However, Sagard faulted the Hurons for the lack of order in their public life, since he observed no formal authority for punishment of criminals, "...leur mauvais ordre, et le peu de police qui souffre les mauvais concitoyens impunis, est cause de tout ce mal...."[231]

English travelers regarded native political configurations as, "...nothing if compared with Europe...."[232] But unlike the French, they seldom reported that the American natives lived without laws and governors. The English saw a far greater degree of restrictions and distinctions in native political structures, and frequently noted that the Indian "common people" deferred to their

superiors. English discussions of native political life conclude that government is a natural and necessary element of all human societies.

Travelers to Virginia deemed the Indians barbarous, yet perceived government existing among the natives, "...there is a civill government amongst them which they strictly observe, and shew thereby that the law of Nature dwelleth in them: for they have a rude kinde of Commonwealth, and rough government, wherein they both honour and obey their Kings, Parents, and Governours...."[233] Roger Williams likewise reported that government existed among the Narragansetts of Rhode Island, "The wildest of the sonnes of Men have ever found a necessity, (for preservation of themselves, their Families and Properties) to cast themselves into some mould or forme of Government."[234]

English travelers commonly utilized familiar European terminology to describe native "government," thereby transposing their own political structure onto that of native society.[235] English travelers were especially impressed by Powhatan, and provided detailed descriptions of his person, residence, powers, and "court."[236] One observer found it puzzling that such a, "...barbarous and uncivill prince should take unto him... a forme and ostentation of such majestie...," but then added it was most likely due to, "...an infused kind of divinities...," which all rulers partook of.[237] Powhatan's "government" was described as "monarchical," and his rule

over his subordinate commanders, or "werowances," was likened to an, "...emperor ruling over many kings and governors...."[238] The English were favorably impressed with what they viewed as the native subjects' obedience to their rulers, a highly desirable characteristic in English eyes, "Although the countrie people be very barbarous; yet have they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrats for good commanding and their people for du subjection and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill."[239] An earlier traveler to the North Carolina coastal region recorded a similar observation, "..no people in the world carry more respect to their King, nobility and governors than these do."[240]

English travelers to New England also interpreted Indian political life in European terms, and praised the obedience of native subjects for their rulers. The Europeans characterized native government as "monarchical," and frequently referred to the chief, or "sachem," as a "king."[241] The English reported that Indian "subjects" were highly obedient, "...their persons at the King's command and half their estate at this service...."[242] The natives exhibited, "...great reverence to their King and are in great subjection to their governors."[243]

Festivals

Finally, some travelers paid attention to Indian festivals and feasts. The Timucuas of Florida celebrated

the feast of Toya, honoring the sun.[244] The Caribs held feasts, accompanied by much dancing and drinking, prior to going to war, after returning from war, at the birth of the first male child, when a child's hair was cut for the first time, when a son entered the ranks of the warriors, when a new dwelling or garden was built, and upon recovery from an illness.[245] The Caribs engaged in many forms of dancing, performed with various masks, as a sign of either sorrow or joy.[246] French observers generally recognized that dancing fulfilled an important ritual function in Indian society, and was not merely a pleasurable pastime. The Micmacs of Canada performed dances to please the gods, cheer someone, celebrate a victory, or ward off illness.[247] Similar ritual functions were associated with dancing among the Hurons. These natives held feasts to honor or thank someone.[248] The Narragansetts of Rhode Island observed the Nickommo Feast, a large assemblage hosted by an individual who would give away much personal property in the hope of attaining health and prosperity.[249]

The early modern French and English travelers to the New World bequeathed to later anthropologists detailed, and often voluminous accounts of the daily life and social structure of various societies of American Indians. However, the travel writers' ultimate assessment of

Amerindian culture does not appear to have been greatly influenced by either the quantity or the quality of data recorded. Many general conceptions about "savage" life, especially the tendency to oversimplify the societies of primitive people, remained unaltered, even in the wake of an increasing amount of detailed information recorded by travelers to the New World.[250] The travel accounts contain numerous facts, but these were not interpreted to mean that the Indians lived within ordered social systems. In the final analysis, the overwhelming consensus among the travelers was that the American Indians lacked any civilization whatsoever. The majority of travel writers, and readers, most probably did not regard Indian customs as worthy of serious study, but rather as collections of exotic or curious practices.[251] Although Renaissance and early modern Europeans acknowledged that the information contained in the travel literature testified to the great diversity of man, they did not recognize the societies of the American Indians as viable cultures. As one French compiler of travel literature maintained, histories of strange customs of various peoples only served to illustrate the blessings and perfection of the Christian life.[252] Lescarbot, although professing a desire to understand the customs and mode of life of the Canadian Micmacs, nevertheless stated another motive: by considering the deplorable state and condition of the Indians, Europeans may thank God for the greater favor He has

shown them, "...par la consideration de leur deplorable état & condition...nous venions à remercier Dieu de ce qu'il nous a gratifié...."[253] The European travelers applied only their own standard of civilization in their assessment of Indian life. Europeans therefore regarded the natives as totally lacking culture, civility, and learning.[254] The natives were criticized for their rudeness, and, above all, their lack of writing, which European contemporaries considered a hallmark of civilized nations.[255]

English travelers sometimes acknowledged that the American Indians were, "...very ingenious in their own manner...,"[256] having mastered those skills and techniques necessary for survival in their own environment. But most English observers regarded the Indians as lazy, uncultivated, and ignorant. They judged the Indians of Virginia to be a poor people, without tools, crafts, sciences, or arts, and lacking, "...skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things." These people were also said to lack, "...letters or other means to keep records...."[257] Another traveler added that the Virginia Indians had, "...no Art, nor science, nor trade to imploy themselves...."[258]

English commentators similarly observed that the Indians of Massachusetts had no knowledge of navigation, and, "...cannot traffique as do other civilized nations...."[259] The English considered these people ignorant because

they lacked written records or chronicles.[260] Another traveler to Massachusetts admired native skill at building wigwams and snow shoes, maneuvering canoes, tracking moose, and traveling through the country, yet maintained nevertheless that, "...their learning is very little or none...," since the natives had no skill in arithmetic or knowledge of astronomy.[261] Even those English travel accounts that contain descriptions of the more advanced societies of Mesoamerica, deprecate the achievements of this Indian civilization. The Aztecs were said to show, "...no trace of arts, learning, or civilitie...."[262] Although admitting that the Mexicans were, "...ingenious in diverse mechanical arts...," they were, nevertheless, said to be, "...in other things so strangely stupid and ignorant."[263] In short, the English condemned the American Indians for being, "...not a people over-much addicted to any kind of labor or study...wholly rude of acquired knowledge or literature...."[264]

Some French observers praised the Tupinambas for being very ingenious and industrious. The French admired the natives' ability to provide themselves with whatever was necessary for their survival; the Indians imitated the perfections of birds and animals in all they did.[265] Yet French travelers faulted these people for being ignorant of reading, studying, or use of letters, "...sans lecture, sans estudes, n'ayant jamais eu l'usage des lettres & mesme n'ayant jamais esté appris ny

enseignez en aucune chose...."[266] Another Frenchman maintained that the Tupinambas lived like "brute beasts," since they lacked civility.[267] They reportedly did not distinguish days according to name, and did not count months or years. The Tupinambas were said to lack all letters, and could only communicate verbally; they were thus unable to learn from books. Léry condemned the absence of writing, which he considered to be one of the singular gifts of God:

> Quant à l'escriture...ils ne savent que c'est ...n'ayans nuls characteres pour signifier quelque chose...qu'eux ne se peuvent rien communique sinon verbalement...cette invention d'escrire que nous avons...doit etre mise qu rang des dons singulieurs, que les hommes de par deça ont receu de Dieu.[268]

French travelers frowned upon the Caribs of the Antilles, who were said to have, "...little knowledge of those excellent things which study and experience have made familiar among civilized nations...no care of cultivating their minds, no instruction in civility and virtue...." The Caribs were thought to be ignorant of their own origins and history since they lacked written records.[269] Parents were said to raise their children as "brute beasts," and did not teach them civility or manners, "...sont élevez par leurs Peres & leurs Meres, plustost en bestes brutes qu'en hommes raisonnables; car ils ne leur aprennent ny civilité, ny honneur...."[270] French travelers criticized these people for thinking only of the immediate present, and lacking curiosity about far off places and things, the past, or future.

La Borde asserted that native "science" consisted only of such skills as drawing the bow, swimming, and fishing, "...toute leur science quand ils font grands est de tirer de l'arc, nager, pescher...."[271]

Frenchmen similarly portrayed the Caribs of Guyana as ignorant and uncultivated, having no knowledge of physics or natural things, and unable to judge effects by their causes. The Indians reportedly had no art but that of making little huts and gardens, "...ils n'ont jamais eu aucune connoissance des choses naturelles... qu'ils n'ont jamais eu le don de juger des effets, par les causes Souveraines...Ils n'ont l'art que de se former de petites cazes...."[272] One traveler noted that these Indians had no letters to express their thoughts, and preferred to live in "ancient ignorance"; he regarded them as totally uncultivated, "...il n'est point cultivé."[273]

Pierre Biard, a Jesuit priest, was extremely critical of the lack of learning, cultivation, and development which he perceived among the Indians of Canada. He faulted these people for their present-mindedness, and failure to care for the future. Biard reported that the natives worked only if required to by present necessity. Their society gave no indication of progress or perfection in the arts, sciences, or philosophy. They lacked literature and medicine, and their culture did not give rise to any of those trades or arts which Biard regarded as necessary to improve life. Biard

believed that the poverty in which the Indians lived afforded them no opportunity to develop their minds. He described the natives as totally uncultivated, "...like stunted and ill begotten wild plants, wretched and dispersed."[274]

In no other realm is this general European indictment of Indian society and culture more clearly evident than in the travelers' assessment of native language. Many travelers made attempts to understand Indian languages, and included dictionaries and phrasebooks of native speech in their accounts.[275] Nevertheless, their judgments of Indian language were essentially negative. The travelers maintained that native language was highly deficient, since they believed that the Indians were incapable of expressing any universal or abstract conceptions. The Europeans reported that Indian languages were limited to expressions dealing solely with the senses and immediate experience. Since the travelers could ascertain no words indicative of abstract thought, they denied this faculty to the Indians.[276]

In discussing Indian cultural development in general, and language in particular, the European travelers passed from the process of objective reporting to that of formulating highly negative value judgments. Native customs and practices surrounding such activities as marriage, childbirth, occupations, crafts, tribal councils,

warfare, and death, could all be recorded by an astute traveler who spent sufficient time among the Indians to observe their daily routines. But comments regarding native language and intellectual faculties required a sustained amount of meaningful communication between Indian and European. Many travelers testified to the difficulty of learning native languages, and although a number of accounts contain Indian dictionaries and phrasebooks, one may question the degree of proficiency in native tongues truly possessed by even those observers. The Europeans, not fully understanding Indian language, dismissed it as empty and deficient, and extended this highly subjective judgment to native mental development in general.

English travelers described the language of the Indians of Massachusetts as, "...copious, large, difficult...."[277] Indian language was said to be, "...irregular, anomalous, having no verb substantive, particles, or conjunctions, which are necessary to rational and perfect discourse...."[278] William Wood considered native language hard to learn, and difficult for the English to pronounce, "...not inclining to any of the refined tongues...."[279]

French travelers recorded similar comments. Thevet dismissed the Tupinamba language as short and obscure.[280] The Caribs were described as unable to express what did not fall under their senses, having

no words for spiritual things, no comparatives or superlatives.[281] Travelers characterized the Carib language as sterile, lacking words dealing with theology, arts, or sciences, "La Langue des Galibis & presque de tout ce grad païs de l'Amerique est fort sterile...." The Caribs were said to be content to limit their vocabulary to simple words necessary for communication with each other, dealing only with those things apprehensible by the senses. Biet described their language as very easy, "...cette Langue est extrément facile...," consisting of only two parts of speech, lacking the tenses and cases of European speech.[282] One observer remarked on the poverty of the Carib language, and believed it lacked words dealing with such abstract and spiritual subjects as justice, virtue, religion, and science. He asserted that if animals could talk, they could be given no language more appropriate than that of the Caribs, "...si les bestes pouvoient parler, je ne voudrois point leur donner d'autre langue que celle des Caraïbes."[283]

Likewise, Biard faulted the language of the Micmacs of Canada for its lack of vocabulary dealing with religion, government, liberal or mechanical arts, and commercial or civil life. He believed that the Indians' understanding was limited to sensible and material things, as their language contained no words to express abstract conceptions or universal ideas. In short, "...the mind cannot be refined, rich and disciplined

if language is rude, poor and confused...."[284]

French and English travelers to the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite their curiosity and straightforward relations of many detailed Indian customs and practices, did not see any rules or structure ordering the various native societies they observed. They maintained that the natives lived without learning or civility, and believed that the American Indians lacked any civilization whatsoever. The travelers did not appreciate powerful, albeit less tangible forms of social control at work in native society, dictated by custom, ritual, and taboo. The travelers did not merely perceive the Indians as inferior in cultural development, but rather viewed the natives as "tabula rasa," blank slates, lacking any culture at all. However, the travelers did not believe that the American Indians were innately or intrinsically inferior. Europeans regarded the Indians as deficient in learning, civility, and, as shall now be examined, religion, but these were considered to be acquired elements. Up through at least the middle of the seventeenth century, the Europeans had great faith in their ability to imprint the hallmarks of their own civilization on what they viewed as the empty societies of the New World natives. The Renaissance placed great value on man's rationality, capacity for education, and desire to attain "disinterested knowledge," or awareness of things outside of, and higher

than himself.[285] That the American Indians appeared as being concerned only with the immediate present and surrounding world of the sensible was, to the travelers of this era, an indication that native life was no better than that of the beasts. As illustrated by the perceived poverty of their languages, the Indians were believed to have no knowledge of, nor aspirations towards anything higher, or spiritual. This apparent lack of concern for one's future, eternal state, and absence of knowledge of the divine, appeared as the greatest shortcoming of Indian society, but, once again, Europeans viewed this as a deficiency which could be remedied. So important was this task to contemporaries that it now deserves separate consideration.

FOOTNOTES

[1]J.H. Elliott, "The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man," Proceedings of the British Academy 58 (1972):101ff., 112f., illustrates how Spanish commentators viewed their own civilization as greatly superior to that of the Indians.

[2]See above, chapter 2.

[3]Margaret Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia, 1964), 228ff., 254ff.; Lee Eldridge Huddleston, Origins of the American Indians. European Concepts, 1492-1729 (Austin, Texas, 1967), 75; and François de Belleforest, L'Histoire Universelle du Monde (Paris, 1570), preface, n.p.

[4]Arnaldo Momigliano, Studies in History (New York, 1966), 127ff.; Stephen Usher, The Historians of Greece and Rome (New York, 1969), 8ff.; Amy Glassner Gordon, "The Impact of the Discoveries on Sixteenth-Century French Cosmographical and Historical Thought" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), 8ff.; and Hodgen, 20ff.

[5]George Huppert, "The Idea of Civilization in the Sixteenth Century," in Anthony Molho and John Tedeschi, eds., Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron (DeKalb, Illinois, 1971), 759ff., 766ff.

[6]The European tendency to evaluate the Indian according to what he lacked relative to European culture has been a persistent theme in the White man's stereotyped vision of the Indian. See Robert F. Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian. Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York, 1978).

[7]It must be strongly pointed out that, although frequently comparing the manner of life of the Indians to that of beasts, no French or English traveler ever maintained that the New World natives were actually animals, or in any respect less than human in the physical sense.

[8]George Peckham, A True Report of the Late Discoveries and Posession taken in the Right of the Crown of England of the Newfound Lands..., in Richard Hakluyt, ed., The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations,

Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (London, 1600), 177.

[9]Dionise Settle, Second Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher Made to the West and Northwest Regions, in the Year 1577, in Hakluyt, 37; and Thomas Churchyarde, A Prayse and Reporte of Maister Martyne Forboishers Voyage to Meta Incognita (London, 1589), n.p.

[10]John Eliot, A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England (London, 1655), 1.

[11]William Wood, New Englands Prospect (London, 1634), 77. See also Daniel Gookin, Historical Collections of the Indians in New England (1674), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1(Boston, 1792):177.

[12]William Strachey, The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia (MS. 1613; London, 1849), 17, 45, 47.

[13]Robert Gray, A Good Speed to Virginia (London, 1609), n.p.

[14]Lawrence Kemys, A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana (London, 1596), n.p.

[15]Discussion of European descriptions of, and responses to Indian religion is reserved for the following chapter.

[16]Claude d'Abbeville, Histoire de la Mission des Peres Capucins en L'Isle de Maragnan et Terres Circonvoisines (Paris, 1614), 328.

[17]André Thevet, The New Found Worlde, or Antarctike, trans. Thomas Hacket (Paris, 1558; London, 1568), 43.

[18]Sieur de La Borde, Relation de L'Origine, Moeurs, Coustumes, Religion, Guerres et Voyages des Caraibes, in H.Justel, ed., Recueil de Divers Voyages Fait en Afrique et en L'Amerique qui n'ont point esté encore Publiez (Paris, 1674), 19.

[19]Paul Boyer, Veritable Relation de tout ce qui s'est Fait et Passe au Voyage que Monsieur de Bretigny fit à L'Amerique Occidentale (Paris, 1654), 266f., 272.

[20]Antoine Biet, Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en L'Isle de Cayenne (Paris, 1664), 359ff.

[21]Pierre Biard, Relation de La Nouvelle France

(Lyons, 1616), in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 77 vols. (Cleveland, 1896), 3:109,195.

[22]Marc Lescarbot, L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France, ed. and trans. W.L. Grant, 3 vols. (Paris, 1618; Toronto, 1907), 1:212, 229.

[23]Samuel de Champlain, Voyages et Descouvertures Faites en la Nouvelle France depuis L'Année 1615. jusques à la fin de L'Année 1618. (Paris, 1619), in W.L. Grant, ed. and trans. Voyages of Samuel de Champlain (New York, 1907), 285.

[24]Indian languages expressed cultural concepts which were quite distinct from those of Europeans, and lacked expressions for many ideas familiar to Europeans. See Stanley Diamond, "Plato and the Definition of the Primitive," in S. Diamond, ed., Primitive Views of the World (New York, 1960), 185f.; and Alfred G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700 (New Brunswick, Canada, 1937), 20. On the difficulty of communication between Indian and European, see Bailey; and Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," in Fredi Chiappelli, ed., First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1976), 2:571ff. The travelers' assessment of Indian languages is discussed later in this chapter.

[25]Abbeville, 328.

[26]Ibid., 277ff., 297ff., 322ff., 287ff., 328ff., respectively.

[27]Biet, 359f.

[28]Ibid., 363ff., 376ff., 385ff., 368ff., 359ff., respectively.

[29]Lescarbot, 1:212, 229.

[30]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, trans. P. Erondelle (London, 1609), 145ff., 142ff., 168ff., 201ff., 207ff., 294ff., 285ff., 248ff., 228ff., respectively. The text of Nova Francia is included in Lescarbot's longer work, L'Hisotire de la Nouvelle France.

[31]Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithaca, N.Y., 1958), 510, 548, discusses the absence of windy verbiage and rhetorical decoration which contributed to the matter-of-fact style of the travel accounts. See also Geoffroy Atkinson,

Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Française (Geneva, 1935; rpt. 1969), 102ff., 118.

[32]Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (Chapel Hill, 1975), regards Puritan sources as offering only a distorted portrayal of the natives. Berkhofer also maintains that the contents of European travel accounts are too ideological to be of any ethnohistorical value.

[33]Bruce G. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic. A History of the Huron People to 1660, 2 vols. (Montreal, 1976), relies heavily on European travel accounts as primary source material, and urges anthropologists and ethnohistorians to examine such written historical records, in addition to their traditional reliance on field work and archaeological evidence. Carl O. Sauer, Sixteenth-Century North America. The Land and the People as Seen by the Europeans (Berkeley, 1971), cites the work of Thomas Hariot dealing with Virginia and North Carolina, as well as Jacques Cartier's account of native conditions in Canada, and René Laudonnière's history of Florida as examples of European travel accounts which contain valuable ethnohistorical information. Bernard G. Hoffman, Cabot to Cartier. Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North America, 1497-1550 (Toronto, 1961), faults anthropologists for not sufficiently studying such historical sources as the Jesuit Relations, as well as the writings of Cartier, André Thevet (whose work on Brazil also contained much original ethnographic information pertaining to Canada which the author obtained verbally from Cartier), Marc Lescarbot, Samuel de Champlain, and Gabriel Sagard-Théodat. A Métraux, "Les Précurseurs de L'Ethnologie en France du XVI^{e} au XVII^{e} Siècle," Cahiers D'Histoire Mondiale 7 (1963):721-738, praises the perceptiveness of Thevet, Claude d'Abbeville, and Yves d'Evreux, who observed the Tupinambas of Brazil; and Antoine Biet and Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, who recorded information about the Caribs of Guyana and the Antilles, respectively.

[34]See Eleanor B. Leacock and Nancy O. Lurie, eds., North American Indians in Historical Perspective (New York, 1971).

[35]Also observed by Richard S. Dunn, "Seventeenth-Century English Historians of America," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America (Chapel Hill, 1959), 197f., 208ff., who adds that English travel writers of this period produced no studies dealing specifically with America, but rather focused on English accomplishments in the New World.

[36]Harold E. Driver, The Indians of North America (Chicago, 1969), 530; Marcel Trudel, "La Recontre des Cultures," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française 18 (1965):477-516; and Mason Wade, "The French and the Indians," in Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, eds., Attitudes of Colonial Powers toward the American Indian (Salt Lake City, 1969), 63f., 67f., who in addition notes that the English Hudson's Bay Company in Canada did not adopt the native canoe as a means of transportation for over a century.

[37]Wade, 72; Driver, 530; Trudel, The Beginnings of New France, 1524-1663 (Canada, 1973), 154f.; Gilbert Chinard, L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII[e] et au XVIII[e] Siècle (Paris, 1934), 156ff.; and Trigger, "The French Presence in Huronia: The Structure of Franco-Huron Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," Canadian Historical Review, 49 (1968):119f.

[38]Cornelius J. Jaenen, Friend and Foe. Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York, 1976), 161ff.

[39]Champlain, 269, 310. See also Trigger, "The French Presence in Huronia,", 116, 118f.

[40]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 137-306.

[41]Charles de Rochefort, The History of the Caribby-Islands, trans. John Davies (Rotterdam, 1658; London, 1666), 177f.

[42]Ibid., 204, 249-351.

[43]Jean de Léry, Histoire d'un Voyage Faict en la Terre du Brésil, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1580; rpt. Paris, 1880), 1:39, 122-156; 2:29-121.

[44]Abbeville, 169.

[45]Yves d'Evreux, Suitte de L'Histoire des Choses plus Memorable Advenuës en Maragnan (Paris, 1615), 96, 99f., 135.

[46]See chapter 5, below, for greater discussion of European missionary activity in the New World.

[47]Abbeville, 95.

[48]Lengthy and detailed accounts of Indian society, culture, and history were also produced by Spanish Catholic missionaries to the New World. Mesoamerican civilization

especially received careful analysis in the writings of the Dominicans, Juan Ferrer and Bartolomé de Las Casas; the Franciscans, Bernardino de Sahagún and Toribio de Benavente Motolinía; and the Jesuit, José de Acosta. See Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indian (Bloomington, Ind., 1959), 10, 23, 86; Benjamin Keen, The Aztec Image in Western Thought (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971), 105ff.; and Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 293ff.

[49]Evreux, 80ff., 93ff.

[50]Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, Histoire Generale des Antilles Habitées par les François, 4 vols. (Paris, 1667), 2:356-415.

[51]Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, Le Grand Voyage du Pay des Hurons (Paris, 1632), 113-296. The ethnographic value of Sagard's work is attested to by Jack Warwick, "Humanisme Chrétien et Bons Sauvages," XVII[e] Siècle 97 (1972):49.

[52]Wesley Frank Craven, "Indian Policy in Early Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 1 (1944): 74ff., 79.

[53]Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier. Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675 (Boston, 1965), 208f.

[54]W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., "Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia," Journal of Southern History 18 (1952):166f.; Wilbur R. Jacobs, "British Colonial Attitudes and Policies toward the Indian in the American Colonies," in Peckham, 90; Vaughan, 208f.; and Gary B. Nash, Red, White and Black. The Peoples of Early America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974), 66, 87, 279ff.

[55]Walter Ralegh, The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana (London, 1596; rpt. London, 1848), 61. See above, chapter 3.

[56]The text of this letter is printed in the Virginia State Library's publication of Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia (London, 1615; rpt. Richmond, Va., 1957), 61ff. Pocahontas arrived in England in 1616, and became the latest rage. She was received as a princess, crowds greeted her in the streets, and she was entertained by the royal family. King James I objected to this marriage, not because the union of Indian and Englishman offended his sensibilities, but rather, he was incensed at the presumption of Rolfe, a commoner, in marrying an Indian "princess." The English applied to Indian society their own categories of political

organization, and hence James also feared any children of this union might claim sovereignty over Virginia, Pocahontas being of "royal blood" since her father was the great "king," Powhatan. Pocahontas died in 1617, and was buried in England. See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Indians Abroad, 1493-1938 (Norman, Oklahoma, 1943), 22ff. For additional information on Pocahontas, see the more recent, Philip L. Barbour, Pocahontas and Her World (Boston, 1970); and Frances Mossiker, Pocahontas: The Life and the Legend (New York, 1975).

[57]Churchyarde; Settle; and John Brereton, A Brief and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia (London, 1602), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 28 (Boston, 1843).

[58]Hamor; Alexander Whitaker, Good Newes from Virginia (London, 1613); and Robert Johnson, The New Life of Virginia (London, 1612).

[59]Thomas Hariot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia (London, 1588).

[60]Strachey, 55ff., 100ff.; and John Smith, A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion (Oxford, 1612), in Edward Arber, ed., The Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, rev. ed. (New York, 1967), 79ff.

[61]Smith, 65-83. Smith's larger and more popular work, The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles (London, 1624), in Arber, is primarily a narrative history of English exploration and colonization in the New World; information about the Indians does not go beyond that which was contained in A Map of Virginia.

[62]Eliot; Thomas Shepard, The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New England (London, 1648); Strength out of Weakness, or a Glorious Manifestation of the Further Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England (London, 1652); and Edward Winslow, Good Newes from New England (London, 1624), which does contain a significant amount of information about the Indians, but interspersed throughout the author's narrative account, which is primarily devoted to a relation of the colonists' efforts to establish settlement. Daniel Gookin's account also includes observations regarding native material culture, along with the geographic location and strength of various tribes in the region, but Gookin's prime concern was not the life and customs of the Indians, but rather English efforts to convert and civilize them. See below, chapter 5, for more information on Puritan attitudes towards the Indian.

[63]John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England (London, 1674), 123-151.

[64]Wood, "Preface," n.p., 62-97.

[65]Vaughan, 89ff.

[66]Thomas Morton, New English Canaan or New Canaan (Amsterdam, 1637), 17-58.

[67]Perry Miller, Roger Williams. His Contribution to the American Tradition (New York, 1953; rpt. 1962), 19f., 50ff., who describes Williams as the first literate Englishman to live intimately with the Indians.

[68]Roger Williams, A Key into the Language of America (London, 1643; rpt. Providence, 1936), 1-204, however, this is not all solid text, since much space is devoted to Williams' Indian dictionary and moralizing verse.

[69]Ibid., 151. Only one exception was present in this study of travel accounts, the French layman, Paul Boyer, who claimed that the Caribs of Guyana had no knowledge of husband or wife. Boyer, 265f.

[70]Abbeville, 279.

[71]Biet, 388f. Travelers to Canada, New England, and Virginia recorded similar comments regarding the ease with which the Indians could terminate their marriages. See Pierre Boucher, Histoire Veritable et Naturelle des Moeurs et Productions du Pays de la Nouvelle France (Paris, 1664), 104f.; Gookin, 149; and Strachey, 109f.

[72]Wood, 81; Strachey, 109f.; Henry Spelman, A Relation of Virginia (1613) in Arber, cvii; Biard, 99; Boucher, 103; and Champlain, 319f.

[73]Boucher, 103; and Champlain, 319f.

[74]Du Tertre, 2:378f.

[75]See above, chapter 2.

[76]Abbeville, 279.

[77]Thevet, 65; Evreux, 90; and Léry, 2:85.

[78]Evreux, 90; and Abbeville, 279.

[79]Abbeville, 280; and Léry, 2:86.

[80]Rochefort, 332; and Du Tertre, 2:378.

[81]Du Tertre, 2:378f.

[82]René Laudonnière, L'Histoire Notable de la Floride (1586), in Charles E. Bennett, ed., Three Voyages (Gainesville, Florida, 1975), 13; and Nicolas Le Challeux, Brief Discourse et Histoire d'un Voyage de quelques François en la Floride (Paris, 1579; rpt. 1835), 188.

[83]Biard, 99.

[84]Gookin, 149.

[85]Williams, 147.

[86]Josselyn, 99.

[87]Strachey, 114.

[88]Williams, 146. Adultery was also considered a crime by the natives of Virginia, with severe punishment inflicted. See Spelman, cx ff.; and Whitaker, 26f.

[89]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 205.

[90]Thevet, 66; Léry, 2:86f.; and Abbeville, 329. Adultery was also regarded as criminal among the Caribs. See Rochefort, 317.

[91]Sagard, 159ff.

[92]Nicolas Denys, Description Geographique et Historique des Costes de L'Amerique Septentrionale (Paris, 1672), 380.

[93]Rochefort, 332, 336; and Du Tertre, 2:377.

[94]Thevet, 65; Léry, 2:85; and Abbeville, 279.

[95]La Borde, 19.

[96]Du Tertre, 2:377.

[97]Rochefort, 262. These relationships most likely only applied to one's father's brother and mother's sister, and their children, who were parallel cousins.

[98]Evreux, 93ff.

[99]See above, chapter 3. Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages du XVII[e] Siècle et L'Évolution des Idées

(Paris, 1924; rpt. Geneva, 1972), 130ff., asserts that the travelers' reporting of the existence of women who did not suffer in childbirth was still another piece of evidence seized on by seventeenth-century libertines and eighteenth-century philosophes to support their attacks on the truth of the Bible and the universality of Christian revelation. Discussion of contemporary European scholars' use of facts from travel literature to buttress their various theories is reserved for chapter 7.

[100]Gookin, 155. See also Josselyn, 99; and Morton, 31.

[101]Winslow, 55.

[102]Williams, 149. The Micmac women of Canada were also said to be easily delivered of their children. See Biard, 109.

[103]Du Tertre, 2:372, 379f. See also Biet, 389; La Borde, 32; and Rochefort, 336.

[104]Evreux, 90; Léry, 2:87; and Abbeville, 281.

[105]Laudonnière, 13; and Le Challeux, 188.

[106]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 236.

[107]Denys, 379. Sagard, 79, observed that Huron women were not confined to special quarters during this time, but were obliged to eat their food separately, and no one else could eat what they had touched. The practice of segregating menstruating women was also upheld by the Narragansetts, Powhatan's tribes of Virginia, and the Indians of Massachusetts, where women were required to wash themselves and all they had touched before rejoining their community. See Williams, n.p.; Strachey, 67; and Winslow, 59.

[108]Biet, 389. See also Rochefort, 335; and Jacques Bouton, Relation de L'Establissement des Françoís depuis l'an 1635 en L'Isle de la Martinique (Paris, 1640), 115.

[109]Du Tertre, 2:372f. See also Rochefort, 337; Biet, 390; La Borde, 32; and Bouton, 112f.

[110]Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages, 78f., stressing that the idea of the"noble savage" had an earlier currency than usually believed, links the travelers' relation of native women nursing their own children to Rousseau's advocacy of this practice as one aspect of returning to activities which were natural to humanity. See below, chapter 7, for further discussion.

[111]That French travelers to Canada viewed Indian child rearing as too permissive is also discussed by Jaenen, 94ff.

[112]Gookin, 149. See also Josselyn, 128.

[113]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 142f.

[114]Sagard, 171; and Champlain, 321.

[115]Biet, 390.

[116]La Borde, 34. See also Du Tertre, 2:376. Earlier in his account, however, Du Tertre praised native women for the great love and care they exhibited towards their children, 375.

[117]Thevet, 65; and Léry, 2:88.

[118]Abbeville, 281f.

[119]Léry, 2:90. Tupinamba child rearing is also discussed by Evreux, 80ff.

[120]Winslow, 58f.

[121]Du Tertre, 2:376f., 386; and Rochefort, 308f.

[122]George Alsop, A Character of the Province of Maryland (London, 1666; rpt. New York, 1869), 78.

[123]Williams, 201ff.

[124]Morton, 51. Other English travelers devoted separate chapters of their accounts to discussions of native funeral practices. For New England, see Wood, 92; for Virginia, see Spelman, cix.

[125]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 295. For discussion of funeral practices among the Canadian Indians, see also Biard, 127ff.; and Denys, 448ff.

[126]Sagard, 282ff.

[127]Thevet, 66f.

[128]Evreux, 140f.; and Léry, 2:118ff. For detailed discussions of funeral practices among the Caribs, see Rochefort, 348ff.; La Borde, 37; and Biet, 391.

[129]Smith, 67ff.

[130]Strachey, 68.

[131]Williams, 171ff., 112, 109; Wood, 87ff., 90f.; Gookin, 152f., 149f.; Morton, 24f., 28ff.; and Josselyn, 126, 128, 143f.

[132]Denys, 369ff., 403f., 405ff.

[133]Jacques Cartier, Brief Recit, & Succinte Narration, de la Navigation faicte es ysles de Canada (1545), in H.P. Biggar, trans. Voyages of Jacques Cartier (Ottawa, 1924), 153ff.; Champlain, 313; and Sagard, 95, 113ff., 122f.

[134]Léry, 2:98. See also Du Tertre, 2:397.

[135]Abbeville, 283f.; Thevet, 68, 92f.; Rochefort, 292; Du Tertre, 2:381f., 395ff.; and Léry, 2:96f.

[136]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 211

[137]Williams, 45. See also Josselyn, 129; and Wood, 67, who states that Indian diet is, "...without bread, salt or beere."

[138]Du Tertre, 2:389; La Borde, 17; and Rochefort, 273. The absence of salt was also specifically noted by Paul Le Jeune, "Relation of What Occurred in New France" (1634), in Jesuit Relations, 5:99.

[139]Strachey, 74f.; and Le Challeux, 208.

[140]Le Challeux, 208.

[141]Thevet, 39. See also Léry, 1:141ff.

[142]Detailed descriptions of the preparation of corn meal can be found in Strachey, 74f.; Le Challeux, 208; Champlain, 315; Smith, 62; and Williams, 38.

[143]Thevet, 44.

[144]Abbeville, 305f. See also Léry, 1:141ff.

[145]Abbeville, 305.

[146]Boyer, 271. See also Thevet, 46; and Léry, 1:151.

[147]Wood, 67.

[148]Settle, 37.

[149]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 239.

[150]Le Jeune, 99ff.; Du Tertre, 2:376; and Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 239. The sole exception is Rochefort, 297, who asserted that the Caribs were, "...temperate and cleanly in their ordinary repasts."

[151]Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization," in Smith, 57. See also Ruth Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century (Urbana, Ill., 1929), 156, who states that hunting was regarded as, "...a sport belonging most peculiarly to the gentleman."

[152]Evreux, 83, 89f., 115.

[153]Abbeville, 309f.

[154]Léry, 2:87, 98. See also Thevet, 65.

[155]La Borde, 18, 21f., 34. See also Bouton, 110f.; Rochefort, 295; and Du Tertre, 2:376, 381f.

[156]Biet, 355ff.

[157]Le Jeune, 133.

[158]Biard, 99, 101f., 107. For a discussion of the specific activities of Micmac men and women, see Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 228ff., 235ff.; and Denys, 403ff., 411ff.

[159]Boucher, 98ff.

[160]Champlain, 319. That men did not work hard, and women worked harder than men, was also stated by Cartier, 182, 185.

[161]Sagard, 122ff.

[162]Alsop, 79f.

[163]Smith, 67.

[164]Strachey, 77, 80.

[165]Winslow, 58.

[166]Wood, 94ff.

[167]Gookin, 149.

[168]Josselyn, 130.

[169]Wood, 78.

[170]Morton, 26. See also Ralegh, 111, who described Guyana as a country which, "yields pleasure to the Inhabitants...," since their time was spent in hunting, hawking, fishing, and fowling.

[171]Smith, 65; and Strachey, 19.

[172]Ralegh, 51.

[173]Gray, n.p.

[174]Gookin, 149; Morton, 26; and Josselyn, 126f.

[175]Peckham, 169, 177.

[176]Shepard, 17.

[177]Winslow, 52.

[178]Roy Harvey Pearce, "The 'Ruines of Mankind': The Indian and the Puritan Mind," Journal of the History of Ideas 13 (1952):201f.; Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Moral and Legal Justification for Dispossessing the Indians," in Smith, 22ff.; Jacobs, 86; and Vaughan, 29ff. Few Englishmen in this period questioned their nation's right to dispossess the Indians of their land; one notable exception was Roger Williams. See Nash, 81; and Williams, 95, who asserted that the Narragansetts were exact in their bounds of land, "...not withstanding a sinfull opinion amongst many that Christians have a right to Heathens Lands."

[179]Also observed by Jaenen, 128ff., in his discussion of French relations with the Canadian Indians.

[180]Thevet, 58f., 63f.

[181]Léry, 2:29f.

[182]Abbeville, 287ff.; and Evreux, 118f.

[183]Du Tertre, 2:399ff.; and Rochefort, 318ff.

[184]Smith, 71; Strachey, 101; Boucher, 117; and Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 285ff.

[185]Sagard, 219f.

[186]Morton, 37. See also Williams, 185, who cites revenge and valor as the two causes motivating Indian warfare. Gookin, 149, reported that the entire clan took it upon themselves to avenge an injury.

[187]Wood, 85.

[188]Léry, 2:35ff.; Abbeville, 289; and Evreux, 20.

[189]Du Tertre, 2:403. See also Rochefort, 321; La Borde, 26; Biet, 381; and Boyer, 253.

[190]Bouton, 127.

[191]Sagard, 202. See also Biard, 91.

[192]Smith, 72. See also Strachey, 107.

[193]John Underhill, Neuues from America (London, 1638), 3ff. See also Josselyn, 114.

[194]Boucher, 128f.

[195]Underhill, 23.

[196]Thevet, 62. See also Léry, 2:38; and Abbeville, 287ff., on the extreme cruelty and bloodiness of Tupinamba war.

[197]Boyer, 256; and Du Tertre, 4:79f.

[198]Rochefort, 326.

[199]Williams, 188. Once again, Roger Williams appears as an exception to so many of the tendencies expressed by his contemporaries.

[200]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 292ff.

[201]Rochefort, 322, 326ff.

[202]Léry, 2:56ff.

[203]Ibid., 2:43, 48; Thevet, 62f.; Abbeville, 291ff.; Du Tertre, 2:406; Rochefort, 330f.; and Biet, 383.

[204]Du Tertre, 2:406. See also Rochefort, 328; Abbeville, 295; and Léry, 2:50.

[205]Europeans often exaggerated the extent of cannibalism among the American Indians. See Washburn, "The Clash of Morality in the American Forest," in Chiappelli, 1:340.

[206]Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land (New York, 1975), 64, 75ff. Honour, 12, 57, 87, 97, also discusses that cannibalism was one of the dominant artistic motifs used to represent the American Indian throughout the sixteenth century.

[207]Suzanne Boorsch, Images of the New World (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dept. of Prints Pamphlet, 1975), n.p.

[208]Columbus was originally responsible for the notion that all Caribs were cannibals. Throughout the sixteenth century, Spaniards loosely referred to all the Indians of the New World as Caribs, and hence, regarded them all as cannibals. See Hanke, 18, 130n. Keen, 169f., discusses how accounts of the Aztecs led Europeans to suspect all native Americans of cannibalism.

[209]Belleforest, 264, 268, 281, 293.

[210]George Abbot, A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde (London, 1599), n.p.; Peter Heylyn, Microcosmus, or a Little Description of the Great World (Oxford, 1621), 413; and Samuel Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimage (London, 1614), 836, 844.

[211]John Ogilby, America: Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World (London, 1671), 220.

[212]Robert Stafforde, A Geographicall and Anthological Description of all the Empires and Kingdoms (London, 1618), 63, 67.

[213]Settle, 38. See also George Best, A True Discourse of the Three Voyages...of Martin Frobisher, in Hakluyt, 68.

[214]Ralegh, 27, 39, 87, 107, 108.

[215]See above, chapter 2.

[216]Jean Mocquet, Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes Orientales et Occidentales faits par Jean Mocquet, trans. Nathaniel Pullen (Paris, 1617; London, 1696), preface, n.p., 78, 93.

[217]Josselyn, 125.

[218]Wood, 57.

[219]Strachey, 100, 103, 27, 37, 53ff. See also Smith, 50ff.

[220]Lurie, 36ff.

[221]Ralegh, 75ff., 107f., 136f.; and Kemys, n.p.

[222]Josselyn, 123, 146; Wood, 56ff.; and Gookin, 147ff.

[223]Boyer, 246f.

[224]Léry, 1:76ff., 84.

[225]Champlain, 311; and Sagard, 113.

[226]Evreux, 113f., who provides a chart listing this hierarchy.

[227]Abbeville, 287ff., 328f.

[228]Du Tertre, 2:399ff.; and Rochefort, 313ff. La Borde, 19, however, failed to discern any rules or regulations among these Caribs. He reported that there were no captains to govern, and everyone acted solely according to caprice, "Il n'est pas du devoir du Capitaine de gouverner...."

[229]Biet, 361ff., provides detailed descriptions of these assemblies and the ceremonies accompanying them.

[230]Boucher, 89, 97, 112f. See also Champlain, 327f.; and Sagard, 195f.

[231]Sagard, 219f.

[232]Heylyn, Cosmographie (London, 1652), 1046f.

[233]Whitaker, 26f. See also Smith, 79; and Strachey, 69.

[234]Williams, 145.

[235]Lurie, 56; and Oscar Handlin, "The Significance of the Seventeenth Century," in Smith, 6, who asserts that the colonists were eager to discover a "fixity of forms" which did not really exist among the Indians, by referring to native rulers as, "kings," "queens," "princes," or "nobles."

[236]Smith, 79ff.; Strachey, 47ff.; and Hamor, 37ff.

[237]Strachey, 52f.

[238]Smith, 79. See also Ibid., 69.

[239]Smith, 79. See also Strachey, 69.

[240]Arthur Barlow, The First Voyage Made to the Coasts of America (1584; rpt. Boston, 1898), 6.

[241]Josselyn, 146; Gookin, 154; Wood, 79; Williams, 140ff.; and Winslow, 56ff.

[242]Wood, 79.

[243]James Rosier, A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage...(1605), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 28 (Boston, 1843):156.

[244]Laudonnière, 39ff., provides a detailed description.

[245]Rochefort, 308; and Du Tertre, 2:386ff.

[246]La Borde, 38. For a discussion of the function and types of dancing among the Tupinambas, see Abbeville, 299ff.

[247]Lescarbot, Nova Francia, 217ff., who provides a detailed description of Indian dancing.

[248]Boucher, 107ff.; and Sagard, 143ff., who includes a description of a Huron feast, comparing it to the gatherings of ancient Sparta.

[249]Williams, 128.

[250]Berkhofer, 5ff., 15, 23, maintains that even after Europeans accumulated more information about the Amerindians, the White man continued to uniformly apply earlier stereotypes to all Indians encountered in America.

[251]Elliott, The Old World and the New (Cambridge, 1970), 32; Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons, 74f.; and Hodgen, 111ff.

[252]Belleforest, preface, n.p.

[253]Lescarbot, L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 1:229.

[254]This tendency was even predominant in Spanish literature which dealt with the more advanced societies of Mesoamerica. See Keen, 56; and Elliott, "The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man," 112ff.

[255]Huppert, 766ff.; and Elliott, "The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man," 114f.

[256]Hariot, n.p.

[257]Ibid., n.p.

[258]Gray, n.p. See also Johnson, n.p., who asserted that the natives of Virginia lacked industry and art.

[259]Morton, 40.

[260]Winslow, 61.

[261]Josselyn, 126, 128, 135ff.

[262]Heylyn, Cosmographie, 1016.

[263]Ogilby, 242. Keen, 81ff., points out that by the end of the sixteenth century, the major tendency in European writings on the Aztecs was to disparage this native culture by emphasizing what the Aztecs lacked in comparison to Europeans.

[264]Ogilby, 242, 320.

[265]Abbeville, 316ff.; and Evreux, 23.

[266]Abbeville, 313. Evreux, 9, also remarks on the absence of writing.

[267]Thevet, 43.

[268]Léry, 2:60f.

[269]Rochefort, 271ff., 342.

[270]Du Tertre, 2:376.

[271]La Borde, 34, 16, 4.

[272]Boyer, 270, 275.

[273]Biet, 352, 362.

[274]Biard, 79, 83, 107ff.

[275]Wood, 97ff.; Strachey, 183ff.; Biet, 394ff.; Boyer, 393ff.; Sagard, 296ff.; and Williams, whose entire work is essentially an Indian phrasebook.

[276]Diamond explains that Westerners who encounter primitive peoples typically assert that they are unable to think abstractly since they do not express those ideas most familiar to Western minds. Primitive peoples do develop abstract concepts, but those which have meaning within their own cultures. Bailey, 20, attests to the difficulty of communication between Europeans and Algonquians, due to the use of different mental categories. The Europeans were convinced of the superiority of their own languages and the bankruptcy of those of the Indians. See Greenblatt, 561ff.

[277]Winslow, 60.

[278]William Leverich, in Strength out of Weakness, 22.

[279]Wood, 91.

[280]Thevet, 46.

[281]Rochefort, 259ff.

[282]Biet, 394ff.

[283]La Borde, 39.

[284]Biard, "Letters of 1612," in Jesuit Relations, 2:9ff.

[285]E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York, n.d.), 71f.

CHAPTER V

THE UNITY OF ALL MANKIND: INDIAN RELIGION, MISSIONARY ACTIVITY, AND THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

French and English travelers to the New World observed and recorded a substantial amount of ethnographic data testifying to the richness and variety of the life and customs of the American Indians. The European observers nevertheless characterized the Indians as totally uncivilized, since native societies were perceived as devoid of those external signs of civilization most valued by Europeans. Religion was of the utmost importance in classifying nations and men in this period, and here there was no room for tolerance of diversity. The natives of the New World had no knowledge of what contemporary Europeans regarded as the one true religion--Christianity. In the eyes of the European travelers, the Indians' paganism appeared as the clearest indication of their inferiority.[1]

It was obvious to the travelers that the Indians were not Christian, but further discussion of native religion posed complications. Missionaries and theologians

found it difficult to classify the religious status of the Indians.[2] European observers did not find such familiar, external signs of organized religion as houses of worship, regularized prayer, written creeds, religious signs or symbols, and institutionalized holidays and other observances. Many travelers therefore asserted that the American Indians lacked any religion whatsoever.

Here, a number of travelers specifically refuted Cicero's statement that there could be, "...no nation so savage, no people so barbarous, but they have some opinion and persuasion of a divinity."[3] The Caribs of the Antilles were reported to have no apprehension of any divinity, or any invocations, ceremonies, sacrifices, assemblies for devotion, prayers, temples, or altars.[4] Likewise, Cicero's dictum was hard to apply among the Tupinambas of Brazil, who were believed to lack any form of religion. The ancient pagans were polytheistic, and the natives of Peru were idolaters, but the Tupinambas appeared to lack any knowledge of God or form of worship, "...au regard de ce qu'on nomme Religion parmi les autres peuples, il se peut dire tout ouvertement, que non seulement ces pauvres sauvages n'en ont point, mais qu'aussi s'il y a nation qui soit & vive sans Dieu au monde ce sont vrayment eux."[5] Thomas Morton, who observed the customs and practices of the Indians of Massachusetts,

maintained that:

> It has bin a common receaved opinion from Cicero, that there is no people so barbarous, but have some worshipp...If hee had bin amongst those people so longe as I have bin...hee would have changed his opinion...it is absurd to say they have a kinde of worship, and not be able to demonstrate whome or what it is they are accustomed to worship. For my part I am more willing to beleeve that the Elephants...doe worship the moone...."[6]

Travelers reported that the Galibis Caribs of Guyana lived in complete ignorance of any divinity, lacked any religion, cult, or adoration, and thus lived like "brute beasts," "...vivans dans une ignorance parfaite d'aucune divinité...maintenus dans une vie tout à fait brutale...Ils n'ont donc aucune Religion, & ne rendent aucun culte ny adoration à aucune divinité, vivans en cela comme des bestes...."[7] A lay observer of these people concurred, and reported that the Caribs knew nothing of religion, church, or prayer, "Ils ne scavent ce que c'est que creance, que Religion, qu'Eglise, ny que Priere." They lived without awareness of God, sin, grace, merit, or divine justice.[8]

With the sole exception of Thomas Morton, the travelers cited above as testifying to the total absence of religion in Indian societies were all Frenchmen. French Catholics may have been more apt to deny the existence of any native forms of religious belief and worship, since conversion of the Indians to Christianity

would be easier if the missionaries only needed to instruct the natives in Catholicism, and did not have to concern themselves first with rooting out and contradicting any existing native religious practices and beliefs.[9] The Jesuit, Paul Le Jeune, commented that conversion of the Canadian Montagnais was facilitated by the fact that these people were not already attached to any particular divinity or form of worship, nor were there any superstitions or false religious beliefs to uproot.[10] Lescarbot, a layman, also maintained that, for purposes of conversion to Christianity, it was better for a people to have no doctrine or belief at all than to uphold a false, or heretical religious creed.[11] The French Protestant travelers, Charles de Rochefort, Jean de Léry, Nicolas Le Challeux, and René Laudonnière, were not actively concerned with proselytizing the American Indian, yet they also tended to view the societies of the New World natives as devoid of any religion. Although recording more, as well as greater detailed ethnographic data about the American Indians than the English, French travelers were more likely to oversimplify the structure of native social systems. Many Frenchmen often denied the existence of any Indian religion, and, as discussed in the preceding chapter, generally failed to ascertain any laws or regulations at work in the various Indian societies they observed.

A few French travelers maintained that all nations, no matter how brutal, recognized God to some degree, "Quant à la croyance de Dieu, il est impossible...qu'il se trouve une nation tant lourde, stupide, & brutale soit-elle, qu'elle ne recognoisse universellement une souveraine Majesté...."[12] Another traveler quoted, and agreed with Cicero in this regard, "Ciceron a dict, parlant de la nature des Dieux, qu'il n'y a gent si sauvage, si brutale ny si barbare, qui ne soit imbuë de quelque opinion d'iceux." He reported that the Hurons held a general belief about God, although their understanding of Him was imperfect and inconsistent.[13] Other French observers contradicted themselves, first stating that the Indians lacked any and all religion, and then admitting that the natives had, "...some forme of religion, some cognition of God...."[14] Even Rochefort, quoted above as testifying to the total absence of religion among the Caribs, wondered if perhaps, after all, Cicero was right, and that some, "...knowledge of divinity is engraved innately in the hearts of men...," as the Caribs feared the sound of thunder, which was interpreted as their trembling before the voice of God.[15]

Most English travelers, although castigating the American Indians for their offensive and "erroneous" religious beliefs, nevertheless acknowledged the existence of religion among the natives, and asserted that religious

belief and worship were natural to man. The English thought that the Indians had some knowledge of a divinity, although hardly resembling that recognized by Europeans. One English traveler to Massachusetts stated, "As it is naturall to all mortals to worship something, so doe these people, but exactly to describe to whom their worship is chiefly bent, is very difficult."[16] Samuel Purchas never visited the New World, but prepared a lengthy compilation of the writings of various European travelers which focused on the religion of the American Indians. Purchas concluded, "...the nature of man cannot be without the apprehension of some greater and more excellent nature...."[17] English travelers reported that, "There is yet in Virginia no place discovered to bee so Savage in which the Savages have not a religion...All thinges that were able to do them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning...."[18]

English travelers to New England likewise maintained that all men have, "...some impression of a godhead...an innate apprehension of some religion written in the minds of men by nature."[19] One observer admitted that he erred in his original opinion that the Indians of Massachusetts lacked any religion or knowledge of any god, and acknowledged that these people believed in numerous divine powers, the principal one being Kiehtan, whom the natives recognized as their creator.[20] Roger

Williams stated that there was a, "...strong, natural conviction in the soul of man that God exists...," and reported that the Narragansetts of Rhode Island believed in God as the creator of all things, and offered Him thanks for a good harvest or hunt. Williams then proceeded to explain how the Indians branched the one God into many gods, worshiping the sun, moon, sea, and various creatures, believing deities to reside therein. Williams added that the Narragansetts had, "...an exact forme of Priest...," who performed and managed their worship.[21]

There was no consensus among the travelers as to whether or not anything which might justifiably be called religion existed among the American Indians. Yet all travelers reported that the native peoples of the New World possessed systems of belief dealing with supernatural forces. Many travelers provided detailed descriptions of the religious rites, customs, and beliefs of the Amerindians. However, the objective tone and lack of moralizing which characterized many travelers' accounts of Indian life and society was clearly absent from the descriptions of native belief systems and religious customs.[22] Here the travelers, laymen as well as missionaries, revealed open horror and disgust. The American Indians appeared in the writings of European travelers of this era as heathen, pagans who engaged in the worst abominations, including idolatry, human sacrifice, witchcraft,

and divination.[23] Not only were the natives un-Christian, but they indulged in practices which epitomized the very antithesis of what the travelers regarded as the one true religion, Christianity--Indian "religion," in essence, was perceived as devil worship.

French travelers portrayed the Tupinambas as a people far removed from reason and the truth; they said that these Indians were idolaters who worshiped the devil, were tormented by evil spirits and illusions, and gave credence to their dreams.[24] The travelers believed that the devil appeared to these people in human form, and frightened them with evil spirits, "...Diable qui leur paroissoit soubs forme humaine...Ils croyent davantage qu'il y a des malings esprits...les craignans & redoutans extrememement."[25] Evreux described the worship of the Tupinambas as a hideous spectacle, rather like a witches' sabbath than an assembly of men, "...c'est un spectacle assez hideux de voir ces gens en telles assemblees, & semble plustost un sabat de Sorciers, qu'une assemblee d'hommes."[26]

French travelers reported that the Caribs of the Antilles were under the devil's influence, and believed in the power of evil spirits. Carib forms of worship were not regarded as acts of true religion, but as representations of a witches' sabbath.[27] Observers of the Caribs of Guyana asserted that these natives were,

for the most part, all sorcerers, atheists, and idolaters who lived under the slavery of the devil; he communicated with them, maltreated them, and held them in blindness, "Le Diable qui communique quelquefois avec eux, & qui les mal-traite assez souvent...les tient dans un si prodigieux aveuglement...."[28]

French travelers to Canada reported that the Hurons were ruled by the devil, who supposedly subjected them to all sorts of strange superstitions. These people believed in spirits, called "oki," and offered prayers or other sacrifices to them.[29]

English travel accounts contain similar, horror-filled portrayals of the American Indians as pagan devil worshipers. America was described as a land, "...at least six parts out of seven inhabited with heathenish and idolatrous people."[30] Purchas admitted that the Americans adhered to some form of religion, but described their worship as, "...a religious-irreligious commerce with the Devil...the more all knowledge of God is banished, the baser service men do in yielding to the Devil."[31]

English travelers to Virginia regarded the natives as full of wickedness, haters of God, and doers of wrong, as Paul described the Gentiles; they also believed the Indians to be devil worshipers.[32] These natives reportedly were, "...slaves of the divell...," who worshiped him out of fear, and sometimes even sacrificed their children to him.[33] Still another traveler referred

to the Virginia natives as, "wretched miscreants," and viewed their religion as, "horrible heathenism," and devil worship.[34]

European travel writers of this era regarded Christianity as the one true religion, and viewed Indian belief systems as nothing more than pagan devil worship. The travelers made little attempt to further understand Indian religion. The majority of French travelers did not even acknowledge that the natives of the New World had any religion at all. The Europeans did not grasp those elements of native belief systems which were totally alien to their own theological concepts. For example, they generally did not understand animism, the belief that all objects of nature possess their own spirits or souls. A few travelers recognized the Indians' belief that spirits resided in material objects, "...ils croyent que toute chose materielle et insensible a une ame qui entend...."[35] However, the Europeans did not understand the significant, totemic relationships which the Indians believed to exist between man and nature. Primitive peoples often believe that an individual or group enjoys a special, ritual relationship with a particular animal or natural object. The Europeans regarded this absence of sharp definition between the world of the material and that of the supernatural as nothing more than superstitious nonsense.[36]

However, in one very important respect the French and English travelers to the New World of the early modern era exhibited an even greater understanding of Indian religion than that attained by more modern observers. Belief in, and fear of the devil and his powers was vitally real for Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as real as the Indians' belief in a host of spirits and other supernatural forces. The travelers of this era lacked the bias of a more rational and scientific world view, and were thus truly able to empathize with a significant aspect of the belief systems of the Amerindians. The Europeans maintained that the Indians were under the sway of false gods and evil powers, but the reality of these powers, and the natives' belief in their efficacy, was never denied. The travelers reported Indian cosmology as peopled with a host of spirits and supernatural powers, and they accepted and understood such a world view, without labeling it as irrational or attempting to interpret it in accordance with modern scientific precepts.[37]

The reality of the devil's power in the New World was firmly upheld by European observers.[38] Although the travelers were horrified by many of the natives' pagan practices, they did not condemn the Indians for their actions. Rather, the Americans were pitied since they had never been instructed in the "true faith," and

were enslaved by Satan. The travelers, though, heaped strong contempt on the native shaman, since they believed he was the devil's minister, and was thus guilty of subjecting the rest of the natives to the "tyranny of Satan." The travelers were both repelled and fascinated by the shaman, and recorded much information concerning his initiation, as well as the duties and ceremonies he performed. As there was no counterpart of the native shaman in European society, the travelers lacked appropriate terminology to adequately describe his multi-faceted role. They referred to him instead as either a doctor, prophet, magician, or sorcerer. The belief in witches and their power was very widespread in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe. The imagery used by early modern French and English travelers to describe the Indian shaman and his activities may have been drawn, at least in part, from contemporary European demonologies and other accounts of witchcraft.

French travelers described the Tupinambas as, "poor Americans," who were seduced by the devil. They reportedly had prophets, or "pages," among them, who were the devil's ministers. These men were said to abuse and deceive their neighbors, claiming to cure all diseases. In addition, the "page" gave advice concerning the conduct of public affairs, and presided at a ceremony where he conferred with spirits. Thevet testified to the reality of these evil spirits, and asserted that he

had seen Christians driving them away with the name of Jesus Christ.[39] Evreux described the "pages" of the Tupinambas as witches and sorcerers, who dealt in fraud, subtleties, and abuses, "...leurs fraudes, subtilitez & abus...abusent le peuple par leurs inventions, subtilitez & enchantemens procedez de l'instigation des Demons, tels que sont les Sorciers Bresiliens."[40] Evreux also noted that the "pages" held great authority, were revered by the people, and were believed to cure illness. He reported that the devil and other demons communicated with the "pages" by assuming the form of certain animals or birds. This commentator truly believed in the reality of all this, and cited evidence from the Bible which affirmed that the devil can take the form of monstrous animals, "...la saincte Escriture luy attribue la forme des plus furieux, monstrueux & horribles animaux."[41]

French travelers to the Antilles pitied the Caribs, and regarded them as worthy of compassion, poor people enveloped in perpetual blindness, "...cequi est digne de compassion de voir le profond aveuglement dans lequel ces pauvres gens sont enveloppez...." The Caribs reportedly consulted the devil by means of their shaman, or "boyez." La Borde regarded the "boyez" as a sort of magician or doctor who abused his fellow tribesmen, "...ils consultent le Diable par l'entremise de leurs Magiciens ou Medecins Piaye ou Boyé qui les abuse...."

This observer described the ceremonies performed by the shaman to cure the sick, and those initiation rites observed in order to become a "boyez." La Borde concluded that the shaman's activities were nothing more than superstitious foolery, "...des superstitieuses sottises de ce sacrifice...."[42] Likewise, travelers pitied the Caribs of Guyana as poor souls who lived under the slavery of an abominable spirit, "...pauvres ames, qui ne vivent que sous l'esclavage de l'abominable esprit de mensonge."[43] Their shaman, or "piaye," was said to frequently invoke and consult the devil by means of a highly intricate ceremony. Initiation into the ranks of "piaye" involved a ten year period of instruction by an old "piaye"; the prospective shaman was then required to undergo a rigorous ordeal.[44]

French travelers to Canada also exhibited contempt for the native shaman, along with compassion for the inhabitants of that region. Frenchmen were asked to pity the wretchedness and blindness of these poor tribes, "...la suite de ce discours vous donnera en l'ame quelque compassion de la misere et aveuglement de ces pauvres peuples...."[45] Travelers regarded the native shaman of the Huron, known as "oki," as a magician and soothsayer who led the Indians in devil worship. Frenchmen believed the shaman predicted the future by consulting demons.[46]

English observers of native life in the New World displayed similar scorn for the workings of the Indian

shaman. Wood reported that the "pow-wow" of Massachusetts invoked the devil by means of, "...exorcismes and necromanticke charmes...."[47] This shaman was likened to a witch in correspondence with the devil, who operated by means of, "...petty conjuring tricks." Morton added that the "powah" was also in charge of treating the sick, and was greatly esteemed in his community.[48] It was by means of these shaman, or witches, as the English viewed them, that, "...the devil deludes those poor people and keeps them in blindness."[49]

Travelers to Virginia reported that the Indians stood in great awe of their shamans, "...which are a generation of vipers even of Sathans owne brood." These "priests" were said to live alone in the woods, and in addition to serving the tribe as physicians, were consulted in regard to any important matter, such as making war or peace.[50] The English held the devil responsible for all evil, and pitied the natives as, "...poor and innocent seduced savages."[51] Strachey maintained that the Indians were not born under grace, and therefore they should be, "...pityed and pardoned untill they shall be taught better...."[52]

The travelers were horrified by the pagan practices of the inhabitants of the New World, but expressed great sympathy for the Indians as their "sins" were committed out of ignorance of God and His laws. The Europeans thus perceived it as their duty to educate the Indians

in what they believed was the one true religion. Almost every traveler, lay as well as missionary, stressed the primacy of the conversion of the natives to Christianity. Yves d'Evreux and Claude d'Abbeville, two French Capuchin missionaries to Brazil in the early years of the seventeenth century, strongly emphasized the importance of proselytizing the natives. These men maintained that the Tupinambas were eager to accept Christianity, and devoted lengthy and specific chapters of their accounts to reporting the progress made in this endeavor, and the zeal with which the converts adopted their new faith: "Les Fruicts de l'Evangile, qui tost parurent par le Baptesme de plusieurs enfans,"[53] "Des Fruicts de la Croix apres qu'elle fut plantée," "Comme les Indiens batirent une Chapelle et planterent la Croix à Juniparan."[54] These missionaries stressed the importance of instructing the young, as they were not attached to traditional native customs and rituals.[55] The glory of God was served by the increase of the faithful in these newly discovered, barbarous lands, "...la multiplication innombrable des fidelles, en ces Regions feroces & barbares...."[56] Evreux urged the king of France to continually support all efforts to bring piety and religion to these poor Indians.[57]

Paul Boyer, a French layman traveling to Guyana, faulted those of his countrymen who had forgotten that the honor and glory of God was the principal motive for traveling to America, and that this goal was to be realized

by the conversion of an infinite number of unbelievers through preaching the gospel where it was previously unknown, "...il ne s'agit icy que de la gloire de Dieu, de la conversion d'un nombre infiny de mécreans, de l'augmentation de la foy, & de la publication de l'Evangile, dans un pays où elle n'a jamais esté encore preschée.[58]

The Recollet missionary, Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, at the very outset of his account, emphasized the importance and priority of missionary work among the Canadian Indians by citing God's command to the Apostles to go and preach the gospel to all nations, "Allez par tout le monde, et preschez l'Evangile a toute creature...C'est le commandement que Dieu donna à ses Apostres, et en suitte aux personnes Apostoliques." Sagard continued to state that it was important to teach the gospel to people who had never been exposed to the true faith, "...peuple qui n'en avoient jamais ouy parler, ny eu cognoissance...."[59] Lescarbot also attested to the glory of establishing the name of God among the natives of the New World, people who had no knowledge of Christianity, "...la gloire d'établir le nom de Dieu parmi des peuples errans qui n'en ont la conoissance...."[60]

English travelers to the New World also stressed the importance of proselytizing the Indian, and reminded their countrymen that this motive for English colonization in America must not be forgotten. Their exhortations in this regard impress the reader as even stronger than

those of French travelers.[61]

The conversion of the natives to the Christian religion was stated as a prime goal in the writings of Puritan commentators.[62] All Christians were urged to display pity and compassion for the Indians:

> ...subjects upon which our faith, prayers, and best endeavours should be put forth...one reason of God's transplanting some of His people into this wilderness, viz. that they might be instrumental to carry His name and Gospel unto some of these heathen.[63]

God's glory was to be served in America by bringing the natives knowledge of the true religion.[64]

The Puritans were not the only Englishmen who urged the conversion of the American Indians to Christianity. All English travelers professed the same concern for saving the Indians' souls, and their exhortations to their countrymen to support the cause of conversion were no less vehement than those of the Puritans. Early English travelers to northeastern Canada stressed the importance of bringing the natives, "...from falsehood to truth, from darkness to light, from superstitious idolatry to sincere Christianity, from the Devil to Christ, from Hell to Heaven."[65] Another traveler hoped that, "...by our Christian study and endeavor those barbarous people trained up in paganism and infidelity might be reduced to knowledge of true religion and to the hope of salvation in Christ."[66]

English travelers to Virginia emphasized the same goal, "God has given us the light that we might

enlighten this blind people."[67] As Jesus instructed the Apostles, "Goe and baptize all nations...," so the English must likewise:

> ...endeavour the conversion of the natives to the knowledge and worship of the true God, and the World's Redeemer, Christ Jesus...a worke of this piety upon a barbarous nation...bring their wretched soules...from the chaynes of Sathan, to the armes and bosome of their Saviour...."[68]

The travel writers clearly believed that the Indians were capable of receiving the Christian faith. This judgement was indeed significant, since it implied that the American natives were regarded as rational beings, truly men, and ultimately, the same as the Europeans.[69] The general European consensus regarding the inherent humanity and rationality of the American Indian, however, was not totally unbroken in the early modern period. The issue of the Indian's full humanity was thrown open to debate by Spanish officials in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1550 at Valladolid, the Spanish clerics, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de Las Casas argued their theories regarding the inherent status of the native Americans. Las Casas vehemently defended the Indians' humanity, rationality, and hence potential for conversion to Christianity. Sepúlveda, however, maintained that the Indians were naturally inferior

to Europeans, innately rude, and born with a limited understanding. As the sixteenth century progressed, Sepúlveda's negative assessment of the native Americans' true nature grew increasingly popular with Spanish officials. Spanish colonial activity in the New World was based largely on the slave labor of the native populace. Doctrines arguing that the Indians were natural slaves, according to the criteria established by Aristotle, thus were an appropriate complement to, and justification of Spanish policies in the New World.[70]

As discussed earlier in this study, French and English travelers did not consider the Indians intrinsically or racially inferior, but regarded them as biologically the same as Europeans.[71] By so strongly and optimistically urging the conversion of the American natives to Christianity, the travelers, in effect, maintained that the Indians shared the rationality of the Europeans as well. Pope Paul III, in his bull of 1537, Sublimis Deus, declared that the American Indians were truly men, capable of conversion to the Christian faith, as God had created all men with the potential to attain the divine.[72]

As long as the Biblical account of man's origin was accepted as the one true relation of early human history, all mankind was regarded as one, descended from Adam, common parent to all. Not only theologians, but historians and other scholarly commentators of the Renaissance

and early modern period up through at least the middle of the seventeenth century, all turned to Genesis as the one accepted and authoritative source of approximately the first two thousand years of human history. They relied especially on the first eleven chapters, which covered the period from the Creation until the confusion of languages and dispersal of peoples after the Flood. There was no secular version of man's earliest existence on earth, no alternative to challenge the Biblical account of this period of human history. Walter Raleigh's History of the World commenced, as did other similar works, with the account of the Creation contained in Genesis.[73] Within this accepted historical and theological framework, all mankind was viewed as monogenetic, descended ultimately from Adam. The obvious diversity which existed among the various nations of the earth was explained by the dispersion of Noah's sons after the Flood, and their subsequent wanderings from the initial source of civilization. Since the first century, scholars were concerned with accurately determining which nations of the world were descended from which sons of Noah. The Renaissance and early modern periods especially witnessed a revitalized interest in the origins of man, and more specifically, in tracing the Biblical ancestry of the various modern nations of the world.[74]

The discovery of the American Indian, a people previously unheard of, or unrecorded in any earlier history or genealogy, posed new and serious problems for commentators concerned with linking all mankind in one unbroken chain. Where did the Indians come from, and how did they reach their home in the New World? Many travelers addressed themselves to these questions.[75] More than any other matter relating to these newly discovered peoples, the problem of the Indians' origin engaged the minds of numerous non-travelers, and involved prominent European intellectuals, including Hugo Grotius.[76] There was no agreement as to the specific origin of the American Indian, but the unanimous consensus was that the natives of the New World ultimately descended from Adam and Noah, and migrated to America some time after the Deluge.[77] However puzzling and difficult a problem the existence of the Indian in the New World might have posed, this new evidence was not generally used to challenge the accpeted Biblical version of the origin and early history of man. Rather, serious scholarly attempts were made to relate the peoples of the New World to those of the Old, and thus maintain intact the authority of Genesis regarding the initial history of mankind.[78]

Almost every writer who addressed this issue utilized a similar approach. Travelers and scholars alike searched for cultural affinities that might exist

between the Indians and other known peoples. Any apparent similarities of languages or customs were then taken as a sign of common ancestry.[79] Early sixteenth-century theorists favored the belief that the Americans originally came from Carthage, and subsequently crossed the Atlantic to reach the New World. Later in the century, others, such as the Spaniard, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, maintained that the Indians were remnants of the lost colony of Atlantis. Still others, including Joannes Fredericus Lumnius, who published in Antwerp in 1567, and the Spaniards, Diego Durán and Juan Suárez de Peralta, both of whom wrote in 1580, suggested that perhaps the Indians were ultimately of Jewish origin. These scholars believed that the Indians descended from the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, and pointed to what they regarded as similarities in customs and legends between the Americans and the Jews, as well as a common tradition of wanderings and migrations. Lumnius and Peralta based their Jewish origin theories on the relation contained in the fourth book of Esdras. Ten Tribes of Israel, held in captivity by the king of the Assyrians, were said to have fled to a far off and uninhabited land known as Arsareth. Lumnius and Peralta believed that Arsareth was in the vicinity of America, and hence maintained that many of the Indians descended from these Jewish tribes. Durán reached the same conclusions based on his reading of the Biblical second book of Kings.[80]

Seventeenth-century writers did not abandon the notion that the natives of the New World ultimately derived from a people of the Old, but began to doubt that the ancestry of the Indians could ever be conclusively proved. The Spanish Jesuit, José de Acosta, was one of the leading skeptics in this regard. Acosta believed that it was unlikely that the Indians reached America by sea, but rather maintained that at one time, a land bridge must have existed connecting the Old World with the New, since one also had to account for the crossing of animals, all of which derived from those contained on Noah's ark.[81]

The mid-seventeenth century witnessed a lively literary debate on the origins of the Indians among the Dutchmen, Hugo Grotius, Joannes de Laet, and Georg Horn. Grotius' treatise, On the Origin of the Native Races of America, was written in Latin in 1642, and appeared in at least two, and possibly as many as four editions that year.[82] Grotius relied on cultural and linguistic similarities to prove that the North American Indians descended from Nordic people, and migrated to America via Iceland and Greenland. He asserted that the natives of Yucatan were of Ethiopian origin, since both peoples practiced circumcision; Grotius ruled out Jewish ancestry of these Indians since, aside from circumcision, the natives of Yucatan upheld no other Jewish rites. Grotius also believed that the people of Peru were of Chinese

extraction, as they possessed a similar form of writing and a highly intelligent civilization, in addition to worshiping the sun. Grotius stated that he obtained his information about the natives of the New World from the accounts of "several" Spanish, French, British, and Dutch travelers, but, aside from one specific reference to Peter Martyr, Grotius did not name his sources.[83]

Grotius' theories were refuted by Georg Horn and Joannes de Laet. They denied that the Indians arrived in the New World by sea, and maintained that the Americans' migration occurred at a much earlier date than that which Grotius suggested. Horn and de Laet attacked Grotius' use of cultural and linguistic evidence as superficial and inconclusive; since the Indians arrived in America so long ago, any cultural affinities between them and Old World people most likely no longer existed. De Laet and Horn maintained that the New World natives probably first migrated to America from northeastern Asia, but they did not believe that the specific origin of the American Indian could be proved conclusively.[84]

De Laet was more familiar with information about America than was Grotius, as he served as a director of the Dutch West India Company, in addition to writing a history of the New World which was published in 1625. Grotius had sent his manuscript to de Laet prior to publication, and de Laet advised him to consult Acosta's

Natural and Moral History of the Indies regarding the question of the Indians' origin. Grotius refused this suggestion, and published his pamphlet unaltered. De Laet's Notae ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii of 1643 specifically refuted each point argued by Grotius. The matter did not end here, as Grotius issued another tract in 1643, and de Laet replied in the following year. Horn's answer to Grotius' argument appeared in 1652. This literary debate received much notoriety among contemporaries, and contributed greatly to the interest in the origin of the American Indians in northern Europe during the middle of the seventeenth century.[85]

The Biblical orthodoxy regarding the origin and descent of man was not generally challenged by evidence provided by travelers to the New World. Yet there were a few isolated, deviant voices beginning to question the accuracy and authority of Genesis in this regard. As early as 1520, Theophrastus von Hohenheim, also known as Paracelsus, posited that the inhabitants of the newly discovered, remote islands were not likely to be Adam's posterity. Paracelsus believed that these people sprung from a different, or second Adam, whom God created to populate the New World. Paracelsus' theory was not really heretical, since he maintained that this second Adam originated after the Deluge; thus, his speculations did not contradict the stories of the Creation and the Flood contained in Genesis. Paracelsus went against the

overwhelming mainstream of his contemporaries in two respects: he denied that the New World natives were descended from the same Adam as all mankind, and he also asserted that the American Indians were not truly men. Paracelsus maintained that the Indians' speech resembled the cries of parrots; he believed it was not possible for such creatures to have souls.[86] Similarly, Giordano Bruno, in his Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante of 1584, argued that the Ethiopians, the American Indians, and various mythical beings such as nymphs and satyrs, could not possibly have all originated from one and the same source. But like Paracelsus, Bruno denied the true and full humanity of the Indians by placing their origin outside the traditional ancestry of man recorded in Genesis.[87]

The notion that the various peoples of the world might have been polygenetic, rather than monogenetic, was further advanced in the seventeenth century by Isaac de La Peyrère. La Peyrère, a French Calvinist of Portuguese Jewish origins, published his Prae Adamitae in 1655. This work also appeared the following year in London entitled, A Theological System upon that Presupposition that Men were Before Adam. La Peyrère did not question the accuracy of the version of the Creation set forth in Genesis, but he did assert that the Bible should be viewed solely as the history of the Jews; Adam was, therefore, not the father of all men, but only of the Jews. The rest of the world's people, the Gentiles, sprang from a

different, older source; hence, men existed before Adam. La Peyrère maintained that the Flood was not universal, but rather inundated only the Jews. Thus, one need not trace the origins of the diverse nations of the earth to the sons of Noah--their origins were much earlier. The arguments in Prae Adamitae were derived from Biblical evidence, and did not specifically deal with the problem of the origin of the American Indians. In his other writings, Relation du Groenland of 1647, and Relation de l'Islande of 1663, La Peyrère utilized information about the New World natives to buttress his position. He challenged Grotius' notion that the Indians derived from Old World Nordic ancestry. La Peyrère cited anthropological evidence from contemporary travel accounts which indicated that the natives of Iceland and Greenland had a much older history, and their existence in America thus pre-dated any Norse expeditions.[88]

La Peyrère is a significant critic of the Biblical story of Creation, but his Prae Adamitae did not alter the orthodox consensus regarding either that story or the origin of the American Indian. The overwhelming majority of travel writers and other commentators did not view the American Indian as ultimately derived from anyone or anything other than Adam and Noah. The consensus was to view their societies as remote extensions or remnants of earlier known cultures of either Europe, the Middle East, or Asia. By definitely linking the

Indian to Adam and Noah, the Europeans acknowledged that the American natives were men like themselves, created in God's image, and hence rational and capable of receiving grace.[89]

Lescarbot asserted that it was shameful to let so many reasoning creatures, formed in God's image, lead lives of ignorance, no better than that of beasts, "...c'est chose honteuse...de souffrir vivre en ignorance, & préque comme bétes, tant de creatures raisonnables formées à l'image de Dieu...."[90] Lescarbot was unable to discover from which Old World nation the Indians descended, but maintained that the Indians reached the New World by crossing the Atlantic, and were forced to remain there because of a shipwreck.[91]

Evreux reiterated that the Tupinambas were capable of receiving the Christian faith,[92] and Léry reported with certainty that these Indians were descended from Ham, one of Noah's three sons, "...ils soyent descendus de Cham...."[93] French travelers were also concerned with the origin of the Caribs of the Antilles, and recorded their efforts to obtain this information from native myths and tales. However since the Indians themselves were unable to definitely state their origin, the only fact that could be stated with certainty was that this tribe descended from the mainland Galibis.[94]

English accounts stated that the Indians ultimately descended from Adam and Noah, and thus the American natives

were viewed as inherently the same men as the English, "One God created us, they have reasonable soules and intellectuall faculties as well as wee; we all have Adam for our common parent...."[95] English travelers regarded the Indians as, "...our kinsmen and younger brethren...,"[96] since, "From Adam and Noah that they spring, it is granted."[97] The first inhabitants of America were believed to be, "...descended of Adam and Noah of which one blood God hath made all mankinde."[98]

English travel writers also displayed a significant and serious scholarly interest in the specific origin of the New World natives--from what people of the Old World did they actually descend, and how did they then migrate to America? English commentators reached a general consensus in the seventeenth century; they maintained that the American Indians derived from the Asiatic Tartars. Two general arguments were used to support this theory: first, the geographic proximity of northeastern Asia to northwestern America; and second, the supposed similarity of the language and customs of the Indians to those of the Tartars.[99]

English travelers said the Indians were descended from the Tartars, as their speech was similar to the Tartar dialect, and they possessed, "...pale and lean Tartarian faces...."[100] The American natives reportedly resembled the, "...olde and rude Tartars...," and shared with them idolatry, incivility, and many other "barbarous"

properties. This commentator added that the Indians could not have originated from Europe, since they had no remembrance of arts, learning, or civility; nor could they have come from China or India, since they likewise lacked the industry and arts of these regions. The Americans were not dark-skinned, and so could not have descended from the Africans. The most convincing proof of the Indians' Tartar origin was the geographic proximity of northeastern Asia, home of the Tartars, to America.[101]

A similar argument was utilized in the detailed, scholarly account of the non-traveler, John Ogilby. Ogilby began his history of America with a critical and comprehensive review of major contemporary theories regarding the origin of the American Indians. Ogilby evaluated and then discarded each hypothesis; he finally concluded that the, "...Americans have absolutely their original from Tartary...." Ogilby believed that the Tartars and the Indians shared similar customs and manner of living; geographic proximity was an important factor as well. Unfortunately, the American natives lacked books, and were thus unable to account for their own history and origin.[102]

Another theory which had currency in seventeenth-century England was that the Indians were descended from the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel.[103] Thomas Thorowgood, writing in 1650, argued the Jewish ancestry of the Indians by asserting that, "The rites, ceremonies, and

opinions of the Americans are in many things agreeable to the custome of the Jewes." In addition, Thorowgood argued that Indian myths resembled stories in the Old Testament, and Indian language resembled Hebrew. The Old Testament prophesied that God would disperse and punish the Jews for their failure to be truly observant. According to Thorowgood, this accounted for their presence in America, and the evils inflicted upon them by the Spanish.[104] Thorowgood's theories were refuted in 1652 by Hamon L'Estrange, and Thorowgood retorted with a revised and strengthened polemic.[105]

Jewish ancestry of the American Indians was also advocated by the Portuguese Jewish rabbi, Manasseh ben Israel. He resided in Amsterdam, and published The Hope of Israel in 1650, a work which was widely translated. Manasseh ben Israel's identification of the American Indians with the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel was partially inspired by the account of a Portuguese Jew, Antonio Montesinos, who visited America and then returned to Amsterdam. Montesinos claimed to have encountered a hidden community of Jewish Indians living in the mountains of the New World. Manasseh ben Israel recalled the Esdras account of the Ten Tribes who fled the Assyrians and reached a far off, uninhabited land, which he believed was America. The Jews, he argued, were thus the first inhabitants of the New World. These Jewish Indians were

driven into the mountains by later Gentile arrivals, but had survived, as evidenced by the account of Antonio Montesinos.[106]

Seventeenth-century identification of the American Indians with the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel was related more to the spirit of contemporary messianism than to a true concern for the origin of the natives of the New World. Thorowgood urged his fellow Englishmen to work for the conversion of the Indians, since he believed these people to be really Jewish, and the conversion of the Jews to Christianity was a prerequisite for the Second Coming, an event which Thorowgood believed was imminent. Manasseh ben Israel likewise believed that the coming of the Messiah was now truly at hand, since prior to his coming, the Jews were to be dispersed all over the earth. The Jews were now found to exist in America, but for the prophecy to be truly fulfilled, Manasseh ben Israel argued that it was now necessary for the Jews to be re-admitted to England. He thus connected the question of the Indians' origin with a broader issue, one which had much greater significance for the rabbi.[107]

Thorowgood and his contemporaries hoped to determine the specific origin of the American Indians by searching for cultural similarities between the people of the New World and those of the Old. Europeans believed that at one point in time, all mankind had shared a common

culture which many nations subsequently lost as they wandered further from the source of civilized life.[108] Since the Indians apparently had traveled the furthest, their knowledge of Old World languages, customs, and religion had almost completely faded. The travelers, nevertheless, examined Indian culture for signs that the practices of the Americans were in some way, albeit remotely, similar to those of Europeans. French and English observers scrutinized Indian religious customs and myths for any possible resemblance between native beliefs and Christian teachings which would serve as an indication that the Indians, at one point in time, shared a common cultural tradition with the people of the Old World. Any similarities which emerged were taken as proof of relation.[109] The travelers most frequently emphasized two similarities between Indian and European belief systems: belief in immortality of the soul, and legends about a great flood that destroyed the entire world.

English travelers to Virginia reported that the Indians believed in the soul's immortality.[110] Travelers to Massachusetts noted that native myths indicated some knowledge of Noah's Flood.[111] The Indians of Massachusetts were said to have an innate notion of the soul's immortality; it was believed that this was written in the minds of all men by nature.[112] Roger Williams reported that the Narragansetts of Rhode Island believed

in the immortality of the soul. These Indians were also said to tell of a man who performed great miracles and was able to walk on water. Williams interpreted this as bearing, "...some broken resemblance to the son of God."[113]

French travelers noted similar beliefs among the native tribes they encountered in the New World. Thevet reported that the Tupinambas believed in a great deluge which occurred only five hundred years ago. Thevet speculated that perhaps certain countries had their own floods some time after that of Noah.[114] Another traveler said that God left some vestiges of Christianity among the Tupinambas, as they possessed a natural belief in the immortality of the soul, "...la croyance naturelle qu'ils ont toujours eu̎e...de l'Immortalité de l'Ame..."; the good were transported to a happy resting place, the bad were tormented by the devil.[115] The Protestant, Léry, however, viewed the substance of Tupinamba belief regarding the soul's immortality and the Flood as perverse, false, and a corruption of the one "true" religion. He described the Tupinambas as blind, and regarded their belief in the soul's immortality as false, since the Indians maintained that once the soul was separated from the body, it could return to the community in the form of a certain bird. Léry viewed the Tupinamba legend of a great flood as an illustration of a corrupt nation turning the truth into falsehood, "...la coustume des hommes qui ont toujours

corrompu & tourné la verité en mensonge...." Léry, though, did acknowledge that it would be hard for the Tupinambas to retain true Christian teachings since they were deprived of writing.[116]

French travelers reported that the Caribs possessed some "natural light," since they believed in the immortality of the soul. However, their belief was far different from Christian doctrine, since the Caribs believed that each individual had three souls.[117] The Jesuit, La Borde, reported that at one time, the Caribs knew the light of the Evangile, "A entendre plusieurs de leurs Fables, il y a lieu de croire qu'ils ont esté autresfois éclairez de la lumiere de l'Evangile...." La Borde listened to and recorded native myths, and found great resemblance between the Carib stories of the creation of the first man and a great flood, and those contained in the Bible.[118]

The Timucuas of Florida were reported to believe in the immortality of the soul.[119] The same was true of the natives of Canada, but their notion of the soul's immortality was regarded as too general and incoherent.[120] One observer remarked that Huron myths and legends bore a close resemblance to many stories in the New Testament.[121] Lescarbot believed that the natives of the New World sprang from a race that originally had been taught the law of God, "...ilz sont venuz de quelque race de gens qui avoient eté instruits en la loy de Dieu...," since it appeared from Indian myth that the natives had knowledge

of the Flood. Perhaps, speculated Lescarbot, Noah built a second ark which sailed to the New World and thus populated America. After some time, the knowledge of God disappeared among these people, "...auparavant ils eussent quelque conoissance de Dieu, cela peu à peu s'est évanouï...."[122]

European travelers and other commentators were dismayed that the natives of the New World had almost no knowledge of God and Christian teachings. Yet there was genuine optimism that the Indians could be successfully converted to Christianity. A number of travel writers expressed eschatalogical motives in this regard. They maintained that preaching the gospel in the farthest regions of the earth, America, would hasten the end of the world and the second coming of Jesus.[123] Lescarbot urged that the Indians of America be converted before the end of the world, which he believed was drawing closer.[124] Since it was prophesied that before the end of the world the Jews would be converted to Christianity, and currency was given to the belief that the Indians were ultimately of Jewish ancestry, Thorowgood strongly advocated the conversion of the Indians for eschatalogical reasons.[125] Proselytizing the American natives would, "...prepare the way of peace before the second coming

of the King of Peace...,"[126] and fulfill the ancient prophecy that Christ would some day take possession of all the kingdoms of the earth and bring light to the Gentiles.[127]

Both French and English travel writers emphatically advocated proselytizing the American Indian, yet distinct and consistent differences emerged regarding the necessary means to accomplish this task. The actual amount of missionary activity among the natives did not always correspond to the strength of the exhortations expressed by contemporaries. The most intense efforts made to convert the Indians to Christianity were made by Catholic missionaries of various orders.[128] This zeal and dedication can be attributed to the revitalized Catholic Church of the Counter Reformation period. New and reformed religious orders were instituted, and these orders, notably the Jesuits, placed a high priority on missionary activity throughout the world. The Catholics hoped that some of their recent losses to the various Protestant denominations in Europe might be balanced by winning new souls for the Church in the newly explored lands of Asia and America. In 1622, the papacy established a special congregation of cardinals under the direction of the pope, known as the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, to serve as a central administrative and supervisory body overseeing all Catholic missionary activity.[129]

French Catholic missionary orders which were active in the New World included the Jesuits, who worked in Canada and, to a lesser degree, South America; along with two reformed Franciscan groups, the Capuchins, who worked in Brazil, and the Recollets in Canada. These missionaries operated with a fervor energized and guided by a conception of man's nature which was grounded in Christian humanism. The missionaries' optimism regarding the natives' potential for conversion rested on the belief that even in an environment devoid of civilization, man possessed natural reason and virtue, and thus had the potential to receive grace and Christian teaching. [130]

The optimism which the missionaries expressed regarding the conversion of the native Americans to Christianity must also be attributed, at least in part, to serious practical considerations. The missionaries were writing for a European audience, whose support was crucial if the work of proselytizing the New World natives was to continue. Many travel accounts written by missionaries minimized the obstacles, and exaggerated the successes involved in converting the Indians. The missionaries' writings must be viewed, to a certain degree, as documents of propaganda. This was especially true of the reports of the Jesuit missionaries to Canada. Paul Le Jeune and Pierre Biard both wrote of the great results which the Church could expect to reap among the "simple creatures"

of New France.[131] Throughout the writings of the Jesuits, successful baptisms and conversions of the Indians were highlighted. Biard devoted a chapter to describing, "What Progress the Christian Religion has made in New France," and discussed the great awe in which the natives held the priest when a dying Indian child recovered from his illness after being baptized.[132]

Between the years 1632 and 1673, the reports of the Jesuits were published annually in Paris. These relations were extremely popular with contemporaries, and the images therein contained of native life in the New World gained a wide currency. The correspondence of the Jesuit missionaries was edited and censored by officials of that order in Quebec and Paris prior to publication in Europe. Highly favorable views of the Indians' character, true nature, virtue, and hence potential for conversion to Christianity, were stressed. The censors of the Jesuit Relations were especially active in the second half of the seventeeenth century. At that time, the order was eager to defend its work against growing attacks by the Jansenists. The published correspondence of Jesuit missionaries to Canada in the second half of the seventeenth century conveys an even more positive image of the Indians than earlier Jesuit writings, and portrays the work of the missions as highly successful.[133] The historical accuracy of the Jesuit Relations is open to

serious question, yet these writings, along with those of other missionaries, must not be dismissed as fallacious propaganda. The positive images contained in these accounts regarding the natural virtue and rationality of the American Indian, and hence his potential for conversion to Christianity, were transferred to, and assimilated by contemporaries, who formulated their conceptions of native life in the New World based on these published reports. The writings of the missionaries, as well as those of fellow travelers, may not have mirrored the actuality of Indian life, but they constituted the reality of the situation as perceived by contemporaries.

The Capuchin missionaries who worked among the Tupinambas of Brazil also stressed the success of their efforts to convert the natives to Christianity, and expressed hope for even greater results in the future. Abbeville described these Indians as eager to accept Christian teaching. According to Abbeville, the old men repented their former ways, the young men were eager to be instructed, and the mothers were willing to part with their children so that the youngsters would receive a proper Christian education, "...plusieurs Vieillards... regrettoient leurs vies passées...Les jeunes...ne demandoient autre chose que d'estre instruicts & informez de nostres creance...aussi les meres...les laisser en nostre compagnie pour estre instruicts...." Abbeville was heartened by the disposition of these people to receive Christianity,

"...nous extrememement consolez de reconnoistre la disposition de ce peuple, pour recevoir le Christianisme en l'Eglise de Dieu." Abbeville also devoted a lengthy chapter to describing the baptism of three Tupinambas who traveled to France, wherein he emphasized the Indians' zeal for their newly adopted faith.[134] Similarly, Evreux maintained that the voice of the Holy Spirit quickly penetrated the forests of America, "...si tost que la voix de Sainct Esprit eut tonné & esclairé parmy ces forests desertes...." He reported that the Indians spoke of nothing else but their new knowledge of God, and were eager to have their children baptized, "...on ne parle plus d'autre chose, que de ceste nouvelle cognoissance de Dieu...." Evreux related many instances of natives receiving Christian baptism.[135]

Yet the missionaries were not blind to the numerous difficulties and obstacles which had to be overcome in order for their work to be of true and lasting value. Du Tertre, who wrote in the second half of the seventeenth century, asserted that the progress of Christianity among the Caribs was not visible. Native chiefs often prevented the missionaries from carrying on their work. Many Indians had formed bad opinions concerning Christian values due to their negative encounters with Europeans. In addition, Du Tertre reported that numerous Caribs accepted baptism solely as a means to obtain desired

goods from the missionaries. Most important, Du Tertre stressed the difficulty the missionaries had in attaining fluency in native languages as a serious obstacle to the work of conversion.[136] Even the zealous Evreux acknowledged that after baptism, many natives relapsed into a condition even worse than that initially exhibited, "...apres avoir donné le Baptesme...ils ne tombassent en pire estat que nous ne les avions trouvé...."[137] Le Jeune in Canada spoke of the difficulties involved in efforts to convert the nomadic Montagnais, as they were continually on the move.[138] The Jesuits also emphasized the difficulty of gaining proficiency in native tongues, and stressed the primacy of surmounting the language barrier for their missionary work to be truly successful, "...anyone who knew their language perfectly would be powerful among them."[139]

Two Jesuit missionaries who worked among the Caribs of the Antilles were much less optimistic regarding the potential conversion of the natives to Christianity, and stressed the obstacles hindering this effort to a far greater degree than did their colleagues operating in North America. The accounts of these two Jesuits convey a strikingly different attitude towards the American Indians than that expressed in the volumes of the Jesuit Relations dealing with the order's experiences in Canada.

Jacques Bouton maintained that the prime duty of the priests in Martinique was to serve the religious needs of the French settlers in the colony, since efforts directed at the Indians fell on infertile soil. According to Bouton, the natives were too attached to their traditional customs to adopt Christian practices. Bouton concluded that there was more profit in Martinique awaiting those in pursuit of material, rather than spiritual gain.[140] La Borde was equally pessimistic concerning the ultimate conversion of the Indians to Christianity. He described these people as obstinate, independent, and overly attached to their superstitions, "Ils sont entierement indépendans, & c'est un des grands obstacles de leur conversion...." La Borde viewed the Carib's polygamy as an especially serious obstacle.[141]

Yet in spite of the difficulties encountered and acknowledged by many missionaries, the Catholic effort to convert the natives to Christianity was carried on with much determination. The missionaries encountered the Indians in their own native environment. They lived among the potential converts, accompanied them on various journeys, and thus experienced the rigors of a life to which they were hardly accustomed. The Jesuit missionaries to the Hurons, for example,lived in Huron villages, and traveled with the natives in their canoes.[142] Perhaps in this respect, the missionaries were motivated to some

degree by Catholic concepts of martyrdom. Suffering was to be endured among the Indians, but the greater glory of God would be served by these hardships.[143] Biard spoke of the, "...very painful mode of living...," which must be endured among the Canadian natives, but reiterated that it was necessary to, "...live with the natives, wander as they do, adopt their ways..." The result of this, "...familiarity and frequent intercourse...," was a, "...confidence and intimacy so great that we live among these savages with less fear than one lives in Paris."[144]

The Recollet missionary, Sagard, described the rigors of his journey into the territory of the Hurons. He discussed his physical weakness and ill-preparedness for the harsh conditions of native life. Yet Sagard emphasized the importance of living in a Huron village and visiting the natives in their own households. This approach enabled the missionaries to establish a good rapport with, and win the trust of the potential converts, otherwise the Indians would have viewed the missionaries as proud and scornful:

> Je...les visitois en leur Cabanes et ménages, ce qu'ils trouvoient tres-bon, et m'en aymoient d'avantage, voyans que je traittois doucement et affablement avec eux, autrement ils ne m'eussent point veu de bon oeil, et m'eussent creu superbe et desdaigneux....[145]

Likewise in South America, the Capuchins encountered the Indians in their native environment. The missionaries

visited Tupinamba settlements for extended periods of time, and accompanied the natives on numerous journeys by canoe. Abbeville's chapters discuss the missionaries' sojourns among the Indians: "La Visite que nous fifmes aux Villages de l'Isle de Maragnan," "De ce qui se passa en nostre visite à Carnaüpio, Itapary et Tymbohu," "De nostre Visite à Mayoue et à Coyieup."[146]

The Catholic missionaries were thus willing to accommodate themselves to native life and customs. Franz Ignoli, Secretary General of the papal Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, issued a memorandum in 1644 which advised Catholic missionaries to respect native customs and societal institutions while carrying on the task of religious conversion; native rites and practices could be accommodated to Catholicism and utilized by the missionaries whenever possible to facilitate the task of conversion.[147] The Jesuits maintained that the Indians could be converted to Christianity, yet still retain many of their traditional social and political institutions. The Jesuits hoped to attain this goal among the Hurons of Canada, who were a sedentary, agricultural people. These missionaries envisioned a Christianized Huron state, which would leave intact the native social and political structure, while instituting Catholicism. The Jesuits respected Huron culture, and believed that the Indians could retain many of their traditional customs and still practice Catholicism.

These missionaries hoped that the Christian Huron state would remain segregated from the French colony, so as to isolate the new converts from the alcoholism, impiety, and sexual license that usually accompanied sustained French contact with the Indians. In this instance, the Jesuits highlighted the negative effects of European civilization on native culture.[148]

Many contemporaries questioned whether the American Indians could be converted to Catholicism while retaining a substantial portion of their traditional customs and manner of living. Those Jesuits who worked among the nomadic Montagnais hunting tribes advised that these Indians must first be rendered sedentary if missionary activity was to have any chance of success. Here the Jesuits advocated that the natives renounce their traditional way of life in favor of French civilization.[149] Abbeville, the Capuchin missionary to Brazil, believed that the Tupinambas could not be fully converted to Christianity unless they abandoned many of their traditional customs; their polygamy especially conflicted with Christian teachings. Abbeville asserted that the French religion could not truly take hold unless it was also accompanied by the institution of French law. It was important that legal punishments be inflicted on those who violated such Christian tenets as the prohibitions against murder and theft, "Il y a une si estroite union entre la Religion & la Loy...la Religion & l'office estant changé, il

est necessaire aussi, qu'il y aye changement de Loy."[150]

French Catholic missionaries did not reach a consensus regarding the best means to convert the American Indians to Christianity. But they were unanimous regarding the desirability of this goal, and were willing to work within native societies, and endure whatever hardships and disappointment might arise, in order to accomplish their mission. A similar concern for the Indians' spiritual welfare, however, was not exhibited by contemporary Protestants. Protestant theologians did not view proselytizing the American Indian as an important mission, and showed no real concern for this cause. That Protestants generally did not seek to extend their faith to the pagan inhabitants of the New World can be attributed to both theoretical arguments and practical circumstances. Martin Luther and Martin Bucer maintained that Jesus' command to the Apostles to go and teach all nations had already been fulfilled. They argued that this mission was valid only for the Apostles themselves, and was not transferable to succeeding generations. Theodore Beza and Jean Gerhard further asserted that the natives of America were not innocent souls or blank slates, who indulged in pagan practices out of ignorance. They rather maintained that all mankind, including the Indians, had been evangelized during the apostolic era. The sinful condition in which the Indians lived was interpreted as a

result of their ingratitude and inattention to the "true religion" once revealed to them, and a sign of their degeneration. Protestants regarded Indian pagan rituals as corrupt vestiges of the Catholicism once practiced in the New World. Jean Calvin, although taking the more moderate position that the missionary function of the Apostles might be re-established if necessary, nevertheless did not advocate any action by Protestants to convert the Indians, or other pagans, to Christianity.[151]

Protestants generally lacked the sympathy and concern for the religious state of the American Indians that Catholics expressed. Protestants did not share the generally held Catholic view that the Indians' ignorance of God was an indication that the native Americans had never been instructed in the Christian faith and were therefore worthy of compassion. Instead, Protestants viewed the Indians' lack of Christianity with contempt, as a sign of their corruption and degeneration. The Indians were thought to have lost all knowledge of God during their migrations and wanderings to America.[152] Protestant travelers believed that the American Indians were descended from Noah's son, Ham. Ham and his posterity were cursed because Ham unabashedly viewed his father's nakedness, which his other two brothers covered.[153] These travelers thus maintained that the Indians were an accursed people, perpetually under God's censure. Protestants

believed the Indians merited this punishment, since they neglected the teachings of the "true faith" once revealed to them.

William Strachey, writing about the natives of Virginia, queried, "...how that it should be, that they (if descended from the people of the first creation) should maintayne so generall and grosse a defection from the true knowledge of God...." He attributed this ignorance to the scattering of the sons of Noah after the Deluge. Strachey believed that the Indians descended from Noah's son, Ham, whose family traveled to the remotest regions of the earth, and thus lost all knowledge of God, "...from Cham and his tooke birth and beginninge the first universall confusion and diversity."[154] The French Protestant, Jean de Léry, also asserted that the American Indians were descended from Noah's son, Ham, on whom God had placed a perpetual curse. Léry regarded the Americans as a corrupt race of Adam, since they lacked all knowledge of God:

> ...il semble qu'il y a plus d'apparence de conclure qu'ils soyent descendus de Cham...& ont succédé à la malediction que Dieu luy donna...ce sont pauvres gens issus de la race corrompue d'Adam, tant s'en faut que les ayant ainsi considerez vuides & despourveus de tout bon sentiment de Dieu.[155]

Charles de Rochefort described the Caribs as possessing a, "...vicious and corrupt nature...."[156] Other Protestant travelers referred to the lost and wandering condition

of the American natives.[157] This was viewed as a sign of the curse and punishment which God inflicted on the remnants of the scattered Gentiles.[158]

Protestants' lack of sympathy for pagan peoples also stemmed from their hostility towards Catholicism. Protestants condemned numerous rites and practices of the Catholic Church, regarding them as signs of paganism, idolatry, superstition, and a perversion of the Christian faith. Pagan ritual was thus an anathema to Protestants, who regarded all its manifestations as threatening to the "true religion."[159]

Practically speaking, continental Protestantism lacked the unity, organization, and institutionalization exemplified by the Roman papacy, which enabled Catholicism to launch a missionary campaign of universal dimensions. Internal divisions and the need to consolidate hard-won gains in Europe occupied much of Protestant strength as well.[160] The lack of concern for converting the American Indian to Christianity, along with an overriding interest in attacking Catholicism whenever possible, are evident in travel accounts written by French Protestants.

Jean de Léry maintained that the task of converting the Tupinambas to Christianity would most likely be a prolonged and difficult one, yet he did not attempt to proselytize any of the Tupinambas during his sojourn amongst them. Léry described and condemned native religious practices, but the main focus of his discusssions regarding

religious worship centered on his quarrels with his fellow Frenchman, Villegagnon. Villegagnon was in charge of a French Calvinist expedition to Brazil, designed to establish a haven in America for persecuted Protestants. But once settled in the New World, Villegagnon began to alter his religious commitments. He leaned more towards Catholicism, or at least so it seemed to Léry, "...Villegagnon declarant tout ouvertement qu'il avoit changé l'opinion qu'il disoit autrefois avoie eue de Calvin...." Léry viewed Villegagnon's Protestantism as a temporary pretense, utilized by Villegagnon to win support of certain French leaders and thus establish his authority over the colony. Léry's quarrels with Villegagnon led to the former's expulsion from the French settlement, and hence he was obliged to reside among the native Tupinambas until a ship arrived which could transport him back to Europe. Léry asserted that the refugees from Villegagnon's settlement were treated more humanely by the Tupinambas than they were by Villegagnon, "...aimerent mieux s'aller rendre en terre ferme avec les sauvages (lesquels aussi les traitoyent plus humainement) que de demeurer davantage avec luy." Although horrified by numerous Indian practices, including their cannibalism, cruelty in warfare, and paganism, Léry regarded Villegagnon's treachery in forsaking the cause of the reformed religion, along with his cruel treatment of French Protestants residing in his colony, as even greater offenses, "...l'inconstance & variation

que j'ay cognue en Villegagnon en matiere de Religion... l'inhumanité dont il usoit envers ses gens...je reciteray la cruauté que je luy vis en ce temps la exercer sur un François...lequel il tenoit à la chaîne."[161]

Similarly, the accounts of two sixteenth-century French Calvinists involved in efforts to establish a Huguenot colony in Florida made no reference to any attempts to convert the natives to Christianity, nor did they urge this as a cause that might be taken up by Protestant settlers in the future. Instead, these Frenchmen devoted much attention to narrating the events surrounding the establishment of their colony and the difficulties that ensued, notably their conflicts with neighboring Spanish settlements. The prime concern was not the salvation of the pagan Indians, but rather the survival of the reformed religion in the New World.[162]

Thus a number of travel accounts dealing with the New World served as a vehicle for the expression of contemporary European religious and national polemics.[163] This is clearly illustrated in the writing of the French Huguenot, Nicolas Le Challeux. Le Challeux described the brutal treatment which the Timucuas of Florida received at the hands of the Spanish. His purpose, however, was not to advocate the rights of the Indians, but rather to denounce the activities of Spain in the New World. According to Le Challeux, Spain operated under the pretense

of bringing Christianity to the Indians, but instead, pillaged, killed, conquered, and enslaved the native populace. Le Challeux's denunciations of Spanish cruelty and terror were even more extreme in his descriptions of the Spanish attack on the French settlement at Port Royal. Le Challeux graphically depicted the horror and bloodiness of the Spaniards, who mutilated and dismembered their victims' bodies, "...l'Hespagnol...font une horrible exécution, de la rage et furie qu'ils avoyent conçue contre nostre nation...il n'est possible de songer un massacre qui puisse estre esgalé à cestui-ci en cruauté et en barbarie."[164] Le Challeux's account, first published in 1566, was highly popular with contemporaries, and appeared in four French editions that same year. In 1579, another edition appeared, edited by the Huguenot, Urbain Chauveton. Chauveton wrote a lengthy preface to this work, which further elaborated and denounced the cruelty of the Spanish towards the Indians, and, more important, towards the French Huguenot settlers. The "Black Legend" of Spanish terror and atrocities was strengthened by such reports dealing with Spanish activities in the New World.[165]

The French Protestant, Lancelot Voisin de La Popellinière, who never traveled himself but prepared a compilation of travel writings, confined his discussion of the New World to Brazil and Florida, the two sites of

Huguenot attempts to found settlements in the sixteenth century. La Popellinière encouraged his fellow Frenchmen to devote increased energy to colonial endeavors in America, so as not to leave the entire New World to the Catholic power of Spain.[166]

English travel writers also used their accounts dealing with the New World to attack their national, as well as religious enemy, Spain. Denominational differences among English Protestants were here of lesser significance than the general animosity towards Spain and Roman Catholicism which united all Englishmen in many of their outlooks and beliefs. George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, was primarily concerned with condemning Spanish activities in the New World in his brief travel account. The native Americans were only of peripheral interest to him.[167] Walter Raleigh and Lawrence Kemys, who recorded their expedition to Guyana at the end of the sixteenth century, both wrote to encourage English activity in the New World so as to counter and check the gains of Spain in America. They also asserted that the English presence would save and protect the native inhabitants from the terror and cruelty of the Spanish, there being, "...no greater misery or extremity for these savages...," than for Spain to prevail. Kemys also highlighted Spanish cruelty and hypocrisy in dealing with the Indians, "...Castilians pretend religious care of planting Christianity...have in their doing preached

avarice, rapine, blood and death to those naked, sheeplike creatures of God."[168] Raleigh added that it was important for the English to establish settlements in Guyana in order to correctly inform the Indians of the wickedness of the Pope![169] Strachey wrote that since Spain had already filled her portion of America with "officious and superstitious" religion, England must not delay in advancing the "true faith" in the New World.[170]

In their discussion of Indian religious worship, English travel writers often compared the idolatrous and pagan practices of the natives to numerous rites and beliefs of the Catholic Church. No matter how horrible the paganism of the Indians might appear, the Catholics were portrayed as even worse in this respect.[171] Peter Heylyn described how the natives of California worshiped the sun as a chief god, since it caused plants to grow. Subsequently, the Spaniards taught the Indians to worship a wooden cross, which Heylyn considered to be, "...the more irrational idolatry of the two...of the cross, they know nothing but the form."[172] In discussing the religious worship of the Narragansetts, Roger Williams related that these Indians worshiped thirty seven different gods, "...just as the papists have their saint protectors." Williams also stated that the sexual morality of the "savage" Indians exceeded that of the Catholic clergy, since the natives were said to respect the bonds of

conjugal fidelity, whereas the "papists" remained unmarried, "...yet to thousand whoredomes fall...."[173]

The most vociferous denunciations of Spanish activity in the New World, along with the strongest unfavorable comparisons between pagan rites and Catholic rituals, can be found in the writings of Samuel Purhcas. Purchas devoted his concluding chapter to a summary, "Of the Spanish Cruelties in the West-Indies: and of the Perverse Conversion of the Indians unto Christianity." Purchas here relied largely on evidence contained in the writings of Las Casas, who advocated a more humane policy of treatment for the American natives. Purchas referred to the Spaniards as, "...prodigious monsters... exceeding the beastliness of beasts, the inhumanity of wonted tyrants, and the devillishness--if it were possible--of the Devil." Purchas concluded by expressing feelings of great relief that the Catholics had not succeeded in converting England. In his preface, Purchas stated that one of his prime aims in writing was to illustrate that numerous popish rites were derived from paganism. The Indians of Peru buried treasure in graves to aid souls in the next world, just as Catholics bestowed gifts on priests and monasteries to keep the souls of the dead out of purgatory. The natives of Hispaniola worshiped idols, as did, "...the pagan and now the popish Romans." In New Spain, the people formed an idol out of a certain

edible paste, and then consumed it, resembling the, "...popish monstrous conception of transubstantiation...."[174]

Many English travelers expressed the same enthusiasm and optimism as French Catholics regarding the conversion of the American Indian to Christianity, but actual English missionary activity in the New World was slow to begin. Despite polemics about spreading the true faith and countering the gains of the "Romanists," English missionary activity, both Anglican and Puritan, never rivaled the magnitude and intensity of the Catholic effort. The Anglican Church, preoccupied with internal divisions, never mounted a sustained effort to convert the native inhabitants in the area of the English settlement in Virginia. The Church's prime concern regarding Virginia was to meet the religious needs of the English colonists. Ministers were sent to serve the fledgling congregations, not to function as missionaries to the Indians. The directors of the Virginia Company in London advocated the conversion of the Indians as a prime goal of the colony. However such practical obstacles as the language barrier, the lack of ministers, and the colonists' overwhelming concern with the military security of their settlement, hindered Anglican missionary work. Some efforts, though, were made in the Virginia region to instruct native children in Christianity by transferring them from their traditional homes and families to the

households of English settlers. The initial optimism concerning the Indians' potential to receive Christianity, along with any actual missionary work undertaken to attain this goal, virtually ended in 1622 when the Indians launched an attack on the English colony in Virginia, and killed many of the inhabitants.[175]

The Puritans who settled in New England displayed greater interest in converting the natives to Christianity. In 1649, Parliament chartered the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England; after the Restoration, this body was re-chartered and known as the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America.[176] The Society was largely concerned with raising both fiscal and moral support in England for its cause in the New World. To this end, the Society sponsored the publication of a number of works of a propaganda nature. These consisted largely of published letters from New England officials and missionaries which testified to the successes already attained in efforts made to instruct the Indians in Christianity. Future results were said to be even more promising, but contingent on both monetary and moral backing from England.[177]

Despite the Puritan propaganda campaign advocating the conversion of the American Indian to Christianity, the degree of Puritan dedication to this cause, along with the actual amount of work and effort expended,

are open to question.[178] Puritan accounts do not bear the same interest in the American Indian, his culture and society, as that exhibited by French Catholic missionaries. Instead, Puritan writers focused on the narrative of events surrounding the establishment and functioning of their own communities.[179] Even Roger Williams, whose account provides a much more detailed picture of Indian life than that contained in the writings of his contemporaries, did not exhibit a concern for the conversion of the Narragansetts to Christianity.[180]

Those Puritans who did work to proselytize the natives, notably John Eliot, known for his translation of the Bible into Algonkian, generally did not operate within the native context as did French missionaries, but rather insisted that the Indians renounce their traditional way of life. The Puritans firmly believed that conversion to Christianity was not possible within the native milieu. Similarly, those Anglicans who worked to convert the Indians of Virginia insisted that native children be removed from their homes and sent to live with English families. Unlike the Catholics, Puritans and Anglicans showed neither tolerance of, nor concessions to traditional customs and practices. Englishmen maintained that Christianity could not be practiced by those who adhered to native culture and society. The Puritans emphasized that the process of "civilizing" the Indian

must accompany, if not precede his instruction in the Christian faith. The Puritan missionaries, in contrast to the Catholics, did not encounter the Indian in his own milieu, and did not live, work, and travel alongside the American natives. Interaction between Puritan and Indian was strictly limited. Indian entry into Puritan towns was restricted, and Puritans were forbidden by law to leave their communities and live among the natives. Rather, the Puritans established "praying towns," the first of which was founded in Massachusetts in 1651. These praying towns were to serve the purpose of acculturation; the potential converts were to adopt a life which was totally English.[181]

Daniel Gookin provides the reader with a detailed survey of the praying towns in Massachusetts, "Of the Number, Names, and Situation of the Indian Praying Towns within the Colony of Massachusetts, with the Churches gathered in some of them, the Quantities of Land belonging to them, a Conjecture at the Number of Families and People that inhabit them...." Each praying town contained an English magistrate who had authority over the Indians, "...all such Indians, do live according to our laws, as far as they are capable...." English law was necessary, "...to reduce them to civility of life...." English law and civilization were thus deemed inseparable from Christian teaching, "...a pious magistracy and Christian

government is a great help and means for promoting, cherishing, encouraging, and propagating, the Christian religion...."[182]

Other Puritans who worked to bring Christianity to the Indians of New England all concurred regarding the primacy of establishing English law and manner of life among the natives. They considered it necessary to, "...deliver unto them the Law of God, to civilize them...to come into the English fashions, and live after their manner...."[183] In the praying towns, the Indians built houses in the manner of the English, and dressed in English apparel.[184] Even John Eliot, perhaps the most dedicated of all Puritan missionaries, advised that it was essential for the Indians to be, "...brought from their scattered and wild course of life unto civil cohabitation and government."[185] The goal of converting the natives was, in print, deemed to be essential and worthy of much effort, yet missionaries were warned to, "Take heed and beware of complying with them in any of their rites and ceremonies...."[186] Thus, the work of converting the natives was carried on by the Puritans within a familiar, English context. Puritan efforts to convert the Indians of New England virtually ended in 1675 after King Philip's War, a violent conflict between English colonists and the Indians.[187]

A number of factors elucidate the contrast in missionary approach in the New World between French Catholics on the one hand, and English Anglicans and Puritans on the other. Catholic missionaries arrived in America essentially as individuals, lacking families to care for. Their celibate life may have facilitated the adoption of a new pattern of living geared to the habits and customs of the natives among whom they worked. By contrast, the Purtian and Anglican ministers immigrated to America with their families, and founded permanent settlements in the New World. Their attentions were absorbed in establishing and securing their own communities. English settlements in the New World were of a far greater density than the French. The English clergy viewed their prime religious function in America as ministering to the spiritual needs of their own fledgling congregations.[188]

In addition, the failure of New England Puritans to venture outside their communities and establish relationships with the neighboring Indians should be viewed as related to the Puritan theological conception of the "wilderness." The image of the wilderness derived from the Old Testament, and was long rooted in Christian thought. The notion of the wilderness was an ambiguous one, subject to a variety of interpretations, usually set against the accompanying concept of a garden, or "paradise." On the one hand, the wilderness could

represent a negative state, a morally bankrupt and sinful environment, which provided temptation and a test of the faithful. However, this wilderness always had the potential of being transformed by hard work into a garden or paradise. On the other hand, the wilderness itself could serve as a place of spiritual renewal, a haven or refuge into which one could flee to escape a corrupt world. This wilderness could then serve as a protective setting in which to build or plant a spiritual garden.[189]

Seventeenth-century English Puritans applied the theological concepts of wilderness and paradise to their experiences of traveling to, and building communities in the New World. The Puritan was leaving the wilderness of sin and chaos in the Old World, enduring a perilous and harsh ocean voyage to build his own new garden in America. This journey was likened to that undertaken by the Jews who fled Egypt and wandered in the desert prior to reaching the Holy Land.[190] But the American wilderness embodied a duality of meaning for the Puritans. Once their communities had been established, the Puritans faced the new challenge of securing their settlements from the threat of the surrounding, hostile wilderness environment. The Puritan notion of paradise in the wilderness was that of an orderly, enclosed garden--the community was to remain tight knit against the threatening forces of the outside. The surrounding American forests

came to represent a wilderness harboring many threatening forces, all creatures of Satan, sent to test and tempt the true righteousness of the Puritan. The Puritan failure to venture beyond the walls of their garden to deal with the American native must be viewed in this context. Puritans perceived the Indian as a great danger, almost a personification of Satan. He represented a savage, brutal, uncivilized, undisciplined, and most important, disorderly life. The Indian was an incarnation of all the evil forces the Puritans were struggling against in society, and within themselves.[191]

Despite the acknowledgment that the Indians were born men like themselves, and the output of numerous tracts urging the conversion of the natives to Christianity, it was this Puritan vision of the Indian as savage and debased, leading a disorderly and brutal life, which dominated the ultimate assessment of primitive life contained in the overwhelming majority of English travel accounts dealing with the New World. A strikingly different image of man in a state of nature, however, emerged in French travel writings, as the following chapter will examine.

FOOTNOTES

[1]J.H. Elliott, "The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man," Proceedings of the British Academy 58 (1972):120; John H. Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers 30 (Spring, 1964):5f.; Amy Glassner Gordon, "The Impact of the Discoveries on Sixteenth-Century French Cosmographical and Historical Thought" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), 224ff.; and especially Michael T. Ryan, "New Worlds of Pagan Religion in the Seventeenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1974), who interprets the contact between Europeans and the peoples of Asia, Africa, and America as essentially an encounter between Christianity and paganism.

[2]See Lewis Hanke, "The Theological Significance of the Discovery of America," in Fredi Chiappelli, ed., First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1976), 1:364f.

[3]Charles de Rochefort, The History of the Caribby-Islands, trans. John Davies (Rotterdam, 1658; London, 1666), 276. The same quotation appears in Jean de Léry, Histoire d'un Voyage Faict en la Terre du Brésil, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1580; rpt. Paris, 1880), 2:59; and Thomas Morton, New English Canaan or New Canaan (Amsterdam, 1637), 27.

[4]Rochefort, 276ff.

[5]Léry, 1:32f.; 2:59ff. See also Claude d'Abbeville, Histoire de la Mission des Peres Capucins en L'Isle de Maragnan (Paris, 1614), 322.

[6]Morton, 27.

[7]Antoine Biet, Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en L'Isle de Cayenne (Paris, 1664), 359f.

[8]Paul Boyer, Veritable Relation de Tout ce qui s'est Fait et Passe au Voyage que Monsieur de Bretigny fit à l'Amerique Occidentale (Paris, 1654), 265f., 269f. For a similar statement regarding the absence of religion among the Caribs of the Antilles, see Sieur de La Borde, Relation de L'Origine, Moeurs, Coustumes, Religion,

Guerres et Voyages des Caraibes, in H. Justel, ed., Recueil de Divers Voyages fait en Afrique et en L'Amerique qui n'ont point esté encore publiez (Paris, 1674), 4f. The Timucuas of Florida were reported to lack all religion. See René Laudonnière, L'Histoire Notable de la Floride (1586), in Charles E. Bennett, ed., Three Voyages (Gainesville, Florida, 1975), 13; and Nicolas Le Challeux, Brief Discourse et Histoire d'un Voyage de quelques François en la Floride (Paris, 1579; rpt. 1835), 188. Samuel de Champlain, Voyages et Descouvertures faites en le Nouvelle France depuis l'année 1615. jusques à la fin de l'année 1618 (Paris, 1619), in W.L. Grant, ed., Voyages of Samuel de Champlain (New York, 1907), 270, 285, 321; and Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia, trans. P. Erondelle (London, 1609), 151; both likewise regarded the Indians of Canada as devoid of religion.

[9]The Jesuits preferred to view the Indians as "tabula rasa," or blank slates, in this regard. See J.H. Kennedy, Jesuit and Savage in New France (New Haven, 1950), 148; James P. Ronda, "The European Indian: Jesuit Civilization Planning in New France," Church History 41 (1972):388; and Alfred G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700 (New Brunswick, Canada, 1937), 126. Missionary activity will be discussed in greater detail in the latter portion of this chapter.

[10]Paul Le Jeune, "Brief Relation of the Journey to New France" (1632), in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 77 vols. (Cleveland, 1896), 5:35.

[11]Lescarbot, 145.

[12]Yves d'Evreux, Suitte de L'Histoire des Choses Plus Memorable Advenües en Maragnan (Paris, 1615), 292.

[13]Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons (Paris, 1632), 225ff.

[14]André Thevet, The New Found Worlde, or Antarctike, trans. Thomas Hacket (Paris, 1558; London, 1568), 43f. See also Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, Histoire Generale des Antilles habitées par les François, 4 vols. (Paris, 1667), 2:364.

[15]Rochefort, 290f.

[16]William Wood, New Englands Prospect (London, 1634), 82.

[17]Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimage. Or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present (London, 1614), 752.

[18]John Smith, A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion (Oxford, 1612), in Edward Arber, ed., Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, rev. ed. (New York, 1967), 74. See also William Strachey, The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia (MS. 1613; London, 1849), 82; and Thomas Hariot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia (London, 1588), n.p.

[19]A Further Acceptance of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England (London, 1659), n.p.

[20]Edward Winslow, Good Newes from New England (London, 1624), 52. See also Daniel Gookin, Historical Collections of the Indians in New England (1674), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society 1 (Boston, 1792):154; and John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England (London, 1674), 132.

[21]Roger Williams, A Key into the Language of America (London, 1643; rpt. Providence, 1936), 123ff.

[22]Spanish commentators on Mesoamerican civilization, who seriously studied native society and customs with great respect, nevertheless had nothing but contempt for Indian religion. See Benjamin Keen, The Aztec Image in Western Thought (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971), 77f.; Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indian (Bloomington, Ind., 1959), 86; and Elliott, 120.

[23]These practices were traditionally associated with heathen peoples, and derived from the Old Testament. See Rowe, 5f. Ryan, 354ff., discusses the travelers' emphasis on the horrible and frightening aspects of pagan religion.

[24]Thevet, 52f.

[25]Abbeville, 324. See also Léry, 2:65.

[26]Evreux, 273.

[27]Du Tertre, 2:365f., 470; La Borde, 4, 14; and Rochefort, 280ff.

[28]Boyer, 266. See also Biet, 386.

[29]Sagard, 225ff. The Micmacs were also reported to be sorcerers and devil worshipers. See Pierre Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France (Lyons, 1616), in Jesuit Relations, 3:131; and Biard, "Letters of 1612," 2:75.

[30]Edward Brerewood, Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions through the Chiefe Parts of the World (London, 1614), 90.

[31]Purchas, 752.

[32]Robert Johnson, The New Life of Virginia (London, 1612), n.p.

[33]Alexander Whitaker, Good Newes from Virginia (London, 1613), 23f. Smith, 75, 77f., also maintained that the Indians of Virginia worshiped the devil as a god, and described the ceremony accompanying their yearly sacrifice of children.

[34]Strachey, 17, 82f. The Susquehannas of Maryland were believed to worship the devil. See George Alsop, A Character of the Province of Maryland (London, 1666; rpt. New York, 1869), 77. English travelers to New England likewise interpreted native religion as devil worhip. See Winslow, 53f.; Josselyn, 133f.; and Williams, 129.

[35]Sagard, 258. See also Williams, 104, 106, 123ff.; and Winslow, 54; both asserted that the Indians believed deities resided in natural objects.

[36]Bailey, 133f., 74.

[37]J.D.Y. Peel, "Understanding Alien Belief-Systems," British Journal of Sociology 20 (1969):69ff., faults modern social scientists for being too rational in their study of primitive religion.

[38]See also Ryan, 159ff.

[39]Thevet, 52f. Léry, 2:65, also testified to the reality of evil spirits, and claimed to have witnessed the Tupinambas tormented by them.

[40]Evreux, 305.

[41]Ibid., 294ff. See also Abbeville, 324ff., who described the "pages" as sorcerers and charlatans who communicated with the devil, yet were nevertheless honored and esteemed by the rest of the populace.

[42]La Borde, 12ff. Rochefort, 279ff.; and Du Tertre, 2:364ff.; both regarded the Carib shaman as a sorcerer who communicated with the devil and other evil spirits. They also reported that the Caribs esteemed their shaman highly, and believed he could cure the sick.

[43]Boyer, 252.

[44]Biet, 360, 385ff., provides descriptions of these ceremonies. The Timucuas of Florida were said to have great faith in their shamans. These men also served as doctors, and were described as magicians, diviners, and invokers of the devil. See Laudonnière, 13; and Le Challeux, 188.

[45]Sagard, 4. See also Champlain, 264; and Biard, "Letters," 55.

[46]Lescarbot, 161ff.; Sagard, 263ff.; and Champlain, 324f.

[47]Wood, 82f.

[48]Morton, 34ff. See also Josselyn, 134; and Gookin, 154.

[49]Christopher Levett, A Voyage into New England (London, 1628), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 28 (Boston, 1843):176f. The presence of the devil in the New World was also a reality not subject to doubt in the eyes of Roger Williams, who declined to personally eyewitness Narragansett religious ceremonies for fear he would be acting contrary to Holy Scripture by participating in the worship of Satan. See Williams, 127f.

[50]Whitaker, 26.

[51]Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia (London, 1615; rpt. Richmond, Va., 1957), preface, n.p. See also Smith, 79; and Johnson, n.p.

[52]Strachey, 97.

[53]Evreux, 243ff.

[54]Abbeville, 91, 114.

[55]Ibid., 126; and Evreux, 336ff.

[56]Abbeville, 380.

[57]Evreux, "Epistre," n.p.

[58]Boyer, 361. Biet, "Preface," n.p., also stressed that the glory of God was the primary motive of the French colony in Guyana.

[59]Sagard, 1,3.

[60]Lescarbot, L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France, ed. W.L. Grant, 3 vols. (Paris, 1618; Toronto, 1907), 1:217f. The laymen, Samuel de Champlain and Jacques Cartier believed the Indians of Canada would be easily converted to Christianity. See Champlain, 264; and Jacques Cartier, Première Relation de Jacques Cartier de la Terre Neufve (Rouen, 1598), in H.P. Biggar, ed., Voyages of Jacques Cartier (Ottawa, 1924), 56f. The Jesuit missionaries, Paul Le Jeune and Pierre Biard, were also optimistic regarding these people's conversion. See Le Jeune, 31ff.; and Biard, "Letters of 1611," 1:171, 179.

[61]Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithaca, 1958), 508ff.; and Gold, Glory, and the Gospel (New York, 1970), points to patriotism, wealth, and glory to God attained by converting the heathen, as the three prime goals of English colonial endeavors, all of which were intimately linked together in the writings of contemporaries.

[62]See also Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier. Puritans and Indians, 1620-75 (Boston, 1965), 235ff.

[63]Gookin, 147, 223.

[64]Winslow; Thomas Shepard, The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth (London, 1648); and John Eliot, A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England (London, 1655).

[65]George Peckham, A True Report of the Late Discoveries and Possession...of the Newfound Lands, in Richard Hakluyt, The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (London, 1600), 177.

[66]Dionise Settle, The Second Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, in Hakluyt, 34. See also Thomas Churchyarde, A Prayse and Reporte of Maister Martyne Forboishers Voyage to Meta Incognita (London, 1578), n.p., who also emphasized the importance of converting the Indians.

[67]Johnson, n.p. See also Hamor, "To the Reader," n.p.; Whitaker, 25f.; and Robert Gray, A Good Speed to Virginia (London, 1609), n.p.

[68]Strachey, 2, 10, 17.

[69]Rationality and capability of receiving grace were two important criteria which the American Indians fulfilled as proof of their humanity. See Elliott, The Old World and the New (Cambridge, 1970), 43.

[70]Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indian.

[71]See above, chapter 3.

[72]Hanke, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," Harvard Theological Review 30 (1937):71ff.

[73]Arnold Williams, The Common Expositor. An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527-1633 (North Carolina, 1948), 3ff., 140, 266.

[74]Ibid., 154ff., 258; Margaret T. Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia, 1964), 214ff.; and Don Cameron Allen, The Legend of Noah. Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science and Letters (Urbana, Ill., 1963), 113ff.

[75]Early modern European treatment of the problem of the Indians' origin is thoroughly discussed in the detailed monograph of Lee Eldridge Huddleston, Origins of the American Indians. European Concepts, 1492-1729 (Austin, Texas, 1967).

[76]Ryan, 299ff., discusses the origin of the Indian as an issue which attracted the European intelligentsia.

[77]Huddleston, 31, 95.

[78]See also Ibid., vii, 9ff.; Allen, 113ff.; and Hodgen, 308f.

[79]Huddleston, 13; and Hodgen, 308f.

[80]See Huddleston, 13ff., 34ff., for a more detailed discussion of these, and other contemporary origin theories posited by European commentators. Huddleston also provides comprehensive bibliographical information.

[81]Ibid., 48ff.

[82]Ibid., 118ff.

[83]Hugo Grotius, On the Origin of the Native Races of America, trans. Edmund Goldsmid (Edinburgh, 1884).

[84]Huddleston, 121ff.

[85]Ibid., 118ff.

[86]Ibid., 138; Richard H. Popkin, "The Pre-Adamite Theory in the Renaissance," in Edward P. Mahoney, ed., Philosophy and Humanism (Leiden, 1976), 57ff.; and John G. Burke, "The Wild Man's Pedigree: Scientific Method and Racial Anthropology," in Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak, eds., The Wild Man Within. An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism (Pittsburgh, 1972), 264.

[87]Popkin, 59f. Popkin, 59n, 63, though, adds that these speculations of Paracelsus and Bruno were too deviant to be viewed as a serious threat to the established orthodoxy in the sixteenth century. In addition, these two scholars did not address themselves primarily to the problem of the origin of the American Indians.

[88]Huddleston, 139f.; Burke, 265; and especially Popkin, 64ff. See below, chapter 7, for further discussion on Isaac de La Peyrère.

[89]Human rationality was considered to be the prime element of man's resemblance to the divine, hence the true measure of humanity and man's uniqueness. See Arnold Williams, 74.

[90]Lescarbot, L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 1:216.

[91]Ibid., 43ff.

[92]Evreux, "Epistre," n.p.

[93]Léry, 2:82.

[94]Rochefort, 204ff.; and La Borde, 4.

[95]Whitaker, 24.

[96]Johnson, n.p.

[97]Williams, "To the Reader," n.p.

[98]Purchas, 727. That the Indians were descended from Adam was also stated by Strachey, 45; and the Puritan authors of Strength Out of Weakness, or a Glorious

Manifestation of the Further Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England (London, 1652), "Dedicatory," n.p.

[99]See also the discussion in Huddleston, 135ff. In addition, Huddleston, 118, points to the relative lack of interest in the specific origin of the American Indians among French writers and scholars.

[100]Josselyn, 123f. Gookin, 144f., discussed various theories concerning the Indians' origin, including the likelihood of their Tartar ancestry, but concluded that this question could not be answered with certainty beyond the fact that the Indians were Adam's posterity.

[101]Brerewood, 96f.

[102]John Ogilby, America. Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World (London, 1671), 8ff.

[103]Huddleston, 129ff.

[104]Thomas Thorowgood, Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race (London, 1650), 3, 14, 26ff.

[105]Hamon L'Estrange, Americans no Jewes, or Improbabilities that the Americans are of that Race (London, 1652); and Thorowgood, Jewes in America, or Probabilities that those Indians are Judaical, made more Probable by some Additionals to the Former Conjectures (London, 1660).

[106]Huddleston, 128ff.

[107]Ibid., 129ff.

[108]Hodgen, 258, 266ff., 302ff.

[109]The travelers searched for vestiges of Christianity in the New World, and focused on native religious ceremonies that resembled Christian rites. See Gordon, 224ff.; and Geoffroy Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Francaise (Geneva, 1935; rpt. 1969), 80ff.

[110]Strachey, 96; and Hariot, n.p.

[111]Josselyn, 134; and Morton, 49.

[112]A Further Acceptance of the Progress of the Gospel, "To the Christian Reader," n.p. See also

Winslow, 52f.; Morton, 49; and Wood, 93.

[113]Williams, "To the Reader," n.p., 130.

[114]Thevet, 83.

[115]Evreux, 292f., 296.

[116]Léry, 1:178; 2:72f.

[117]Biet, 361; and Du Tertre, 2:372.

[118]La Borde, 5,7.

[119]Le Challeux, 193.

[120]Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, 135. Sagard, 225ff.; and Pierre Boucher, Histoire Veritable et Naturelle des Moeurs et Productions du Pays de la Nouvelle France (Paris, 1664), 113, discuss the Hurons' belief in the immortality of the soul.

[121]Boucher, 114.

[122]Lescarbot, L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 1:236f. The reporting of native stories referring to a great flood should not be misconstrued as attempts by the travelers to alter, interpret, or misrepresent Indian myths so as to coincide with those of Europeans. Anthropologists have since found numerous themes to frequently recur in various human mythologies having a wide distribution over space and time. Almost all cultures have developed myths dealing with the creation of mankind, as well as the destruction of an old world by some great catastrophe, and the subsequent creation of new life. The story of a great flood has been found to exist in the mythologies of at least thirty-four diverse cultures. See Clyde Kluckhohn, "Recurrent Themes in Myths and Mythmaking," in Henry A. Murray, ed., Myth and Mythmaking (Boston, 1960), 46ff., who discusses the great degree to which myths resemble each other throughout time in various cultures of the world.

[123]Churchill E. Ward, "The English Conception of America, 1550-1700" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1974), 39ff.

[124]Lescarbot, L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 1:14.

[125]Thorowgood, Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race, 20.

[126]Johnson, n.p.

[127]Strength out of Weakness, "To the Reader," n.p.

[128]Although this study primarily focuses on the work of the French Catholics in this regard, the same energy was displayed by Spanish and Portuguese Catholic missionaries in the New World. See Hanke, "The Theological Significance of the Discovery of America," 366f.; and Douril Alden, "Black Robes Versus White Settlers: The Struggle for 'Freedom of the Indians' in Colonial Brazil," in Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, eds., Attitudes of Colonial Powers toward the American Indian (Salt Lake City, 1969), 20ff.

[129]H.O. Evennett, The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation (Cambridge, 1968), 121ff.; François Rousseau, L'Idée Missionnaire aux XVI^e et XVII^e Siècles (Paris, 1930), 42ff., 73ff.; and Rosario Romeo, "The Jesuit Sources and the Italian Political Utopia in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," in Chiappelli, 1:166.

[130]Kennedy, 133ff.; Romeo, 166; and Jack Warwick, "Humanisme Chrétien et Bons Sauvages," XVII^e Siècle 97 (1972):36. Gilbert Chinard, L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècle (Paris, 1934), vi, 139ff.; and George R. Healy, "The French Jesuits and the Idea of the Noble Savage," William and Mary Quarterly 15 (1958):147f., emphasize the classical, humanistic education of the Jesuits in this regard. For further discussion of all travelers', including the missionaries', assessment of Indian character and true nature, see below, chapter 6.

[131]Le Jeune, 5:33, 59; and Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, 4:85.

[132]Biard, Relation, 4:81ff., 97. For a detailed discussion of Jesuit missionary activity among the Indians of Canada, see Cornelius J. Jaenen, Friend and Foe. Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York, 1976), 41ff.

[133]Healy, 155; Chinard, 123ff.; Kennedy, 77ff.; and Thwaites, "Introduction," Jesuit Relations, 1:41.

[134]Abbeville, 91ff., 107, 365ff.

[135]Evreux, 244f., 253ff., 260ff., 275ff.

[136]Du Tertre, 2:414f., 418.

[137]Evreux, 261.

[138]Le Jeune, 5:33.

[139]Ibid., 63. See also Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, 3:149, 193ff., 245. For further discussion of the Jesuits' efforts to master native languages, see Jaenen, 51ff.

[140]Bouton, 131.

[141]La Borde, 4, 19f.

[142]Bruce G. Trigger, "The French Presence in Huronia: The Structure of Franco-Huron Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," Canadian Historical Review 49 (1968):126. Kennedy, 31, discusses the freedom with which the Jesuits operated among the Indians. See also Rousseau, 60; and Bailey, 63.

[143]Le Jeune, 33.

[144]Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, 3:245ff.; 4:85.

[145]Sagard, 89.

[146]Abbeville, 95ff., 119ff., 137ff.

[147]Rousseau, 92. The Jesuits especially pursued this policy in China. They integrated numerous Confucian rites and beliefs with their own teaching and practice of Catholicism, and thereby hoped to facilitate conversion of the Chinese. These activities were condemned in 1700 by the French theological establishment at the Sorbonne as gross concessions to paganism. See Ryan, 431ff.

[148]Healy, 151; Kennedy, 100ff.; and Trigger, 134ff., 140, who points out that the Jesuits did not understand the degree to which religion was integrated into Indian life and culture.

[149]Kennedy, 61f.; Bailey, 88; Ronda, 385, 390; and Jaenen, 155ff.

[150]Abbeville, 165ff., 124ff.

[151]Rousseau, 17ff.; and Atkinson, 305ff., 338.

Dutch Calvinists also made scant effort to convert the native population of their colonies to Christianity. See Rousseau, 17ff.; and "Dutch Treatment of the American Indian, with Particular Reference to New Netherland," in Peckham, 49.

[152]Contemporaries believed that man degenerated as he wandered further from the Old World sources of civilization and religion. See Hodgen, 258, 266ff., 302ff.

[153]Winthrop D. Jordan, White over Black. American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill, 1968), 243, 248, discusses the view of Ham's descendants as an accursed race, but maintains that this was applied primarily to the Africans.

[154]Strachey, 45.

[155]Léry, 2:82f.

[156]Rochefort, 342.

[157]Williams, "To the Reader," n.p.; and Strength out of Weakness, "Dedicatory," n.p.

[158]Johnson, n.p.

[159]For a discussion of Protestants' comparison of Indian and Catholic worship, see below, this chapter. A recent study of the artistic representations of American Indian women illustrating the compilation of travel accounts, Les Grands Voyages, published by the Protestant, Theodore de Bry, has concluded that Protestants' generally negative attitude towards the American Indians' potential for conversion to Christianity, and hence salvation, is revealed by engravings depicting native women as having sagging, rather than firm breasts. See Gordon, review of La Sauvage aux Seins Pendants, by Bernadette Bucher (Paris, 1977), in American Historical Review 82 (1977):1233.

[160]Rousseau, 21.

[161]Léry, 1:40, 105f., 112.

[162]Laudonnière; and Le Challeux.

[163]Also observed by Atkinson, 233ff.; and Myron P. Gilmore, "The New World in French and English Historians of the Sixteenth Century," in Chiappelli, 2:525.

[164]Le Challeux, 179ff., 212ff.

[165]For the work of Chauveton, see Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain dans la Littérature Française au XVI[e] Siècle (Paris, 1911; rpt. Geneva, 1970), 162ff.; and Keen, "The Vision of America in the Writings of Urbain Chauveton," in Chiappelli, 1:107ff.

[166]Lancelot Voisin de La Popellinière, Les Trois Mondes (Paris, 1582), Bk.3:50f.

[167]George Abbot, A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde (London, 1599).

[168]Lawrence Kemys, A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana (London, 1596), n.p.

[169]Walter Ralegh, The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana (London, 1596; rpt. 1848), 144.

[170]Strachey, 13.

[171]Protestant writers often compared Indian and Catholic rites as a means of denouncing the latter. See Hodgen, 325ff. Ryan, 463ff., views Protestants' relative lack of sympathy for pagan peoples as a result of their drive to condemn Catholic ritual as no better than pagan idolatry and superstition.

[172]Peter Heylyn, Cosmographie (London, 1652), 1037.

[173]Williams, 124, 151.

[174]Purchas, "To the Reader," n.p., 808, 888, 907, 912ff.

[175]Wesley Frank Craven, "Indian Policy in Early Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 1 (1944):73; W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., "Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia," Journal of Southern History 18 (1952):152ff.; Perry Miller, "The Religious Impulse in the Founding of Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 5(1948):492ff.; and Vaughan, "'Expulsion of the Salvages': English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 35(1978):57-84.

[176]Vaughan, New England Frontier, 254ff.

[177]A Further Acceptance of the Progress of the Gospel; Strength Out of Weakness; Eliot; and Shepard.

[178]Vaughan, New England Frontier, 153ff.; and Francis Jennings, "Goals and Functions of Puritan Missions to the Indians," Ethnohistory 18 (1971):207ff., who maintains that colonial Massachusetts officials utilized the Society and Company for Propagation of the Gospel to further their own political ends; funds collected to aid the cause of converting the Indians were often diverted.

[179]See above, chapter 4, for detailed discussion and documentation. That Puritan writers did not provide detailed description of native life has also been attested to by Vaughan, New England Frontier, 27; and Richard S. Dunn, "Seventeenth-Century English Historians of America," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America (Chapel Hill, 1959), 201ff., who characterizes Puritan writings about America as centering on the experiences of the colonists themselves in the New World.

[180]Miller, Roger Williams. His Contribution to the American Tradition (New York, 1953; rpt. 1962), 49.

[181]Vaughan, New England Frontier, 208ff., 263ff.; and James Muldoon, "The Indian as Irishman," Essex Institute Historical Collections 111 (1975):281ff.

[182]Gookin, 180ff., 177.

[183]Shepard, 17.

[184]Strength Out of Weakness, 16ff.

[185]Eliot, 1.

[186]Thorowgood, Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race, 74.

[187]Vaughan, New England Frontier.

[188]Ibid., 235ff.; and Miller, "The Religious Impulse in the Founding of Virginia," 492ff. For discussion of contrasting French and English demographic patterns of settlement in the New World, see Gary B. Nash, Red, White and Black. The Peoples of Early America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974), 88ff.

[189]George H. Williams, Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought (New York, 1962).

[190]Peter Carroll, Puritanism and the Wilderness. The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier (New York, 1969); and Alan Heimert, "Puritanism, The

Wilderness, and The Frontier," New England Quarterly 26 (1953):376.

[191]Roy Harvey Pearce, "The 'Ruines of Mankind': The Indian and the Puritan Mind," Journal of the History of Ideas 13 (1952):205, 212; George Williams, 73ff.; and Carroll.

CHAPTER VI

HOW NOBLE THE SAVAGE?
ASSESSMENT OF THE INDIAN'S CHARACTER
AND THE LIFE OF MAN IN A STATE OF NATURE

The American Indian appeared to French and English travelers as the epitome of man in a state of nature, an individual removed from the artifices and constraints imposed by civilization. Since the travelers believed that the Indian was intrinsically no different than themselves, the Indian represented what the life of European man might be like if he were to lose or surrender his civilized existence. The travelers did not perceive the Indian as he actually was, but rather discussed native life in terms of European ideals, hopes, fears, and anxieties. The travelers' assessments of the primitive, or natural life of the natives of the New World apply not only to the Indian, but reveal contemporary European views regarding the essential nature of man and civilization.[1]

The image of the American Indian contained in the French and English travel literature of the early modern period is a highly ambivalent one. The Indian appeared as both virtuous and vicious, highly idealized and

totally degraded.[2]

Many travel accounts testify to the existence of numerous natural virtues among the American Indians. These travelers assessed the character of the American Indian by applying familiar moral categories derived from Renaissance thought. The Indian was said to exhibit many of those natural virtues most valued by classical thinkers, and appeared as a replica of the "virtuous pagan." Virtue was a prime topic for discussion among sixteenth-century humanists, who wrote numerous treatises concerned with defining virtue and analyzing its constituent traits. These humanist thinkers, students of classical thought, often queried whether or not Christianity was a prerequisite for the exercise of virtue, as numerous classical pagan philosophers appeared to recognize, and be exemplars of a virtuous life. The majority of sixteenth-century humanists discussed virtue in terms of classical moral philosophy, upholding the ideals of Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. Christian virtues were generally assumed to be an integral part of the ideal man, but these traits were not explicitly stressed or discussed at any great length. Few contemporaries faced the problem of the potential conflict between classical and Christian virtues. Contemporary Europeans considered Aristotle's four virtues: temperance, justice or fidelity, prudence, and fortitude or patience, along with liberality and the exercise of reason, as the prime

characteristics of the ideal man.[3] The humanistic educational background of many of the travel writers is here apparent, as they transferred a number of the virtues and ideals upheld by classical and Renaissance writers onto the character of the American Indian.[4] The New World natives illustrated that even without instruction, cultivation, and Christianity, it was possible for man to develop many positive character traits which he intrinsically possessed.

The portrayal of the Indian as naturally virtuous is strongest in the writings of French travelers, and persists through the seventeenth century. Marc Lescarbot, in discussing the character of the Micmac Indians of eastern Canada, asserted that, "Our savages, although they bee naked, are not voide of those vertues, that are found in men of civilitie, For every one (saith Aristotle) hath in him, even from his birth, the principles and seedes of vertue." Lescarbot then proceeded to discuss the practice of temperance, courage, liberality, and humanity among these Indians. The Micmacs, "...have also Hospitality, a vertue peculiar to the ancient Gaulois...."[5]

Liberality, or hospitality, was the prime virtue associated with the American Indian. The overwhelming majority of European travelers to the New World depicted the native inhabitants as extremely hospitable towards

visitors. Another French traveler to Canada, Pierre Boucher, praised the Hurons for their liberality. He said these natives were compassionate towards each other, as well as charitable towards strangers and travelers. Boucher also esteemed the Hurons for their good common sense and ability to reason well.[6]

French travelers to South America found examples of untutored natural virtue among the native inhabitants. André Thevet said the Tupinambas of Brazil had, "...some knowledge of the good...," not deriving from any law or faith, but from nature alone. Thevet added that these people were also charitable and hospitable.[7] The French Protestant observer of the Caribs of the Antilles, Charles de Rochefort, esteemed these natives for their temperance, sobriety, hospitality towards strangers, and great respect for old people, a practice derived solely from the law of nature. Rochefort also said the Caribs were fair dealing, grateful, friendly, and generous.[8]

The strongest portrayal of the American Indian as naturally virtuous can be found in the travel accounts of the French Catholic missionaries. Stoic thought was especially influential among the Catholics. Many missionaries esteemed the Indian for realizing the essence of Stoic philosophy, as epitomized by the simplicity of native life. Catholic missionaries reported that the Indians exhibited no superfluous wants and needs, confined

themselves to those pursuits which were necessary for existence, were not concerned with material wealth and possessions, and lived in strict conformity to nature.[9] The French Catholics' idealization of the Indian's character had a foundation other than the classical concepts of natural virtue and morality popularized during the Renaissance. In the eyes of Catholic missionaries, the simplicity and austerity of the natives' lives were both reminiscent of the days of the early Church, and in conformity to many of the strict rules of monastic discipline. The Christian humanism of the missionaries persisted throughout the seventeenth century, and was characterized by a highly positive evaluation of the nature of man. The Catholics maintained that all men, including the American Indian, were essentially virtuous, moral, and rational, and thus had the potential to attain divine grace. The missionaries' optimism regarding the Indians' conversion to Christianity derived from this highly favorable view of human nature.[10]

The French Recollet missionary to Canada, Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, denied that all savage peoples were gross and dull. Sagard instead characterized the Hurons as having good understanding and intelligence, and a happy and cheerful disposition, "Tous les Sauvages en general, on l'esprit et l'entendement assez bon, et ne sont point si grossiers et si lourdauts que nous nous imaginons en

France. Ils sont d'une humeur assez joyeuse et contente...." Sagard said the Hurons were kind and merciful towards their wives, children, and defeated enemies, and always spoke in a composed manner, exhibiting much reflection and restraint. Their prime virtue was liberality, "Pour la liberalité, nos Sauvages sont loüables en l'exercice de cette vertu...." Sagard also praised the Hurons for their compassion, humane conduct, and hospitality towards strangers, and gave examples of his own favorable treatment by these natives during his sojourn amongst them. In addition, Sagard admired these people for their patience, firmness, and ability to control their emotions. Huron parents took good care of their children, and in turn, children cared for their parents in the latter's old age, thus obeying the law of nature, "...ils ayment tous grandement leurs enfans, gardans cette Loy que la Nature a entée ès coeurs...ils ayment leurs enfans...c'est qu'ils sont le support des peres en leur vieillesse, soit pour les ayder à vivre...et la Nature conserve en eux son droict...."[11] The Jesuit, Paul, Le Jeune, expressed optimism regarding the Indians' true nature and potential for conversion, "...mind is not lacking among the savages of Canada, but education and instruction."[12]

Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, missionary to the Caribs of the Antilles, praised these people for being naturally

kind, gentle, affable, compassionate, and, above all else, hospitable. Du Tertre admired the Indians for curbing their desires, being content with only those things which were necessary, and disdaining all that was superfluous. This missionary asserted that most of his contemporaries assumed savage people to be barbarous, cruel, and inhuman, but, in this respect, the Caribs were savages in name only, analagous to wild plants which nature produced on her own, without the aid of cultivation. Du Tertre said the Caribs possessed the true, or natural virtues of mankind, which more civilized people often corrupted and destroyed with their own artifices and inventions:

> ...à ce seul mot de Sauvage, la pluspart du monde se figure dans leurs esprits une sorte d'hommes barbares, cruels, inhumains, sans raison, contrefaits, grands comme des geants, velus comme des ours: enfin, plustost des monstres que des hommes raisonnables; quoy qu'en verité nos Sauvages ne soient Sauvages que de nom, ainsi que les plantes & les fruits que la nature produit sans aucune culture dans les forests & dans les deserts, lesquelles quoy que nous les appellions Sauvages, possedent pourtant les vrayes vertus & les proprietez dans leur force & dans leur entiere v gueur, que bien souvent nous corrompons par nos artifices, & alterons beaucoup, lors que nous les plantons dans nos jardins.[13]

The Capuchin missionary to Brazil, Yves d'Evreux, especially admired how the Tupinambas, guided solely by the light of nature alone, realized many of the virtues most highly esteemed by classical philosophers. Evreux praised the great respect exhibited by the young towards their elders, and commented that nature alone was the sole force responsible for such admirable conduct, "Le

poinct que j'ay le plus considerè & le plus admirè...est l'ordre & respect gardè inviolablement des jeunes, vers leurs majeurs...la pure nature ait plus de force sur ces Barbares à faire garder le respect, que les enfans doivent à leurs majeurs...." He said the Tupinambas naturally possessed those three requirements essential to attain knowledge: will, intellect, and memory. Evreux commented that nature had conserved many traits among the isolated natives of America which were corrupted by avarice and ambition in the Old World, "...c'est que la nature a conservè beaucoup de ses traicts & lineamens entiers, dans ces Nations solitaires: lesquels ont estè corrompus au vieil monde, par l'ambition & l'avarice...."[14] Evreux devoted a chapter to discussing the purely natural rules and means observed by the Indians according to which they led a very gentle and pleasant life, "Regles et moyens purement naturels, observez des Sauvages, par lesquels ils menent une vie fort douce & plaisante." Here Evreux stated that the Tupinambas, guided solely by nature alone, fulfilled the criteria established by Seneca for leading a harmonious life. The natives acted with good will towards each other, the young respected their elders, and the leaders did not behave presumptuously. The Indians were said to live gently together, in kindness, equality, and joy, according to the rule of Seneca, "Tous ensemble vivent doucement, selon

la troisiesme regle de Seneque en benignité, debonnaveté, egalité, joyeusete sans se piquer."[15] Evreux depicted the family life of the Tupinambas as well ordered; work was cherished and superfluity scorned. He commented that nature alone taught the Indians to live frugally, and each family member to carry out his required duties. Evreux concluded that the family life of the Tupinambas realized the ideals of Cicero, Pitacus, and Stobee, as well as those of St. Thomas, "Sainct Thomas definissant l'Oeconomie...qu'une bonne conduitte domestique...Monstrons cecy estre enseigné aux Sauvages, par la pure Nature, & non par aucune autre science aquise."[16]

Many English travelers also provided a positive assessment of the character of the American Indian. However, the favorable portrayal of the nature of the Indian contained in English travel literature is much less intense than the image of the virtuous primitive present in French writings. English travelers emphasized what they regarded as the natives' gentleness, simplicity, and docility. The Indians thus appeared passive in the face of English colonization in the New World. The English also assumed that the Indians would be eager to "improve" themselves by adopting English ways. Since the English initially believed the American natives were capable of both conversion and Anglicization, they maintained that the Indians intrinsically possessed many positive character

traits. However, direct allusions to classical writers, as well as to the concept of natural virtue itself, are not prominent in English travel accounts. Positive evaluations of the Indian's character are often confined to the few words or sentences which constitute the citations from the sources which now follow, whereas many French writers were much more elaborate in their praise of the "noble savage."

Walter Raleigh described the natives of Guyana as, "...a people very faythfull, humble, patient, peaceable, simple without subtilty, mallice, quarrels, strife, rancor or desyer of revengement...."[17] Arthur Barlow, an early traveler to Virginia, praised the natives of that region for their hospitality, as well as their "mannerly" and "civill" behavior; he said the people were, "...most gentle, loving and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason...."[18] The Virginia Indians were also reported to be, "...a very understanding generation, quicke of apprehension...";[19] "...by nature loving and gentle, and desirous to imbrace a better condition."[20]

Travelers to New England commented that the natives were courteous, civil, intelligent, gentle, wholesome, and temperate.[21] William Wood characterized the Indians of Massachusetts as a "loving people," with, "...affable, courteous well-disposed natures...." This traveler had great praise for the natives' hospitality,

hardiness, and endurance. He said these people, "...expresse no small ingenuitie, and dexterity of wit..."; they had, "...quicke wits, understanding apprehensions, strong memories...."[22]

Thomas Morton, who had established his own community at Merrymount, outside of the jurisdiction of the Puritan settlement at Massachusetts Bay, enjoyed closer and more amicable relations with the natives of Massachusetts. Morton praised these Indians for their humanity, modesty, compassion, hospitality, and providence. He asserted, "These people are not (as some have thought) a dull, or slender witted people; but very ingenious...." Morton esteemed the Indians for leading a contented life, and being satisfied only with what was necessary for their existence. He perceived the natives as shunning all superfluous things, and thus saw them as living, "According to humane reason guided onely by the light of nature, these people leades the more happy and freer life...."[23]

Roger Williams praised the Narragansetts of Rhode Island for their, "...quick brains and faculties... quick apprehensions and accurate judgements...." In this regard, "God hath not made them inferiour to Europeans." Like his fellow travelers, Williams had the greatest praise for the Indians' hospitality:

I have knowne them leave their House and Mat
to lodge a Friend or stranger,
When Jewes and Christians oft haye sent
Christ Jesus to the Manger.[24]

The majority of English travel accounts that portray the natural character of the American Indian in a favorable light generally date from the end of the sixteenth, or the early years of the seventeenth century, prior to sustained contact between Indian and English.[25] The image of the Indian contained in accounts dealing with Virginia worsened substantially after 1622, when the Indians launched a major attack on the English colony, killing many settlers.[26] Until that time, the Virginia Company in London sought to portray the colony in a positive light so as to encourage English emigration. The Company was largely successful in its efforts to control much of the published literature dealing with the colony. Many of the early accounts describing Virginia thus portrayed a fertile and abundant land, inhabited by a gentle, intelligent, and kind people.[27]

However, favorable English views of the American Indians were not limited to early travelers who had only minimal contact with the natives. The Puritan assessment of the Indian's nature remained relatively constant throughout the seventeenth century. The Puritans did not view the Indians as exemplars of natural virtue or morality, but maintained that they possessed enough intrinsic merit to eventually adopt Christianity and

English culture. The Puritans were not hostile towards the natives until the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675.[28] Other travelers to New England rendered favorable assessments of the Indian's character in the middle years of the seventeenth century. William Wood, Thomas Morton, and Roger Williams, who wrote in 1634, 1637, and 1643 respectively, all spent substantial periods of time with the natives, and portrayed the essential nature of the Indians in a highly positive light.[29]

Conversely, not all early English reports about the inhabitants of the New World were positive. Many portrayed the Indian as essentially fierce, treacherous, and cruel. These travelers did not question the basic humanity of the Indians, but believed that their character was nothing more than a reflection of the brutal and savage manner of their life. Early English travelers to northeastern Canada saw no natural goodness or virtue among the natives who inhabited that region. These observers considered violence and treachery to be the prime vices of the Indians. English travelers frequently warned their countrymen not to trust the Indians; they reported that the Indians often feigned friendship while constantly plotting evil actions.[31] The travelers said the Indians had a "crafty nature," and were, "...altogether void of humanity and ignorant of what mercy means...."[32] They depicted the natives as extremely cruel, having a, "...ravenous and bloody disposition...."[33]

Similar comments were recorded regarding the Indians of Virginia. William Strachey regarded the natives of this region as essentially, "...vindicative and jealous...so grosse and barbarous...what difference maye be betweene them and brute beasts...."[34] John Smith added that the Indians of Virginia were, "...inconstant in everie thing...Craftie, timerous...some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage. Generally covetous...They are soone moved to anger, and so malitious, that they seldome forget an injury...."[35] Alexander Whitaker, cited above for his praise of the Indians' understanding and intellectual capabilities, also reported that, "...they esteeme it a vertue to lie, deceive and steale...."[36]

Travelers and settlers who recorded their experiences in New England also portrayed the Indians they encountered as treacherous and not to be trusted.[37] The natives were said to be, "...full of subtlety, bloody minded and full of treachery...."[38] Daniel Gookin characterized the Indians of Massachusetts as, "...very revengeful...naturally much addicted to lying and speaking untruth; and unto stealing, especially from the English."[39] John Josselyn, whose travel account was dedicated to the president and fellows of the Royal Society, appraised the natural disposition of the natives of Massachusetts as follows:

> ....barbarously cruel...Prone to injurious violence and slaughter, by reason of their bloud dryed up with overmuch fire, very lecherous proceding from choller adust and melancholy, a salt and sharp humour; very fingurative or theevish, and bold importunate beggars, both Men and Women guilty of Misoxenie or hatred to strangers....[40]

A far greater proportion of English travel accounts convey an exclusively negative impression of the nature of the American native. By contrast, only one French account contains an evaluation of the Indian's character which is entirely negative. Samuel de Champlain did not deny that the Indians had the potential to adopt both Christianity and French civilization, yet he portrayed the Hurons as changeable and inconstant. He criticized the Indians for, "...their foul ways, their dissolute manners, and their savage indulgences." Champlain further asserted that the, "...Savages do not exercise reason, that they are hard to approach, are easily estranged, and are very ready to take vengeance...."[41]

Other French travelers are ambivalent--they reported both the virtues and vices of man in a state of nature. The Jesuit, Pierre Biard, upon his initial arrival in Canada, reported that the Micmacs were, "...savage...full of bad habits, ignorant, lawless, rude, lazy, gluttonous, profane, treacherous, cruel in their revenge...." He reprimanded both the men and women for their "lewdness."[42] In a work written five years later, Biard spoke of the nature of these same Indians as,

"...generous, not malicious...having a happy disposition and a good capacity for judging the value of things." He added that these people were, "...not lacking in chastity."[43]

Sieur de La Borde, a Jesuit missionary who worked among the Caribs of the Antilles, praised these people for their hospitality and sincerity. However, La Borde was of the strong opinion that the vices of the Caribs far outnumbered their virtues. He reported that they possessed a sad and melancholic temperament, and were the most stupid and brutal nation of the world, "Les Caraïbes sont d'un temperament triste, réveur & melancolique...ils soient les plus stupides & les plus brutaux, je croy, qu'il y ait au monde." He added that they exhibited no consideration for the good deeds carried out on their behalf, were very vindictive, and were prone to drunkenness, "Ils sont fort vindicatifs, & garderont une haine...toute leur vie...Il n'y a pas peuple plus porté a l'yvrognerie...." La Borde also asserted that the Caribs were very lustful and lewd, "...ils sont tres-lubriques, & luxurieux...Lors qu'ils sont yvres je les ay veu faire des actions semblables aux Satyres...."[44] La Borde's colleague, Jacques Bouton, reported that the life led by the Caribs was very agreeable, and the natives appeared very content, yet he also asserted that these people were defiant, cruel, inconstant, and treacherous.[45]

Paul Boyer, a lay observer of the Galibis Caribs of Guyana, negatively evaluated the character of these Indians. Boyer depicted the natives as violent, brutal, and ferocious. Boyer faulted the Caribs for their impetuousness. He said they abandoned themselves to all sorts of vices, did not exercise any reason, and were guided solely by their excessive desires, "...la volupté qu'ils reçoivent en leurs divertissemens, en leur boire & en leur manger est comme incroyable...tous abandonnez à toute sorte de voluptez...ils se laissent aller avec tant d'impetuosité au moindre mouvement de tant d'inclinations naturelles...." However, Boyer also noted that the Caribs lived together fraternally, were civil and honest in their speech, kept their promises, and treated their friends well.[46]

Even those French travel accounts that contain images of the American Indians as inherently good and naturally virtuous should not be interpreted as paeans exalting an uncivilized life. Abbeville maintained that there never was a nation as barbarous, cruel, and removed from all humanity as the Tupinambas, "...jamais il y ait eu nation plus barbare, plus cruelle, & plus alienée de toute humanité que celle-là."[47] Thevet said these Indians were a, "...strange wild and brutish people...without any civilitie: but living like brute beasts...."[48] Léry regarded them as examples of a corrupt race of

mankind, "...gens issus de la race corrompue d'Adam...."[49] Rochefort asserted that the Caribs were guided solely by their own "blinded understanding," and followed the dictates of, "...the sad disorder of their vicious and corrupt nature...."[50] Du Tertre faulted the Caribs for raising their children as "brute beasts," never correcting them or instructing them in civility, "...plustost en bestes brutes qu'en hommes raisonnables; car ils ne leur apprennent ny civilité, ny honneur...."[51] Likewise, Sagard was offended by the gross manner of the Hurons, and labeled these people as dirty and licentious.[52]

The savage was not entirely noble in the eyes of French and English travelers to the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Indian was chided for being rude and uncultivated; English observers especially criticized him for his laziness. The travelers depicted the Indians as barbarously cruel in their warfare and treatment of prisoners, and horrifying in their cannibalism. The natives' life was often deemed no better than that of beasts. The travelers vividly portrayed the natives as heathen devil worshipers, and no degree of admiration for other elements of the Indians' manner of living was sufficient to totally eradicate this chilling image which the travelers conveyed to their contemporaries in Europe.

The American Indian did not appear as a symbol of pure natural virtue in the French and English travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But to deny the presence, or dilute the strength of the strong, positive image of life in a state of nature that is conveyed by many French travelers is truly a distortion of the tone and substance of this body of literature. Here a striking and consistent difference can be clearly ascertained between French and English travel writers. Both groups portrayed the uncivilized life of the Indian as savage and brutal, but French travelers also saw another side to this existence; there were benefits in leading a life devoid of civilization and regulation. French travelers to the New World were more likely than the English to minimize the amount of order and regulation operating among native societies; the majority of French travel accounts asserted that the Indians lived entirely without law and government.[54] French travelers expressed ambivalence regarding this lawless state. On the one hand, they deplored the absence of order, but on the other hand, they idealized the liberty and lack of restrictions enjoyed by the American natives. French accounts portrayed man in a state of nature as happy and tranquil, free of those troubles and anxieties that vexed civilized, or European man. French accounts also praised the Indians for their supposed lack of concern for material possessions

or private property. The American natives were seen as desiring nothing superfluous, and content to equally share whatever they had amongst themselves. French travelers maintained that excessive desire for material wealth was the prime source of the aggravation and anxiety which plagued civilized man, and thus the Indians appeared to live a more tranquil existence than Europeans. These Frenchmen believed that man was virtuous by nature, and they depicted the Indians as possessing many positive character traits that had fully developed on their own, without the intervention of culture or education. Many of these travelers also asserted that the Indian, guided by nature alone, could serve as a model of conduct for Europeans. French commentators thus perceived civilization as no more than a mixed blessing, oppressing man as well as improving him. These travelers also implied that civilization was not essential for man's well-being, since the natives of America were often said to better realize a good, happy, and more moral life than Europeans.[55]

Lescarbot idealized the primitive life of the Micmacs of Canada, and maintained that, with the exception of Christianity, the American Indians possessed all the requisites of a contented and virtuous life:

> Happie are our Savage people if they had full knowledge of God: for in that case they be without ambition, vaine-glorie, envie, avarice ...Furthermore all Savages generally doe live every where in common: the most perfect and most woorthy life of man, seeing that he is a

> sociable creature, the life of the ancient golden age...They have this mutuall charity which hath been taken away from us since that mine and thine have come into the world.

Lescarbot also often favorably compared the life of the Indians to that of the Europeans. He praised Indian women for the great love they exhibited towards their children. Lescarbot admired the Americans for living simply, and not indulging in such vices as over-eating or lavish dress, faults which were characteristic of Europeans. Lescarbot viewed the peaceful and temperate life of the Indians as the cause of their excellent health and physical condition, "Sobrietie is the mother of health."[56]

Sagard generally concurred with the observations of Lescarbot. Sagard admired the Hurons for living together in harmony, and viewed their contented life as the prime cause of their good health. The Hurons were not plagued by law suits, nor did they take pains to acquire any material goods. Sagard here took the opportunity to reprimand Christians for their excessive and insatiable greed; he asserted that Europeans were justly reproved by the quiet life and tranquil dispositions of the American Indians:

> ...ce qui ayde encore grandement à leur santé, est la concorde qu'ils ont entr'eux, qu'ils n'ont point de procez, et le peu de soin qu'ils prennent pour acquerir les commoditez de cette vie, pour lesquelles nous nous tourmentons tant nous autres Chrestiens, qui sommes justement et à bon

> droict repris de nostre trop grande cupidité et insatiabilité d'en avoir, par leur vie douce, et la tranquilité de leur esprit.

Sagard admired the family life of the Hurons, and maintained that, except for the absence of Christianity, the domestic tranquility of the natives was pleasing to God; Indian women loved and cared for their husbands more than did European women.[57]

The Jesuit, Biard, also believed that in some areas of conduct, the savage Indian shamed the civilized European. The short-comings of the educated Christian were harder to excuse when the untutored natives of Canada exhibited a greater degree of morality in their conduct. Biard praised the amity and concord that he perceived among the Micmacs. He noted that there were fewer jealousies and quarrels amongst these people than among Frenchmen. Indian society was marked by the absence of pressures, anxieties, and desires which were said to "tyrannize" the lives of Europeans.[58]

Nicolas Denys, a lay observer of the Micmacs of Canada, praised the traditional way of life followed by these Indians prior to sustained contact with the French and their civilization. He reported that the Micmacs lived together in mutual friendship and understanding; they treated each other as they themselves wished to be treated, and shared whatever they had. The Indians lived in purity; the women were chaste and faithful to

their husbands:

> La Loy qu'ils observoient anciennement estoit celle de ne faire à autruy que ce qu'ils souhaitoient leur estre fait...tous vivoient en bonne amitié & intelligence, ils ne se refusoient rien les uns aux autres....ils vivoient dans la pureté, les femmes estoient fidelles à leurs maris, & les filles fort chastes....[59]

Similar sentiments were expressed by French travelers to South America. Abbeville said the Tupinambas lived in pleasure and joy, and lacked the cares and anxieties which oppressed men in civilized society, "...ils vivent continuellement en allegresse, en liesse, en plaisir & soulas, sans soin ny soucy, sans inquietudes ny affaires, sans tristesse & sans oppression ou chagrains qui desseichẽt & consomment l'homme en moin de rien." Abbeville considered the Tupinambas' absence of concern for material possession or wealth as the main factor contributing to their contentment:

> ...le bon heur de nos Maragnans, ne pouvant se passionner pour des richesses, lesquelles ne s'aquierẽt qu'avec une peine extreme...c'est la cause de leur bon-heur, & l'avãtage qu'ils ont sur tous les autres, vivans sans soin ny sollicitude quelcõque des biens temporels, ne se rompant jamais la teste pour amasser ny or, ny argent...ils sont neantmoins d'autant plus loüable qu'ils sont par là exempts de tant de tromperies & de fraudes....

Once again, the family life of the American Indian was favorably compared to that of the Europeans. The natives lived together in peace, and lacked those quarrels which were said to destroy the tranquility of many Catholic households:

> ...la concorde & union si grande qui se trouve dans toutes les familles de ces Nation Sauvages ...jamais vous n'entendez de bruit dans leurs mesnages...C'est une belle leçon à plusieurs familles Catholiques...ne peuvent vivre en paix par ensemble, & ne scavroient estre un seul jour sans querelles....[60]

Jean de Léry esteemed the absence of care for worldly things which he said was characteristic of the life of the Tupinambas. In this regard, the Indians, as ignorant as Léry believed them to be, served as a model of conduct for Europeans. Envy, avarice, and ambition were all evils which, asserted Léry, infected man with anxieties which contributed to an early death. The Indians, however, appeared free of such troubles:

> ...le peu de soin & de souci qu'ils ont des choses de ce monde...nous empoisonnent & font mourir par deça devant nos cours: assavoir, en la desfiance, en l'avarice qui en procede, aux procez & brouilleries, en l'envie & ambition, aussi rien de tout cela ne les tourmente, moins les domine & passionne.

Léry also criticized the ostentatious and flirtatious manner of dress of European women by comparing it to the natural modesty he observed among Tupinamba women. Léry maintained that the artificial allurements of sophisticated women incited greater promiscuity than the nudity of savage females, since the latter behaved in a restrained and modest fashion:

> ...ceste nudité...est beaucoup moins attrayante qu'on ne cuideroit. Et partant, je maintiens que les attifets, fards, fausses perruques, cheveux tortillez, grands collets fraisez, vertugales, robbes sur robbes, & autres infinies bagatelles dont les femmes & filles de par deçà se contrefont

> & n'ont jamais assez, sont sans comparaison cause de plus de maux que n'est la nudité ordinaire des femmes sauvages....

Léry concluded his account with expressions of nostalgia for the time he spent among the Tupinambas, as these people exhibited more frankness and sincerity than many Christians, "...je regrette souvent que je ne suis parmi les sauvages, ausquels (ainsi que j'ay amplement monstré en ceste histoire) j'ay cogneu plus de rondeur qu'en plusieurs de par deça, lesquels à leur condamnation portent titre de Chrestiens."[61]

Evreux portrayed the Tupinambas as living in total liberty and simplicity, and compared their existence to the natural life of the birds and the beasts, "...une pleine liberté, comme aux oyseaux de l'air, & aux bestes de forests...." The Indians were not bothered with the excesses and squabbles which plagued European man, "...sans estre molestez des mangeries & plaideries de par deçà...."[62]

Many French travelers likewise idealized Carib society as pleasurable and harmonious, devoid of the pressures and anxieties which were said to torment civilized man. Thus life in a state of nature was perceived as having many positive attributes. Rochefort depicted the Caribs as content to live solely with what nature had provided them. Their lives were not troubled with, "...ambition, vexation, disquiet...." Their houses

were left unguarded as there was no theft to be concerned about. Rochefort asserted that civilized Europeans had a highly negative effect on the purity and simplicity of the Caribs' lives, and served as bad examples for the Indians. The Europeans taught the natives such vices as lying, treachery, dissimulation, and luxury.[63]

Certain elements of Carib life were deemed worthy of emulation by Europeans, as they lived simply and sincerely, without ambition, avarice, theft, fraud, blasphemy, and lying, "...sans ambition, tres-simple, sans avarice, tres-sinceres, sans larcin, sans fraude, sans blasphemes, sans mensonges, je ne peux que les admirer, & les imiter en leur morale quant aux points cy-dessus...."[64] Du Tertre described the life of the Caribs as paradisaical; the natives were completely content, and lived happily together in natural simplicity. These Indians had no cares or regulations to hamper them, and did not strive after anything which was superfluous. They enjoyed total freedom, and all were equal:

> ...la terre y est un petit Paradis...que les Sauvages de ces Isles sont les plus contens, les plus heureux, les moins vicieux, les plus sociables...de toutes les nations du monde... une grande simplicité & naïfveté naturelle: ils sont tous égaux...& tous unanimement bornent les desirs à ce qui leur est utile...ils vivent tous à leur liberté...ils n'ont aucun soucy....[65]

Paul Boyer reported that the Caribs of Guyana set a positive example of moral conduct in many respects.

Unlike Europeans, they did not desire to enrich themselves at the expense of their fellow man, nor to slander one another. Such common European vices as extortion, avarice, cupidity, libel, litigation, and law suits (just to mention a few of the examples listed by this traveler) were unknown in Carib society, a fact that was seen as cause for shame among contemporary Frenchmen. The Caribs did not draw distinctions of rank amongst themselves, and judged men solely by their actions:

> Ils ne desirent pas comme nous de s'enrichir aux despens d'autruy, ny d'estre les uns au dessus des autres...Ils ne medisent jamais ny des autres...ils se moquent grandement de nous, quand ils voyent que nous sommes tachez de ce vice. Ils ne sçavent ce que c'est que d'extorsions ny des subsides...point d'avarice, point de cupidité...point de contentions, point de procez, point de chicane...point de collusionnaires, point d'exactions...ny pas un brin de convoitise, ce qui nous devroit faire rougir de honte. Point de distinction de conditions parmy eux, & ils ne considerent les hommes que par les actions qu'ils sçavent faire.

Boyer added that these people lived together fraternally, and held all their possessions in common, "...ils vivent aussi fraternellement entre qui sont d'une mesme nation que jamais fraternité le puisse faire: car leurs biens sont presque tous en commun...."[66]

All of the French travel writers cited above who favorably depicted the life of man in a state of nature also conveyed negative images of the Indians elsewhere in their accounts. But the idealization of

primitive life is present nevertheless, and is a strong characteristic of French travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The intensity of this image varies from one account to another, but the idealization of primitive life cannot be dismissed as a naïve view, present only in early French travel literature. This strong current of primitivism persists in French travel accounts throughout the seventeenth century, and does not diminish over time (at least not for the period covered in this study). Many French travelers in the middle years of the seventeenth century continued to esteem what they perceived as the innocence, simplicity, and tranquility of primitive life. These travel writers had sustained contact with the Indians, and were aware that the natives could be brutal as well as gentle in their encounters with the French. Rochefort's account, published in 1658, discussed how France's efforts to establish colonial settlements in the Antilles were hampered by continual and fierce attacks by the Caribs.[67] Yet elsewhere in his account, Rochefort praised the moral character and simple life of these same Indians.[68] Du Tertre, who wrote in 1667, also witnessed and detailed the hostility and belligerence of the Caribs in the first volume of his work.[69] However, this negative experience did not prevent the author from, in his second volume, idealizing many other aspects of Carib life.[70] By contrast,

Samuel de Champlain, who provided the least favorable portrayal of the natural character and life of the American Indian, wrote relatively early in the seventeenth century; his account was published in 1619.

By regarding the savage Indian as a model of conduct for the Christian and civilized European, the travelers may have primarily intended to criticize the laxness and shortcomings of contemporary Frenchmen, rather than to praise the natural morality of the untutored and uncultivated Indian. But on numerous occasions, the travelers did compare the conduct of the Indian to that of the European, with the former appearing in a far more favorable light than the latter. These passages cannot be erased from the French travel literature; they were read by contemporaries and constituted an important part of the image of the American Indian conveyed to the European reading public. Neither should these excerpts be overlooked by more modern readers seeking only to find the antecedents of oppressive colonialism and racial prejudice.

The idealized picture of the life of man in a state of nature present in French travel accounts comes into much sharper focus when compared to the portrayal of the life of the savage present in English travel literature of the same era dealing with the New World. English travel writers did not perceive civilization as

a curse as well as a blessing, conveying harm as well as benefits. The English found nothing positive in a state of nature. Englishmen regarded civilization as absolutely essential to man's happiness and well-being, providing order to his life.[71] No idealization of primitive life can be found in English travel literature. As previously discussed, the English were not even as interested as the French in describing and detailing the primitive life of the American Indians. English travelers avoided sustained contact with the Indians within the native milieu, and kept Indian and English settlements as separate from each other as possible.[72]

These highly divergent portrayals of the life of man in a state of nature reveal different attitudes towards the concept of work and material gain. As examined in an earlier chapter, both French and English travelers regarded the Indian as lazy, and believed that he did not perform any productive work.[73] It was documented that this criticism was far more intense in the English literature. English travelers faulted the Indian for not engaging in agricultural production, and maintained that the natives did not truly utilize their land. The English regarded the absence of work in Indian society as one of the prime detriments of savage life. French travelers, on the other hand, generally interpreted a life devoid of work and material gain in a positive light.

The Indians, as portrayed in the numerous French accounts cited above, did not strive for worldly goods, and hence were not subject to many of the pressures, anxieties, and maladies that plagued acquisitive, European man. These French travelers idealized a primitive life devoid of work and characterized by tranquility and concord. The Indians were said to concern themselves only with what was necessary to sustain life, and were not troubled by any superfluous desires. Many French commentators regarded such a leisurely life as the key to the great contentment which the Indians enjoyed.

The French idealized the natural, primitive condition of the New World natives, and exaggerated the absence of regulations and restrictions. French travelers viewed the various Indian societies they encountered as naturally harmonious; the natives dealt peaceably with each other, and enjoyed a rare domestic tranquility in their households. The English, though, did not conceive that man, even in a state of nature, could live in such total freedom as French travelers assumed. The English maintained that even the savages of America practiced some form of religion, and organized their societies according to some form of government.[74] What was natural to man, according to the English, was not an existence free of order, regulation, and cares, but rather a life marked by government, with the people offering proper respect and

obedience to their governors; recognition and worship of a divinity; and a desire to embrace a better, more civilized way of life. English travelers did not believe man was capable of naturally attaining an orderly or harmonious life unless compelled to by some sort of imposed structure.

English travelers believed that the Indians possessed many positive character traits, and were inherently rational, as were all men. However, they regarded the virtues that the American natives exhibited as indicative of the Indians' potential to realize a better life once they accepted the English religion and manner of living. The English were to serve as models of conduct for the Indian, and not vice versa. The English did not believe any aspects of native life were worthy of emulation. The English, unlike the French, did not think it was possible for the American Indian, or any man, to naturally attain a good and contented life--a life without civilization was deemed totally wretched. English travel writers expressed no doubts that the Indians would eagerly welcome the opportunity to adopt English civilization, as they believed all men were naturally desirous of the opportunity to better their condition.

Walter Raleigh was certain that the natives of Guyana would benefit from English rule:

> Wee will instructe them in liberall arts of civility...we will teach them the use of weapons, how to pitch theyr battells, how to make armor...So as thei having received such great benefits as we shall confer uppon them ...we cannot presume that thei will be so ungratefull as to rise against us....[75]

Lawrence Kemys asserted that government was, "...the only bond of common society...," and maintained that the Indians of Guyana were in need of, "...discipline, justice, and good order to confirm them in a quiet and peaceable course of living...." He declared that the natives, "...could hope for nor desyr no better state and useage then her Majesty's gracious government and princely virtues doe promise."[76] The English believed their presence was entirely beneficial to the natives, as they would bring not only Christianity, but temporal advantages as well. The English would teach the Indians how to manure and better utilize their land, and, "...induce their barbarous natures to a liking and mutuall society with us...what just cause of complaint maye they have...."[77]

French travelers sought to bring civilization to the American Indian as well, but they also could see advantages to life in a state of nature. The English believed that man's existence was totally wretched without civilization, and viewed it solely as a positive and progressive force in human development. The English regarded it as their duty to spread their civilization to the New World, and could not imagine that the native

inhabitants might be anything less than welcome recipients. This self-righteous tone of English travel accounts is generally absent in French writings; when present, it lacks the same intensity characteristic of English accounts. The English perceived it as their mission, "...to tame nature where she is most unbridled...subdue her to the government and subjection which God over all blessed forever hath imposed on all sensible creatures to the natures of man."[78]

Travel accounts dealing with the English experience in Virginia clearly convey the sentiments discussed above.[79] Thomas Hariot believed that the Indians would be brought to "true civility" in a short time, as he did not doubt that they would easily be convinced of the superiority of English knowledge and craftsmanship.[80] William Strachey asserted that the Indians of Virginia were, "...willing to receive our customes, herein like raced and unblotted tables, apt to receive what forme soever shallbe first drawn theron...." English civilization would:

> ...bring them from bodily wants, confusion, misery, and these outward anguishes, to the knowledg of a better practize, and ymproving of those benefitts...which God hath given unto them...we shall by degrees chaunge their barbarous natures, make them ashamed the sooner of their savadge nakedness, informe them of the true God...teach them obedience to the king's majestie and to his governours in those parts....

Strachey also believed that the Indians would be better off under the rule of the king of England than they would under the "tyranny" of their native chief, Powhatan.[81]

Ralph Hamor similarly maintained that English rule would be more beneficial to the natives than that of their own "oppressive" chief, and was optimistic that the Indians, "...maye be brought to be no less industrious than the English...." Hamor added that it was praiseworthy and charitable to bring, "...a savage people from barbarism to civility."[82] The above discussion may be best summed up in the words of a contemporary as follows:

> And surely so desirous is man of civill societie by nature, that he easily yields to discipline and government, if he see any reasonable motive to induce him to the same...for it is not the nature of men, but the education of men, which make them barbarous and uncivill...men by nature so easily yeelde to discipline and government... it is everie mans dutie to travell both by sea and land, and to venture either with his person or with his purse, to bring the barbarous and savage people to a civill and Christian kinde of government, under which they may learne how to live...justly, and soberly in this world, and to apprehend the meanes to save their soules in the world to come....[83]

The above citations convey the substance and tone of the overwhelming majority of English travel accounts dealing with the New World, but there are a few exceptions. Roger Williams' account, once again, runs counter to the prevailing tendencies which dominated the vast majority of contemporary English works. Williams asserted that

the Narragansetts lived harmoniously together, "...I have found lesse noyse, more peace/In wilde America...." He added that their societies were free of a number of the evils which befell Europeans, "I could never heare that Murthers or Robberies are comparably so frequent as in parts of Europe...." Williams' purpose in writing is didactic; each chapter of his account concludes with a brief, moralizing verse chastizing his countrymen for their immoral and shameful actions--Christians should know better. To achieve this end, Williams compared the Europeans to the Indians, the latter appearing in a much more favorable light:

> If Natures Sons both wild and tame,
> Humane and Courteous be:
> How ill becomes it Sonnes of God
> To want Humanity?[84]

Thomas Morton's account of the Indians of Massachusetts is by far the most positive English portrayal of the American natives, and contains the greatest degree of idealization of primitive life. Morton reported that the Indians led a most contented life:

> ...all things (so long as they will last,) are used in common amongst them...Platoes Commonwealth is so much practiced by these people...these people leades the more happy and freer life, being voyde of care, which torments the mindes of so many Christians: They are not delighted in baubles, but in usefull things.[85]

Morton ran counter to the majority opinion of his contemporaries in his actions as well as in his writings. His settlement

at Merrymount was regarded by the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay as an affront and a threat to their own community.[86]

William Wood also discussed the possibility of benefits accruing to man in a life removed from civilization. He said that the Indians of Massachusetts enjoyed excellent health and physical vigor because they were, "...not brought downe with suppressing labour, vexed with annoying cares or drowned in the excessive abuse of overflowing plenty." Wood criticized the English for their, "...bestiall example and dishonest incitation...," which led to the introduction of drinking and swearing among the natives. However, Wood by no means advocated that the Indian be left in this natural state since, despite its evils, civilization also offered the natives a great opportunity to improve their lives. Wood asserted that the Indians were, "...strangers to Arts and Sciences...," and thus admired the English and their inventions. He faulted the Indians for their idleness, and expressed his hope that, "...they would soon learne any mechanicall trades...."[87]

French and English travel accounts provide consistently different assessments of the life of man in a state of nature. It is much more difficult to account for and explain this difference, however, than it is to demonstrate its existence. English and French

colonial activity in the New World was characterized by distinct economic and demographic patterns of settlement.[88] English colonial settlements rapidly attained a relatively high population density. The colonists were primarily farmers, and thus sought to permanently acquire increasing amounts of land. Hostility grew between settlers and native inhabitants as the English presence in America accelerated. By contrast, the French generally enjoyed much more amicable relations with the Indians they encountered in the New World.[89] The French colonial population density persisted at a level much lower than that of English settlements, hence territorial clashes with the Indians were minimized. Fur trapping and trading, rather than agriculture, constituted the economic base of French settlements in Canada. The Indian was a vital part of this economic network. French travelers to both North and South America, laymen and missionaries, interacted more closely with the Indians in their own native environment than did English travelers and settlers. The French, to a large degree, integrated the natives into their economic and religious activities. The English, on the other hand, clashed with the Indians, as the latter were an obstacle to English colonial aims in the New World. The greater degree of hostility between English and Indian in America should be considered as a factor contributing to the absence of sympathy for

primitive life which characterized English travel literature. However violence and antagonism were by no means absent from French relations with the Indians, and thus other factors must be examined which contributed to the highly idealized conception of primitive life contained in French travel accounts.

One may inquire whether the contrast may be justifiably drawn exclusively between French and English material--perhaps accounts written by continental travelers of other nationalities bear the same positive assessment of primitive life as that contained in the French literature.[90] This is true to a large degree, but only from the period of first discovery until the middle of the sixteenth century.

Two of the earliest European travel accounts which idealized the simple and primitive life of the Indians of the New World were written by Italians. Amerigo Vespucci, the explorer, and Peter Martyr of Anghiera, the chronicler and diplomat who interviewed many travelers on their return from America, both portrayed the lives of the Indians as happy, tranquil, communal, and free of all cares.[91] The Spanish explorer, Hernando Cortés, along with the Spanish missionaries, Bartolomé de las Casas and Bernardino de Sahagún, provided highly favorable descriptions of Mesoamerican society. These Spaniards praised the Indians for their intellectual and cultural achievements,

as well as for their moral conduct.[92] The humanist and jurist, Vasco de Quiroga, served as an official of the Spanish Crown in the New World. His written account of 1531 idealized the lives of the natives of Mexico. Quiroga depicted these people as gentle and innocent, leading lives of utter simplicity. Rather than impose Spanish civilization on these Indians, Quiroga hoped that native society could be reorganized according to the ideal plan set forth in Thomas More's Utopia.[93]

This highly favorable portrayal of the life of the American Indians was, however, relatively short-lived in Spanish and Italian travel literature. After the middle of the sixteenth century, the assessment of the Indian's character contained in the overwhelming majority of accounts was highly negative. Spanish and Italian writers no longer esteemed the natives for their innocence and simplicity, nor for their rationality and intelligence. The American Indian increasingly appeared as inherently brutal and naturally inferior to European man. Spanish writers may have been encouraged to view the Indian in a harsher light by the dictates of Spanish policy in the New World. Spain enslaved the native Americans, and theories which stressed the natural inferiority of the Indian were thus more appropriate. But an alteration in the Spanish assessment of native life was also influenced by a change in the intellectual milieu of sixteenth-century

Spain. The humanistic outlook which was dominant in the early years of the 1500's gave way to the harsher mentality of the Counter Reformation. Written accounts dealing with the New World dating from the second portion of the sixteenth century onward reflected this change, and were thus less likely to stress an optimistic view of the Indian's nature.[94]

Likewise, Italian travel literature did not develop and expand the positive image of the American Indian contained in early accounts. The primitivism which characterized many initial images of the New World was drawn, in part, from such literary themes of the Italian Renaissance as the classical myth of the Golden Age. This primitivism, however, was not strong enough to overcome the anti-humanistic mood of the Counter Reformation. The image of the "noble savage" did not have currency in Italy.[95]

The seventeenth-century idealization of the natural virtues and primitive life of the American Indians thus appears as uniquely French. The cultural impact of the Counter Reformation was less overwhelming in France than in Spain or Italy, and thus literary primitivism, derived from classical sources, as well as Christian humanism, persisted in France. Primitivism, or idealization of man in a natural state where all civilization is absent, is deep-rooted in Western thought.

Man has perpetually expressed a nostalgic longing for a time when life was supposedly much simpler and less restrictive.[96] Classical poets and philosophers exalted the life of man in the Golden Age. This idealized image, formulated initially by Ovid and Hesiod, was a popular literary motif during the Renaissance.[97]

Primitivism in Christian culture was influenced by Cynic and Stoic philosophy, which glorified man's strict conformity to nature, esteemed simplicity and austerity, and maintained that man should avoid all superfluous desires and artificial developments.[98] The missionaries' idealization of the natural life of the American Indians was also influenced by Catholic conceptions of primitive Christianity and the early Church. The first Christians were believed to lead a simple and communal existence, with little emphasis on material possessions; all men willingly shared whatever they had.[99] Perhaps the prime expression of primitivism in Christian thought was the idealized portrayal of the life of man in the Garden of Eden before the Fall.[100]

In both classical and Christian thought, the images of primitive life were essentially the same, and influenced many travelers' conceptions of life in the New World. In both Paradise and the Golden Age, man's life was portrayed as contented and tranquil; he was physically robust and enjoyed a longer life. In Paradise, untouched

by sin, man and woman lived in total innocence--they were naked and unashamed, and woman did not suffer in childbirth.[101] Life in Paradise and the Golden Age was also traditionally noted for the absence of many of the evils which beset man in a more civilized or developed society. Primeval man was not plagued with envy or ambition. He had no superfluous desires, and was content with what nature alone provided for his sustenance. Life was communal, and man did not work.[102] As noted above, many French travelers transferred these idyllic images onto the societies they encountered in the New World.

This blissful existence stood in sharp contradiction to what was depicted as the woeful condition of civilized life. The contrast was drawn between the natural and the artificial, with the former, or primitive condition, more highly esteemed. Criticism of civilized life was always implicitly involved, if not explicitly stated, in glorifications of life in a state of nature. Primitivistic thought was thus generally anti-progressive, as it idealized a mythical condition which man was believed to enjoy some time in the past. The gains or developments arising from civilized existence were condemned for corrupting man's natural purity.[103]

Primitivism was an important theme in French literature of the early modern period. This strong

literary current influenced the writings of the travelers and missionaries no less than it affected the works of poets and essayists. The pastoral poetry of Renaissance Italy exalted the classical vision of life in the Golden Age, and influenced the work of the sixteenth-century school of French poetry, La Pléiade.[104] Idealization of primitive life was an important literary motif for these poets, clearly evident in the work of Ronsard, the most notable of their ranks. Ronsard esteemed the purity of the life of man in a state of nature, and elevated this existence above that attained by civilized man. Ronsard looked back to the mythical Golden Age with blissful nostalgia.[105]

Primitivism continued to be an important literary motif in seventeenth and eighteenth-century France. The essential ingredients of this theme remained the same: regarding the natural as superior to the artificial, extolling the virtues of a simple life, and looking to man in a state of nature devoid of civilization as an exemplar of human conduct.[106]

Above all others, Michel de Montaigne has been credited with formulating the conception of the "noble savage" in France. Montaigne transformed the primitivism of the Golden Age myth from a purely literary expression to a means of interpreting the societies of actual primitive peoples.[107] His essay, "Des Cannibales,"

written ca. 1578, and first published in 1580, praised the simple and natural life of the natives of Brazil. Montaigne said the Indians lived according to natural law, and exhibited a simple and pure naivety, "La loix naturelles leur commandent encores...une nayfvetè si pure et simple...." These people desired nothing superfluous, and were content solely with what was necessary for their existence, "Ils sont encore en cet heureux point, de ne desirer qu'autant que leurs necessitez naturelles leur ordonnent...." The natives of Brazil exhibited those natural virtues which civilized man had marred and corrupted, "En ceux là sont vives et vigoureuses les vrayes et plus utiles et naturelles vertus et proprietez, lesquelles nous avons abastardies en ceux-cy...." Montaigne faulted those that deemed these people barbarous, and maintained that standards of barbarism were no more than one's reaction to unfamiliar practices, "...qu'il n'y a rien de barbare et de sauvage en cette nation... sinon que chacun appelle barbarie ce qui n'est pas de son usage...." The natives of Brazil were said to surpass the happy state which man was believed to have attained in the Golden Age, "...il me semble que ce que nous voyons par experience en ces nations là, surpasse non seulement toutes les peintures de quoy la poësie a embelly l'age dorè...."[108] Montaigne's conception of the "noble savage" has been considered one of the most

significant French depictions of primitive life, and is credited with influencing the writings of subsequent French travelers to the New World.[109]

Many of the same primitivistic themes which were popular in France also penetrated the contemporary English literary scene. However in England, primitivism did not make the transition from a form of literary expression to a mode of assessing the culture of actual primitive societies. Throughout the sixteenth century, French and Italian lyric poetry had currency in England. The dominant classical motifs of Renaissance literature, including the myth of the Golden Age, found expression in England as well, a prime example being Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene.[110] The essays of Montaigne, credited with promoting the concept of the "noble savage" in France, were translated into English by John Florio in 1595. These essays were read and circulated in this manuscript version until their publication in 1603.[111] The idealized portrayals of the life of the American Indians contained in the travel writings of the Italians, Amerigo Vespucci and Peter Martyr of Anghiera, were also translated and published in England in the sixteenth century.[112] Thus, many of the same literary influences which promoted the idealization of primitive life in French travel accounts were also present in England. These forces, however, had little effect on English portrayals of primitive life.

The presence of other strong and unique factors in English culture may explain the complete absence of sympathy or nostalgia for life in a state of nature which characterizes English travel accounts. Although primitivist motifs frequently appeared in sixteenth-century English literature, this theme was not developed strongly enough to survive against other tendencies which were fully manifest by the seventeenth century. Edmund Spenser utilized the Golden Age myth as a literary convention, but his purpose was not to idealize primitive life. Spenser placed more emphasis on man's efforts to overcome his natural or primitive condition by employing art and civility.[113]

The Golden Age was most often characterized by what it lacked in comparison to civilized life--restrictions, regulation, in short, all government and order. As demonstrated by the above analysis of English travel accounts, a life without law and government was almost inconceivable to Englishmen; English travelers reported that even in their natural, or savage state, the American Indians obeyed their rulers. The concept of order was highly valued by early modern Englishmen, who did not idealize a way of life, past or present, where regulation and order were lacking.[114]

The rejection of Catholicism in England was accompanied by significant cultural changes which contributed

to the demise of primitivism in English thought. English humanism grew increasingly estranged from the pagan, classical currents of the Renaissance, and emphasized instead moral and ethical treatises, as well as the application of learning to governmental affairs. English humanistic writings took on a more unique, national tone.[115]

Unlike many Catholics who idealized the simple life of the early Christians, official English Church homilies of the early seventeenth century reflected unfavorable opinions regarding primitive Christianity. The communal equality and fraternity believed to characterize the life of the first Christians was not esteemed by English clerics as a model of conduct, but was rather viewed as a subversive threat to the established hierarchical order of church and state in England.[116]

One important aspect of the strong primitivistic current manifest in French travel accounts was the idealization of a life of leisure, characterized by the absence of work and concern for temporal goods. English travelers never expressed any nostalgia for such a life. The Puritan emphasis on the importance of work must here be considered as a prime factor contributing to the absence of primitivism in English thought of the seventeenth century. Contemporary Puritan writers condemned leisure and idleness as responsible for both moral and social chaos and disorder. Puritans placed a high premium on discipline and work.[117] Puritan

travelers to the New World had hoped to realize their own garden, or paradise in the wilderness of America. But the Puritan ideal vision of paradise was not characterized by nostalgia for a blissful, primeval existence where man did not labor. Rather, the Puritans believed that they could only attain this ideal paradise by their own efforts. The garden in the wilderness would be realized by building, planting, and hard work.[118]

In addition, English Protestants did not share the optimistic view of human nature upheld by French Catholics. The image of the virtuous pagan, popular among sixteenth-century humanists, persisted in the writings of seventeenth-century French Catholic missionaries. The idea that man could naturally develop goodness and morality without Christianity had no place in Protestant thought. For the Puritans especially, man was virtuous solely because of his faith, not his nature or his actions. The virtuous and the elect were synonymous for the Puritans, and the heathen Indian obviously was not part of God's elect. If the Indian adopted Christianity and civilization, as the English initially believed he had the potential to do, he might then be praised for his virtuous conduct. But in his pagan condition, the savage was not at all noble in the eyes of English Anglicans and Puritans alike.[119]

The national struggle against Spain and the papacy experienced by England under Queen Elizabeth I

contributed to the formulation of an insular mentality, uniquely English, which was hostile to, and suspicious of all outside, foreign influences. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, the English increasingly regarded themselves as a people distinct from all others; they alone possessed "God's truth." This sense of righteousness and superiority was born out of a struggle that affected England as a whole. Internal religious differences were perceived as less significant than the gulf which separated the English from all other cultures and nationalities.[120]

This lack of sympathy or tolerance for other cultures is evident in the general prejudice towards all foreigners which characterized English travel literature. The English regarded strange people and their customs with hostility, rather than with interest or curiosity.[121] Travel itself was viewed ambivalently, but the dangers involved were considered to greatly outweigh any benefits. The English generally feared contact with foreigners because of the corrupting influence which they believed would result from excessive contact with outsiders.[122]

Above all other factors which were unique in English culture, the English experience in Ireland was probably the most significant in the formulation and hardening of hostile attitudes towards primitive, non-English customs and manners of life. The English experience

in Ireland confirmed and intensified anti-primitivistic and anti-foreign currents in English culture. English colonial activity in Ireland predated, and was contemporaneous with English exploration and settlement of the New World; a significant number of prominent Englishmen were involved in colonial ventures in both Ireland and America, including Walter Raleigh, Humphrey Gilbert, and Martin Frobisher.[123] The conceptions of primitive, or savage life which the English formulated based on their experiences with the "wild Irish" served as convenient stereotypes which were then applied to the cultures of the American Indians.[124] English travel accounts dealing with the New World often compared many customs of the American Indians to those of the Irish, and judged the practices of both societies to be equally barbarous.[125]

But even more significant than direct comparisons between Irish and Indian, English travel accounts dealing with Ireland express the same hostility towards primitive life evident in the literature devoted to America. In both cases, English travelers criticized and condemned a pattern of life that they regarded as uncivilized, disorderly, and more important, un-English. The English faulted both the Irish and the Indian for the same traits: rude manners, idleness, a diet that lacked bread made of wheat, failure to build and live in towns, and failure to practice agriculture.[126]

English observers regarded the Irish as "savage," "untamed," and, "...not much unlike to wild beasts."[127] The English condemned the Irish for their uncleanliness, promiscuity, failure to enclose or improve their lands, failure to build houses of brick or stone, and failure to live together in settled towns and villages.[128]

In Ireland, as in America, the English believed it was their duty to bring their form of civilization to the native inhabitants. Regarding the Irish, the English hoped their presence would, "...reduce them from rudeness to knowledge, from rebellion to obedience, from trecherie to honestie, from savagenesse to civilitie, from idlenesse to labour, from wickednesse to godlinesse...frame themselves pliable to the lawes and ordinances of hir majesty...."[129] The English held primitive life in utter contempt, and perceived civilization as a progressive force which conveyed only benefits and improvements on its recipients.

The English did not perceive the Irish, or the Indian, as intrinsically inferior, but rather maintained that these people only lacked the art and cultivation which civilized man had acquired by education and law.[130] Commentators advised the introduction and enforcement of English law among the Irish.[131] The English were urged to build cities and towns in Ireland, and thus settle the native populace; instruction in the English language was also deemed essential.[132] It was hoped that if these

measures were taken, the Irish would, "...convert their mantles into cloaks...conform themselves to the manner of England in all their behaviour and outward forms...."[133] In the sixteenth, and early decades of the seventeenth century, the English were optimistic that their civilizing mission could be accomplished in Ireland, "For learninge hath that wonderfull power of yt self that yt can soften and temper the most stearne and salvage nature..."[134]; "...such force hath education to make or mar...."[135]

English attempts to civilize the American Indian follow the same pattern apparent in accounts dealing with Ireland, and reveal the same strong English sense of cultural superiority. The English in America hoped that the Indians could be induced to follow a civilized, i.e., English manner of living. In Virginia, native children were removed from their traditional homes to be raised by English families. The English hoped that this policy would foster both the civilization and conversion of the natives.[136] The Puritans in New England established praying towns wherein the Indians were to adopt a totally English manner of life. The natives were to practice agriculture, and dress in the English manner. In America, as in Ireland, the English believed that the native inhabitants would readily and gratefully accept what was regarded by the colonists as a superior way of life.[137] New England officials believed that given the proper education, Indian children would abandon their traditional

life and adopt that of the English. Native youth were to be:

> ...placed in sober and Christian families, as apprentices, until the youths are twenty one years, and maids eighteen years of age: the males to be instructed in the trade practiced by their masters; and the females, in good housewifery of all sorts...they shall be taught to read and write the English tongue at the cost of their masters...that the changing of the language of a barbarous people, into the speech of a more civil and potent nation that have conquered them, hath been an approved experiment, to reduce such a people unto the civility and religion of the prevailing nation. And I incline to believe, that if that course had been effectually taken with the Irish, their enmity and rebellion against the English had been long since cured or prevented...[138]

Until the primitive and savage Indian, or Irishman, was civilized, the English strongly believed that all contact with the native populace should be closely limited. In America, English settlers formed their own communities which were segregated from native settlements; intermarriage rarely occurred. The Puritans, despite their expressed intentions of converting the Indians, dealt with the natives in the "praying towns," and did not venture significantly beyond their own communities to encounter the Indian in his traditional milieu. English policy in Ireland similarly stressed the segregation of the English from the "wild Irish." Legislation passed from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, notably the Statutes of Kilkenny of 1366, forbade English settlers in Ireland from following Irish customs. The English

were not to utilize the Irish language or manner of dress; intermarriage was also outlawed.[139]

The English feared that excessive contact with primitive peoples would have a corrupting influence upon themselves. The English perceived only a very thin line dividing savage existence from civilized life. Sharp contrasts were drawn between the wretchedness of life in a state of nature, and the great improvements in man's condition conferred by civilization. But the English believed that civilized man could too easily lapse backward into a primitive and savage state, and must constantly be on his guard against such a catastrophe.[140] Human nature alone, whether Irish, Indian, or English, was regarded as essentially crude and barbaric. Without the improvements wrought by law, education, and civilization, man's life was inherently no better than that of beasts.

English commentators who discussed the Irish situation regarded with the greatest contempt those English settlers who had abandoned the English manner of living and instead adopted the customs of the primitive Irish. These people were regarded as, "...degenerated citizens...somewhat infected with the Irish filthinesse."[141] The English believed that civilized man must tenaciously cling to his own manner of living since, "...the verie English of birth, conversant with the savage sort of that people become degenerat...."[142] Without the regulations

and restraints imposed by the law of civilized societies, it was maintained that men would soon grow wild and licentious. The English in Ireland were said to have degenerated and become more lawless than the "wild Irish" themselves, "...so much can liberty and ill example do...."[143]

The American Indian likewise appeared before the English travel writers as a symbol of how man lived naturally. The English believed themselves inherently no different than the Indian. The English regarded the brutality and depravity of the life of the American Indian as a shocking reminder of how the English themselves lived prior to the coming of civilization.[144] They perceived civilization as a blessing which must be continually protected and maintained. Just as the Romans brought law and culture to England, the English regarded it as their duty to spread their civilization to America.[145]

Roger Williams reminded his readers that approximately sixteen hundred years ago, the English were in a similar state as the Indians, since they lacked clothes, books, and letters.[146] John Josselyn compared the savage life of the Indians of Massachusetts to that of the English prior to the coming of civilization. Josselyn reported that the Indians hated strangers, which he added was, "...a quality appropriated to the old Brittains...." When these natives ran out of food, they satisfied themselves with whatever scraps might remain, "...making it serve as

the frugal bit amongst the old Brittains...."[147] Thomas Thorowgood made a similar comparison, "But in our own Nation the Inhabitants were anciently as rude and horrid... the Britons knew not the use of apparell...."[148]

The English perceived a great difference between themselves and the Indians, but this difference was one of culture and education, not one of birth. Without civilization, the English were no better than the American natives. Peter Heylyn discussed the barbarism of the Indians of Florida, and commented that, "...the Spanish may say of them what the Romans said of the ancient Britons...."[149] Daniel Gookin advised the English that there was a lesson to be learned from observing the brutal life of the Indian:

> ...here we see, as in a mirror, the woful, miserable, and deplorable estate, that sin hath reduced mankind unto naturally, and especially such as live without means of cultivating and civilizing, as these poor, brutish barbarians have done for many ages: for these, excepting their rational souls, are like unto the wild ass's colt, and not many degrees above beasts in matters of fact...we may learn what great reason men have, that are born and bred among civilized and Christian nations, to praise God for such a mercy....[150]

English travelers to Virginia likewise regarded the Indians as an example of how the English lived prior to the coming of civilization and Christianity:

> ...by nature the condition of us both is all one, the servants of sinne and slaves of the divell...Oh remember...what was the state of England before the Gospell was preached in our

> Countrey? How much better were we then, and concerning our soules health, then these now are?[151]

The English believed that the natives of Virginia would willingly and gratefully accept the improvements in their lives wrought by a civilized manner of living. In this respect, the English compared themselves to the Romans, civilizing agents of yore, "...many Nations willingly submitted themselves to the subjection of the Romanes, being allured thereunto by Justice, equitie, clemencie... for it is not the nature of men, but the education of men, which make them barbarous and uncivill...."[152] The English were convinced of the righteousness of this task, even if force was involved:

> It is as much, saith he, as if a father should be said to offer violence to his child, when he beats him to bring him to goodnesse. Had not this violence and this injury bene offred to us by the Romans...who reduced the conquered partes of our barbarous iland into provinces...building castells and townes, and in every corner teaching us even to knowe the powerfull discourse of divine reason (which makes us only men, and distinguisheth us from beasts, amongst whome we lived as naked and as beastly as they). We might yet have lyved overgrowen satyrs, rude and untutred, wandring in the woodes, dwelling in caves, and hunting for our dynners, as the wild beasts in the forrests for their praye....[153]

An excerpt from the contemporary English ballad, "London's Lotterie," registered by Henry Roberts in 1612, aptly summarizes the English view of life in a state of nature, and the effects of civilization on man:

> Who knows not England once was like
> a wilderness and savage place,

Till government and use of men,
    that wildness did deface:
And so Virginia may in time,
    be made like England now;
Where long-loved peace and plenty both,
    Sits smiling on her brow.[154]

Both French and English travelers to the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries recorded ambivalent observations concerning the character traits displayed by the American Indian. Yet a marked and consistent difference emerges between the two national groups in their assessments of life in a state of nature, and the impact of civilization on man. French travelers idealized primitive life, explicitly and implicitly comparing the existence of the Indian to that enjoyed in either Paradise, the Golden Age, or the time of the early Christians. The French often viewed the Indian as an exemplar of natural virtue, and regarded civilization as no more than a mixed blessing. English travelers, on the other hand, degraded a natural existence, and compared the Indians to the "savage" inhabitants of Ireland. For the English, life without civilization was totally wretched and brutal. Yet the depiction of Indian life and society contained in both French and English accounts is similar in many respects. The European travelers to the New World greatly oversimplified the peoples and the cultures they encountered. Whether idealizing the lack of pressures and anxieties, or criticizing the absence of restraints and productive labor, both French and English

travelers interpreted native American societies in terms of what they lacked in comparison to European culture.

It is debatable whether or not the positive assessment of primitive life contained in French travel literature has significance beyond the realm of intellectual history. Recent scholarship has questioned whether indeed the French deserve to be credited with more humane treatment of, and amicable relations with the Indians. The French were no different than other European colonists in their inability to truly understand native cultures. Interaction between Indian and European resulted in the disruption and eventual destruction of native societies.[155] French travel accounts did not call for an end to colonial activity in the New World, nor did they offer a defense of the Indians' rights or title to the land.

Both French and English travelers viewed Indian life through a lens colored by myths, legends, and stereotypes which antedated the European experience in the New World. The contemporary European scholarly community and general reading public formulated their conceptions of Indian society based on the published reports of the explorers, missionaries, and early settlers. Europeans regarded the contents of this literature as factual, eyewitness information. The images of native life in the New World contained in a sampling of travel accounts were quite diverse, and as the following chapter

will examine, the scholars who read this literature selected those "facts" which further highlighted their ideas, and best supported their theories regarding such issues as the origin and nature of man, and the relative merits of civilized life.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Throughout this chapter, the terms, "civilization," "savage," "uncivilized," etc., are frequently used, however these words will not be continually found within quotation marks. These terms refer to contemporary European evaluations of the nature of man and society as contained in the travel accounts, and do not imply a value judgment on the part of this writer.

[2]The duality or ambivalence of European travel accounts regarding the true nature of the Indian has been attested to by a number of scholars. Bruce G. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic. A History of the Huron People to 1660, 2 vols. (Montreal, 1976), 1:9f., states that the contrasting images of the Indian as either a noble, or a bloodthirsty savage, have long dominated the White man's thought about the native Americans; both views are products of European imagination, and neither convey the reality of Indian life. See also Howard Mumford Jones, O Strange New World. American Culture: The Formative Years (New York, 1964); J.H. Elliott, The Old World and the New, 1492-1650 (Cambridge, 1970), 42ff.; Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land. European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time (New York, 1975), 55ff.; and Michael T. Ryan, "New Worlds of Pagan Religion in the Seventeenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1974), 23ff. Hayden White, "The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish," in Fredi Chiappelli, ed., First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1976), 1:125ff., asserts that the Europeans' ambivalence towards the Indian was a reflection of their confusion regarding their own nature and humanity. For a discussion of the duality of the English image of the American Indian, see Henry S. Bausum, "Edenic Images of the Western World: A Reappraisal," South Atlantic Quarterly 67 (1968):672ff.; Robert Ralston Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama (Boston, 1938), 344ff.; and Gary B. Nash,"The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind," in Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak, eds., The Wild Man Within. An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism (Pittsburgh, 1972), 58ff.

[3]Ruth Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century (Urbana, 1929); and Pierre de

La Primaudaye, The French Academie, trans. Thomas Bowes (Paris, ca. 1577; London, 1618), 39ff. Kelso provides a lengthy bibliography of contemporary European tracts and treatises, continental as well as English, which discuss the nature and characteristics of virtue.

[4]Elliott; Honour; Geoffroy Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Française (Geneva, 1935; rpt. 1969); and Gilbert Chinard, L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII[e] et au XVIII[e] Siècle (Paris, 1934).

[5]Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia, trans. P. Erondelle (London, 1609), 213, 243ff.

[6]Pierre Boucher, Histoire Veritable et Naturelle des Moeurs et Productions du Pays de la Nouvelle France (Paris, 1664), 98, 114ff.

[7]André Thevet, The New Found Worlde, or Antarctike, trans. Thomas Hacket (Paris, 1558; London, 1568), 67f.

[8]Charles de Rochefort, The History of the Caribby-Islands, trans. John Davies (Rotterdam, 1658; London, 1666), 270f., 298, 309ff. Jean de Léry praised the Tupinambas for their natural hospitality, liberality, loyalty to their friends, and peaceful way of life. See Jean de Léry, Histoire d'un Voyage Faict en la Terre du Brésil, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1580; rpt. Paris, 1880), 2:94, 109ff.

[9]That Christian writers often esteemed the same virtues as the Stoics is discussed by George Boas, Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages (Baltimore, 1948), 104ff.

[10]Jack Warwick, "Humanisme Chrétien et Bons Sauvages," XVII[e] Siècle 97 (1972):30ff.; J.H. Kennedy, Jesuit and Savage in New France (New Haven, 1950); Atkinson, 377f.; and Chinard.

[11]Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons (Paris, 1632), 50ff., 64ff., 167, 184ff.

[12]Paul Le Jeune, "Brief Relation of the Journey to New France" (1632), in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 77 vols. (Cleveland, 1896), 5:31ff.

[13]Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, Histoire Generale des Antilles Habitées par les François, 4 vols. (Paris, 1667), 2:356ff., 380, 388.

[14]Yves d'Evreux, Suitte de L'Histoire des Choses plus Memorables Advenuës en Maragnan (Paris, 1615), 73, 79f., 103. Contemporary European Biblical commentators believed the image of the Trinity in man was reflected by the existence of the three faculties of will, intellect, and memory in the one faculty of reason. See Arnold Williams, The Common Expositor. An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527-1633 (Chapel Hill, 1948), 73.

[15]Evreux, 101ff., 104f.

[16]Ibid., 112f. Evreux's colleague, Claude d'Abbeville, similarly extolled the natural reason, liberality, and good disposition of the Tupinambas. See Claude d'Abbeville, Histoire de la Mission des Peres Capucins en L'Isle de Maragnan et Terres Circonvoisines (Paris, 1614), 286f., 311ff.

[17]Walter Ralegh, The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana (London, 1596; rpt. 1848), 150.

[18]Arthur Barlow, The First Voyage Made to the Coasts of America (1584; rpt. Boston, 1898), 4,8.

[19]Alexander Whitaker, Good Newes from Virginia (London, 1613), 25.

[20]Robert Gray, A Good Speed to Virginia (London, 1609), n.p.

[21]John Brereton, A Brief and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia (1602); and James Rosier, A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage (1605); both works are reprinted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society 28 (Boston, 1843):92f., 136f.

[22]William Wood, New Englands Prospect (London, 1634), 68ff., 75ff.

[23]Thomas Morton, New English Canaan or New Canaan (Amsterdam, 1637), 26, 31, 42f., 57f.

[24]Roger Williams, A Key into the Language of America (London, 1643; rpt. Providence, 1936), 7ff., 16, 21, 26, 49.

[25]A.L. Rowse, The Elizabethans and America (London, 1959), 111, maintains that the initial English impression of the Indian was a highly idealized one which abruptly changed after actual encounters with the natives.

[26]Nash, 58ff.

[27]David B. Quinn, "Renaissance Influences in English Colonization," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 26 (1976):87ff.

[28]Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier. Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675 (Boston, 1965).

[29]For citations, see above, this chapter.

[30]Vaughan, "'Expulsion of the Salvages': English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 35 (1978):57-84, asserts that even the earliest English accounts of the Indians of Virginia viewed the natives in this negative light.

[31]Thomas Churchyarde, A Prayse and Reporte of Maister Martyne Forboishers Voyage to Meta Incognita (London, 1578), n.p.

[32]Dionise Settle, The Second Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher made to the West and Northwest Regions, in Richard Hakluyt, The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (London, 1600), 35f.

[33]George Best, A True Discourse of the Three Voyages of Discovery for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, in Hakluyt, 63, 68. See also George Peckham, A True Report of the Late Discoveries and Possession of the Newfound Lands, in Hakluyt, 169.

[34]William Strachey, The Histoire of Travaile into Virginia Britannia (MS. ca. 1613; London, 1849), 47, 101.

[35]John Smith, A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion (Oxford, 1612), in Edward Arber, ed., The Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, rev. ed. (New York, 1967), 65.

[36]Whitaker, 24.

[37]Edward Winslow, Good Newes from New England (London, 1624), 40; John Underhill, Newues from America, or a New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England (London, 1638), 14, 24.

[38]Christopher Levett, A Voyage into New England (London, 1628), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society 28 (Boston, 1843):177.

[39]Daniel Gookin, Historical Collections of the Indians in New England (1674), in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society 1 (1792):149.

[40]John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England (London, 1674), 125. Josselyn is the only traveler who denied that the American Indians were hospitable towards strangers.

[41]Samuel de Champlain, Voyages et Descouvertures Faites en la Nouvelle France depuis l'année 1615. jusques à la fin de l'année 1618. (Paris, 1619), in W.L. Grant, ed., Voyages of Samuel de Champlain (New York, 1907), 322, 352.

[42]Pierre Biard, "Letters of 1611," in Jesuit Relations, 1:173.

[43]Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France (Lyons, 1616), in Jesuit Relations, 3:73, 101.

[44]Sieur de La Borde, Relation de L'Origine, Moeurs, Coustumes, Religion, Guerres et Voyages de Caraibes, in H. Justel, ed., Recueil de Divers Voyages Fait en Afrique et en L'Amerique qui n'ont point esté encore publiez (Paris, 1674), 15, 19.

[45]Jacques Bouton, Relation de L'Establissement des François depuis l'an 1635 en L'Isle de la Martinique (Paris, 1640), 135f.

[46]Paul Boyer, Veritable Relation de Tout ce qui s'est Fait et Passe au Voyage que Monsieur de Bretigny fit à l'Amerique Occidentale (Paris, 1654), 271ff.

[47]Abbeville, 260.

[48]Thevet, 43.

[49]Léry, 2:82f.

[50]Rochefort, 342.

[51]Du Tertre, 2:376.

[52]Sagard, 63, 80, 122, 159, 171, 185f.

[53]Elliott; Ryan; Margaret T. Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia, 1964); Roy Harvey Pearce, The Savages of America. A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization, rev.ed. (Baltimore, 1965); and Amy Glassner Gordon, "The Impact of the Discoveries on Sixteenth-Century French Cosmographical and Historical Thought" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974); all assert that the ultimate judgment of the Indian and his primitive life contained in early modern European travel accounts was clearly a negative one.

[54]See above, chapter 4.

[55]Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages du XVIIe Siècle et L'Évolution des Idées (Paris, 1924; rpt. Geneva, 1972); and Chinard's two works, L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique, and L'Exotisme Américain dans la Littérature Française au XVIe Siècle (Paris, 1911; rpt. Geneva, 1970); all emphasize this highly positive view of primitive life contained in French travel accounts dealing with the New World, and trace the origins of the concept of the "noble savage," popular in eighteenth-century France, to travel accounts written in the preceding two centuries.

[56]Lescarbot, 142, 193ff., 198, 212f., 227.

[57]Sagard, 132, 264.

[58]Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, 3:85, 89, 93.

[59]Nicolas Denys, Description Geographique et Historique des Costes de L'Amerique Septentrionale (Paris, 1672), 392f.

[60]Abbeville, 266, 280f., 297.

[61]Léry, 1:123, 139; 2:147.

[62]Evreux, 122.

[63]Rochefort, 266, 269, 271.

[64]La Borde, 3.

[65]Du Tertre, 2:357.

[66]Boyer, 273, 276ff.

[67]Rochefort, 157ff., 172.

[68]Ibid., 266ff., 309ff.; the citations appear above.

[69]Du Tertre, 1:89ff., 465ff., 508.

[70]Ibid., 2:356ff., 380, 388; the citations appear above.

[71]See also Pearce, 3ff.; and Churchill E. Ward, "The English Conception of America, 1550-1700" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1974), 25ff.

[72]See above, chapter 4.

[73]See above, chapter 4.

[74]See above, chapters 4 and 5.

[75]Ralegh, 148ff.

[76]Lawrence Kemys, A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana (London, 1596), n.p.

[77]Peckham, 169, 177.

[78]Samuel Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimage (London, 1614), 746.

[79]The English were convinced they were bringing the Indian a better life. See Wesley Frank Craven, "Indian Policy in Early Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 1 (1944):65ff.

[80]Thomas Hariot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia (London, 1588), n.p.

[81]Strachey, 11, 17, 85f.

[82]Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia (London, 1615; rpt. Richmond, Va., 1957), 2, 15, 48.

[83]Gray, n.p.

[84]Williams, 10, 48, 76.

[85]Morton, 57.

[86]Vaughan, New England Frontier, 89ff.

[87]Wood, 60, 63, 77f.

[88]Nash, Red, White and Black. The Peoples of Early America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974), 91f., 107f.

[89]Alfred G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700 (New Brunswick, Canada, 1937), 15ff., 30, 34; and Mason Wade, "The French and the Indians," in Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, eds., Attitudes of Colonial Powers Toward the American Indian (Salt Lake City, 1969), 61ff. Francis Parkman, The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century (Boston, 1892), 44, romanticized the relationship of French and Indian, "...French civilization embraced and cherished him."

[90]Hoxie Neale Fairchild, The Noble Savage. A Study in Romantic Naturalism (1928; rpt. New York, 1961), 12, asserts that the image of the "noble savage" was chiefly a product of "Latin minds."

[91]See above, chapter 2.

[92]Benjamin Keen, The Aztec Image in Western Thought (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971), 60f., 77f., 94, 116f.; and Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indian (Bloomington, Ind., 1959), 16f., 22ff.

[93]Silvio Zavala, "The American Utopia of the Sixteenth Century," Huntington Library Quarterly 10 (1947):337ff.; and Keen, 105ff.

[94]Elliott, "The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man," Proceedings of the British Academy 58 (1972):110; and "Renaissance Europe and America: A Blunted Impact?," in Chiappelli, 1:15, emphasizes the importance of humanism in the formulation of the initial favorable images of the Indian. Elliott attributes the decline in this positive assessment to the "narrowing of vision" which characterized the Counter Reformation mentality. See also Keen, 173f.; and Hanke, "The Theological Significance of the Discovery of America," in Chiappelli, 1:370f.

[95]Aldo Scaglione, "A Note on Montaigne's 'Des Cannibales" and the Humanist Tradition," in Chiappelli, 1:65ff.; and Rosario Romeo, "The Jesuit Sources and the Italian Political Utopia in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," in Chiappelli, 1:165ff.

[96]Henri Baudet, Paradise on Earth. Some Thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man (New Haven, 1965); and Charles L. Sanford, The Quest for Paradise. Europe and the American Moral Imagination (Urbana,Ill., 1961).

[97]Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (Bloomington, Ind., 1969).

[98]Boas.

[99]Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, 186f., 219, 431f.

[100]Boas.

[101]Arthur O. Lovejoy and Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity (New York, 1965); and Boas.

[102]Levin, xv f., 60f.

[103]Ibid., 4ff.; and Fairchild, 2.

[104]Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, 7ff., 111ff.

[105]Elizabeth Armstrong, Ronsard and the Age of Gold (Cambridge, 1968). The image of the New World in Ronsard's poetry will be discussed in the following chapter.

[106]Boas, The Happy Beast in French Thought of the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1933; rpt. 1966), 1ff.

[107]Ibid., 4; Scaglione, 65ff.; Levin, 69ff.; Fairchild, 16ff.; Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, v, 193ff., 218; and Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages, 9ff.

[108]Michel de Montaigne, Essais, ed. Maurice Rat, 2 vols. (Paris, 1962), 1:234f., 240.

[109]Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, xvi, 193ff., 218; and Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages, 9ff.

[110]Levin, 61ff., 83; E.M.W. Tillyard, The English Renaissance (Baltimore, 1952); J.R. Hale, England and the Italian Renaissance (London, 1954); Fritz Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England, rev. ed. (New York, 1968), 296f.; and Pearce, "Primitivistic Ideas in the Faerie Queene," Journal of English and Germanic Philology 44 (1945):139ff.

[111]Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain, 236f.

[112]See above, chapter 2.

[113]A. Bartlett Giamatti, "Primitivism and the Process of Civility in Spenser's Faerie Queene," in Chiappelli, 1:73, 76.

[114]The importance of order in the contemporary English intellectual milieu is discussed by Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York, n.d.); and by Pearce in two works, "Primitivistic Ideas in the Faerie Queene," 139ff.; and The Savages of America.

[115]Douglas Bush, The Renaissance and English Humanism (Toronto, 1939), 69ff., 78ff.

[116]Levin, 89.

[117]Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints. A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics (New York, 1965; rpt. 1972), 199ff.

[118]George H. Williams, Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought (New York, 1962), 99f.

[119]Thomas Hahn, "Indians East and West: Primitivism and Savagery in English Discovery Narratives of the Sixteenth Century," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 8 (1978): 107ff., briefly discusses the contrast between the Catholics, who often evaluated man according to the morality of his actions, and the Protestants, who emphasized that life must conform to grace and faith, rather than to nature.

[120]William Haller, Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" and the Elect Nation (London, 1963), discusses how the struggles and values of the Puritans became identified with the English nation as a whole.

[121]The English were not very interested in describing the culture and society of the American Indian. See above, chapter 4.

[122]G.K. Hunter, "Elizabethans and Foreigners," Shakespeare Survey 17 (1964):43ff.

[123]Nicholas P. Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," William and Mary Quarterly 30 (1973):575, 595f.

[124]Ibid., 576, 579; and Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish (Ithaca, 1966), 106, 121.

[125]See above, chapter 2, for citations.

[126]Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish; and W.R. Jones, "England Against the Celtic Fringe: A Study in Cultural Stereotypes," Journal of World History 13 (1971):155ff., who dates the English sense of cultural superiority to Celtic peoples from the late medieval period.

[127]Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary, 4 vols. (1617; Glasgow, 1907), 4:203. See also Edmund Spenser, A View of the Present State of Ireland (1596; London, 1934), 6.

[128]John Davies, A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was Never Entirely Subdued (1612), in Historical Tracts by Sir John Davies (Dublin, 1787), 128f., 137.

[129]Richard Stanihurst, Description of Ireland (1586), in Raphael Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 6 vols. (London, 1808), 6:69.

[130]Walter J. Ong, "Spenser's View and the Tradition of the'Wild Irish'," Modern Language Quarterly 3 (1942):561ff.

[131]Davies, 198; Stanihurst, 79; and Spenser, 7.

[132]Davies, 202, 209f.; and Spenser, 213.

[133]Davies, 202.

[134]Spenser, 205.

[135]Stanihurst, 69.

[136]W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., "Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia," Journal of Southern History 18 (1952):152ff. Robinson also discusses that the English did not perceive the Indians as inherently bad, but only lacking in education.

[137]James Muldoon, "The Indian as Irishman," Essex Institute Historical Collections 111 (1975):271ff.

[138]Gookin, 219ff. That the English viewed the spread of their language as an integral part of their colonial activities is discussed by Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," in Chiappelli, 2:561ff.

[139]Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish, 2; Muldoon, 273; and Davies, 159.

[140]See also Pearce, The Savages of America, 3ff.

[141]Moryson, 236. Davies, 22, also faulted many English in Ireland for degenerating due to their excessive contact with the native inhabitants.

[142]Stanihurst, 69.

[143]Spenser, 82, 195f.

[144]See also Ward, 36ff.

[145]Quinn, "Renaissance Influences in English Colonization," 73ff., discusses that the English, influenced by their reading of Machiavelli, as well as classical Roman historians, compared their colonizing activity to that undertaken by ancient Rome; both served to spread civilization to barbaric people.

[146]Williams, "To the Reader," n.p.

[147]Josselyn, 125, 130.

[148]Thomas Thorowgood, Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race (London, 1650), 49.

[149]Peter Heylyn, Cosmographie (London, 1652), 1032.

[150]Gookin, 223.

[151]Whitaker, 24f.

[152]Gray, n.p.

[153]Strachey, 17f.

[154]"London's Lotterie," in C.H. Firth, ed., An American Garland: Being a Collection of Ballads Relating to America, 1563-1759 (Oxford, 1915), 24.

[155]Cornelius J. Jaenen, Friend and Foe. Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York, 1976).

CHAPTER VII

ARM-CHAIR TRAVELERS: THE INDIAN AND EUROPEAN CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

This study has provided the reader with an indication of the richness and variety of French and English travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which discussed the New World and its native inhabitants. The travelers were influenced by myths, legends, and stereotypes, yet many of them nevertheless transcended the brief, capsule formulae traditionally utilized by Europeans to describe foreign cultures. The portrait of the American Indian contained in a great many travel accounts is highly detailed. The travelers recorded many of their observations in an objective manner, and provided significant data regarding numerous aspects of native religion, daily life, social structure, and physical appearance. The information recorded by the travelers was, in turn, read by Europeans who had never crossed the Atlantic, many of whom were members of the

contemporary intellectual elite or scholarly community. The reports of the voyagers were accepted uncritically by their readers as factual, eyewitness information. Here contemporaries generally did not draw distinctions between fact and fancy, image and reality, but regarded the totality of the travel accounts as accurate reports of the conditions of native life in the New World.[1]

This final chapter will examine the portrayal of the American Indian in the works of European intellectuals of the early modern era. Prominent literary and visual artists incorporated information about the Indian and his manner of living into their essays, poems, dramas, and paintings. The image of the American Indian contained in their works is as diverse as that found in the corpus of travel literature itself. The more sophisticated commentators of the contemporary European intellectual community did not limit their discussion of the Indian to a mere repetition of the details of native life which the travelers so frequently recorded. These creative thinkers instead viewed the information contained in the travel accounts in a more reflective light. The American Indian stood before contemporary scholars and literary figures as a living representation of the savage, of man in a state of nature.

The discussion begins with material drawn from various sixteenth-century writers. These poets and

philosophers of humanistic background and training, such as More, Montaigne, Ronsard, and Vitoria, were open to, as well as curious about the new information contained in the travel accounts, and incorporated images of the American Indian into their works. The reports of the travelers encouraged sixteenth-century intellectuals to speculate on such issues as the relationship between savage and civilized man, the great diversity and relativity of all customs and manners of living, and the positive aspects of primitive life.

Seventeenth-century theorists likewise invoked diverse images of the American Indian in their works, but in the 1600's the information reported by the travelers to the New World raised questions of a more disturbing nature for the intellectual community. The problem of the origin of the American Indians, and reconciling their early history with that of all other peoples as related in Genesis, led to a questioning of the Biblical version of the origin and chronology of human life on earth. Portrayals of the native Americans as leading happy, tranquil, and fraternal lives, while devoid of monarchy, class distinctions, and institutionalized religion, encouraged such theorists of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as Locke and Rousseau in their criticisms of contemporary European society. Accounts

of the American Indian in the seventeenth century thus contributed to the spirit of skepticism and critical inquiry which characterized that era. Finally, this chapter examines the response of the seventeenth-century scientific community to the discovery of life in the New World, and concludes with a discussion of contemporary artistic portrayals of the American Indian.

The impact of the American Indian on the early modern European intellectual community should not be overstated. Few contemporary works were devoted exculsively to a discussion of the diverse issues raised by the discovery of the New World and its inhabitants. The plays of Shakespeare, the essays of Montaigne, the treatises of Locke, and the discourses of Rousseau would, undoubtedly, have been written had America remained hidden to Europeans. Nevertheless, the Indian did appear in the writings of these and other scholars, and to ignore his presence is to neglect one component of early modern European intellectual history. However, the actual extent of the influence of the American Indian on the thought of prominent European intellectuals is difficult to guage. In some instances, the Indian merely served as an example, one further illustration to demonstrate a point already argued. In other cases, information reported by the travelers to America stimulated European thinkers to ask new questions concerning established beliefs and institutions.

The intellectual assimilation of the New World and its inhabitants by the contemporary European scholarly community was a very slow process. Columbus sailed westward across the Atlantic and reached land at the end of the fifteenth century. However Columbus himself, along with many of his contemporaries, believed this land to be part of Asia. The idea that a new continent existed was slow to penetrate the minds of most Europeans, who accepted the traditional view of the world as divided into only three parts: Africa, Asia, and Europe. The concept of America evolved slowly for sixteenth-century Europeans, as it involved the readjustment of a cosmographical view that was centuries old.[2]

Travel accounts constituted a popular literary genre in the sixteenth century, but Europeans generally displayed a far greater interest in works dealing with the eastern lands of Asia than with the newly discovered western continent. In sixteenth-century France, four times as many works were published which dealt with the Turks and Asia than with the New World; throughout the sixteenth century, the percentage of works devoted to America did not increase.[3] In Italy as well, travel literature which discussed the ancient, more sophisticated cultures of the East had greater appeal.[4] Poets, dramatists, essayists, theologians, and philosophers of the day were primarily concerned with European man and European issues.

Yet many notable contemporaries discussed America in their writings.

Perhaps the most serious examination in the early modern period of new issues arising out of the discovery of the New World and its native inhabitants occurred in sixteenth-century Spain. In April of 1550, Charles V ordered that all Spanish conquests in the New World be suspended until a specially appointed, fourteen member council consisting of jurists, theologians, and officials could reach a verdict regarding the true nature of the Indian. The council was also to consider whether or not the use of force against the natives could be justified. The theologians, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de Las Casas, argued the question of the true nature and humanity of the American Indian before this council at Valladolid in 1550. Sepúlveda applied Aristotle's criteria to cast the American Indians as natural slaves. He maintained that the Indians were inherently rude, inferior, and barbarous, and asserted that they were born with only a limited capacity of understanding. Las Casas, on the other hand, eloquently defended the inherent humanity and rationality of the natives of the New World. He highlighted their numerous abilities and achievements, as well as their potential to receive Christianity. Las Casas also opposed the use of force

against the Indians. The judges of the debate reached no final verdict, but Sepúlveda's assessment of the Indians gained increasing acceptance in a nation whose colonial activities were dependent upon the forced labor of the native populace. Yet only in Spain were the theoretical issues of the Indians' true nature and degree of humanity officially raised and examined by the academic and ecclesiastical establishment. Contemporaries reflected upon the problem of where to place this newly discovered, heretofore unknown people in the hierarchical scheme of creation.[5]

The question of whether or not Spain had waged a just war against the Indians during her conquests in the New World was discussed in sixteenth-century Spain by the humanist-trained theologian, Francisco de Vitoria. Largely stimulated by the relationship between Spanish and Indian in the New World, Vitoria's formulations have been viewed as seminal in the development of the concept of international law.[6] Vitoria's De Indiis Prior was originally given as a public lecture in 1539, and was published at Lyons in 1557. In the first section of this work, Vitoria affirmed that the American Indians were in true possession of their land prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Vitoria judged the American natives to be eminently rational, as they had developed structured and organized societies, with their own form

of law, government, economy, and religion. Vitoria then proceeded to dispute various theories upheld by contemporaries which, according to Vitoria's criteria, were an insufficient basis for Spanish title to lands in the New World. Vitoria here disputed the notion that infidels could be deprived of their lands by Christians solely because of their religious status. Vitoria maintained that pagan peoples held legitimate title to their lands, and that failure to worship the "true God" out of ignorance was not sinful. Vitoria also denied that the papacy held either spiritual or temporal power over non-Christian peoples. In the final section of De Indiis Prior, Vitoria discussed what actions Spain might legitimately take in America. These included the right to trade and travel, as well as the right to preach the Gospel, providing that these actions were undertaken peaceably. Vitoria determined that Spain might justifiably intervene in Indian affairs under the following circumstances: tyrannical native rulers, native rulers forcing new Christian converts to practice idolatry, the majority of one tribe requesting assistance against another, the majority of a tribe voluntarily choosing Spanish rule, and possibly if the native Americans proved incapable of governing themselves. Vitoria's analysis of the relationship between Spain and the newly discovered

societies of America was expressed in theoretical terms, and thus the principles he set forth had the potential to be applied in other instances.[7]

The sixteenth-century Spaniards, Las Casas and Vitoria, were the staunchest defenders among their European contemporaries of the rights and humanity of the American Indian. Yet ironically, Spain was the most blatant colonial oppressor of the native populace of the New World. Here the contrast between theoretical pronouncements and actual events appears most striking. The humane views of Las Casas and Vitoria concerning the inherent rationality and capabilities of the Indian were permitted circulation in sixteenth-century Spain, but their ideas failed to effect the operations of colonial administrators. The sympathetic doctrines of the Catholic Church towards the American Indians did not reach beyond the sphere of the missionaries. Ultimately, the economic structure of colonial New Spain favored the enslavement of the native population--Indian labor was needed to work the Spanish mines and toil in the fields of the feudal encomiendas.[8] The doctrines of Sepúlveda, which maintained that the Indians were naturally suited to slavery, thus triumphed over the more tolerant views of his colleagues. Sepúlveda provided a theoretical justification for those policies which best suited the economic needs of Spain in the New World.

Sixteenth-century intellectuals outside Spain were interested in the American Indian, but only peripherally. In many cases, they used the native as an example or an illustration to further a point already argued. These writers drew their primary inspiration from other sources, and were not essentially concerned with the nature of the Indian. Yet information about native life in the New World added an extra dimension to their works.

Elizabethan dramatists of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, including Beaumont and Fletcher, Dekker, Middleton, Nash, Drummond, and Davenant, referred to America and the Indians in their plays.[9] These authors generally lacked specfic knowledge of the geography of the New World. They made only general and vague references to America in their works; the new continent appeared as symbolic of vastness, plenty, fruitfulness, and wealth. The Elizabethan dramatists utilized the American Indian to represent either of two opposite extremes of human conduct--they portrayed the natives as either virtuous or vicious. The negative view of Indian life was dominant in their works. The playwrites expressed contempt for the Indians' reputed scorn for such material wealth as gold and jewels, so valued by Europeans. Stock references to the Indians as cannibals, as well as use of the phrase "naked Indians," contributed

to the negative stereotype of the Indian in Elizabethan drama. Indian characters in contemporary drama appeared in elaborate and colorful costumes, highlighted with decorations of feathers. If the Indian was given a speaking role, it was generally confined to meaningless gibberish. These Elizabethan dramatists referred to the American Indian and his relationship with European colonists in order to denounce Spanish activities in the New World. Spain was portrayed as a cruel oppressor of the innocent natives. Any references to English dealings with the American natives, on the other hand, were extremely positive, and stressed the humanity of the English, along with the receptiveness of the Indians to the new colonists. Davenant's play, The Cruelty of Spain in Peru, illustrated this theme. Davenant portrayed the Indians as leading blissful lives prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Englishmen rescued the natives from Spanish torture; Indian and English then exchanged expressions of mutual friendship.[10]

Travel accounts dealing with America and the Indian may have contributed somewhat to Thomas More's speculations regarding the ideal society as set forth in his Utopia. More was acquainted with the writings of travelers to the New World, notably Amerigo Vespucci.[11] Vespucci portrayed the American Indians as leading idyllic lives; the Indians lacked private property and all goods

were held in common. More's conception of utopian life was undoubedly influenced by contemporary Christian and humanist ideals, but the influence of Vespucci's image of the communal life of the American Indians cannot be discounted. More chose the New World as the setting for his Utopia; he placed his ideal society westward in the south Atlantic region. The narrator of this work reported that he made three visits to Utopia while accompanying Vespucci on his journeys. The New World thus appealed to More as a pure and uncorrupted locale, well-suited for the establishment of an ideal community. The reported existence of Indian societies lacking private property may have strengthened More's conviction that communal life was indeed a viable manner of living. Yet More made no specific references to the American Indians in his Utopia. His prime objective was to provide Europeans with a model of an ideal life and society to which they might aspire. More was not interested in speculations regarding the nature of the Indian and his primitive life.[12]

Another contemporary Englishman set his utopian community on an island in the sea westward, but Francis Bacon's New Atlantis was not likely to have been inspired by the discovery of America. Bacon's ideal land of Bensalem was located beyond both the Old World and the

New. Bacon's passing reference to the American Indians revealed the general contempt with which he regarded all foreigners. He viewed the natives of the New World as savage and ignorant; Bacon was repelled by their nakedness and cannibalism.[13]

The sixteenth-century French poets of the La Pléiade school, Ronsard and Jodelle, referred to America and the Indian in their work. These poets drew their primary inspiration from classical writers, and the themes and heroes of Greek and Roman mythology.[14] Yet Jodelle and Ronsard were aware of, and interested in French activities in Brazil in the sixteenth century, and were stimulated by the reports of the travelers to reflect on the relative merits of savage and civilized life. Jodelle's "Ode to Thevet" was published in 1558 as part of the preface to the travel account of André Thevet, Les Singularités de la France Antarctique. Jodelle compared the French to the natives of Brazil in order to criticize the hypocrisy of so-called civilized nations. He said the Europeans were no less barbarous than the Indians; although the French were more reasonable than the Indians, they used this reason for evil purposes. Jodelle regarded the nakedness of the Indians as no more offensive than the numerous artificial ornaments which contemporary Europeans used to alter their appearances.

This poet maintained that it was hypocritical for the French to criticize the Indians for their paganism, since Europeans neglected the proper worship of, and resepct for Christianity.[15]

Ronsard was greatly influenced by the classical myth of the Golden Age, and this image of the idyllic life of man in a state of nature was a significant theme in his poetry. Sixteenth-century French travel literature influenced his work as well. Ronsard's "Complainte Contre Fortune" of 1559 viewed the natives of Brazil as living representations of the blissful existence idealized by classical poets. Ronsard described the Indians as living happy and pleasurable lives, lacking all suffering and anxiety, with all goods held in common. He said these people lived in goodness and innocence, and followed no law but that of nature. Ronsard questioned the desirability of the French presence in the New World, and maintained that the Europeans would most likely only corrupt the purity of the Indians.[16]

The American Indian appeared in the writings of two of the greatest literary figures of the sixteenth century, Shakespeare and Montaigne. The import of the New World for these authors should not be overstated, as it is significant in only two of Montaigne's essays, "Des Cannibales" and "Des Coches," published in 1580 and

1588 respectively, and only one of Shakespeare's plays, The Tempest, first performed in 1611. These authors were influenced by numerous historical events and intellectual currents, and the discovery of America and the Indian should be regarded as one among these many factors. The New World was not a central element in the thought of Montaigne and Shakespeare,[17] yet these authors utilized the American Indian as a vehicle to express their ideas about the life of man in a state of nature, and were prompted by the discovery of the "uncivilized" New World to further explore their thoughts regarding the nature of civilized life.

Montaigne's essay, "Des Cannibales," idealized what the author interpreted as the simple, virtuous, and uncorrupted lives of the American Indians. Montaigne praised such an existence guided solely by the laws of nature, and contrasted this condition with the artificial and often vicious characteristics of civilized, or European life.[18] Shakespeare was acquainted with Montaigne's work, and read his essays in the English translation of John Florio. Shakespeare shared Montaigne's vision of the ideal society. The character of Gonazlo in The Tempest used language highly similar to that of Montaigne's "Des Cannibales" to describe his plan for a community devoid of the occupations which concerned civilized man;

all goods were held in common, and all men were equal. However, Gonzalo was not describing the life of the Indian, but rather the ideal plantation or colony he hoped to establish in the New World to which Europeans could emigrate in order to realize a more perfect existence. The American Indian was represented in Shakespeare's The Tempest by the figure of Caliban, whose name is a rearrangement of the letters of the word, "cannibal." Shakespeare's man in an absolute state of nature was a far cry from the "noble savage" who inhabited the pages of Montaigne's essay. Caliban was brutal, fierce, rude, not at all virtuous, and most likely modeled on the many negative reports of contemporary English travelers regarding the Indian. He lacked morality, intellect, culture, and sociability. Shakespeare esteemed the arts, cultivation, and refinements of civilized man, as represented by Prospero, above the natural condition of man, as represented by Caliban. Shakespeare believed that the savage must not be left in his natural state, but instead should be educated in order to be elevated to a higher plane of human development. Prospero's efforts to educate Caliban, however, ended in failure. Nature alone, lacking all cultivation, was not evaluated positively by Shakespeare, who doubted the possibility of truly improving savage man. The Tempest, though,

did indicate that civilized man could learn much from contact with man in a truly natural setting.[19]

Montaigne's and Shakespeare's differing assessments of savage life reveal the general approach of European contemporaries to the reports of the travelers. Intellectuals selected those descriptions of the Indians and their manner of living which best illustrated their own ideas and conceptions--and the travelers indeed provided their European readers with a wealth and variety of "information," often contradictory, from which to choose. The contrasting evaluations of life in a state of nature devoid of civilization and culture contained in Montaigne's essay and Shakespeare's drama may be regarded as representative of the two opposing views of primitive life generally characteristic of French travel accounts on the one hand, and English travel accounts on the other.

Many scholars have credited Montaigne with the formulation of the image of the "noble savage" in France.[20] However, the sincerity of Montaigne's admiration for the American Indian is open to question. Montaigne's essays must be viewed within the context of sixteenth-century humanism. His comparison of the savage Brazilian to the sophisticated European was not done to praise a life devoid of learning, art, and civility, characteristics which were highly valued by the cultivated humanists.

Montaigne's essential purpose was to reprimand his fellow Europeans for their corruption, moral laxness, and hypocrisy. He thereby hoped to spur reform of some of the worst abuses of contemporary society.[21]

Montaigne did not advocate that civilized life be abandoned in favor of a purely natural existence. An examination of the style of Montaigne's essay, "Des Cannibales," calls into question the seriousness of the primitivistic strains of his thought. "Des Cannibales" is an example of a paradox, a literary genre popular in the sixteenth century; Erasmus' Praise of Folly is a prime illustration of this literary form. These paradoxes questioned the prevailing attitudes and values of contemporary society by appearing to uphold the opposite extreme as a model of conduct--thus the tendency to praise simple, unlearned, or even stupid people in order to point to some of the weaknesses of cultivated, civilized men. The author of the paradox did not intend his position to be taken too seriously; he hoped that the exaggerated contrast presented to the reader would produce a humorous effect. Montaigne possessed a copy of a 1567 edition of a French translation of Ortensio Landi's Italian version of Erasmus' Praise of Folly, Traicte Fort Plaisant des Louanges de la Folie, translated from the Italian by Jean du Thier. This work also compared the life of the American Indians to that enjoyed in the

Golden Age, and elevated the simple natives above civilized Europeans. A prime example of the contemporary literary genre of the paradox, this criticism of cultivated society should not be taken too literally.[22]

Montaigne's sympathy for the primitive life of the American Indians may have been no more than a rhetorical one, yet this essayist did utilize information conveyed by the travelers to the New World to illustrate some of the ideas contained in his essays. For Montaigne, the significance of the discovery of the native societies of America was not so much the revelation of living examples of naturally virtuous peoples, but rather the further awareness of the great variety of all human customs. For Montaigne, the travel accounts were testimony to the great differences in conventions that existed among the various societies of the world. Montaigne stated in "Des Cannibales" that each one terms barbarous those customs and practices that are different than his own common usage, "...chacun appelle barbarie ce qui n'est pas de son usage...."[23] Reports from the New World contributed to Montaigne's ideas regarding the relativity of human customs. His essay, "Des Coches," proclaimed the great variety of human societies. If Europeans were able to observe the entire world, they would most likely encounter a continual growth and variety of forms,

"Si nous voyons autant du monde commu nous n'en voyons pas, nous apercevrions, comme il est à croire, une perpetuele multiplication et vicissitude de formes." There is nothing unusual regarding nature, asserted Montaigne but man's knowledge of nature was too limited, "Il n'y a rien de seul et de rare eu esgard à nature, ouy bien eu esgard à nostre cognoissance...." Montaigne then referred to the Indian cultures of Mexico and Peru as examples of highly advanced civilizations which developed industry and art, "L'espouventable magnificence des villes de Cusco et de Mexico...la beauté de leurs ouvrages en pierrerie, en plume, en cotton, en la peinture, montrent qu'ils ne nous cedoient non plus en l'industrie." He said these Indians possessed numerous positive character traits, and their intellectual abilities should not be considered inferior to Europeans, "...ils ne nous devoyent rien en clarté d'esprit naturelle et en pertinence."[24] Thus, differing customs and manners of living need not be taken as a sign of inferiority. The "Apologie de Raymond Sebonde" also discussed the great variety and relativity which Montaigne believed was characteristic of all human customs. Here again, Montaigne utilized numerous examples from Mesoamerican culture to illustrate his arguments.[25]

Publication of the reports of travelers in the sixteenth century contributed to the development of the

concept of relativism.[26] Two of Montaigne's contemporaries, the sixteenth-century French historians, François de Belleforest and Louis Le Roy, cited information about the lives of the American Indians reported by travelers to the New World to elucidate their ideas regarding the great diversity of human customs. Belleforest, in his L'Histoire Universelle du Monde of 1570, and Le Roy, in his two works, De La Vicissitude ou Variété des Choses of 1575, and De L'Origine, Antiquite, Progres, Excellence et Utilité de L'Art Politique of 1567, wrote histories which were comparative in nature and universal in scope. They included in their works many details about the Indians' manner of living culled from contemporary travel accounts.[27]

Belleforest's discussion of the native Americans was highly comparative--he reviewed many of the customs and practices of various New World societies and compared them with each other.[28] Belleforest did not present the reader with a monolithic view of the American Indian, as his history was a testimony to the great variety which existed among the native cultures of the New World. He believed that the diversity of human customs and behavior throughout the world was a result of climatic influences, "...les hommes ont des humeurs & inclinatiõs en une, qu'ils n'aurõt point en une autre...les terres diversement disposées, les corps qui y naissent, y reçoivent aussi de diverses impressions." Belleforest recorded a broad

range of social practices, yet he lacked the relativity which Montaigne exhibited. Belleforest was not tolerant of diversity, and concluded that the study of foreign cultures should lead Europeans to be thankful that they were born in a civilized and Christian society.[29]

Louis Le Roy stressed the importance of writing history from a universal perspective, as he perceived a unity relating all historical events. Le Roy was interested in the origins and development of civilization, and the process of historical change. His works were a synthesis of information obtained from both classical sources and the accounts of contemporary travelers to the New World. Le Roy believed that all civilization evolved from primitive stages to more developed levels. He viewed the native societies of America as living replicas of the life of the ancestors of contemporary Europeans. Thus by studying the American Indians, Europeans could gain insight into their own past. Like Belleforest, Le Roy was impressed with the great variety of human customs, provided numerous examples of Indian practices, and attributed this diversity to climatic influences.[30]

Louis Le Roy was exceptional among his contemporaries in his creative use of information about the American Indian.[31] Many in the sixteenth century regarded the reports of the travelers as no more than collections of curious and exotic practices, fascinating details, albeit of no great significance.[32] The travelers themselves,

although they recorded lengthy and detailed observations depicting native life in the New World, generally did not pause to reflect on the import of this new information. The travelers did not view the variety of customs they reported as indicative of the relativity of all human behavior and practices, but rather as proof of the absolute superiority of European civilization.

The existence of a vast, inhabited continent in the sea westward between Europe and Asia was a total surprise to contemporaries. It is understandable that information about the New World reported by the travelers would take time to fully penetrate the established boundaries of traditional knowledge. But even in the sixteenth century, many intellectuals referred to the American Indians in their work, and a significant minority of important contemporary thinkers were stimulated by reports about the Indian to expand their outlook and examine new issues. It would seem, however, that the European discovery of the American Indian had the potential not only to broaden the expanse of traditional knowledge, but to completely overturn a theologically based history of mankind that had been unquestioningly accepted for centuries. The standard version of the origin and early history of man was not derived from any secular chronicles,

but rather rested exclusively on the account contained in Genesis. The various nations of the earth were believed to have originated from the scattering of Noah's sons, whose descendants were thought to have repopulated the entire world after its universal destruction by the Great Deluge. The existence of numerous inhabitants, animal as well as human, on a continent so distant from the site of Noah's landing, was a challenge to the standard Biblical version of man's early history. No references to the Indians of the New World were contained in any history or genealogy prior to Columbus' voyage. The problem thus arose of reconciling the accepted and authoritative Biblical account of history with the new facts reported by the travelers.

The sixteenth-century intellectual community did not appear overly concerned regarding the potential threat to its orthodoxy posed by the discovery of America and the Indian.[33] Important theologians of this period largely ignored the new geographic information, and the Council of Trent included almost nothing on its agenda relative to the New World[34] European commentaries on Genesis in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries gave little indication that a new and inhabited continent had been discovered. Even such authors as Walter Raleigh, Peter Heylyn, and Samuel Purchas, who were closely acquainted

with information about America and the Indian, as the latter two compiled accounts based on travel writings, and Raleigh himself traveled to, and wrote about the New World, unquestioningly accepted Genesis as the single authoritative account of the origin and early history of all mankind.[35] However in spite of the supposed nonchalance which many academics and theologians displayed towards the new evidence from America, and the apparent ease with which those who were roused by the discovery of the New World were able to reconcile the presence of the Indian with the traditional Biblical orthodoxy, when Spanish ecclesiastical officials uncovered the Aztec calendar stone, which revealed a chronology in sharp contradiction to the version of human history contained in Genesis, the evidence was hastily buried.[36]

The issue of the origin of the American Indian was the one question specifically raised by the discovery of America which attracted the broad attention of many scholarly Europeans, and engaged some of their ranks in a rather heated literary debate in the seventeenth century. Hugo Grotius addressed this issue in 1642 in his work, <u>On the Origin of the Native Races of America</u>. This scholar believed that the Indians of North America arrived in the New World via a trans-Atlantic route, and were of Norse descent; the natives of Yucatan derived from the Ethiopians, and the people of Peru were ultimately

of Chinese extraction.[37] Like the majority of contemporaries who addressed this issue, Grotius relied on perceived similarities of language and customs to prove his theories of cultural affinity.[38]

Grotius was attacked by Georg Horn and Joannes de Laet, both of whom appeared more aware of the true complexities posed by the issue of the origin of the American Indian; they asserted that this question could probably not be answered conclusively. De Laet was also more familiar with relevant information dealing with America than was Grotius, as he had served as a director of the Dutch West India Company, and had written a history of the New World. De Laet had advised Grotius prior to the publication of the latter's manuscript to consult Acosta's Natural and Moral History of the Indies, since Acosta had seriously discussed the problem of the Indians' origin. Grotius ignored this suggestion, and his refusal of de Laet's advice sharpened the latter's attack on Grotius' hypotheses. De Laet and Horn, in separately published works, both disagreed with Grotius' theory which suggested a trans-Atlantic migration to the New World. They maintained instead that the ancestors of the Indians probably reached America by means of a passage or strait which linked northeast Asia with northwest America, a hypothesis favored by many seventeenth-century speculators on this question. Horn and de Laet also

disputed Grotius' chronology, and asserted that the Indians initially arrived in America at a date much earlier than that maintained by Grotius. Hence, argued Horn and de Laet, it was also inappropriate to rely on cultural similarities as proof of relation, since it was unlikely that the Indians still upheld the customs and practices of their ancestors, as their arrival in the New World occurred so long ago.[39]

Many contemporaries thus sensed the seriousness of the problem posed by the existence of the American Indian, but very few utilized the new information reported by the travelers to challenge the established order. The overwhelming majority sought to relate the people of the New World to those of the Old by tracing the ancestry of the Indian to a nation of either European or Asian extraction. The travelers themselves did not question the Biblical orthodoxy, but rather unanimously asserted that the Indians derived from Adam and then Noah.

In the wake of the Protestant Reformation, with its intense reliance on Scripture as the sole basis of all religious and moral authority, contemporaries demanded a new and unmitigated certainty regarding the text of the Bible. It is surely ironic that during the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the concept of absolute accuracy and reliability of the Biblical text became so crucial to many Europeans, contemporaries witnessed the manifestation of a growing number of new

insights which challenged the accepted Biblical narrative. Information reported by travelers to Asia and America, as well as the findings of the new science of the seventeenth century, contradicted the Scriptures on numerous points. The contemporary religious establishment urgently sought to reconcile the differences between this new evidence and the traditional Biblical view of the world. Confronted with the discovery of the American Indian, the European intellectual community stretched the Biblical account of Noah and the dispersal of his sons to accommodate the new information reported by the travelers. However such attempts to make the Bible conform to the new and ever-changing reality which faced seventeenth-century Europeans, ultimately only served to weaken the authoritativeness of the established orthodoxy.[40]

The consensus regarding the absolute truth and universal applicability of Genesis did not remain unbroken in the seventeenth century. Thomas Browne, in his Religio Medici which was first published in 1636, asserted that many of the stories contained in the Bible were doubtful, and presented problems which remained unresolved. Browne was disturbed not only by the existence of people in the New World, but by the presence of so many unique animals of which the Old World had no knowledge. If all the world's animals, like all its human beings, could trace their origin to the descendants of the residents of Noah's

ark, Browne wondered how to account for the existence of so many different, heretofore unknown species in America. Even if the ancestors of these animals were present on the ark, their means of migration to the New World still appeared to Browne as a perplexing question.[41]

Such scholars as Richard Simon and Spinoza, by their application of rational, critical analysis to Biblical study, arrived at conclusions which questioned both the historical accuracy and authenticity of the Scriptures.[42] The application of reason to the study of the Bible was not a new development motivated solely by the new facts which arose out of the geographic discoveries. Renaissance thinkers were concerned with the relationship of faith and reason, and had also undertaken a rational approach to the study of the Bible.[43] Not only the newly discovered native American chronologies, but the ancient histories of the civilizations of Greece and Rome, which received more careful scrutiny by the classical scholars of the Renaissance, appeared to question the long-accepted Biblical version of the chronology of the world.[44] Spinoza and Simon were primarily influenced by currents in European intellectual history other than the discovery of the New World, but a somewhat earlier practitioner of Biblical criticism, Isaac de La Peyrère, was more directly motivated by information about the American

Indian, and his work may have influenced Simon and Spinoza, as a number of his ideas were later expounded by these two great scholars.[45]

In 1655, La Peyrère published two treatises, Preadamitae, which appeared in four editions, and Systema Theoligicum ex Prae-Adamitarum Hypothesi, which underwent three edtions; one volume was also published which included both of these works. La Peyrère's theses, that men existed before Adam, and that the Bible should be regarded as the history of the Jews and not of all mankind, circulated widely among contemporaries, but were denounced by the theological establishment. La Peyrère's theories were refuted in at least twelve publications in the year 1656 alone, and the author subsequently published a retraction. La Peyrère applied rational criticism to his study of the Bible, and helped open the way for a secular approach to the writing of early human history. La Peyrère did not address himself primarily to the question of the origin of the American Indian, nor did his works predominantly rely on evidence culled from the travel accounts to prove his theories. The essential arguments of Praeadamitae and Systema rested heavily on evidence derived from the text of the Bible itself which, La Peyrère believed, contained proof that men existed prior to Adam. Adam was only the ancestor of the Jews, who alone were destroyed

by the Flood. La Peyrère argued that the rest of mankind originated much earlier than Adam.[46]

La Peyrère's critical study of the Bible also questioned the truth of Genesis regarding other issues, such as the chronology of the earth and the universality of the Flood. Here La Peyrère showed a keen awareness of the findings of contemporary travelers, and utilized this information to further support his arguments. La Peyrère maintained that the age of the world was much older than that indicated by the Bible. Here he cited evidence obtained from classical scholars regarding the ancient histories of the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Scythians, in addition to information from the travelers regarding the chronologies of the Chinese, as well as the American Indians. La Peyrère also relied on evidence arising out of the discovery of the New World to question the Biblical account of the universality of the Great Deluge. It was highly unlikely, maintained La Peyrère, that such far away regions as North and South America could be entirely repopulated so soon after the Flood as Genesis would lead one to believe. La Peyrère, in two separate works, published in 1647 and 1663, which discussed the American regions of Greenland and Iceland, entered the contemporary debate with Hugo Grotius concerning the origin of the American Indians, and thus more explicitly showed his concern for this problem. Once again, La Peyrère

relied on information about the chronology of the New World natives to dispute Grotius' notion that the American Indians descended from an Old World group that crossed the Atlantic after the Flood. Evidence from the travel accounts had indicated to La Peyrère that the Eskimos of Iceland and Greenland had established themselves long before the Nordic invasions.[47]

According to La Peyrère, Grotius was inaccurate in maintaining that the original inhabitants of the New World were of Norse descent, and had then migrated to the American mainland from Greenland, "Je descouvre en mesme temps le mesconte de celuy qui a fait des Dissertations sur l'origine des peuples de l'Amerique; lesquels il a fait venir de Groenland, & a voulu que les premiers habitans de Groenland soiẽt venus de Noruegue." La Peyrère asserted that the Norwegians were not the first inhabitants of Greenland, and that this region was already inhabited at the time of the Nordic invasions, "Que divers peuples l habitent, & que ces peuples sont gouvernez par divers seigneurs, dont les Noruegues n'ont jamais eu connoissance...les Noruegues n'ont pas esté les premiers habitans du Groenland...." In addition, La Peyrère denied that there were any resemblances between the language and customs of the Norwegians and those of the Eskimos, "...qu'il n'y a nulle affinité de langage, ny de moeurs, entre le Groenland, & la Noruegue...." To

prove this latter point, La Peyrère included in his work a brief summary of Martin Frobisher's 1577 account of his voyage to Greenland, which La Peyrère believed contained valuable and accurate information, "Cette Narration donne beaucoup puls de connoissance du Groenland, & de ses peuples...." Frobisher's description of the natives of Greenland indicated to La Peyrère that the Americans were very unlikely to be of Norse descent, as their customs and manner of living were quite different.[48]

The critical spirit of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not confined to Biblical scholarship, but was applied to the values and institutions of contemporary society as well. Seventeenth-century French travel accounts dealing with America and the Indian may have contributed to this social, political, and religious critique to some extent, as this literature provided evidence of people actually living happy and virtuous lives in societies which reportedly lacked monarchy, social distinctions determined by wealth, and organized religion. The direct influence of the travel writers on the thought of any one specific philosopher is often difficult to trace, but travel accounts, including those dealing with the New World, were popular literary works in seventeenth-century France, and many of the ideas frequently expressed therein resemble a number of the principles which were commonly held by many libertines

and philosophes of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[49]

Such seventeenth-century French libertine writers as Fontenelle, Fénelon, Denis Vairasse, Gabriel Foigny, and Cyrano de Bergerac, attacked many traditions, conventions, and institutions of contemporary society. These writers utilized facts from travel accounts dealing with America, Asia, and Australia to lend verisimilitude and substance to their satirical critiques. The libertines constructed imaginary utopian communities in far-off lands, and employed details from contemporary travel accounts to make their works appear more realistic.[50]

Fénelon's fictional account of 1699, Les Aventures de Télémaque, described an ideal society marked by simplicity, communism, freedom, and absence of restrictions. Fénelon made no specific references to the American Indian, and his sources cannot be absolutely identified, but Fénelon was familiar with travel literature pertaining to America; in addition, his brother was a missionary to Canada. There is a general resemblance between Fénelon's ideal society and the idealized portrayal of the lives of the Indians contained in many contemporary French travel accounts.[51] The inhabitants of Fénelon's fictional community, La Bétique, led happy and virtuous lives solely by following the dictates of nature. Their ideal society lacked all forms of institutionalized organization,

and work was unnecessary. There was no money, material things were not valued, and all goods were held in common.[52]

Accounts of the government and religion of the Incas of Peru most likely influenced Denis Vairasse's account of 1677, L'Histoire des Sévarambes. This utopia was set in Australia, but the Sévarambes worshiped the sun, as did the Incas, and the history of their kings as recorded by Vairasse was highly similar to that of the Incas. These rulers were despots, but they acted responsibly, protected the welfare of their subjects, and saw to it that all goods were equitably distributed.[53]

The rationalist thinkers of this era firmly believed that theories should be grounded in experience or facts, rather than rest solely on authority. The writings of the travelers thus had special appeal, as they provided philosophers with an enormous amount of what was regarded as firsthand, eyewitness information which could support their conceptions, and illustrate that their ideals were grounded in reality. The great variety of "facts" contained in the travel accounts supplied "evidence" for a broad range of theories. This information testified to the great diversity of customs and social behavior, and thus promoted the belief that relativism, rather than authority, must prevail in the evaluation of all human practices.[54] Pierre Bayle, known to have read the Jesuit Relations dealing with the American Indian,

as well as voyage accounts of native Africans and Asians, asserted in his Pensées sur la Comète of 1683 that different peoples of the world conducted themselves according to their own principles, and therefore could not be judged by any single absolute standard.[55]

The travelers themselves did not advocate the overthrow, or even the substantial alteration of the values and institutions of contemporary Europe. They recorded their observations in a straightforward manner, and seldom reflected on the import of this data. Any criticism of European society contained in these accounts was implied, not proclaimed. French travelers admired many aspects of the character and manner of living of the American Indian, but they also displayed great contempt for, and disgust at numerous other native habits and customs. The travelers experienced the rigors of primitive life firsthand, and few would have preferred this "savage" existence to the more developed and refined life of contemporary Europe. Yet many French travelers idealized the simple and unstructured existence of the Indian, and favorably compared it to European life. The travelers thereby implied that many of the institutions and conventions of European society were detrimental to man. The travel accounts were multi-faceted, thus European readers could select only those passages which appealed to their own outlooks and

philosophies. The implicit criticism of many aspects of European society conveyed by those travelers who praised the unfettered and harmonious lives of the Indians impressed later thinkers whose attacks on contemporary institutions were more direct.[56]

The writings of the Jesuit missionaries to Canada in the seventeenth century have been regarded as an important contribution to the philosophe critique of society during the eighteenth century. The accounts of the Jesuits were published annually, and reached a wide audience. The Jesuits' praise of the natural goodness and morality of the Indians, who reportedly lived free of all restraints and regulations, is said to have influenced the philosophe attack on many contemporary political, social, and religious institutions. The Jesuits' portrayal of the "noble savage" illustrated that the conventions and mores of European society were unnecessary for man's happiness and well-being.[57]

The travel accounts provided evidence which appealed to deists. The American Indians had no priests or organized forms of religious worship, yet they reportedly led good and virtuous lives, guided solely by the laws of nature. Natural law was an important concept for the deists, who separated the exercise of morality from the practice of organized religion.[58] Seventeenth-century French travelers to the New World provided contemporary

readers with a living example of a people who followed the dictates of natural law, and thus attained a virtuous and harmonious existence without Christianity. Once again, the Jesuit Relations are credited with contributing significantly to the contemporary image of the virtuous pagan.[59]

The travel accounts also disputed the universality of Christian revelation, as there existed numerous people in the New World who had never heard of Jesus. In addition, according to the Biblical notion of original sin, all descendants of Adam were believed to be ashamed of their nakedness, women were to suffer in childbirth, and men were to work for their sustenance. The reports of the travelers provided evidence which contradicted the universal authority of the Bible, as the American Indians were said to be naked and unashamed, women were easily delivered of their children, and men did not work.[60] Bayle used examples from the travelers to question the authority of Christian revelation. He pointed to numerous peoples of the world who did not believe in God or Jesus, yet still exhibited a high degree of virtue and morality. Bayle asserted that many Christians did not necessarily act in accordance with virtue, whereas many pagan peoples, as evidenced by numerous examples from antiquity as well as from the voyage accounts, led highly virtuous lives.[61]

In spite of the presence of many themes in seventeenth-century French travel accounts dealing with America which ran parallel to numerous ideas popular with rationalist, libertine, and deist thinkers, the direct influence of these travel writers is difficult to trace, and should not be overstated. The idealization of Indian life was significant in the writings of such missionaries as Claude d'Abbeville, Yves d'Evreux, Jean Baptist Du Tertre, and Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, but their accounts were not issued in more than one edition. Other works were more popular--Charles de Rochefort's 1658 history of the Caribs was printed five times in two seventeenth-century editions, Marc Lescarbot's history of Canada was issued three times by 1618, and Jean de Léry's account of his sojourn in Brazil underwent seven printings and four editions between 1578 and 1604.[62] Nevertheless, travel accounts about America were important for only a minority of contemporary thinkers. Travel accounts dealing with the civilization of the Chinese were more popular, and had a greater impact. Scholars and intellectuals were struck by the fact that the Chinese had developed a highly advanced society, noted for its material accomplishments, as well as its ethical and philosophical systems, yet were untouched by Christian revelation and teachings.[63] Likewise, French readers were impressed, although to a lesser degree, by accounts of the civilization of the

Incas of South America. The work of the half-Spanish, half-Indian author, Garcilaso de la Vega, Le Commentaire Royal, ou L'Histoire des Yncas, Roys du Peru, was highly popular with contemporaries. The first edition translated from Spanish appeared in France in 1632, and underwent five editions by 1744. Readers were impressed with Garcilaso's account of a civilization that had attained a high degree of cultural and technological achievement, yet lacked Christianity.[64]

The majority of French travel accounts dealing with the Indians described the more primitive native societies of North and South America, as French colonial activity in the New World centered in Canada, the Caribbean, and Brazil. These accounts of primitive life were not of great interest to a significant portion of contemporary rationalist philosophers, who were not essentially concerned with the nature of savage, or primitive life. These thinkers preferred instead those travel accounts which portrayed advanced and refined societies, notably the Chinese, which, without the guidance of Christian teachings, had nevertheless evolved sophisticated systems of morality and philosophy, in addition to attaining a high level of cultural and technological development. Seventeenth-century French travel accounts dealing with the Indians elevated nature over art, and thus debunked many of the accomplishments which marked

civilized life by implying that nature, or instinct, was superior to many acquired, or cultivated traits. This outlook was not congenial with the mentality of many contemporary philosophers, who valued the application of rationality and the refined exercise of reason as the basis of all human actions, and were thus not overly interested in studying accounts of savage man in a purely natural environment. By extolling the simplicity of primitive existence, where happiness and virtue were attained solely by acting in accordance with nature, the travelers placed themselves outside one of the dominant trends of contemporary intellectual life.[65]

Those thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who did concern themselves with the primitive condition of man in a state of nature turned to travel accounts dealing with America and the Indian as sources which provided living illustrations of their ideas. The travelers supplied the contemporary reading public with numerous and varied details regarding the life of primitive man, and those thinkers who were interested in earlier phases of human development, or what was natural for man, utilized the travel literature not so much for initial inspiration for their writings, but rather for examples to lend further credibility to their arguments. In some instances, the Indian was more important a theme than in others.[66]

Travel accounts dealing with the New World and its native inhabitants have been credited with influencing the thought of Jean Jacques Rousseau.[67] Rousseau did not cite his sources directly, but he read travel literature. Rousseau's Discourse on the Origin of Inequality refers directly to the Caribs, and his discussion of the natural life of these Indians bears a very strong resemblance to the portrayal of the American natives contained in Jean Baptiste Du Tertre's four volume work of 1667, Histoire Generale des Antilles Habitées par les François.[68]

Du Tertre's description of the Caribs indicated to Rousseau that man in a state of nature, devoid of civilization and its restrictions, lived simple, yet sociable lives, generally lacked vice, and enjoyed health, happiness, and equality:

> ...les Sauvages de ces Isles sont les plus contens, les plus heureux, les moins vicieux, les plus sociables, les moins tourmentez de maladies de toutes les nations de monde...une grande simplicité & naifveté naturelle: ils sont tous égaux...ils vivent tous à leur liberté....[69]

This account of the American Indians confirmed Rousseau's belief that many of the evils that afflicted man were not products of his natural traits or desires, but rather arose from certain impositions of civilized society. For Rousseau, the Caribs appeared as living proof of his theories. He regarded these Indians as the least removed of all existing peoples from the state of nature, "Celui de tous les peuples existans qui jusqu'ici s'est écarté le moins de l'état de nature.[70]

Rousseau's Emile also reveals the author's great interest in what was natural for man. Rousseau argued that the dictates of nature should be followed in the upbringing of children. He advocated that mothers nurse their own children, and that youngsters should not be restricted by tight swaddling clothes. Rousseau also maintained that childbirth would be much easier if women would allow nature to take its own course. All these themes repeatedly appeared in travel accounts which described the customs of the American Indians.[71] Rousseau advocated that man adhere more closely to natural patterns of life, and therefore displayed great interest in the practices and manner of living of existing primitive peoples, as they served as examples of man in a state of nature from which civilized man might learn to modify his life.[72]

Thomas Hobbes was also interested in the natural condition of man, and arrived at an assessment much different than that of Rousseau. Travel accounts which described the life and character of the American Indian were not crucial influences in the formulation of Hobbes' thought, but in Leviathan, published in 1651, he did refer to the Indian as one example of man in a state of nature.[73] Hobbes' conception of the natural life of man was a highly negative one. Without civil society, man's existence was violent and chaotic. Hobbes referred to the life of

the American Indian as a realistic illustration of the degradation and violence which he believed characterized man's natural state:

> It may peradventure be thought there was never such a time nor condition of war as this...but there are many places where they live so now. For the savage people in many places of America, except the government of small families, the concord whereof depends on natural lust, have no government at all and live at this day in that brutish manner as I said before.[74]

According to Hobbes' analysis, the American Indians, like all men in a state of nature, lacked civil government, and thus led base and savage lives.[75]

Hobbes drew some of his information about the Indians from the writings of José de Acosta and Garcilaso de la Vega.[76] These Spanish authors described the relatively advanced native American societies of the Aztecs and the Incas respectively. But for Hobbes, the empires built by the civilizations of Mesoamerica and Peru were meager in comparison to his European-based conception of civil government. Hobbes also obtained second hand information about the lives of the American Indians from the French authors, Louis Le Roy and Montaigne. Le Roy was concerned with the primitive stages of human development, as well as the diversity and relativity of customs and practices throughout the world, and Montaigne idealized the simple, yet tranquil existence of the Indians in order to point to some of the faults of civilized life.

Hobbes, however, seized on their depictions of the Indian as lacking letters, arts, numbers, industry, trade, and monarchs to support a far different argument. He regarded the Indians' reported lack of social and political organization as indicative of the bankruptcy of natural, uncivilized life. Hobbes may also have formed his negative images of Indian life in the New World from some of the material included in the edition of travel literature prepared by Richard Hakluyt.[77]

The consensus of English travelers to America ran counter to Hobbes' notion that life in a state of nature was barbaric due to the absence of government. English travelers degraded primitive life, but the majority of them maintained that the American Indians, even in their natural state, practiced some form of government.[78] Hobbes' critics, notably Bishop Bramhall, whose Catching of Leviathan was published in 1658, turned to such information contained in the travel literature to assert that the Indian, as uncivilized as he was, nevertheless upheld some form of law and government; even in a state of nature, man was not as bestial as Hobbes maintained.[79] What Hobbes and contemporary English travelers to America did have in common was their general characterizations of life in a state of nature as brutal, violent, and above all, disorderly.

John Locke was also interested in determining what was natural to man. Locke relied heavily on voyage literature to provide facts which would illustrate and support his theories, and his library contained many travel accounts pertaining to America and the native inhabitants.[80] These volumes included: Acosta's Natural and Moral History of the Indies (1604), John Smith's Description of New England (1616), Garcilaso de la Vega's Le Commentaire Royal, ou L'Histoire des Yncas, Roys du Peru (1663), Gage's Survey of the West Indies (1677), Jean de Léry's Histoire d'un Voyage Faict en la Terre du Brésil (1578), the English translation of Montaigne's Essays (1603), as well as two works by Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons (1632), and L'Histoire du Canada (1638).[81]

Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding of 1690 frequently cited the writings of the travelers to attest to the great variety in morality and religion practiced by various societies throughout the world. Thus, there were no absolute ideals for all mankind, but instead people upheld those rules and patterns which were necessary to maintain their particular society.[82]

Locke repeatedly referred to America in his Two Treatises of Government, first printed in 1690. Locke maintained that prior to forming political society, man lived in a natural state. He was interested in the

characteristics of this early stage of human society, and regarded life in the New World as a prime example, "Thus in the beginning all the World was America...." In his section in the second treatise, "Of the Beginning of Political Societies," Locke specifically referred to the Indians of America as examples of men in a state of nature who initially lived without government, "...in many parts of America there was no Government at all." The Indians of Peru, "...for a long time had neither Kings nor Commonwealths, but lived in Troops, as they do this day in Florida, the Cheriquanas, those of Bresil and many other Nations, which have no certain Kings, but as occasion is offered in Peace or War, they chose their Captains as they please." According to Locke, man enjoyed freedom in a state of nature, but voluntarily agreed to enter into political society for greater benefits and security. But, as illustrated by the practices of the Indians of America, leaders were chosen by the populace, and their powers were clearly limited:

> Conformable hereunto we find the People of America, who (living out of the reach of the Conquering swords, and spreading domination of the two great Empires of Peru and Mexico) enjoy'd their own natural freedom, though, coeteris paribus, they commonly prefer the Heir of their deceased King; yet if they find him any way weak, they pass him by and set up the stoutest and bravest man for their Ruler...the Kings of the Indians in America, which is still a Pattern of the first Ages in Asia and Europe...are little more than Generals of their Armies; and though they command absolutely in War, yet at home and in time of Peace they exercise very little Dominion, and have but a very moderate sovereignty....[83]

Locke regarded native life in the New World as a living replica of the earlier, or primitive stages of development once experienced by "civilized" peoples. Although "monarchies" existed in the beginnings of political society, the power of the rulers was not at all extensive. Locke drew these impressions of the political systems of the native Americans primarily from the writings of the French travelers, Sagard, Léry, and Rochefort.[84] These travel writers, along with the majority of their French contemporaries, minimized the amount of structure operative among Indian societies, and reported that the power of native chiefs was clearly limited. These headmen were said to make no decisions without the advice of their councils, and commanded respect and obedience by means of persuasion rather than coercion.[85]

Locke's state of nature was quite distinct from the condition of perpetual war which Hobbes believed was characteristic of man's life without government. Locke maintained that in his natural state, man was still capable of enjoying not only liberty, but property as well. According to Locke, man created property by application of his labor to the earth's resources. That this was practiced by man even in a state of nature was indicated by another example drawn from Locke's impressions of the life of the American Indian, "The Fruit

or Venison, which nourishes the wild Indian, who knows no Inclosure, and is still a Tenant in common, must be his, and so his, i.e. a part of him, that another can no longer have any right to it, before it can do him any good for the support of his Life."[86] In attributing ownership of private property to the American Indian, Locke went against a strong contemporary tradition which regarded the societies of the natives of the New World as essentially communistic.[87]

Other political theorists in Restoration England utilized information about the American Indian for polemical purposes. These writers selected those observations from contemporary travel literature which harmonized with, and further illustrated their arguments. John Nalson's account of 1678, The Common Interest of King and People, and Edward Pettit's tract of 1684, The Visions of Government, both proclaimed the desirability of the institution of monarchy. Nalson and Pettit asserted that monarchy was the ideal form of government, and maintained that it was universally practiced. These theorists cited examples from travel accounts dealing with the New World which referred to the "government" of the American natives as "monarchical." The Indians were described as revering and obeying their "kings." Respect for, and submission to monarchs was thus natural to man, according to Nalson and Pettit, as even the "savages" of America

rendered hommage to their rulers.[88] These theorists most likely obtained their information from the accounts of English travelers to the New World who described the native political organizations of Virginia and New England as "monarchical," and reported that the Indians honored and obeyed their "kings."[89]

Notable European thinkers of the early modern era invoked various images of the American Indian contained in the travel accounts to illustrate their theories. The fact that the Indians were a living people, actually existing, albeit in a far off land, lent an important element of credibility to those philosophers who sought to ground their ideas in experience or reality. But the Indian, and what was regarded by contemporaries as his "natural" way of living, was not a seminal part of the thought of any of the great intellectuals of the day. The classicists of the sixteenth century and the rationalists of the seventeenth century drew their primary inspiration from more traditional scholarly sources.

The travel accounts essentially belong to a different category of European intellectual history. This material was not written by any great scholars, but instead by educated men who led active, rather than contemplative lives. The accounts were written in the

vernacular, and thus reached a literate public which extended beyond the traditional scholarly elite. Contemporaries valued the travel literature as both utilitarian and entertaining. Merchants, seamen, and promoters of overseas colonization were eager to obtain increased knowledge about the geography, climate, and natural resources of the diverse areas of the New World.[90] This information constituted a substantial segment of almost every travel account dealing with America, even those works written by missionaries, but was slow to penetrate the intellectual community. The sixteenth-century academic establishment was generally apathetic in the face of much of this new information. Manuscript maps which were utilized by travelers quickly reflected the additional and frequently changing data reported by navigators who traveled to America, but the schools of geography and printed maps which were issued remained under the strong influence of Ptolemy. Until approximately 1570, printed maps ignored the firsthand reports of travelers, and instead perpetuated traditional anachronisms.[91]

In addition to their utilitarian value, the travel accounts were entertaining literature. Readers enjoyed stories of dangerous and exciting voyages to far away lands, and were fascinated by accounts of curious and unfamiliar species of man and beast alike. Even as the seventeenth century progressed, many travelers failed

to develop a consistently critical manner of reporting, and testified to the existence of such monstrous and mythical creatures in the New World as amazons, giants, and headless men.[92] The appeal to the reader's taste for adventure and the bizarre was an important element in the popularity of the travel accounts.[93] This vernacular literature appealed more to the curiosity, credulity, and spirit of adventure of the middling elements of the population than it did to the refined and traditional taste of the scholarly elite. Travel accounts, although highly popular with the literate public at large, and most likely read by many scholars, were not one of the dominant currents in contemporary European intellectual life.

The advances in scientific knowledge which occurred in seventeenth-century England were not stimulated by any new facts about man reported by travelers to America. The scientists of the Royal Society were concerned with natural, rather than human phenomena. They were not moved by the increasing accumulation of facts regarding the American Indians, their customs, and manner of living to organize this data systematically, and formulate a scientific system of inquiry regarding human origins and cultural development. The seventeenth-century scientific community was not concerned with serious study of the diverse customs and social life of man.[94]

English travel accounts from the middle of the seventeenth century are generally more detailed and factual, exhibit a greater concern for critical description, and are better organized than similar works of an earlier date.[95] Many English travelers to America thus appeared to have been influenced by the methodology of the contemporary scientific community, as their recorded observations became clearer and more precise. However, the travelers exhibited a much greater concern for the geography and natural history of the New World than for information regarding Indian customs and manner of living. The Royal Society encouraged travelers to keep written accounts of their experiences, and record their observations as objectively as possible; travelers were to report only what they themselves had witnessed, and not allow legend or hearsay to color their descriptions. The Transactions of the Royal Society of 1665 and 1666 contained explicit directions for seamen and travelers which reflected the Society's paramount interest in natural science. The Royal Society urged travelers to keep careful records regarding geography, navigation, climate, celestial phenomena, natural resources and products of diverse regions, as well as flora and fauna.[96]

John Josselyn's account of 1674 of his journey to New England was dedicated, "To the Right Honourable, and Most Illustrious the President & Fellows of the Royal

Society." Josselyn devoted a significant portion of this work to detailed descriptions of the various animals, plants, trees, herbs, and crops native to Massachusetts. This information was presented to the reader in a highly organized and systematic fashion. By contrast, Josselyn devoted approximately only one quarter of his account to a discussion of the Indians of Massachusetts. Here the author abandoned his straightforward manner of reporting, and preferred instead to characterize the native inhabitants in terms of traditional stereotypes. Josselyn described these Indians as, "...very fingurative or theevish...all of them Cannibals, eaters of humane flesh." He said their shamans were nothing other than witches, and totally dismissed any knowledge exhibited by the Indians, "Their learning is very little or none...."[97] Josselyn's scientific classification of the flora and fauna of Massachusetts adhered to the spirit of objective reporting advocated by the Royal Society. It was far more difficult, however, to apply this technique to observations regarding human behavior.

Seventeenth-century English non-travelers who prepared histories of the New World based on the reports of travelers provided their readers with factual and utilitarian data. Detailed information, as well as reflective commentaries regarding the American natives were generally absent from their accounts. Peter Heylyn's

two popular works, Cosmographie and Microcosmus, were devoted to a study of the entire world, and included information about America. Microcosmus, first published in 1621 and issued in seven editions by 1636, provided only brief, capsule descriptions of the American Indians, focusing primarily on the native societies of what is now Mexico and Peru. Heylyn was mainly interested in reporting the history of these more advanced Indian cultures, but his comments did not go beyond the narrative of events.[98] Heylyn's later work, Cosmographie, was published in 1652, and was issued in six editions by 1673. Here Heylyn allotted a greater amount of space to a discussion of the New World, yet his treatment of the American Indian remained concise and devoid of reflective commentary. The author exhibited a much greater interest in the geography and natural history of the New World than in the native inhabitants. Heylyn devoted considerable space to narrating the history of discovery of each region as well; Spanish activities in the New World received special attention. The author discussed how the lives and culture of the American Indians were altered by their contacts with European civilization, but Heylyn's descriptions of native life did not go beyond general and superficial reporting.[99]

The royal cosmographer, John Ogilby, writing in 1671, provided a lengthy volume devoted exclusively to

the history of the New World.[100] Ogilby's account contained considerable information on the customs, manner of living, and histories of various Indian societies. He focused primarily on those tribes situated in the coastal regions of the present day United States, the site of English colonial activity in the New World. Ogilby drew careful distinctions between the various Indians he was describing, and provided the reader with factual, specific descriptions of many native customs and activities. The author generally refrained from offering any personal commentaries or reflections concerning this information. At the outset of his work, Ogilby gave credit to the travel writers from whom he drew his information. Ogilby, however, seemed more interested in the activities of Europeans in the New World than in the lives of the Indians. He summarized the history of discovery and settlement of those nations involved in overseas colonial ventures. In addition, Ogilby reported much utilitarian information pertaining to American natural history and geography.

Robert Boyle urged travelers to extend their scientific observations to cultural, as well as natural phenomena. The Transactions of the Royal Society of 1666 included Boyle's instructions to travelers. Boyle stressed the importance of observing such elements as climates and natural resources, but he also encouraged travelers to take note of the following aspects regarding

the native inhabitants: stature, strength, skin color, facial features, hair, complexion, diet, health, and fertility, along with natural inclinations and customs.[101] Boyle himself displayed no ostensible interest in scientifically studying or writing about the culture of foreign peoples. He was very much interested in the American Indian, but his concern here was not a scientific or scholarly one, but a moral and religious one. Boyle shared the opinion of the majority of his contemporaries that it was the duty of the English to convert and civilize, or really Anglicize, the native of the New World. In 1662, Boyle assumed the governorship of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent in America.[102] Boyle, along with other members of the Royal Society, was in close contact with English colonists in New England. The Royal Society advocated the profitable exploitation of the natural resources of the New World, and regarded the native inhabitants as one such important resource. The members of the Society hoped that when the Indian was converted to Christianity, he would abandon what they interpreted as his traditional idleness, and adopt a more productive way of life. They also believed that Christian teachings would lead the Indian to forsake his "superstitious" beliefs. This would contribute to the decline of erroneous and foolish notions regarding the workings of nature, an important

goal of the Royal Society.[103] Boyle's concern for the salvation of the Indians was apparently an intense and sincere one, as in his will, he provided that a sum of money be invested in a manor, and the ensuing rents and other income were to be utilized to further the education of the American natives.[104]

The American Indian was a subject for European visual artists of the early modern period. Albrecht Dürer included a drawing of an Indian as one of the illustrations he used to decorate the margins of a Book of Hours prepared for the Emperor Maximilian I in 1515. Dürer's model was a Tupinamba of Brazil--a number of these Indians had been brought back to Europe as souvenirs of voyages made to the New World. Dürer provided a realistic portrayal of native dress and decoration, but the facial features of this figure were decidedly European.[105]

Few painters and engravers depicted the Indian and his habitat realistically. Instead, the Americans were artistically idealized so as to resemble the classical figures which served as the models for Renaissance art. This artistic image of the Indian was usually set against a typical Mediterranean landscape or other European scene, rather than a background resembling the New World.[106] The literary idealization of the American native,

expressed by comparisons of the Indian to various peoples of classical antiquity, or to life in the Golden Age, thus had a strong visual counterpart.

Not all artistic representations of the Indian were favorable. Negative stereotypes formed in art as well as in literature, and certain stock characteristics were continually used in portrayals of the Indian. Throughout the sixteenth century, the woodcuts which illustrated printed accounts of the New World emphasized and exaggerated the nakedness and cannibalism of the Americans. This was especially true of the popular sixteenth-century account of Hans Staden, who described his capture by the cannibalistic Tupinambas of Brazil. Headdresses of feathers also came to signal that the subject was an American Indian, even though his facial features and stature were that of a European.[107]

In the second half of the sixteenth century, two Europeans who traveled to the New World portrayed the natives with an unusual degree of realism. Jacques Le Moyne accompanied the French Huguenot expedition to Florida, and recorded his observations in highly representational sketches and paintings. The Englishman, John White, similarly portrayed the natives of the Virginia and Carolina regions very realistically in his drawings and watercolors. These artists did not limit their subject matter to the Indian's person, but also provided

artistic renditions of many native customs, rites, and daily routines. The work of Le Moyne and White did not, however, reach a contemporary European audience in its original form. Their drawings and paintings circulated in the thirteen volume compilation of travel literature issued at Frankfurt in 1590 by the Flemish printer, Theodore De Bry.De Bry "improved" the material of Le Moyne and White by altering the Indians' facial features, body proportions, stances, and gestures. The engravings of the native Americans that illustrated De Bry's Grands Voyages perpetuated the artistic image of the Indian as a classical figure resembling the ancient Greeks.[108]

A few seventeenth-century artistic representations of the American Indian depicted the native's physiognomy and person, as well as his ornaments, utensils, weapons, and environment, with a greater degree of realism. The work of the Dutchman, Albert Eckhout, is especially noteworthy in this regard. Eckhout traveled to Brazil in the middle of the seventeenth century under the employ of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen, who served as Dutch colonial governor of Brazil during the period 1638 to 1644. Maurits brought European artists and scientists to the New World to record America's natural history. Eckhout depicted many of the fruits and vegetables native to Brazil in large and detailed paintings. He also studied the Tapuya Indians of that region, and

recorded his observations in a series of life-size portraits noted for their attention to detail and accuracy. Eckhout posed the Indians in their native habitat, which he depicted realistically as well. This artist was also attentive to the increasing segment of the population of Brazil which consisted of persons of mixed origin, offsprings of unions of Europeans and Indians, or Africans and Indians, and he provided artistic renditions of these people as well.[109]

But for the majority of late sixteenth and seventeenth-century European artists, the American Indian was not a subject for realistic study, but rather came to serve as a standard, allegorical representation, or personification of the New World. This figure often decorated the margins of maps, and the title pages of travel books. The allegorical representation of America also constituted a portion of the paintings and engravings designed to represent the four continents of the world, a popular contemporary artistic format. The Indian utilized to represent America was generally a nude female, who wore a feather headdress, was often seated on a large reptile, carried a bow, and was frequently accompanied by a parrot. Signs of cannibalism, such as a human limb or head, as well as indications of abundant gold, were also part of these allegorical representations of America. The goal was to arrive at one standard figure which incorporated many of

the prominent characteristics which Europeans associated with the New World. These figures were a popular form of festival and architectural decoration, and also ornamented such items as pottery, tankards, and playing cards.[110]

From the time of the very earliest voyages to the New World, American Indians were taken back to Europe as living souvenirs. These Indians were presented at court to the ruling monarchs as proof that the explorers had actually reached the lands to which they had been commissioned to sail. In addition, these natives were valued as potential guides on future expeditions.[111] The American Indian in Europe formed a part of the contemporary cultural scene, on both a sophisticated and a popular level. Indian rulers who arrived in Europe were often received at court, where banquets and pageants were held in their honor. European monarchs frequently commissioned portraits of these unique visitors. Indians in Europe generated much popular excitement as well. American natives were regarded as striking curiosities, and the public was eager to get a glimpse of them. Public exhibitions and processions were presented in order to put the Indians on display.[112]

The Indian was a popular figure in contemporary court masques and ballets. In these cases, real Indians did not participate, but rather actors dressed in Indian costume. Realistic portrayals of the American natives

were not valued for such presentations. The figure of the Indian was included to lend a decorative and exotic flavor. The actors appeared in extravagant feathered costumes and headdresses which bore little resemblance to the actual dress of the inhabitants of the New World.[113]

The first native Americans to arrive in England were Eskimos who were presented to Henry VII in 1501. Indians from Brazil were received at the court of Henry VIII, who regarded one of the native rulers most favorably. A splendid reception was accorded Pocahontas, who arrived in England from Virginia in 1616. Pocahontas was received at the court of James I as an Indian "princess." Her portrait was officially commissioned, and crowds thronged to see her.[114]

A spectacular festival was held at Rouen in 1550 in honor of Henri II. One central motif of this event was a representation of a scene from Brazil. Approximately fifty real natives participated, along with about 250 Frenchmen dressed as Indians. A life-size replica of a Brazilian village was constructed for this pageant. The "Indians" staged a mock battle for the enjoyment of the guests. American Indians, both real and representational, participated in pageants and festivals for the entertainment of French monarchs and the accompanying public crowds in 1554 at Troyes, and 1565 at Bordeaux; similar events occurred in Paris throughout the seventeenth century.[115]

The American Indian entered the consciousness of contemporary Europeans on a variety of levels. Many prominent artists, poets, dramatists, essayists, and philosophers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries incorporated various images of the natives of America into their work. European interest in the Indian would intensify during the eighteenth century, as scholars debated the nature of all life in the New World.[116]

The influence of the American Indian on the thought of the majority of prominent European intellectuals should not be exaggerated. Poets and philosophers of the day generally drew their primary inspiration from more dominant trends in contemporary intellectual life, along with classical influences, and their own insights and reflections. However, the information reported by the travelers to the New World did have an impact among scholars and intellectuals of the early modern era. In spite of the difficulties involved in the European intellectual assimilation of the New World, the literate public was aware of the existence of America and the Indians by at least the second half of the sixteenth century. The American Indian entered the thought and imagination of many contemporary thinkers. The attitude towards the Indian was often Europocentric--writers selected those descriptions from the travel literature which supported

theories regarding the nature of man and society, thereby invoking images of the Indian as illustrative examples to further highlight their own ideas.

The evidence contained in the travel accounts--and to reiterate once again, contemporaries regarded this material as factual, eyewitness information--encouraged other scholars to ask new questions regarding traditional institutions and beliefs. There was great interest in the problem of the origin of the American Indian, and here the discovery of the New World and its native inhabitants stimulated a number of contemporaries to re-examine traditional Biblical concepts regarding early human history and the chronology of the world. The travelers also provided Europeans with an awareness of the great diversity of human customs and practices throughout the world. Rationalist and skeptical philosophers seized upon this information as added evidence which they utilized in their critiques of contemporary European society. The detailed portrayal of the Indian's manner of living reported by many travelers contributed to the formulation of important ideas concerning the relativity of the institutions, values, and customs of all human societies. Images of the American Indian contained in the travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

encouraged the more reflective arm-chair travelers to weigh the relative merits of savage and civilized life, and to ponder the relationship of European man to his more primitive counterpart.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Geoffroy Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Française (Geneva, 1935; rpt. 1969), throughout stresses that contemporaries regarded the travel literature as factual; few readers questioned the credibility of the travelers.

[2]J.H. Elliott, The Old World and the New, 1492-1650 (Cambridge, 1970); "The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man," Proceedings of the British Academy 58 (1972):102f.; and "Renaissance Europe and America: A Blunted Impact," in Fredi Chiappelli, ed., First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1976), 1:11ff.; discusses the "blunted impact" of the New World on the Old. Elliott asserts that information which the travelers reported about the New World and its native inhabitants was, to a large degree, unassimilated by many prominent sixteenth-century scholars. See also Edmundo O'Gorman, The Invention of America. An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of its History (Bloomington, 1961); G.V. Scammell, "The New Worlds and Europe in the Sixteenth Century," Historical Journal 12 (1969):389ff.; and G.K. Hunter, "Elizabethans and Foreigners," Shakespeare Survey 17 (1964):40.

[3]Atkinson, 11f.

[4]Rosario Romeo, "The Jesuit Sources and the Italian Political Utopia in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," in Chiappelli, 1:178ff.

[5]Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indian (Bloomington, 1959), provides detailed discussion of the debate in sixteenth-century Spain on the nature of the American Indian.

[6]Etienne Grisel, "The Beginnings of International Law and General Public Law Doctrine: Francisco de Vitoria's De Indiis Prior," in Chiappelli, 1:305ff.

[7]Ibid., 307ff.

[8]For a discussion of the economic and demographic structures of the various colonies in the New World, see Gary B. Nash, Red, White and Black. The People of Early America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974).

[9]Robert Ralston Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama (Boston, 1938), 278ff.

[10]Ibid., 278ff.

[11]Arthur J. Slavin, "The American Principle from More to Locke," in Chiappelli, 1:142ff.

[12]Ibid.; and Paul A. Jorgensen, "Shakespeare's Brave New World," in Chiappelli, 1:85f.

[13]Cawley, Unpathed Waters. Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature (Princeton, 1940), 242ff.

[14]Atkinson, 313ff.; and Gilbert Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain dans la Littérature Française au XVI[e] Siècle (Paris, 1911; rpt. Geneva, 1970), 111ff.

[15]Chinard, 115ff.; and Elizabeth Armstrong, Ronsard and the Age of Gold (Cambridge, 1968), 138.

[16]Armstrong, 17ff., 27f., 140; Chinard, 117ff.; and Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (Bloomington, 1969), 73f. See also Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land. European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time (New York, 1975), 65f.

[17]Atkinson, 325, 340, warns the reader against exaggerating the importance of geographic literature for Montaigne; in any event, Asia was of more interest to him than America. Frank Kermode asserts that there was nothing fundamental to Shakespeare's The Tempest that could not have been derived from sources other than the reports of travelers to America. See Jorgensen, 86.

[18]For citations from Montaigne, see above, chapter 6.

[19]Honour, 66; Jorgensen, 87; Levin, 121ff.; A.L. Rowse, The Elizabethans and America (London, 1959), 197ff.; Sidney Lee, "The American Indian in Elizabethan England," in Frederick S. Boas, ed., Elizabethan and Other Essays (Oxford, 1929; rpt. New York, 1968), 293ff.; E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York, n.d.), 34f.; and Thomas Hahn, "Indians East and West: Primitivism and Savagery in English Discovery Narratives of the

Sixteenth Century," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 8 (1978):109f.

[20]See above, chapter 6.

[21]Scammell, 392ff.; Levin, 77f.; Elliott, The Old World and the New, 25f.; and Benjamin Keen, The Aztec Image in Western Thought (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971).

[22]Armstrong, 129ff.; Chinard, 193; George Boas, The Happy Beast in French Thought of the Seventeenth Century (1933; rpt. New York, 1966), 9ff.; and Joseph R. DeLutri, "Montaigne on the Noble Savage: A Shift in Perspective," French Review 49 (1975):206ff.

[23]Michel de Montaigne, Essais, ed. Maurice Rat, 2 vols. (Paris, 1962), 1:234.

[24]Ibid., 2:340ff.

[25]Levin, 80; and Keen, 158. Montaigne's relativism is discussed by Chinard, 217; and Atkinson, 400ff.

[26]Atkinson, 266f.

[27]Amy Glassner Gordon,"The Impact of the Discoveries on Sixteenth-Century French Cosmographical and Historical Thought" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974).

[28]François de Belleforest, L'Histoire Universelle du Monde (Paris, 1570), 245ff.

[29]Ibid., "Preface," n.p. See also Gordon, 105ff.

[30]Gordon, 146ff.; and Atkinson, 22, 323f., 346ff., 405f., 409ff.

[31]Atkinson, 372, 374.

[32]Elliott, "The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man"; and Margaret T. Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia, 1964).

[33]Richard H. Popkin, "The Pre-Adamite Theory in the Renaissance," in Edward P. Mahoney, ed., Philosophy and Humanism (Leiden, 1976), 64.

[34]Atkinson, 326f.; and Hanke, "The Theological Significance of the Discovery of America," in Chiappelli, 1:363.

[35]Arnold Williams, The Common Expositor. An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527-1633 (North Carolina, 1948).

[36]Popkin, 60. The Aztec calendar stone was hidden after Spain's conquest of Mexico, and then uncovered by the Spanish in 1551. Ecclesiastical officials had the stone buried in 1558, and it was not found again until 1790.

[37]Hugo Grotius, On the Origin of the Native Races of America, trans. Edmund Goldsmid (Edinburgh, 1884).

[38]See Lee Eldridge Huddleston, Origins of the American Indians. European Concepts, 1492-1729 (Austin, Texas, 1967).

[39]Ibid., 118ff. See also above, chapter 5 for discussion of contemporary debate on the origin of the American Indians.

[40]Don Cameron Allen, The Legend of Noah. Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science and Letters (Urbana, 1963), 66, 113ff.

[41]Huddleston, 138.

[42]Paul Hazard, The European Mind, 1680-1715, trans. J. Lewis May (Paris, 1935; London, 1953), 139ff., 180ff.

[43]Ibid., 442ff.; and Allen.

[44]Popkin, 56.

[45]Ibid., 50; and David R. McKee, "Isaac de La Peyrère, A Precursor of Eighteenth-Century Critical Deists," Publications of the Modern Language Association 59 (1944):470f. McKee attests to the similarity of many of La Peyrère's themes and those of Spinoza, but says one cannot be certain if Spinoza read La Peyrère. La Peyrère's influence on the English deists, Thomas Burnet and Charles Blount, appears more definite. See McKee, 463ff.

[46]Popkin, 64ff.; and McKee, 456ff.

[47]Popkin, 64ff.; and McKee, 456ff.

[48]Isaac de La Peyrère, Relation du Groenland (Paris, 1663), 52, 134, 273f., 276.

[49]The link between seventeenth-century French travel accounts and the ideas of contemporary social critics and philosophers is strongly argued by Atkinson in his Les Relations de Voyages du XVII[e] Siècle et L'Evolution des Idées (Paris, 1924; rpt. Geneva, 1972). See especially 22f.

[50]Ibid., 12, 16, 128; and Atkinson, The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature Before 1700 (New York, 1920; rpt. 1969).

[51]Chinard, L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII[e] et au XVIII[e] Siècle (Paris, 1934), 218f.

[52]Atkinson, The Extraordinary Voyage, 148f.

[53]Ibid., 87ff.

[54]Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages, 11, 169ff., 178ff.; and Hazard, 3ff.

[55]Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages, 191ff.; and Hazard, 10f.

[56]Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages, 63ff.

[57]Chinard, L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique, 121, 140ff.; J.H. Kennedy, Jesuit and Savage in New France (New Haven, 1950), 182ff.; and George R. Healy, "The French Jesuits and the Idea of the Noble Savage," William and Mary Quarterly 15 (1958):143ff. Healy maintains that the philosophes, "...delighted in the employment of Jesuit sources for anti-Catholic purposes..."; the references were usually taken out of context.

[58]Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages, 156ff.; and Hazard, 252ff.

[59]Healy, 145.

[60]Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages, 110ff., 128ff. See also chapters 3 and 4 above.

[61]Ibid., 191ff.; and Hazard, 10f.

[62]Joseph Sabin, Bibliotheca Americana. A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, 29 vols. (Amsterdam, 1961-62), 1:2; 6:40; 10:226f., 231f.; 17:426; 18:235; 29:257.

[63]Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages, 82ff.; and Hazard, 20.

[64]Atkinson, Les Relations de Voyages, 123ff.

[65]Hazard throughout discusses the primacy of rationality for philosophers of the period 1680-1715. Sepculations regarding the role of nature and instinct were present as an undercurrent to the mainstream of contemporary thought. See 393ff. Arthur O. Lovejoy, Reflections on Human Nature (Baltimore, 1961), discusses the opposition set up by many late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century satirists between reason and the intellect on the one hand, and nature and instinct on the other. These writers satirized the contemporary emphasis on reason, and criticized excessive intellectuality for placing man out of harmony with nature by leading to vanity, pride, ambition, and artificial desire.

[66]The American Indian was called on by various seventeenth and eighteenth-century philosophers to support differing, and often highly divergent views of the natural condition of man. See Honour, 118f.; and Hoxie Neale Fairchild, The Noble Savage. A Study in Romantic Naturalism (New York, 1928; rpt. 1961), 23f.

[67]This study is generally limited to a discussion of sixteenth and seventeenth-century material, but Rousseau is included as a chronological exception, as many elements of his thought appear so closely related to ideas expressed in seventeenth-century French travel literature.

[68]G. Pire, "Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les Relations de Voyages," Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France 56 (1956):355ff. The contribution of French travel accounts to the formulation of Rousseau's ideas is continually stressed in Chinard's two works.

[69]Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, Histoire Generale des Antilles Habitées par les François, 4 vols. (Paris, 1667), 2:357.

[70]Quoted in Pire, 376.

[71]See above, chapter 4.

[72]Pire, 362ff.

[73]Slavin, 150ff.

[74]Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, ed. Herbert W. Schneider (Indianapolis, 1958), 108.

[75]Slavin, 150ff.; and Richard Aschcraft, "Leviathan Triumphant: Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Wild Men," in Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak, eds., The Wild Man Within. An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism (Pittsburgh, 1972), 141ff.

[76]Aschcraft, 147.

[77]Ibid., 147.

[78]See above, chapter 4.

[79]Aschcraft, 161; and Honour, 118.

[80]Rowse, 200.

[81]John Locke, Two Treatises of Government, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge, 1960; rpt. New York, 1963), "Appendix B," 148ff.

[82]Hazard, 288f.; and R.W. Frantz, The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732 (Nebraska, 1932), 145ff.

[83]Locke, 343, 379, 381, 383. See also Frantz, 158; and Hazard, 277.

[84]Locke, 382n, 384n. The information in the notes is supplied by Laslett.

[85]See above, chapter 4.

[86]Locke, 328.

[87]See Slavin's discussion, 152ff., on the importance of property for Locke.

[88]Frantz, 157.

[89]See above, chapter 4.

[90]Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithaca, 1958), 508ff., 524ff.

[91]Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620 (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 241ff., discusses the general failure of the sixteenth-century academic establishment to absorb the new geographic information obtained by actual navigators.

[92]See above, chapter 2, for a discussion of the persistence of credulity among the travelers, largely due to the tenacity of popular medieval legends.

[93]Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons, xvi, xix, 4, 14, 51, 74f., 102, 301.

[94]Anthropology did not truly emerge as a scientific discipline until the nineteenth century. See Wayland D. Hand, "The Effect of the Discovery on Ethnological and Folklore Studies in Europe," in Chiappelli, 1:45f. See also Hodgen, 188f.

[95]See above, chapter 2.

[96]Frantz, 15ff.

[97]John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England (London, 1674), 125, 134f.

[98]Peter Heylyn, Microcosmus, Or a Little Description of the Great World (Oxford, 1621), 400ff. Bibliographical information appears in Sabin, 8:260f.

[99]Heylyn, Cosmographie (London, 1652), 1011ff. See Sabin, 8:260f., for publishing history.

[100]John Ogilby, America: Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World (London, 1671).

[101]Frantz, 23.

[102]Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier. Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675 (Boston, 1965), 275.

[103]J.R. Jacob, "The New England Company, The Royal Society and the Indians," Social Studies of Science 5 (1975):450ff.

[104]W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., "Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia," Journal of Southern History 18 (1952):162.

[105]Honour, 13.

[106]Howard Mumford Jones, O Strange New World. American Culture: The Formative Years (New York, 1964), 27ff.

[107]Honour, 12ff., 75ff.

[108]Ibid., 68ff. See also Jones, 32; and Carl O. Sauer, Sixteenth-Century North America. The Land and the People as Seen by the Europeans (Berkeley, 1971), 206f.

[109]Honour, 48, 79ff.

[110]Ibid., 84ff.

[111]Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Indians Abroad, 1493-1938 (Oklahoma, 1943).

[112]Ibid., 22ff.; and Lee, 266ff.

[113]Honour, 94f.; and Suzanne Boorsch, "America in Festival Presentations," in Chiappelli, 1:503ff.

[114]Foreman, 22ff.; and Lee, 266ff.

[115]Cornelius J. Jaenen, Friend and Foe. Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York, 1976), 14f.

[116]The place of the American Indian in eighteenth-century thought has been examined by Antonello Gerbi, The Dispute of the New World. The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900, rev. ed. and trans. Jeremy Moyle (Pittsburgh, 1973). See also the recent collection of essays published in honor of the American bicentennial, L'Amérique des Lumières (Geneva, 1977), which discusses images of America in the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Chateaubriand, and in the Encyclopédie.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The image of the American Indian contained in French and English travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is far from monolithic. The Indian alternately appeared as either a virtuous and contented child of nature, or a fierce and treacherous servant of Satan. Yet this contrasting duality alone belies the full richness of the travel literature. Europeans have been faulted for stereotyping the Indian, but one must avoid stereotyping the European response to the natives of the New World. European images of the American Indian were varied and complex.

The travelers' observations concerning native life in the New World were colored by legends and stereotypes regarding primitive or savage life which were deep-seated in European culture. European images of the Indian expressed the hopes and ideals, fears and anxieties of the Old World. However, the travel accounts should not be regarded merely as a collection of European conceptions and prejudices. What strikes the modern reader most is the sheer quantity of information which the travelers

reported. Many of the descriptions of Amerindian life and society are highly detailed, and were recorded in a straightforward manner. The travel accounts can make a valuable contribution to the history of the American Indians at the time of first contact with Europeans, and should not be summarily dismissed by modern scholars who expect to find only moralizing diatribes. Ethnohistorians skilled in the theories and methodologies of anthropology and archaeology can gain added knowledge of Amerindian society and culture by critically evaluating the written historical sources provided by the first literate travelers to the New World.

European perceptions of the Indian were dynamic, not static, and underwent significant changes over time. More modern attitudes of racial prejudice and unmitigated hostility on the part of the White man towards the Indian must not be unalterably projected as far backwards in time as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Europeans initially regarded the American Indians as men like themselves, and perceived no innate racial differences separating the two peoples. This conception would drastically change by the eighteenth century, after early hopes of converting and civilizing the Indians met largely with failure. Europeans would come to regard the natives' unwillingness to adopt Christianity and "civilization" as a sign of their hopeless debasement and innate inferiority. Growing

European colonial presence in the New World spawned increased hostility between White man and Indian.

It is doubtful whether earlier, favorable European attitudes towards the Amerindians had an impact beyond the realm of intellectual history. The relationship between image and reality, ideas and actions, is often only a distant one. Positive and idyllic images of the Indian in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had little effect on colonial administrators, and did not promote more humane treatment of the American natives. The views of travelers to the New World who returned to the Old, and the assessments of arm-chair travelers who never left Europe, were often quite different than the attitudes and practices of those settlers who made their permanent homes in America, and had to deal with the Indian on a daily basis.

The staunchest defense of the Indians' rights and humanity was argued in sixteenth-century Spain, yet Spain was perhaps the harshest colonial oppressor of the native Americans. Frenchmen lauded the natural life of the Indians, but the ultimate result of French-Indian contact in the New World was the total disruption, and eventual destruction of the traditional native way of life. The strong idealization of primitive life expressed in French travel accounts was predicated upon a complete distortion and gross oversimplification of Indian life.

Even while expressing compassionate attitudes towards the Indians, the Europeans lacked respect for the integrity of native societies and cultures--their efforts were all directed at Christianizing, and thus Europeanizing the Indians.

European images of the American Indian, though not always an accurate reflection of native life in the New World, mirror many of the values and standards of contemporary European society. Comparative study of French and English travel accounts has revealed consistently different national and religious attitudes towards the Indian, as well as divergent views of the nature of man, civilization, and primitive life. Puritan concepts regarding the debased nature of man, and his inability to redeem himself from sin, militated against a positive attitude towards the natives of the New World. If dutifully carried out hard work was a sign of divine election, then the Indians appeared to the Puritans as helplessly doomed creatures of Satan, since the Puritans regarded the natives as lazy and idle.

Contempt for Amerindian society and culture was not limited to Puritans, however. All English travel writers disdained the Indian's manner of living. Earlier contact with the Irish largely prejudiced English opinion against less developed peoples. The central element of English contempt for the Indian, and the Irish as well,

appears to be that both these people did not live, nor want to live, in the English manner. The concept of national character is indeed a nebulous one, often easy to sense, but difficult to document. If one were willing to grant that an English national character exists, a key element of this personality would be a strong contempt for foreigners, and a deep conviction regarding the absolute superiority of English civilization. This attitude is clearly discernible in the image of the American Indian contained in English travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. According to the English, without civilization, and the order it imposed, the life of man, whether Indian, Irish, or English, was no better than that of the beasts.

French travelers, on the other hand, questioned whether European civilization was essential to man's well-being. According to the French portrayal of the American Indian, man was capable of naturally attaining a good, virtuous, reasonable, and harmonious life. French idealization of primitive, or savage life was shared by Spanish and Italian writers in the first half of the sixteenth century. Here it is possible to speak of a common Latin temperament, a more relaxed attitude towards life and work which may have prompted the idealization of a simple existence, devoid of restrictions

and anxieties, as early French, Spanish, and Italian commentators characterized the life of the American Indian.

The attitudes and policies of Catholicism were of great importance in the formulation of positive views of the Indian's nature in Latin countries. A universal institution, the Catholic Church was willing to permit the retention, and even the incorporation of native customs of diverse societies throughout the world, as long as these practices did not contradict or conflict with Catholic ritual and belief. Catholic conceptions of salvation and redemption from sin included a much broader segment of the population than those of Protestants. Salvation was not limited to the literate or the elect, but was attainable by anyone willing to follow the prescribed rituals in good faith, even including the American Indians. A more compassionate view of human nature, and a greater optimism regarding all mankind's potential to receive divine grace, contributed to a more sympathetic view of the American Indian in Catholic countries.

However, the humane and positive view of the natives did not survive the Counter Reformation in Italy and Spain. Only in France did the idealization of the primitive life of the Amerindians continue unabated through the seventeenth century. The harsher attitudes and narrowing of outlook which characterized the Counter

Reformation in Italy and Spain had less of an impact on intellectual life in France, where missionaries continued to extoll the natural virtues of the pagan Indian.

Thus, French and English portrayals of the American Indian reveal as much about contemporary Europeans as they do about the New World natives. Europeans did not see the Indian as he actually was, but rather created images of the native which conformed to various Old World notions of primitive, or savage life. French and English travelers recorded much detailed information about native life which contradicted traditional stereotypes, but for Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the image of the American Indian was of greater significance than the reality of native life in the New World.

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