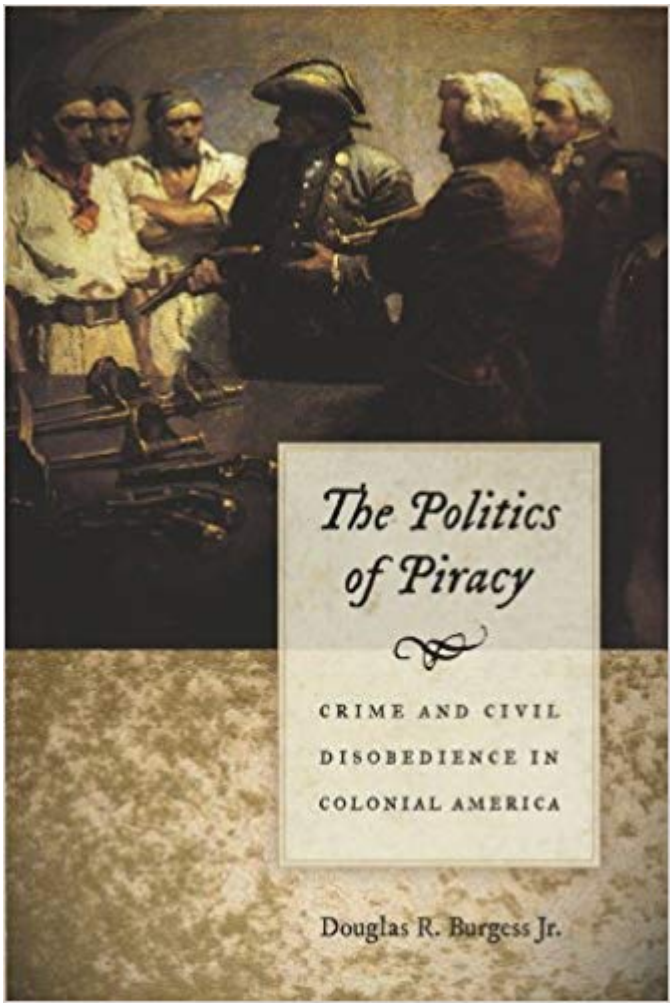
Pirates and Governors



Douglas R. Burgess Jr., *The Politics of Piracy: Crime and Civil Disobedience in Colonial America*. ForEdge Press, 2014. 308 pp., $35.

Swashbucklers, rogues, and scoundrels—the legacy of early modern sea rovers in popular culture has made piracy basically synonymous with villainy. Historian Douglas R. Burgess Jr., however, dusts off pirates' tarnished reputations to make a much larger point about the nature of colonial legalities and imperial criminality in his new book. Spanning the end of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, *The Politics of Piracy* argues that American governors' collusion with pirates represented a rupture in the legal and political relationship between England and its colonies. Pirates actively participated in the negotiation of Crown law and influenced the development of an American legal system distinct from that of England. By examining the reception of anti-piracy legislation in the colonies, Burgess reveals an English state too weak to stamp out piracy and a colonial system profiting heavily from the illicit activities of those same mariners. In fact, in Burgess's telling, it was not until the popular perception of pirates in the

colonies changed—due to the closing of the Red Sea as a hunting ground and their depredations occurring much closer to home—that the "war against pirates" experienced any success. This is Atlantic world history at its best and in the end, Burgess assembles an innovative and provocative take on the economic, political, social, and legal formation of England's American colonies.

> If England defined pirates as outside of the law, but colonial administrators refused to see them as such, what did that mean for the creation of an English state that spanned the Atlantic?

First and foremost Burgess's monograph uses piracy as a lens into the ways in which England and the colonies understood and enacted notions of law and authority. Nearly forty years ago, historian Charles Tilly argued that the act of defining criminal behavior served as a cornerstone in the construction of states. Taken further, Michel Foucault presented the destabilizing theory that states functioned more as fluctuating relationships of power than as things in and of themselves. Applying this theoretical framework for understanding the formation of states, Burgess argues that, "in a very real way, the creation of piracy law in the early modern period was an expression of state formation" (4). In a sense pirates—as much as any other type of criminal—served as vectors for the creation of law and therefore for the extension of a state apparatus. This argument is key for Burgess's narrative because England's efforts to root out piracy in the colonies failed so miserably. If England defined pirates as outside of the law, but colonial administrators refused to see them as such, what did that mean for the creation of an English state that spanned the Atlantic? For Burgess, the inability of officials at Whitehall to enforce their will regarding piracy led to colonial subjects themselves creating their own definitions of legality and illegality—definitions often at odds with their metropolitan counterparts.

The center of Burgess's book revolves around the sensationalized act of piracy of Captain Henry Every and his crew. Unlike the trial and execution of William Kidd, Burgess focuses on the Every scandal because it was such a spectacular fiasco for the English state. As Burgess explains, Henry Every and the piratical voyage of the *Fancy* in 1696 precipitated a diplomatic crisis of unprecedented proportions. Every and his crew sailed into the Red Sea and seized one of Emperor Aurangzeb's ships on its way to Mecca. The seizure and abuse of passengers on the ship led to rioting in port cities of the Mughal Empire and the near-destruction of several trading outpost of the English East India Company. In order to keep their outposts safe and continue trading, East India Company representatives assured the great mughal that Every and his crew would be captured and executed for their crimes. What those representatives could not have realized was how difficult such a proposition would be for a jurisdictionally complex English state with a popular affinity for glamorizing acts of piracy.

Despite the assurances of East India Company officials, the majority of Every's crew found refuge in the colonies from American governors, who looked the other way in return for a share of the mughal's wealth. In the end, the English state apprehended only six of Every's crew, who would serve as proxies in an act of political theater meant to demonstrate to the world that England was not a nation of pirates. However, when put in front of a jury of twelve of their peers at the Old Bailey, all six men were acquitted. Worse, during the course of the pirates' testimonies, it became clear how deeply entrenched colonial officials' complicity with piracy ran—so much so that Captain Every himself was sheltered by a colonial official charged with rooting out piracy, Governor Nicholas Trott of the Bahamas. In a hasty attempt to repair the damage done by the failed trial, the English state tried the six men for the original mutiny on the Red Sea. Although the second trial ended in a conviction, Burgess explains that it "also came up short in providing the proper 'story' of piracy" that English officials wanted (77).

Anglo-America felt the reverberations of the Every scandal almost immediately. The Board of Trade established Vice Admiralty Courts in the colonies, encouraged colonial governors to renounce pirates sheltered in their territories, and considered a Resumption Bill that would have revoked colonial charters and redrawn the administrative maps of the colonies. This narrative of a reinvigorated English state exerting administrative authority over wayward colonies, however, should not come as a surprise to students of early American history. And yet, the Resumption Bill failed to pass, trials of pirates in the Vice Admiralty Courts remained few and far between, and Every's Red Sea exploits sparked a frenzy of American pirates trying to repeat his success—many of them financed by colonial governors. By examining the repercussions of the Every scandal in the colonies, Burgess argues that by the early decades of the eighteenth century, two distinct legal systems had emerged between Crown and colonies, systems that would continually clash over the issue of piracy. In fact, Burgess argues that England's "war on pirates" succeeded only in securing Red Sea ships from attack, leading many Anglo-America sea rovers to seek out colonial shipping in Atlantic waters. It was, for Burgess, the Atlantic depredations of previously protected pirates that moved colonial governors to get on board with England's anti-piracy measures by the 1730s.

What makes *The Politics of Piracy* so interesting is the way in which Burgess counters older treatments of the "war on pirates," which tended to see the turn of the eighteenth century as a moment of English state power being used to rein in illicit maritime exploits. Unlike previous histories of this moment, Burgess looks not just at imperial policy but also at the reception of those policies across the Atlantic, thereby exposing what he sees as the weakness of the English state. In this way Burgess uses many of the same colonial office and public record papers as the books he argues against in order to tell a dramatically different story. However, while he aptly demonstrates that colonial governors largely ignored the anti-piracy measures of the English state, Burgess's treatment of the Anglo-American colonies could have benefitted from a more hemispheric perspective. By focusing on their responses to the

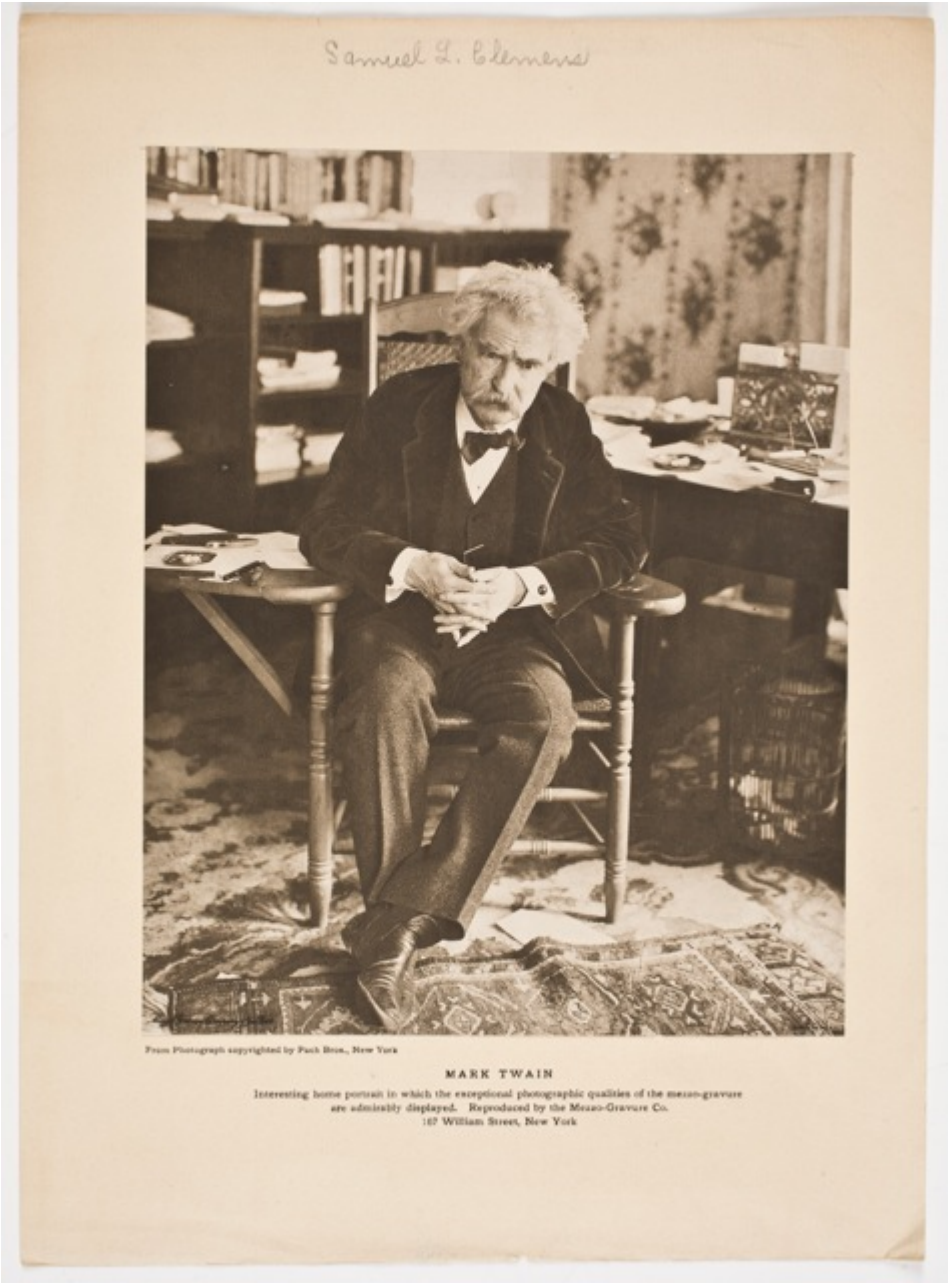
policies of the English state, Burgess produced a static and one-sided account of colonial governors in a period when trade relations throughout the Americas put many of England's colonies on the wrong side of the law. Burgess's narrative covers an era in which many Anglo-American smugglers and pirates developed illicit commercial relationships with Spain's colonial possessions—dealings that irked the newly founded South Sea Company as much as Spanish officials in Madrid. Spanish and English officials alike labeled many of these smugglers pirates despite being respected merchants in their ports of call. In a way, the development of inter-imperial smuggling in this period meshes remarkably well with Burgess's overall argument regarding the development of two distinct legal systems, yet Spanish American trade receives no attention and Burgess conflates acts of inter-imperial smuggling with his loosely defined concept of piracy.

As with many books worth reading, *The Politics of Piracy* raises some fundamental questions that are not all answered within its pages. Perhaps the one worth chewing on is the question of the word "piracy" itself. While Burgess explains the creation of a distinct colonial legal system, his use of "piracy" seems to privilege the metropolitan definition of legality and illegality. If colonial governors understood acts of maritime violence abroad as legally acceptable, does calling them "pirates" contradict the notion of a legitimate and distinct colonial understanding of legality? What else could they be called? It is a tribute to Burgess's provocative work that such questions can be asked and, hopefully, answered in future scholarship.

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Poems



Mark Twain’s Hank Morgan speaks in Lucy Biederman’s poetry.

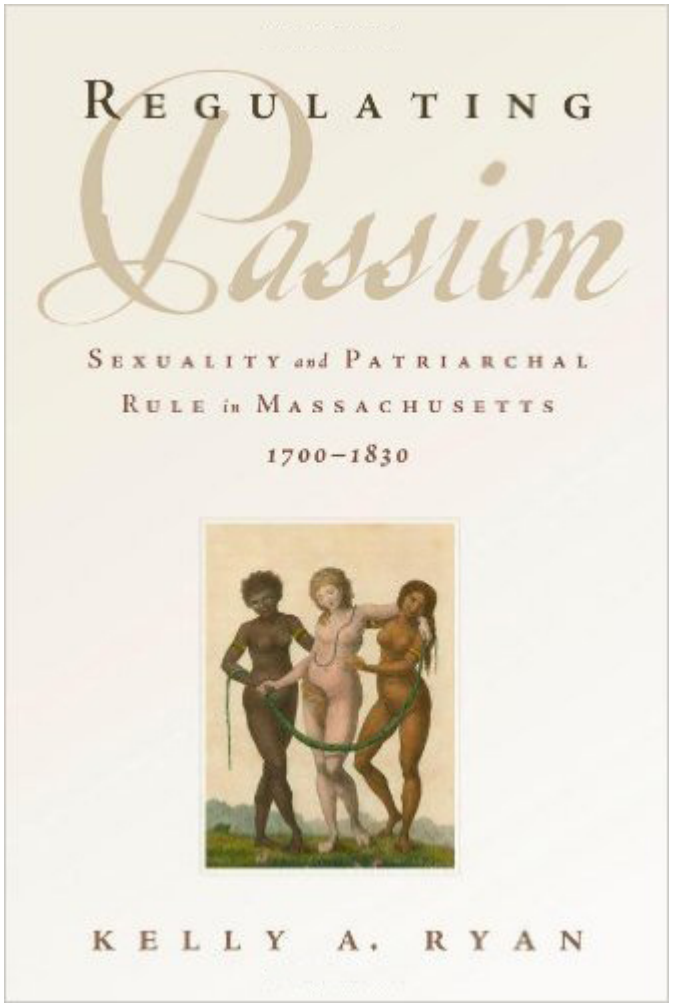
On the Inland Seas: Detroit and the

Atlantic World



The continental versus Atlantic debate is more about historiography than history.

Sex and Social Order in Massachusetts



Kelly A. Ryan's work, *Regulating Passion: Sexuality and Patriarchal Rule in Massachusetts, 1700-1830*, explores the intersections of patriarchal power and sexual regulation in Massachusetts from the late colonial era through the early national period. Drawing on a wide array of sources, including legal records, print culture, letters and diaries, and church records, she argues that the regulation of sexual behavior was one of the cornerstones of white men's patriarchal authority. Ryan defines patriarchal power as the "authority of men in households, government, economics, sexuality, religion, and culture," as well as "the direct power of male heads of household over their dependents' sexual, economic, and religious choices" (2). She uses both anecdotal and statistical evidence to show that this authority was manifested in many ways, from the prosecution of white women for fornication in the court system to the control of enslaved people's marital choices.

Kelly A. Ryan, *Regulating Passion: Sexuality and Patriarchal Rule in Massachusetts, 1700-1830*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2014. 288 pp., $55.

Although the close reliance of patriarchal authority on sexual regulation

remained constant throughout the period in question, Ryan argues that the American Revolution and the emergence of the new nation facilitated challenges to patriarchal authority and contributed to shifting methods of sexual regulation. In the late colonial period, she shows, sexual regulation largely occurred through official channels of authority—the authority of fathers over children, of masters over servants and slaves, and of courts and public officials over the behavior of all residents. After the American Revolution, however, sexual behavior was less likely to be policed via official channels of power; instead, a new culture of virtue and reputation sought to shape individual behavior by emphasizing the importance of sexual virtue and self-regulation.

Ryan's book is divided into two sections. The first part explores sexual control in the late colonial period and focuses on efforts to regulate the behaviors of white, Native American, and African American women and men. At a time when rates of premarital sex were increasing and when print culture depicted the dangers of women's erotic power, Ryan shows that government authorities particularly focused on containing the dangers of white women's sexuality within lawful marriage. Fornication prosecutions in particular sought to control women's sexual behavior, and the courts made white women uniquely culpable for sexual transgressions. White men, on the other hand, enjoyed far greater sexual license. They were rarely prosecuted for fornication, and paternity suits were one of the few avenues through which white men's sexual misdemeanors were brought before the courts and the public. Yet in spite of this sexual liberty, young white men and poor white men found that their behaviors and choices were constrained by the realities of dependence—dependence on fathers, masters, and the overseers of the poor.

> At a time when rates of premarital sex were increasing and when print culture depicted the dangers of women's erotic power, Ryan shows that government authorities particularly focused on containing the dangers of white women's sexuality within lawful marriage.

In many ways non-white women and men faced similar constraints on their sexual behavior. White men believed that their patriarchal authority and responsibilities extended to Native Americans and African Americans, whom they viewed as racially and culturally inferior and therefore dependent. Ryan argues that over the course of the eighteenth century, white patriarchal authority over Native Americans increased. Systems of indentured servitude and guardianship, as well as missionary efforts, provided multiple avenues for imposing white sexual norms on Native communities and families. For African Americans the system of slavery provided white men even greater scope for sexual regulation. Of particular concern for white authorities was the prevention of interracial sex and marriage. Ryan reveals fascinating inconsistencies in the ways interracial sex was policed. White women were more severely punished when prosecuted for fornication with African American men

than with Native American or white men. Conversely, like white men, African American and Native American men were rarely prosecuted for fornication with white women. Unlike white women, African American and Native American women were rarely prosecuted for fornication, whether or not they crossed a racial boundary. This gave white patriarchs considerable license to cross racial boundaries without having their behavior exposed in public. As Ryan explains, “By not prosecuting African American or Indian women for fornication, masters of servants and slaves were implicitly protected from any financial or criminal charges being brought against them for engaging in interracial sex” (78). Ultimately, Ryan shows that in virtually any situation, white women bore the burden of maintaining racial boundaries.

The second part of Ryan’s work examines shifts in sexual regulation that occurred during and after the American Revolution. Ryan argues that sexual regulation shifted away from legal and institutional avenues of power and toward cultural strategies by which sexual values could be explained and promoted. This shift was prompted by developments such as a new emphasis on equality that elevated the status of young men and poor men to that of virtuous citizens capable of governing themselves. Even churches, which formerly had emphasized public regulation of members’ behavior, moved away from rituals of public confession and repentance toward new values of self-regulation and private intervention. Moreover, legal prosecutions of sexual misbehavior such as fornication and adultery declined in this period.

In addition, one of the most significant changes in this post-revolutionary period was the emancipation of slaves in the wake of the revised Massachusetts state constitution in 1780. With legal authority over African Americans reduced, Ryan argues that “many whites drew on cultural strategies to sustain the racial hierarchy rather than institutional and legal controls” (105). Print culture, for instance, drew increasingly stark racial divisions by insisting that African Americans (and Native Americans newly eligible for citizenship) did not experience genuine feeling and attachment—they were merely lustful and uncontrolled. More practically, new social patterns of segregation emerged in towns and cities, thus drawing spatial boundaries in addition to cultural lines between the races.

In the aftermath of the Revolution, moreover, white women writers began to carve out a new role for themselves in the republic, emphasizing their moral and intellectual capacities. In particular, Ryan shows that white women intervened for the first time via print culture in the system of sexual regulation that sought to put the greatest burden on them. In essays, stories, and novels, they openly criticized men’s unruly sexual behavior and called for an end to the sexual double standard that held women more responsible than men for good sexual behavior. Seduction narratives in particular proved popular with readers and offered women a narrative structure for demonstrating that innocent women were in danger of being led astray by unscrupulous men who needed to be held responsible for their actions.

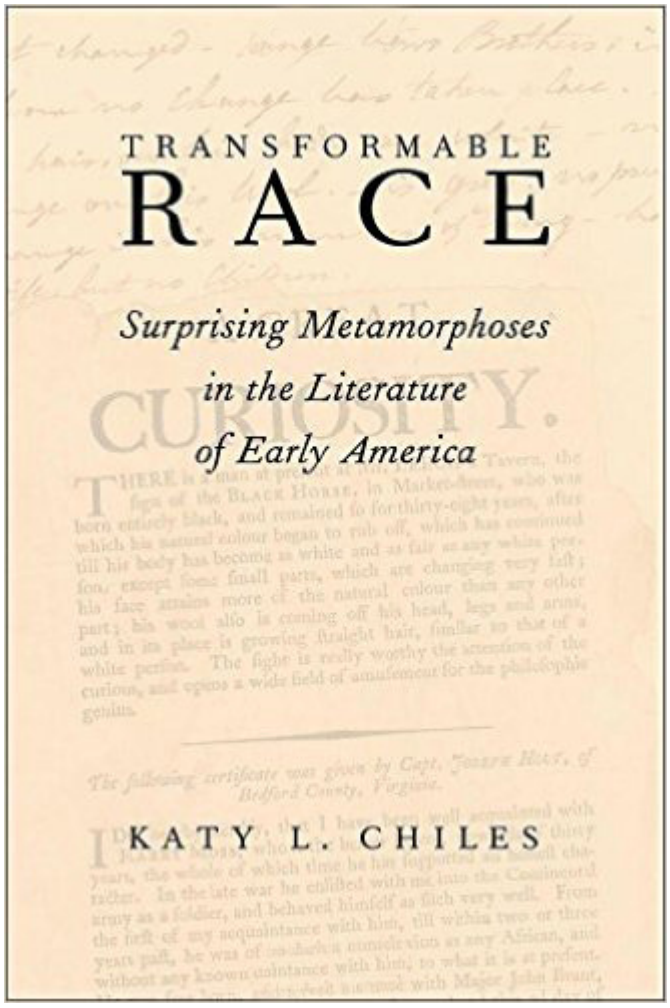
White women's writings constitute one of Ryan's most convincing examples of resistance to patriarchal authority; these writers effectively increased the scrutiny of white men's sexual behavior and pushed readers to regard "fallen" women with greater sympathy. As Ryan argues, "middle and upper rank white women asserted a new place for themselves as the arbiters of sexual morality in their criticism of men's sexual behavior and defense of women" (150). These women certainly did not unravel patriarchal authority, but they did shift some of the burden of sexual regulation away from themselves and onto white men.

Ryan's work has many strengths, most notably her ability to analyze differences of race, class, gender, and age without losing sight of her broad interpretation of shifts in sexual regulation from the late colonial to the early national period. Moreover, her ability to address both changes in sexual regulation and continuities in patriarchal power is important and necessary in conveying the complexity and sources of white men's authority. She emphasizes the constancy of white men's patriarchal power during this period while still revealing the challenges posed by individuals, groups, and new ideological trends. By highlighting these challenges, Ryan is able to expose the ways in which patriarchal authority shifted and transformed to meet these pressures. Ultimately, she reveals the resilience at the heart of enduring systems of power.

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When a Sunburn is Never Just a Sunburn



“Man,” wrote John Webb, a Boston-based minister, in a 1726 sermon, “conforms to the Tempers and Manners of the Company he keeps.” Warning listeners of the dangers of keeping bad company, and dedicated to the youth of his congregation, Webb’s sermon quietly registers another much broader and very muscular tenet of eighteenth-century, Protestant common sense: that one’s environment had an almost unlimited capacity to influence one’s behavior, feelings, desires, and even one’s faith. Webb’s *Seasonable warning against bad company-keeping*, and the concerns about the spiritually corrosive potential of bad company that it voices, provide a glimpse into one of the major structural idioms through which residents of eighteenth-century British colonial North America understood their world. Social influences, however, were ultimately only one part of this broad logic that understood the environmental writ large—the physical, natural, climatic, gustatory, social, and spiritual environment—as one of the most definitive factors in human individual and collective development. For scholars who work on the eighteenth-century Atlantic world, this radically different way of thinking about human constitution poses one of the biggest challenges to approaching the period, as we are exhorted to do, “on its own terms.” Reading eighteenth-century texts through the framework of environmental determinism, however, is critical to developing a careful and textured understanding of the period, and essential to the project of denaturalizing categories of human difference—race, sex, sexual desire—that were beginning to be taxonomized and

reified in the eighteenth century, and that continue to be live political questions for all of us today.

Katy Chiles, *Transformable Race: Surprising Metamorphoses in the Literature of Early America*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. xi, 315 pp., £45.00.

The promise of this carefully historicized reading practice is exactly what Katy Chiles delivers in *Transformable Race: Surprising Metamorphoses in the Literature of Early America.* Suggesting that we tend to analyze debates about the meaning and etiology of racial difference in the eighteenth-century through "nineteenth- and twentieth-century quotidian understandings of race" that "deemed it an internal rather than an external phenomenon," Chiles' monograph turns its focus to the environmental logic in which eighteenth-century, colonial North American intellectual culture was steeped (109). Pairing eighteenth-century natural historical texts with some of the most canonical works of eighteenth-century North American literature, Chiles' careful, close readings highlight the way that these texts understood race to denote "a sense of human somatic difference (albeit, and indeed, one that could change) influenced by environmental factors, not one in the blood" (10). Putting writers such as Phillis Wheatley, Samson Occom, Benjamin Franklin, J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, Olaudah Equiano, Charles Brockden Brown, and Royall Tyler into conversation with some of the most prominent natural philosophers and scientific thinkers of the same era—among them Benjamin Rush, John Mitchell, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Stanhope Smith, Timothy Dwight, Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, and Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon—*Transformable Race* insists on reading early American literature "in relationship to its own racial epistemology of the late eighteenth-century—the very one through which these early American writers both knew and wrote their world" (23).

The central argument of the book is one that is unlikely to raise eyebrows: *Transformable Race* describes how popular cultural understandings of race in eighteenth-century North America defined it in anything but ontological terms. Pointing to the muscular place that natural historical thinking held in eighteenth-century print culture, Chiles insists that "early Americans largely considered race…to be potentially mutable: it was thought to be an exterior bodily trait, incrementally produced by environmental factors (such as climate, food, and mode of living) and continuously subject to change" (2). In *Transformable Race*, Chiles turns to myriad forms of literature (essays, sermons, true narratives, poetry, novels) from the period to illustrate two important ideas: first, that race was understood as a dynamic bodily state, a notion predicated on the idea "that the body, its racial features, and racial identity itself were always in flux and had to be consistently maintained," and one that "informed a broad cultural logic about racial construction" (3). Second, Chiles painstakingly leads the reader through her analysis of texts

that we do not usually assume to be "scientific" (an at best specious distinction when used to describe eighteenth-century writing) to illustrate the ways that writers from Phillis Wheatley to Royall Tyler were explicitly engaging in contemporary conversations about the origins and meaning of racial difference (6). Endeavoring "to identify how eighteenth-century racial thinking informs the figurative language in this crucial period's literature," *Transformable Race* "strives to illustrate for us how early American authors imagined, contributed to, and challenged the ways that one's racial identity could be formed in the late colonial and early national moment" (3).

> Natural historical theories of racial difference also became a tool and an occasion for public intellectual debate by African peoples, slaves, and Native peoples—exactly the populations at whom the racist potential of this discourse was frequently aimed.

Despite the relatively intuitive character of its central argument—that race was understood in primarily environmental terms, as a "transformable" quality in humans during the eighteenth century—this is a book that deserves to be read carefully. Indeed, many of Chiles' most interesting and important interventions emerge from diligent attention to some of the seemingly smaller or subtler arguments that she makes in this project. For example, Chiles refuses to reify any distinction between "literary" and "scientific" thinkers or *thinking,* highlighting the degree to which writers we rarely think of as "scientists"—such as Equiano, Wheatley, or Tyler—actively drew upon and engaged with natural historical theories of racial differentiation that were circulating in their moment. The payoff of this careful denaturalization of the modern epistemological categories of "literary" and "scientific"—again, a specious distinction, in the eighteenth century as it remains, today—is that it changes the presumed political contours of the natural historical archive, one that we frequently think of as ineluctably bound to the emergence of racist pseudo-science and eugenics in the nineteenth-century United States. What Chiles demonstrates, however, is that this is an association predicated more upon an understanding of a nineteenth-century brand of natural historical thinking than upon an eighteenth-century version. Indeed, she insists that "notions regarding the formation of racial categories of the eighteenth century differed dramatically from those of the nineteenth—and that the ways in which they were different *really matter* to how we read and interpret the literature written in the late eighteenth-century moment" (23, emphasis original). Chiles' attention to literary engagements with natural historical thinking emphasizes the polyvocality of specifically eighteenth-century natural history. Beyond merely a racist or proto-racist epistemology developed to justify colonialism and slavery (although that is an element of this archive that certainly should not be understated), natural historical theories of racial difference also became a tool and an occasion for public intellectual debate by African peoples, slaves, and Native peoples—exactly the populations at whom the racist potential of this discourse was frequently aimed. Chiles is nonetheless careful

to not assume a recuperative position in relation to this archive; despite the fact that natural history offered another idiom through which oppressed peoples might speak truth to racist power, "it was not always necessarily utopic or liberating thinking" (24).

The central argument of *Transformable Race* is developed and complicated over the course of four chapters and an epilogue, all of which put works of natural historical thinking into conversation with various forms of popular literature. In each chapter, Chiles offers close readings of her focal texts to highlight the often very subtle or implicit references to and engagement with eighteenth-century racial science that are actually remarkably proliferate in many of the most canonical works of early American literature. Each set of texts she considers—Occom and Wheatley in chapter one; Benjamin Franklin and Hendrick Aupaumut in chapter two; J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, John Marrant, and Charles Brockden Brown in chapter three; Olaudah Equiano and Hugh Henry Brackenridge in chapter four; and Royall Tyler in the epilogue—calls our attention to how the writers in question engaged popular concepts deriving from eighteenth-century natural history and other forms of racial science. Her careful, close readings convince us that writers from Occom and Wheatley to Franklin and Tyler were not just deploying the vocabularies of racial thinking incidentally or unreflexively, but were doing so with care and intention, explicitly engaging natural historians and their ideas.

For example, in the first chapter of the monograph, "Becoming Colored in Occom and Wheatley's Early America," Chiles reads three pieces of Samson Occom's writing ("A Short Narrative of My Life," *A Sermon, Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul,* and "To All the Indians of this Boundless Continent") and Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (1773), alongside writings by naturalists such as Linnaeus (Carl von Linné) and the Comte de Buffon (Georges-Louis Leclerc) in order to emphasize how Occom and Wheatley "min[e] Christian and natural-historical explanations for where color comes from" (63). Her analysis highlights the way that each discourse relies on "a symbolics of metamorphosis" that both these writers differently mobilize "to explore the construction of racial categories in ways particular to early America" (31). In other words, "transformable race, a sense of the external mutability of the racialized body, figures centrally in how Occom and Wheatley characterize racial formation" (31). Ultimately, Chiles argues that Occom's and Wheatley's writings offer an intervention into eighteenth-century racial thinking by "represent[ing] the process of 'becoming colored' as a God-inspired design," Wheatley by gesturing to "changing beliefs about the effect of the African climate to intervene in debates about race, science, and aesthetics" in her poetry, and Occom by asserting "a particular kind of indigenized Christianity and Native sovereignty" based on the ideological chasms separating "both Christian and nativist" accounts of the origins of racial difference (32). In the wake of Chiles' close reading, we are left with a new awareness of the way that Occom and Wheatley are invested in the project of "refigur[ing] what 'blackness' and 'redness' might mean"—and to what ends (63).

One of the most promising elements of the historiographic project in which Chiles is engaged is the potential that *Transformable Race* bears to contribute to our understanding of the history of racism and of struggles for racial justice, and this is one of the many things that I deeply admire about this book. Chiles explicitly imagines this monograph in direct and intentional relationship to critical race theory, and implicitly suggests that broad eighteenth-century debates over the origins of racial difference constitute an early moment in a long genealogy of specifically North American racial thinking. Pointing to the ways that "critical race studies has importantly pried apart scientific from social conceptions of race," she argues that critical race theory has nonetheless "been using temporal perspectives that we have not yet understood to be temporal," and offers a definition of transformable race that "replaces prevailing critical race frameworks particular to later periods with one that is apt for early America" (26, 25). Chiles' careful attention to the historicity of racial thinking—and specifically, her concept of "transformable race"—"demands that we rethink axiomatic angles of analysis in critical race studies, such as passing, iteration, and performance," and challenges "unexamined tenets on which critical race theory has operated in literary studies" (26). In her efforts to "posit a historically specific, transformational model of critical race theory" that derives from early thinkers—white colonists and people of color (both colonists and indigenous peoples) alike—*Transformable Race* "refigures our understanding of racialization in early American literatures and advances a new paradigm that offers critical race studies a fresh way of understanding racial formation" (26).

If this project has a weakness, it is that the conversation it ultimately delivers vis-à-vis critical race theory is less developed than the book's introduction promises. Putting the eighteenth-century intellectual traditions that Chiles examines in *Transformable Race* into dialogue with specific texts and exchanges in the development of critical race theory in the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries—or, alternately, a more explicit discussion of the way that Chiles seems to be reading many of the texts at the center of her analysis as an early moment of the *longue durée* of critical race theory—would have made this already very strong book even stronger. For example, in chapter four, "Doubting Transformable Race: Equiano, Brackenridge, and the Textuality of Natural History," Chiles' reading of Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* calls our attention to the way that "Equiano…question[s] the limits of what others such as Phillis Wheatley and Samson Occom saw as the beneficial aspects of transformable race," arguing that "Equiano subscribes to specific natural histories and then questions them, both by troubling certain facets of their theories and by noting how they fail to influence white behavior" (148, 149). Ultimately, she argues, Equiano arrives at the economic argument against slavery (in short, he suggests that if the British were to establish a broader trade network in the African continent, that commerce would become more lucrative than the slave trade [167]) that he advances at the end of his narrative because he realizes that engaging with monogenetic natural historical theories of racial difference has a limited impact on the practices and

predations of anti-black racism:

> …it is *precisely because* whites foolishly do not recognize and base their actions upon an equality implicit in the single origin story that Equiano himself is skeptical about the theories' ability to make a difference in the world. Understanding Equiano's vexed investment in natural historical theories and his skepticism about whether these theories and their implications can change white behavior also helps us comprehend his turn at the conclusion of his text to the economic argument he makes against the slave trade because, as we shall see, he advances it only after his narrative has shown how arguing the equality of Africans through natural-historical and/or religious means has not been effective. (152)

This is very compelling, but in keeping with Chiles' suggestion that the discourse of transformable race in the eighteenth century has something important to say to understandings of the processes of racialization that gird critical race theory (in its early moments and today), I also believe that Equiano's economic argument against slavery might be fruitfully put into conversation with the large body of critical race scholarship that addresses the relationship between whiteness, blackness, property, and political economy. I am thinking, in particular, about whether or how Chiles' analysis of Equiano's frustration with the precarity of various forms of legal enfranchisement (e.g. legal manumission) and subsequent turn to the economic argument above might complicate or augment Cheryl Harris' famous theorization of whiteness as property (1993), now considered one of the foundational texts of early critical race theory. If eighteenth-century debates about transformable race—and efforts to engage those theories, penned by people of color living in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world—indeed constitute part of the long history of critical race theory or critical thinking *about* race by people of color (as I believe they do), Chiles' book envisions the felicitous prospect of conversation between these bodies of work that, while historically distant from one another, nonetheless share crucial ideological and ethical territory.

Ultimately, *Transformable Race* makes an important contribution to both early American studies and to the history of race more generally; this is a book that will find a very broad audience, and frankly, a book that scholars of early American studies should all both read and teach. It seems worth noting that beyond being an important piece of scholarship, Chiles' lucid prose, careful close readings, and analytical pairings of very canonical writers alongside understudied ones make this a book that might also be appropriate for advanced undergraduates. It is unusual to come across book-length studies of eighteenth-century North America that so deftly pair careful historicization of thick, challenging concepts (such as race) with the explicit intention of rendering those concepts more clear in our own time, yet this is exactly what Chiles sets out to do: she baldly asserts that "if we develop a better sense of how science and literature interacted in the definition of early American racial categories *and* how this interaction has changed over time, we will have a better sense of

how to think about our own conceptions of race, right now" (30). And this is precisely what Chiles manages to achieve with *Transformable Race*, rendering this a project as politically refreshing as it is intellectually rigorous. Chiles leaves us convinced of the *current* political significance of the fact that "in the eighteenth century, a sunburn is never just a sunburn" (217).

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Unforgettable Fare: Nat Fuller's Feast at the University of South Carolina



Enacting Nat Fuller's Feast at the University of South Carolina

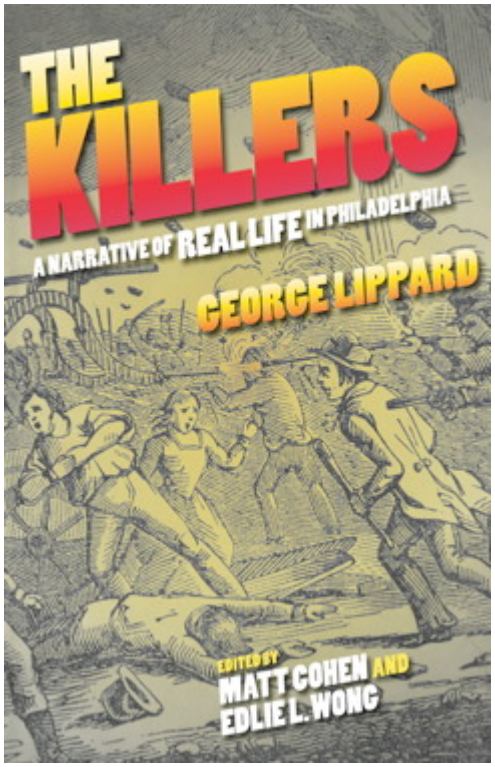
Lost no More: Recovering Frances Ellen Watkins Harper's* Forest Leaves



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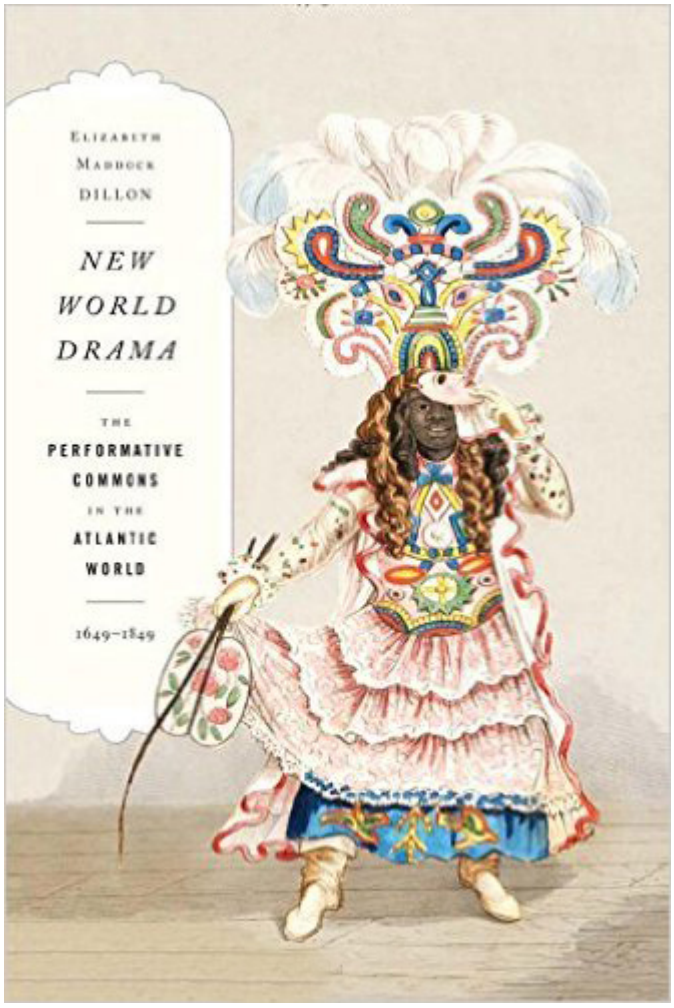
Frances Ellen Watkins Harper's first book of poems had been considered lost to history for well over one hundred years. Johanna Ortner shares the tale of recovering this incredibly valuable text—and shares the text itself—with the readers of Common-place.

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La felice victoria



OBRA NVEVAMEN
TE COMPVESTA, EN LA
qual se cuẽta, la felice victoria que Dios por
su infinita bondad y misericordia, fue ser
uido de dar, al Illustre señor Pedro
Melendez, Almirante y Capitan
de la gouernacion de la mar,
de las Indias, y Adelãtado
de la Florida.
CONTRA IVAN RIBAO DENA
nacion Frances. Con otros mil Luteranos, a los
quales passo à filo de espada, cõ otras curiosi
dades que pone el auctor, de las viuiendas
de los Indios dela Florida, y sus natu-
rales fayciones. Cõpuesta en verso
Castellano, por Barthólome de
Flores, natural de Malaga y
vezino de Cordoua.

La felice victoria: Bartolomé de Flores's *A Newly Composed Work, Which Recounts the Happy Victory That God, in His Infinite Goodness and Mercy, Was Pleased to Give to the Illustrious Señor Pedro Menéndez* (1571)

Translated by E. Thomson Shields Jr. and Thomas Hallock

In spring 1562 the French explorer Jean Ribault cruised the north-flowing St. Johns River, what he called the "River of May," below present-day Jacksonville, Florida. Two years later, the Calvinist Huguenot explorer René Goulaine de Laudonnière established a fort nearby, challenging shipping lanes off the Atlantic coast. The French Protestant threat caught the attention of Roman Catholic King Philip II, who sent the formidable Asturian Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to eradicate the fort and establish a Spanish fort there. Acting as *Adelantado*, an entrepreneurial governor who invested his own money in the enterprise, Menéndez answered his charge with military and religious zeal. He demolished the French fort, slaughtered most of the Huguenots, and established St. Augustine—a city that now bills itself as the nation's oldest continuously occupied city. The year 2015 marks the 450th anniversary of these events, and with the commemoration of St. Augustine's founding, it serves to recognize that

the European contest for *la Florida* held literary as well as historical importance.

An outsized body of writing emerged from the struggle for this obscure corner of empire, one work being Bartolomé de Flores's 1571 *La felice victoria que Dios por su infinita bondad y misericordia, fue seruido de dar, al Illustre señor Pedro Melendez* (*The Happy Victory that God, in His Infinite Goodness and Mercy, Was Pleased to Give to the Illustrious* Señor *Pedro Menéndez*). Flores's poem, published in eight quarto (20 cm x 15 cm) pages and translated here for the first time, has three parts. The first part includes a brief invocation, followed by a description of Menéndez's charge against the Huguenot settlers, which Flores freely sets against the range of Spanish conquests in the Americas. The second part celebrates the beauty, natural resources, and people of *la Florida*—again, situating the wonders of one colony against broader imperial claims. A *villancico*, or carol, finally, sings of a joust, offering Menéndez's victory as a martial conquest for the Christian realm. The parts may appear disjoined, but in its loose associations, *La felice victoria* provides a valuable window into Spanish perceptions of empire.

Flores's verse tribute adds to the substantial—if undervalued—literature about St. Augustine's founding, a body of work that cuts across several languages and rhetorical positions. Before the Spanish attacked the French Huguenot colonial efforts, Jean Ribault, in England because of the religious wars in France, penned *The Whole & True Discouerye of Terra Florida* (1563), a book-length promotional account of the St. Johns expedition that mixed pastoral jubilation with topographic detail. At least two early English poems described the far-off territory. Robert Seall's 1563 broadside, *A Commendation of the Adventerus Viage of the Wurthy Captain M. Thomas Stutely Esquyer and others Towards the Land Called Terra Florida*, paid tribute to Thomas Stucley (or Stuckley), who vied to set up a colony there. And a slightly better-known 1564 ballad would ask, "Have you not h[e]ard of floryda," where natives "Fynd glysterynge gold / And yt for tryfels sell?" The swift Spanish victory and dubious Huguenot defense in 1565 sparked a considerable body of writing, much of it legal or procedural, and often with a rhetorical agenda. Multiple biographies of Menéndez chronicle the battle for *la Florida*, and French survivors penned two accounts. Laudonnière's *L'histoire notable de la Floride* (1586) was published posthumously and translated in part by Richard Hakluyt, while Nicolas Le Challeux offered his own version in *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride, contenant la trahison des Espangnols, contre les subjects du Roy* (1566). The most famous record of this imperial struggle, finally, came from Jacques le Moyne de Morgue, whose 1591 *Brevis narratio eorum quæ in Florida Americæ provincia Gallis acciderunt …* (*Brief Narration of Those Things Which Befell the French in the Province of Florida in America …)* included Theodore de Bry's engravings of native Timucuans, spurious images of Florida's "first people" that circulate widely to this day.

Many of these sources are known to historians and critics, although *La felice victoria* has escaped attention. Scholarship on this and other scenes of

imperial struggle has remained fixed on the accounts of participant-observers; quasi-literary works have found their way into undergraduate textbooks and appear ripe for commentary, even by scholars who do not read Spanish. But a poem, especially one by a non-participant, does not carry the same historical weight, leading to its neglect. Yet *La felice victoria* illustrates how empire was understood in Spain, how victories were celebrated, and how the little-regarded territory of *la Florida* fit alongside more significant triumphs.

What little we know about Bartolomé de Flores comes from his work. Between 1570 and 1572, he apparently experienced a burst of energy, resulting in five verse pamphlets. According to *La felice victoria*, Flores was "natural de Malaga y vezino de Cordoua," a Malagueño living in Córdoba. Internal evidence highlights Flores' being Malagueño, especially the presence of *seseo*, the Andalucían pronunciation of *z* and *s* both pronounced like the letter *s* in English. Another pamphlet poem identifies Flores as a "colchero," or quilter, suggesting he was a middle-class tradesman. These verse pamphlets reflect everyday attitudes of the times about Spain's engagement with the world. Some are laudatory, praising victories in the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula or celebrating the marriage of Princess Anna, daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II. Others tell of the 1570 earthquake in Hungary, floods in Flanders, and losses by the Muslim armada of Turkey. The range of subjects indicates that Bartolomé de Flores wrote from reports, not experience. As such, *La felice victoria* is a valuable record of popular attitudes and beliefs—a source of insight into middle-class Spanish attitudes toward imperial rivalries, perceptions of native peoples and resources in places like *la Florida*, and for the suggestion of how victories like the one by Menéndez were celebrated.

This translation continues the effort of early Americanists to recover forgotten traditions for twenty-first-century readers. The documentary transcription of the original is included because, although there was an edition of the poem published in 1898, it contains errors and takes a few liberties with the text without marking them. Regarding form, the bulk of *La felice victoria* is in *copla real* (with exceptions), i.e., stanzas of ten rhymed octosyllabic lines, with the closing *villancico* in mainly stanzas of eight octosyllabic lines. Our translation does not attempt the impossible task of replicating the rhythm or rhyme scheme, and because Flores often sequenced his thoughts around end-rhymes, we take some liberty in reordering the lines for fluidity. The goal has been to render a poem in English, not a literal rendering of the Spanish. Those who want to compare the translation with the Spanish are encouraged to use the side-by-side transcription and translation or to consult the page images.

The editors initially worked separately and unbeknownst to one another. E. Thomson Shields Jr. prepared the transcription from a copy at the John Carter Brown Library, and we later consulted scans generously provided by the JCB. The following translation was developed by comparing the two versions, combing through each line for meaning, continuity, and fluidity. Our goal is to present a work that, we feel, helps alter the shape of the early American canon, that

argues further for the multilingual roots of what would later become part of the United States, and that documents the difficult attempts to understand events in a new world that cut across imperial boundaries, religious and linguistic differences, and, of course, an ocean.

❧ **Obra nvevamente compvesta, en la qual se cuẽta, la felice victoria que Dios por su infinita bondad y misericordia, fue seruido de dar, al Illustre señor Pedro Melendez, Almirante y Capitan de la gouernacion de la mar, de las Indias, y Adelãtado de la Florida.**
❧ **A newly composed work, which recounts the happy victory that God, in His infinite goodness and mercy, was pleased to give to the illustrious *señor* Pedro Meléndez,[i] Admiral and Captain of the government of the seas, of the Indies, and *Adelantado* of *la Florida.***
Contra Ivan Ribao de na [sic] nacion Frances. Con otros mil Luteranos, a los quales passo à filo de espada, cõ otras curiosidades que pone el auctor, de las viuiendas de los Indios dela Florida, y sus naturales fayciones. Cõpuesta en verso Castellano, por Bartholome de Flores, natural de Malaga y vezino de Cordoua.
Against Juan Ribao of the French nation, with another thousand Lutherans who met the blade of the sword, and with other curiosities provided by the author, on the dwellings of Indians of *la Florida*, and their natural features.[ii]
Written in Castilian verse by Bartolomé de Flores, a native of Málaga and resident of Córdoba.

❧ **Comiẽça la obra,**
❧ **Inuocacion.**
Emperador de la gloria
Dios poderoso clemente
haz profunda mi memoria
porque con tu gracia cuente
vna tan alta victoria,
Y vos virgen soberana
despertad mi lengua ruda
pues por vos la gẽte humana
tuuo redempcion y ayuda
del daño de la mançana.
Y a mi torpe entẽdimiẽto
ofuscado en negra bruma
dad claridad, y a mi pluma
porque diga lo que siento
desta nueua en breue suma,
❧ **The Work Begins,**
❧ **Invocation.**

Emperor of all glory,
Merciful and Powerful God,
grant my memory profundity
so that, by your Grace,
I may tell of a high victory.
And you, the sovereign Virgin,
awaken my crude tongue,
because through you all humanity
has received help and redemption
from the damning apple.
And to my slow understanding
now obscured in black fog,
grant clarity, so this pen
may recount shortly, in brief,
my feelings about this news,

❧ **Comiença.**

Despues q˜el rey sinsegũdo
de la Española nacion
gouierna con discrecion
la region del nueuo muudo [sic]
descubierta por Colon.
Embio segun se halla
Naos de armada de Seuilla
para mejor descubrilla
y regilla y conquistalla
con la gente de Castilla.

❧ **It Begins.**

Ever since the peerless
king of the Spanish nation
governed with discretion
that part of the New World
discovered by Columbus,
he sent, as can be seen,
an *armada* from *Sevilla*
for its greater discovery,
conquest and government
by the people of *Castilla*.

❧ **Prouincias ganadas.**

Do con animo y pujança
con semblante denodado
la mayor parte han ganado
hiriendo a punta de lança
con coraçon esforçado
Y haziendo a nuestra grey
esta nacion Indiana
de la gente Mexicana
se conquisto por el Rey
la Veracruz y Hauana.

Siguiendo de aquesta vez
la victoria y buen estrena
gano luego a Cartagena
el fuerte Martin Cortes
a Perù con sancta Elena.
Nombre de Dios, y Hõduras
gano luego y la Dorada
a Pamplona la nombrada
las Amazonas y alturas
del Gran reyno de Granada.
Otras prouincias mayores
Españoles subjetaron
do gran riqueza hallaron
mas nuestros conquistadores
la Florida no ganaron.
Que los Indios dela tierra
despues de ser muy ligeros
son indomitos y arteros
y truecan paz por la guerra
porque son grãdes flecheros.

❧ **Provinces Won.**

Where with courage, power
and with bold countenance,
through valiant hearts
and the point of the spear,
the greater part has been won,
and this Indian nation
of Mexican people,
was added to our flock,
Veracruz and Havana were
conquered in the King’s name.
Following that period
of victory and great gifts,[iii]
the mighty Martín Cortés[iv]
then won Cartagena, and through
Santa Elena,[v] he took Peru.
Nombre de Dios and Honduras
were next won and La Dorada,
then to the famed Pamplona,
to the Amazon and the heights
of the great Kingdom of Granada.
Other greater provinces
were made subjects of the Spaniards,
where they found great riches,
but our conquistadors
could not take *la Florida*.
For the Indians of that land,
besides being very agile,

are indomitable and artful,
and because they are great archers,
they trade peace for war.

❧ **Como salto en tierra.**

Dexando pues esto a parte
de su viuienda y hechura
recontara mi escriptura
de la batalla vna parte
lo de mas de su natura
A veynte del mes de Enero
Pedro Melendez llego
a la Florida y salto
en tierra, y el buen guerrero
su gente desembarco.

❧ **How He Reached Land.**

Leaving aside, then, the rest
of their life and qualities,
my words will recount
but one part of their nature,
that being the battle.
On the twentieth of January
Pedro Meléndez arrived
in Florida, made landfall,[vi]
and there the good warrior
made his people disembark.

❧ **Como vino Iuani.**

Do mando luego hazer
alarde de sus Soldados
do todos fueron juntados
para vencer el poder
delos Indios esforçados.
Y estando cabe la mar
con toda su compañia
contra los nuestro venia
Iuani, y empeço a hablar
Francia Francia, en este dia.

❧ **How Juani Arrived.[vii]**

The governor next ordered
a muster of his soldiers,
who gathered in formation
to defeat the force
of valiant Indians.
And close by the sea,
with all his company
against ours came Juani,
who had started this day
saying France, France.

❧ **Como los metio por vn valle.**

La qual razon entendio
el capitan san Vicente
donde luego al continente
el gran Iuani lo metio
por vn valle con su gente.
Veynte y tres millas corrierõ
los Christianos como digo
con aspero desabrigo
y en poco tiempo se vieron
con Iuan Ribao su enemigo.

❧ **How He Led Them through a Valley.**

The captain San Vicente
then understood who was
nearby on the continent,
the great Juani led him through
a valley with his people.
These Christians, as I said,
ran twenty-three miles,
raw and without cover,
and shortly found themselves
with their enemy, Juan Ribao.

❧ **Como los nuestros mataron dos centinelas.**

Luego la lengua Iuani
reconocio los paueses
y los luzientes arneses
y a los nuestros dixo ansi
veys a do estan los Franceses
Luego con gran vigilancia
los nuestros ponen sus velas
y encendidas sus candelas
delos Ereges de Francia
mataron dos centinelas.

❧ **How Our Soldiers Killed Two Sentinels.**

Then the interpreter Juani
spied the pavises, the shields,
and the glowing armor
and he said to our men,
do you see the Frenchmen?
Then with great reverence
our men took their candles
and lit their fuses,
killing two of the French
heretic sentinels.

❧ **Como quemarõ el fuerte.**

Con esta buena suerte
los nuestros encuentrã luego
y el timulto pueblo ciego
paso dolorosa muerte

con mil maneras de fuego.
su murallon de faxina
quemo nuestros Adelantado
dexando despedaçado
el fuerte y su larga mina
de tierraplene cercado.

❧ **How They Burned the Fort.**

With this stroke of luck,
our soldiers discovered them,
and wreaked havoc on the blind people,
bringing a painful death
with a thousand licks of flame.
Our *Adelantado* burned down
the daubed wood walls,
leaving the fort in pieces
and the long mine
of terreplein besieged.[viii]

❧ **Como mataron treziẽtos.**

Fue cosa de grande espãto
ver los Christianos inuitos
matar a quellos malditos
y su muy esquiuo llanto
dando temerarios gritos
Trezientos y treynta y vno
matan sin dalles clemencia
que no valio su potencia
mas seys cientos de consuno
huyeron sin resistencia.

❧ **How They Killed Three Hundred.**

It was a frightful sight
to see the unconquered Christians
slaughtering the damned,
with those heretics crying
back in contempt and scorn.
Three hundred and thirty one
were killed without clemency,[ix]
their strength was useless,
and six hundred more fled,
without any opposition.

❧ **Como se retiro Iuan Ribao.**

Los Españoles christianos
van matando, y van hiriendo
y ellos se van recogiendo
y España Vandalianos
la victoria van siguiendo
Con arcabuzes y lanças
les dauan guerra sangrienta
y porque entendays la cuẽta

enel campo de Matanças
el Iuan Ribao se aposenta.

❧ **How Juan Ribao Retreated.**

The Spanish Christians
went killing, wounding,
and the French began retreating,
and so the vandals of Spain[x]
secured their victory.
With harquebus and lance,
they waged bloody warfare,
and so that you understand the story,
Juan Ribao takes his place
in the *campo de Matanzas*.[xi]

❧ **Como le embio vn correo.**

Despojado de su arreo
por seguir tal interesse
a Melendez le paresce
embiar luego vn correo
a Iuan Ribao que se diesse,
Diziendole por su carta
que se diesse a sus prisiones
con amorosas razones
y que se rinda y se parta
el con todos sus varones.

❧ **How He Sent a Courier.**

Taking off his battle gear
to pursue the course
he then thought proper,
Meléndez sent a courier
with a letter to Juan Ribao,
establishing in writing,
on clement terms, that Ribao
should be put in chains
and surrender his position
as well as all his men.

❧ **Como pidio vn cofre Iuan Ribao.**

Con el mensagero vn paje
a Iuan Ribao embio
y el Frances quando lo vio
toda su fuerça y coraje
en aquel punto perdio.
Sin hazer casi mudança
lenta su fuerça y ardil
quiso ver por su esperança
y perder la confiança
vn su cofre de Marfil.

❧ **How Juan Ribao Asked for a Coffer.**

A messenger and page

were sent to Juan Ribao,
and when the Frenchman
saw it, he lost all
courage and resolve.
He barely moved a muscle,
ardor and force slackened,
all hope and confidence
were gone, he wanted to see
his own coffer of ivory.

❧ **Como se lo llevo sant Vicente.**

Do mando que se tornasse
el paje y el mensagero
y que le den lo primero
el cofre, porque entregasse
las armas gente y dinero,
Vista pues tan buena estrena
y el bien que de todo resta
a la conclusion de sexta
Sant Vicente con Villena
lleuaron cofre y repuesta.

❧ **How San Vicente Took It to Him.**

He asked that the page
and the messenger return,
and when they gave Ribao
the coffer, so he could surrender
his arms, his money and men,
it was seen as a good start,
a good sign for the remainder,
and as the noon hour closed, [xii]
San Vicente returned with Villena,
bearing the chest and response.

❧ **Como entrego Iuã Riboa, vna cadena oro cõ vna llaue.**

Conuertido en triste lloro
los ojos puestos al cielo
lleno de tormento y duelo
saco su cadena de oro
llorando su desconsuelo,
Y dixo pues que los hados
quieren que tan presto acabe
mi Francelini canabe
saquen doze mil ducados
del cofre con esta llaue.

❧ **How Juan Ribao Delivered a Gold Chain with a Key.**

Moved to mournful tears,
crying over his misfortune
with eyes pressed to the sky,
filled with torment and grief,
Ribao removed his golden chain.

And as he declared, the fates
had wanted this sudden end,
my Francelini Canabe,[xiii]
and with this key he drew
twelve thousand ducats from the chest.

❧ **Como se entrego cõ la gẽte.**

Enel arena arrojo
su cadena tan preciada
y en ella la llaue atada
y sant Vicente allego
para quitalle la espada,
Mirando con buen subjeto
quan pocos le quedan viuos
de sus Luteros esquiuos
con los demas en efecto
vino a darse por captious.
Y al tiẽpo qẽl sol doraua
los dos cuernos con su rayo
a los diez y seys de mayo
el alua se leuantaua
en las montañas de acayo
Con el color de difunto
la vida esta desseando
sospira siempre llorando
viendo en quã pequeño pũto
esta su vida colgando.

❧ **How He Surrendered with His People.**

Onto the sand he threw
his chain and the attached
key, so precious to him,
and San Vicente stepped forward
to strip Ribao of his sword.
Noting rightly how few
of the wild and disdainful
Lutherans remained left,
Ribao surrendered himself
as captive, along with the rest.
And on the sixteenth of May,
the morning broke, with the golden
rays of the sun splitting
the two horns of Taurus
over the mountains of Acaea.[xiv]
The color of a corpse,
still longing for life,
Ribao cried with each breath,
recognizing the tiny point
upon which his life now hung.

❧ **La orden que se tuuo para matallos.**

El general Vizcayno
manda que ninguno aguarde
porque cerraua la tarde
y en vn hermoso camino
hizo de todos alarde,
Y el adelantado ensaya
lo que bien le satisfaze
que sant Vicente cerrasse
en haziendo el vna raya
con Ribao, y lo matasse.

❧ **The Order He Had to Kill Them.**

The Biscayne general
ordered that none delay,
the afternoon was ending,
and a handsome path was made
by the men stationed on display.
And the *Adelantado* declared
it would satisfy his will
for San Vicente to finish
the deed with a stripe
on Ribao, killing him.

❧ **Como matarõ seys ciẽtos.**

Todos por este concierto
en hordenança passaron
y la señal denotaron
en conclusion q˜muy cierto
a los seyscientos mataron,
Todos dizen viua el rey
y la fe del redemptor
y Iuan Ribao con dolor
dixo alli memento mei
misericordia señor.
Alli quedo concluyda
la defensa Luterana
y por la gente Christiana
el reyno dela Florida
y sancta yglesia Romana,
con su poder fulminante
Dios cũple nuestros desseos
haga fiestas y torneos
nuestra yglesia militante
con tan subidos tropheos.

❧ **How They Killed Six Hundred.**

Everyone was in agreement,
the order was sent down,
and when the sign was given,
in short, it was determined
that they kill the six hundred.

They repeated, long live the King
and the faith of the Redeemer,
and Juan Ribao, in anguish,
recited there his *memento mei*[xv]
pleading his Father for mercy.
And so the Lutheran defenses
in the kingdom of Florida
were brought to an end
by the Christian people
and the All Powerful
holy Roman church.
As God grants our wishes
with such fine trophies,
our triumphant, martial church
holds tourneys and feasts.

❧ **Aqui se tratan las grandezas de la rierra [sic] de la Florida.**

Y por dar mejor auiso
quiero contar la grandeza
la hermosura y belleza
deste fertil parayso
su gente y naturaleza,
Es vn nueuo mundo lleno
de deleytes y frescuras
con muy diuersas pinturas
prado florido y ameno
con aues de mil hechuras.

❧ **Here Is Treated the Grandeur of the Land of *la Florida.***

And to give better notice
I wish to recount the beauty,
the loveliness and grandeur
of this fertile paradise,
its people and nature.
It is a new world filled
with delights, fresh breezes
and varied painterly scenes,
graced with fields and flowers,
and birds of a thousand kinds.

❧ **De vn Rio.**

Animales diferentes
Tunas, Palmas, y Higueras,
Auellanos, y Nogueras,
cinco maneras de gentes
y frutas del mil maneras.
Ya segun mi pluma toca
de tan altas marauillas
son cosas dignas de oyllas
que ay vn rio que de boca
tiene quatrocientas millas.

❧ **Of a River.**
Animals of all types,
palms, figs, and prickly pear,
walnut and hazelnut trees,
fruits of a thousand kinds,
and five races of people.[xvi]
Now my quill will sing
of such lofty marvels,
things worthy of hearing,[xvii]
including a river that runs
four hundred miles to its mouth.
❧ **Gentes de nueue codos.**
Y nauegando su altura
cosa digna de contar
puedo por cierto affirmar
tener su legua de anchura
tres mil leguas de la mar
Y en la parte Ocidental
viue gente tan crescida
de gentilidad vencida
que tienen justo y caual
nueue codos por medida.
❧ **People Nine Cubits High.**
And sailing its length,
a thing worthy to recount,
I can affirm with certainty
that it is one league wide
three thousand leagues
from the sea.
And in the western parts,
there lives a conquered
pagan people who exactly
stand nine cubits high.[xviii]
❧ **Satriba, y Autina, reyes.**
Esta tierra no consiente
enfermedad ni dolencia
ni reyna concupiciencia
de partes del Oriente
esta la nueua Valencia
Aqui reyna Satriba,
con Doresta su muger
el qual tiene tal poder
que el poderoso Autina
jamas lo puede vencer.
❧ **Satriba[xix] and Autina, Kings.**
This country does not consent
to either sickness or pain,
nor does concupiscence reign

as it does in the Orient,
it being the new Valencia.
Here reigns Satriba,
who with his wife Doresta,
has such power that even the mighty Autina
cannot conquer him.

❧ **Curucutucu, y Alimacani, Reyes.**

Tambien Curucutucu
que nunca tal nombre vi
en tierra de Cuncubi
y en la Mocosa el Bacu,
y el fuerte Limacani,
En armas tan esforçado
era el barbaro y ligero
de rostro espantable y fiero
muy velloso y desbaruado
colorado todo el cuero.

❧ **Curucutucu, and Alimacani, Kings.**[xx]

Also Curucutucu, a name
I had never before seen
in the land of Cuncubi,
and in the Mocosa *el Bacu*,[xxi]
and the mighty Limacani.
Courageous in arms
and agile, this barbarian
has a terrifying face
and the hair all plucked
from his red hide.

❧ **Sus fayciones y hechura.**

Sus cabellos denegridos
en forma de cabellera
cortos por la delantera
por las espaldas tendidos
sus carnes todas de fuera.
Iamas no comio comida
que no fuesse por guisar
marisco, y peces del mar
pan de Casabe molida
y vuas cuesco de palmar.

❧ **Their Countenance and Form.**

Their black hair is styled
like a *cabellera*,[xxii]
long and straight in back
but cut short in front,
and their bodies, naked.[xxiii]
Food is never eaten
that was not cooked:
shellfish, fish from the sea,

bread ground from cassava
and grape-like seeds of palms.

❧ **Natura de arboles.**

Vn arbol grande y florido
en aquesta tierra esta
que ninguna fruta da
el qual es atribuydo
en rama y gusto, al Manna.
Es arbol de tanta prez
este, que los Indios tienen
que de muchas partes vienen
a comprallo en cierto mes
que solo del se mantienen.
Otro arbol nasce aqui
que esta verde de contino
de la hechura de Pino
do sacan el Menjuy
y el Estoraque mas fino,
Vn arbol llamado Taca
ay en las Indias de España
del vno cogen con maña
la fina Tacamahaca
y del otro, la Caraña.

❧ **Types of Trees.**

In that country there
is a large, florid tree
that bears no fruit
but is likened to manna
for its appearance and taste.
It is a tree so prized
that Indians from all parts
come to make purchases
during a certain month,
living on this tree alone.
Another tree that grows here
is a type of evergreen,
a pine from which they tap
the aromatic Benjamin,
and the finest storax.[xxiv]
In the Spanish Indies
there is a *taca* tree,
from which people skillfully
collect the pure *tacahamaca*,
and from the other, *caraña*.[xxv]

❧ **Manera de hombres que comen carne humana.**

Otros barbaros mayores
de condicion inhumana
ay en tierra de Hauana

que passan a los açores
para comer carne humana.
Otras maneras de hombres
ay dos mil leguas a tras
que jamas viuen en paz
que no se llaman por nõbres
sino baylando de tras.
El reyno de Parica
con el reyno, de Chiri,
la playa de Concubi,
tambien la mar de Arica,
y el gran reyno de Quibi.
Los reynos de Yucatan
con tierra de Patagones
el Brasil, y los Marones,
vencio nuestro capitan,
tambien los Merediones.
La prouincia de Acuti
y el puerto de Chirinagua,
y el cabo de Muloragua
la tierra de Potosi
la ciudad de Nicaragua.
A Ialisco, y Topira,
la nueua Francia Nebrola
Panuco, y el puerto Mola,
Sancta Marta, y Papira,
Cancas, y la Fuen Iirola.
Chichamaga, y tãbiẽ quito
gano y el rio Serrano,
y enel Sur de Magallano,
gano segun esta escrito
Abacal, y a Dastalano,
tambien gano a Tacamala
Veneçuela, y Rumagarta
y porque bien se reparta
gano al Cusco, y Guatimala,
y Apanama, y la Tiarta.
Curiosas cosas no cuento [sic]
de animales ni arboledas
cercadas de fuentes ledas
con otras plantas sin cuenta
nardoscinamomos fresnedas
Las faltas me supliran
pues alo que entiendo y creo
quede corto como veo
mas bien se que entenderan
que fue largo mi desseo.

❧ **Fin.**

❧ **The Type of Men Who Eat Human Flesh.**

In the country of Havana
are other great barbarians,
people of an inhuman state
who journey to the Azores
to eat human flesh,
and two thousand leagues away
are other types of men
who never live in peace,
who one does not call by name
without dancing backwards.
The Kingdom of Parica
with the kingdom of Chiri,
the shores of Concubí,
also the sea of Arica
and the great kingdom of Quibi.
The kingdoms of the Yucatán,
with the land of Patagonia,
Brazil, and the *Marones*,
conquered by our captain,
also the *Merediones*.
The province of Acutí
and the port of Chirinagua,
and the cape of Muloragua,
the country of Potosí,
the city of Nicaragua.
Also, Jalisco and Topira,
New France, Nebrola,
Panuco and the port of Mola,
Santa Marta and Papira,
Cancas and Fuengirola.
Chichamaga and also Quito
he won, and the River Serrano,
to the south of Magellan,
as written, he also won.
Abacal and in Dastalanos,
also victory at Tacamala,
Venezuela and Rumagarta,
and so he might divide the spoils,
he won Cuzco and Guatemala,
and Panamá and Tiara.
Not of curiosities do I tell,
nor of animals nor of trees,
not of lush springs bordered
by other numberless plants,
nor cinnamon, nards, groves of ash.
These concessions are needed,

for as I know and believe,
as I see, this poem is cut short,
though they may understand
my desires run long.

❧ ***Fin.***
❧ **Villancico.**
A la justa Cortesanos
ganareys joya de gloria
si derribays con victoria
la cisma de Luteranos.
Iuste pues el que quisiere
que la tela es la prudencia
y el cauallo es penitencia
y la justa es porquien muere
y la espada es la memoria
de la fe delos christianos
Para ganar la victoria
delos falsos Luteranos.
De fortaleza es la lança
y el espaldar de virtud
la Celada es de salud
y el Escudo es temperança
y el titulo dela hystoria
es fuerça de nuestras manos
Para vencer con victoria
la cisma de Luteranos.
La joya del vencedor
del que mejor ha justado
es Christo crucificado
bien del triste peccador
por donde la vanagloria
de los Luteros vfanos
destruye Dios con victoria
a fuerça de los Christianos.
❧ **Villancico.**
To the joust, Courtiers,
to receive the jewel of glory
if you topple with victory
the Lutheran schism.
Joust, then, he who longs
for the flag that is prudence
and the steed that is penitence,
the joust is for he who dies,
and the sword is the memory
of the faith of the Christians,
securing victory
over false Lutherans.

Of fortitude is the lance,
and the shoulder piece virtue
and the helmet our health,
and the shield temperance,
and the title of the story
is the force of our hands
vanquishing with victory
the Lutheran schism.
The victor's jewel,
for he who jousts best,
is the sad sinner's balm,
the crucified Christ,
for where proud Lutherans
once made vainglorious boasts,
vengeful God is now victorious
through Christian force.

❧ **Laus Deo.** ❧

❧ ***Laus Deo.*** ❧

❧ **Fue impressa en Seuilla en casa de Hernando Diaz impressor de libros, a la calle de la Sierpe. Año de mil y quinientos y setenta y vno.**

❧ **Printed in Seville in the house of Hernando Díaz printer of books, on Sierpe Street. The year of one thousand and five hundred and seventy and one.**

❧ **Con licencia del Illustre señor, el Licenciado Alonso Caceres de Rueda, Teniente dela Iusticia de Seuilla y su tierra por su Magestad.**

❧ **With license from the Illustrious gentleman, the Licentiate Alonso Cáceres de Rueda, Deputy of the Justice in Seville and its land for his Majesty.**

Notes

[i] *señor*: Less a general title like *mister* and more an honorific implying *master* or *gentleman*.

[ii] The terms *viuiendas* (*viviendas*) and *fayciones* (*faiciones*) illustrate the variable and changing language of the sixteenth century found throughout the poem. They are noted here as typical examples. *Viviendas* generally means "dwellings" but has a now obsolete meaning of "modo de vivir" or "manner of living." And a review of dictionaries from the sixteenth through the early eighteenth centuries available online through the Real Academia Española's *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española* shows no standard way of writing or printing the word, not only the exchange of *u*'s for medial *v*'s, but also the exchange of *b*'s for initial *v*'s—*vivienda*, *viuienda*, *bivienda*, and *biuienda* all being found as main entries. Similarly, *faiciones* comes in several variant spellings (*fayciones*, *faciones*, settling in modern Spanish as *facciones*) and with several possible definitions, from factions to facial features to manners or customs (*Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española*). There is even an interesting 1604 Spanish-French dictionary entry by

Jean Pallet that brings together *vivienda* and *facción*, "biuienda, *Vie, façon de viure*" or "*vivienda,* See, manner of living [i.e., the now obsolete meaning of *facción*]."

[iii] *estrena*: A handsel or gift given for good luck at the start of a new year or new endeavor; according to Covarrubias, the gift recognizes the relationship between vassal and *señor*, between client and patron, etc.

[iv] A puzzling reference. Hernán Cortés, credited as the Spanish conqueror of Mexico, had two sons named Martín (one legitimate, the other illegitimate); neither participated in the conquest of Peru.

[v] *Santa Elena*: Most likely *Punta Santa Elena* in modern-day Ecuador. The other locations in this stanza are locations in South America, mainly in modern-day Colombia.

[vi] Here and elsewhere, Flores has the dates for events in *la Florida* wrong. Menendez landed and proclaimed the founding of *San Augustín* on September 8, 1565.

[vii] *Juani*: Juani appears to refer to Jean François, a mutineer from Fort Caroline (San Mateo), who figures largely in Solís de Merás biography of Menéndez, the *Memorial*. In Hakluyt's English translation of Laudonnière, the same man is called Francis Jean and is described as "a traitor to his nation," being "one of the mariners which stoale away my barkes, & had guided & conducted [the] Spaniards thither."

[viii] *larga mina / de tierraplene*: A *mina*, or mine, is a tunnel dug under a fortification to destroy it with explosives; in this context, however, *mina* may be a mistake, with a moat, or *foso*, being meant.

[ix] There was a custom in medieval and early modern European warfare up to the mid-seventeenth century to ask for ransoms in exchange for high value captives taken in battle.

[x] *Vandalianos*: Natives of Andalucía, a region sometimes known poetically as *Vandalia* because the Vandals once ruled there.

[xi] *campo de Matanças*: Literally, field of slaughter, but also where the French were killed, near today's Matanzas River or Inlet.

[xii] *a la conclusión de sexta*: The sixth, or noon, hour of prayer; the origin of the word *siesta*, or nap.

[xiii] *Francelini Canabe*: Unidentified; possibly an aside to a specific reader.

[xiv] *los dos cuernos . . . montañas de acayo*: May 16 falls within the astrological sign of Taurus, the Bull, thus the sun "breaking with two horns," with *acayo* being the mountain of Achaea, Greece. Flores misdates Ribao's

surrender, which occurred on October 11, 1565.

[xv] *memento mei*: Remember me. A reference to Luke 23:42: "[A]nd he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom" (KJV).

[xvi] *cinco maneras de gentes*: Literally, five manners or kinds of people.

[xvii] *oyllas*: Translated as *oir las*.

[xviii] *nueve codos por medidad*: A *codo*, or cubit, is the length from one's elbow to the end of one's finger, making these people of western Florida about thirteen feet tall in Flores's description.

[xix] Here and below, a misspelling of *Saturiba*, a sixteenth-century Timucuan; without the letter *u*, neither line is octosyllabic.

[xx] *Alimacani* (also *Limacani*): A Timucuan village on Fort George Island, near present-day Jacksonville.

[xxi] *Mocosa el Bacu*: The Mocoso were a tribe on the east coast of Tampa Bay and *Mocoso* was the name of the tribe's leader; *el Bacu* is an unclear reference or modifier for *Mocoso/a*.

[xxii] *Sus cabellos denegridos / en forma de caballera*: Their hair styled like a *caballera* most likely means a shock of hair in back, a ponytail, or a wig, the latter which was just coming into vogue by the late sixteenth century but would not be popular until the seventeenth century.

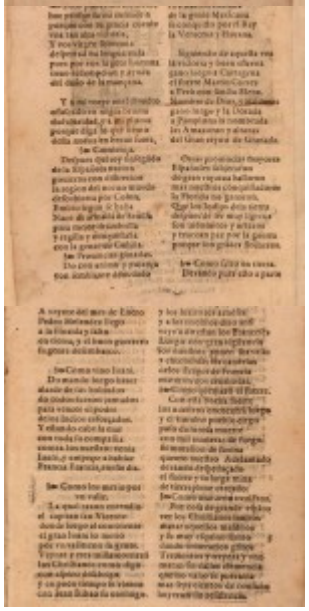
[xxiii] *sus carnes todas de fuera*: Covarrubias defines "estar en carnes" as going naked, suggesting a pun on food, *carne* meaning flesh, both as meat and nudity.

[xxiv] *Menjuy* and *Estoraque*: *Menjuy* is also called *benjuí*, meaning *Benjamin* or gum benzoin. *Estoraque* is *storax*, also called *styrax*. Both are fragrant gums or resins coming from Asian trees of the genus *styrax*, used in medicines and perfume and often mentioned alongside other aromatic gums such as frankincense.

[xxv] *Tacamahaca* and *Caraña*: *Tacahamaca* is a Nahuatl word*; caraña* comes from an unidentified Central American native language. Both are aromatic resins coming from trees native to Mexico and Central America and which were believed to have medicinal qualities.

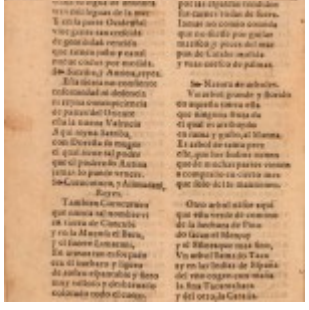


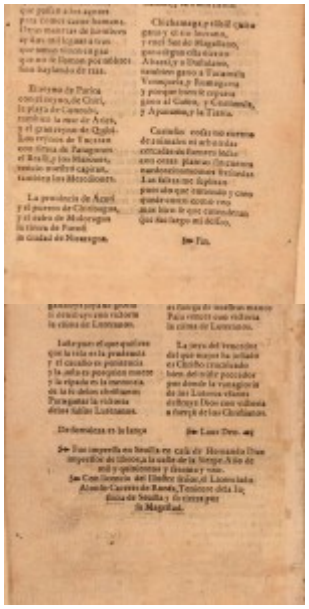
OBRA NVEVAMEN
TE COMPVESTA, EN LA
qual de cosas, la mas vtil y necessaria que Dios por
su infinita bondad y misericordia ha fer-
uido de dar, al Illustre señor Pedro
Menendez, Adelantado y Capitan
de la gouernacion de la mar,
de las Indias, y Aduitado
de la Florida.
CONTRA LA VANIDAD ODENA
cimos Tratos. Con otros muy Lauremos, y los
quales passo à fin de España, ch cierto orden
dados que pone el mesmo de las reuandas
de las Indias dela Florida, y las mara-
villas que passan. Dispuesta en rocha
Castellana, por Bartholomé de
Flores, natural de Malaga y
vezino de Cordoua.











Bartolomé de Flores, *Obra nueuamente compuesta, en la qual se cue[n]ta, la felice victoria que Dios por su infinita bondad y misericordia, fue seruido de dar, al … Pedro Melendez … contra Iuan Ribao.* Sevilla, en casa de Hernando Diaz (1571).
Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

Notes on the Transcription and Translation

For this diplomatic transcription of *La felice victoria*, original spellings have been kept. Diacritical marks (and the lack of diacritical marks) as well as overstruck tildes used to mark omission of one or more letters, usually an *m* or *n*, have been retained; the frequent early modern typographic practice of using an initial *v* to indicate either a *v* or *u* and a medial *u* to indicate either a *u* or *v* has been retained; similarly, the use of *i* to indicate either an *i* or *j* has been retained. A few typographical features that do not affect spelling or meaning have been omitted or modernized, such as omitting ligatures and the use of drop caps or changing the long *s* to a short *s*. However, for ease of reading, printer's ornaments before titles of sections have been retained and have been added to the two pages where they seem to have been accidentally omitted in the original (pages 2v and 3r, from the section titled "Como se retiro Iuan Ribao" ["How Juan Ribao Retreated"] to the section titled "De vn Rio" ["Of a River"]). In addition, spacing between stanzas and sections is not consistent in the original but has been regularized. For the English translation, original Spanish spellings of names, including diacritics, have been retained (e.g., *Melendez* for *Menéndez*); however, early modern practices concerning the letter pairs *v/u* and *i/j* have not been carried over into the translation (i.e., *Iuan Ribao* becomes *Juan Ribao*). Where they have special meanings and fit well into the flow of the poem, some of the original Spanish

has been retained in the translation.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the John Carter Brown Library for assistance in providing us with copies of the poem to work with as well as to publish alongside the translation. In addition, Bogdan Tarnowski of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, at Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland, graciously provided scans of an additional Flores verse pamphlet. We would also like to thank Anna Brickhouse of the University of Virginia as well as Amy Turner Bushnell of the John Carter Brown Library and Paul E. Hoffman of Louisiana State University for help in looking over and making suggestions concerning the translation. We particularly want to thank David Arbesú of the University of South Florida for his generous review of the poem and translation, including insights and information concerning Spanish Golden Age poetics and pronunciation. Shields lastly acknowledges the help of the ECU football team, whose *feliz victoria* in the 2014 field of battle over USF secured him "lead author" status.

Further Reading

For historical usages, we relied upon the collection of online dictionaries available through the Real Academia Española's site <emNuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española. We particularly consulted Sebastián de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611); Covarrubias' *Tesoro* is also available in a 2006 modern print edition, edited by Ignacio Arellano and Rafael Zafra. Flores's poem appeared in José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana* (1898), and is also available in the *Biblioteca virtual Miguel de Cervantes* with silently modernized spelling and punctuation. Bibliographic information about the author comes from Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Nuevo diccionario bibliográfico de pliegos sueltos poéticos (siglo XVI)* (1997).

The poem "Have you heard of floryda" has been reprinted variously, first in Edgar Legare Pennington and Clark Sutherland Northup, "An Early Poem on Florida" (1928). Jean Ribault described the St. Johns in *The Whole & True Discouerye of Terra Florida* (1563). René Goulaine de Laudonnière's *L'histoire notable de la Floride située es Indes Occidentales* (1586) appeared in a 1587 English translation by Richard Hakluyt, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes Unto Florida* (1587); it has also been translated by the former Jacksonsville congressman Charles E. Bennett in *Three Voyages* (2001). Bennett's *Laudonnière and Fort Caroline: History and Documents* (2001) serves as a sourcebook on the Fort Caroline-Menéndez attack. Two contemporary accounts of Menéndez are important sources as well as interesting texts in and of themselves, both written about 1567 and both of which remained in manuscript until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Bartolomé Barrientos's *Vida y hechos de Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* (first published 1902), which has been translated as *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Founder of Florida* (1965), and Gonzalo Solís de Merás' *Memorial* (first published 1893), translated into English by Jeannette Thurber (1923) and more recently by David

Arbesú as *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Conquest of Florida: A New Manuscript* (2015). Nicolas Le Challeux's *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride* (1566) first appeared in English as *A True and Perfect Description, of the Last Voyage or Nauigation, Attempted by Capitaine Iohn Rybaut, Deputie and Generall for the French Men, Into Terra Florida, This Yeare Past* (1566). Most of the early English works and translations are available through the *Early English Books Online* (*EEBO*) database. Selections from several of the French, Spanish, and English works mentioned are available through the Early Visions of Florida: A History of the Imagination website.

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