

# Early Modern Europe, 1450–1789

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF EUROPE, 2ND EDITION

Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks

## Primary Sources

### CHAPTER THIRTEEN: EUROPE IN THE WORLD, 1600-1789

#### CONTENTS

1. Thomas Hakluyt, *The Principle Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 1589.....2
2. Samuel de Champlain: The Foundation of Quebec, 1608 9
3. James Cook, *Journal entry on reaching Tahiti*, April 13, 1769 10
4. Denis Diderot, *Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage* (1771) 14
5. Hendrik Hemel's account of the shipwreck of the VOC ship *Sperwer* in Korea, 1668 .....20
6. Suzuki Shosan on Christianity, 1642 25
7. Robert Clive's speech to Parliament on India, 1772 27
8. Charter of Privileges and Exemptions for the Dutch West India Company, June 7, 1629 .....28
9. *Charter of Privileges which Gustavus Adolphus Has Graciously Given by Letters Patent to the Newly Established Swedish South Company*, June 14, 1626 28
10. *Letters of Marie of the Incarnation*, 1640s-1660s 29
11. Indenture contracts, 1728 and 1755 35
12. Richard Ligon, *The True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, 1657 38
13. Willem Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea...*, 1705 .....41
14. Description of a slave revolt and conditions on board a slave ship, 1732 44
15. Johann Blumenbach, *On the Natural Variety of Mankind*, 1795 45

## **1. Thomas Hakluyt, *The Principle Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 1589**

Thomas Hakluyt was an English clergyman, diplomat, investor, and tireless promoter of voyages. His *Principle Navigations* collected every account he could find about English voyages, beginning with those attributed to King Arthur and ending with his own day. It went through three editions, the first in the year after the Spanish Armada. This is from the preface and beginning of the text of the first edition. The entire second edition can be found at:

<http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/h/hakluyt/voyages/>

### PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

#### RICHARD HAKLUYT TO THE FAVOURABLE READER

I haue thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee brieflie with the Methode and order which I haue vsed in the whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee vnderstand by whose friendly aide in this my trauell I haue bene furthered: acknowledging that ancient speach to be no lesse true then inenious, that the offence is great, Non agnoscere per quos profeceris, not to speake of them by whom a man in his indeuours is assisted.

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoever testimonie I haue found in any author of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I haue recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I haue first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portugall discourse, or whatsoever els, and thereunto in the next roome haue annexed the

signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall trauellours might reape that good opinion, and iust commendation which they haue deserued, and further that euery man might answere for himselfe, iustifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I haue referred euery voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that Peregrinationis historia, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of vniuersall Cosmographie which some men that I could name haue published as their owne, beyng in deed most vntruly and vnprofitable ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring vs to the certayne and full discouerie of the world.

Moreouer, I meddle in this worke with the Nauigations onely of our owne nation: And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occasion required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done yet are they none but such as either faithfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the trauels of our owne people: of whom (to speake trueth) I haue receiued more light in some respects then all our owne Historians could affoord me in this case, Bale, Foxe, and Eden onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be considered that I stand not vpon any action perfourmed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly frequented by our shipping, as for example: Not vpon that victorious exploit not long since atchieued in our narrow Seas agaynst that monstrous Spanish army vnder the valiant and prouident conduct of the right honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England: Not vpon the good seruices of our two woorthie Generals in their late Portugall expedition: Not vpon the two most fortunate attempts of our famous Chieftaine Sir Frauncis Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales vpon a great part

of the enimies chiefest shippes the other neere the Islands vpon the great Carrack of the East India, the first (though peradventure not the last) of that employment, that euer discharged Molucca spices in English portes: these (albeit singular and happy voyages of our renowned countrymen) I omit, as things distinct and without the compasse of my prescribed limites, beyng neither of remote length and spaciousnesse, neither of search and discoverie of strange coasts, the chiefe subiect of this my labour.

Thus much in breuitie shall serue thee for the generall order. Particularhe I haue disposed and digested the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Classes, not without my reasons. In the first I haue martialled all our voyages of any moment that haue bene performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Asia which is neerest, and of the rest hithermost towards vs: For I find that the oldest trauels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the English, were ordinarie to Iudea which is in Asia, termed by them the Holy land, principally for deuotions sake according to the time, although I read in Ioseph Bengorion a very authentically Hebrew author, a testimonie of the passing of 20000. Britains valiant souldiours, to the siege and fearefull sacking of Ierusalem vnder the conduct of Vespasian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the rest most ancient. But of latter dayes I see our men haue pierced further into the East, haue passed downe the mightie riuer Euphrates, haue sayled from Balsara through the Persian gulfe to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which passages written by the parties themselues are herein to be read. To these I haue added the Nauigations of the English made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the streights of Gibraltar: within to Constantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa Cruz, to Asafi, to the Citie of Marocco, to the riuer of Senega, to the

Isles of Cape Verde, to Guynea, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull Cape of Bona Speranza, as farre as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I haue produced in the second place, because our accesse to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our trauailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that haue bene made to the westerne coastes of America. Vnder this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Nauigations of our Brittish Kings as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna vnder the North pole: next to them in consequence, the discoueries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieue, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Noua Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towards the riuier of Ob: after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome and Empire of Russia, with the notable and strange iourney of Master Ienkinson to Boghar in Bactria...

Touching the westerne Nauigations, and trauailes of ours, they succede naturallie in the third and last roome, for asmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shall reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales in saylng and searching towards the west more then 400. yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memoire King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince giuen to Iohn Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discouer & conquer in his name, and vnder his Banners vnknownen Regions who with that royall encouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in

charges of English Marchants departed with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompanied with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant reigne of King Henry the 8. yelded some prosecution of this discoverie for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Maiesties selfe, do approoue and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Noua Hispania. Then immediately ensue 3. voyages made by M. Iohn Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfe of Mexico: vpon which depende sixe verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne to our no smal aduantage. The next leaues thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake vpon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is ioyned an action more venterous then happie of Iohn Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by a Spaniard, which with his companie passed ouer the streight Istme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe ouer Master Frobisher, and his actions which I haue also newly though briefly printed, and as it were reuiued, whatsoeuer Master Iohn Dauis hath performed in continuing that discouery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I haue faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, & singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry haue risen, may be knowen generally of all men, that some may yet still

proscute so noble an action. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that couragious Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Nauigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the prooffe of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter Raleigh, whose entrance vpon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seruiously followed, as it was cheerefully vndertaken...

And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, rootes, apparell, armour, boates, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment to see: herein I my selfe to my singular delight haue bene as it were rauished in beholding all the premisses gathered together with no small cost, and preserued with no litle diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worshipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe, one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope Gentleman Vssier to the right Honourable and most prudent Counseller (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasurer of England...

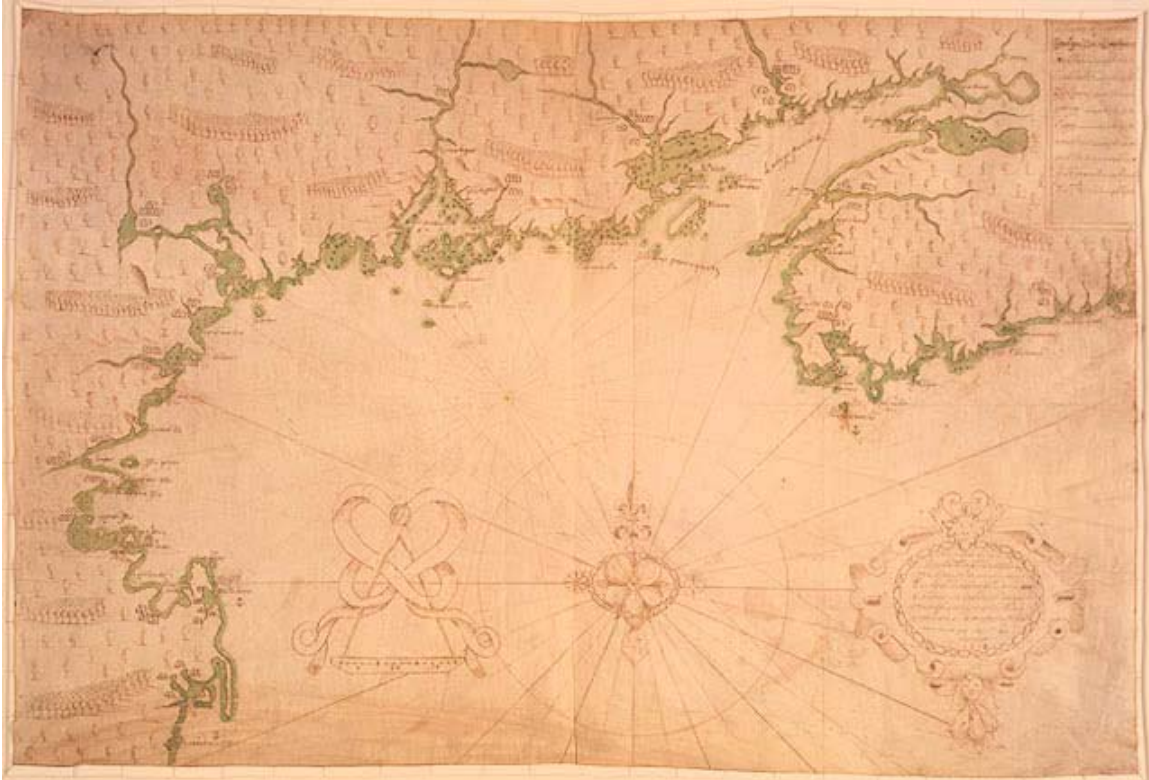
I. Certaine testimonies concerning K. Arthur and his conquests of the North regions, taken out of the historie of the Kings of Britaine, written by Galfridus Monumetensis, and newly printed at Heidelberge, Anno 1587.

In the yere Of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yeere of his reigne, hauing subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his subiection. The rumour afterwards being spread thorowout all the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him, Doldamus the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius

the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeelded him their obedience promising to pay him tribute. The Winter being spent, he returned into Britaine, and establishing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the space of twelue yeres...

After that king Arthur sending his messenger into diuers kingdomes, he summoned such as were to come to his Court, as well out of France, as out of the adiacent Islands of the sea, &c. and a little after: From those adiacent Islands came Guillaumarius king of Ireland, Maluasius king of Island, Doldaius king of Gotland, Gunnasius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aschilius the king of Denmarke.

But the kings of the other Islands, because it was not their custome to breed vp horses, promised the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to send: so that out of the six Islands, namely of Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had sixe score thousand souldiers sent him.



1607 map of the Atlantic coastline of North America, designed and drawn by Samuel de Champlain for the king of France, now in the American Library of Congress.

## 2. Samuel de Champlain: The Foundation of Quebec, 1608

Samuel de Champlain was a French explorer and geographer who first came to North America in 1603. On a second trip, he helped Pierre Dugas, Sieur de Monts, found the settlement of St. Croix, and in 1608 he founded the city of Quebec, which became the first permanent French settlement in North America. In this account, he describes the founding of the city, and includes the letter from King Henry IV giving Sieur de Monts a monopoly on the fur trade.

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1608champlain.html>



The view from Pt. Venus, Tahiti, where Cook watched the transit of Venus.

### **3. James Cook, *Journal entry on reaching Tahiti, April 13, 1769***

In an attempt to measure the size of the solar system, the Royal Society hoped to record the transit of Venus across the face of the sun from several different points on earth. It hired Captain James Cook to record this from Tahiti. (Venus crosses the sun twice in eight years, and then not again for about 120 years; 1769 was the last chance for a long time.) Cook sailed in his ship the Endeavor around South America, then across the Pacific. He reached Tahiti in April and began building a small fort for his observations, which he called Fort Venus. This is his journal record from the day he reached Tahiti, which begins with a discussion of various measures, that he had used to prevent his men from getting scurvy. Scurvy is caused by a lack of Vitamin C, and often afflicted sailors on long voyages who got no fresh fruits and vegetables. The British Navy often used limes to counteract this, and Cook also used sauerkraut. Cook's entire journal for this voyage can be found at:

<http://coombs.anu.edu.au/~cookproj/home.html>

June 8, 2004 saw another transit of Venus, the first since 1882, and there will be another June 6, 2012. For information on Cook' sightings and on modern observations, see:

[http://science.nasa.gov/headlines/y2004/28may\\_cook.htm](http://science.nasa.gov/headlines/y2004/28may_cook.htm)

Thursday, 13th. Winds Easterly. At Anchor in Royle Bay Georges Island. The first part cloudy and squally with showers of rain the remainder gentle Breezes and clear weather. At 4 pm the NE point of Royal Bay W1/2N. Run under an easy sail all night, and had soundings from 22 to 12 fm 2 or 3 Miles from the Shore. At 5 AM made sail for the Bay, and at 7 Anchor'd in 13 fathom. At this time we had but very few men upon the sick list and these had but slight complaints, the Ships company had in general been very healthy owing in a great measure to the Sour krait, Portable Soup and Malt; the two first were serve'd to the People, the one on Beef Days and the other on Banyan [meatless] Days; Wort was made of the Malt and at the discretion of the Surgeon given to every man that had the least symptoms of Scurvy upon him. By this means and the Care and Vigilance of Mr Munkhous the Surgeon this disease was prevented from getting a footing in the Ship. The Sour Krait the Men at first would not eat until I put in practice a method I never once knew to fail with seamen, and this was to have some of it dress'd every Day for the Cabin Table, and permitted all the Officers without exception to make use of it and left it to the option of the Men either to take as much as they pleased or none at all; but this practice was not continued above a week before I found it necessary to put every one on board to an Allowance, for such are the Tempers and dispositions of Seamen in general that whatever you give them out of the Common way, altho it be ever so much for their good yet it will not go down with them and you will hear nothing but murmuring against the man that first invented it; but the Moment they see their Superiors set a Value upon it, it becomes the finest stuff in the World and the inventor an honest fellow.

#### I. Remarkable Occurrences at George's Island

Note. The way of reckoning the Day in Sea Journals is from Noon to Noon, but as the most material transactions at this Island must happen in the Day time this method will be attended with inconveniences in inserting the transactions of each Day; for this reason I shall during our stay at this Island but no longer reckon the day according to the civil account, that is, to begin and end at midnight.

We had no sooner come to an Anchor in Royal Bay as before mentioned than a great number of the natives in their Canoes came off to the Ship and brought with them Cocoa-nuts, &c and these they seem'd to set a great Value upon. Amongst those that came off to the Ship was an elderly Man whose name is Owhaa, him the Gentlemen that had been here before in the Dolphin knew and had often spoke of him as one that had been of service to them, this man (together with some others) I took on board, and made much of him thinking that he might on some occasion be of use to us.

As our stay at this place was not likly to be very short, I thought it very necessary that some order should be Observed in Trafficing with the Natives: that such Merchantdize as we had on board for that purpose might continue to bear a proper value, and not leave it to every ones own particular fancy, which could not fail to bring on confution and quarels between us and the Natives, and would infallible lessen the Value of such Articles as we had to Traffic with: in order to prevent this the following Rules were orderd to be observed: (viz).

Rules to be observ'd by every person in or belonging to His Majestys Bark the Endeavour, for the better establishing a regular and uniform Trade for Provisions, &c: with the Inhabitants of Georges Island.

1st To endeavour by every fair means to cultivate a friendship with the Natives and to treat them with all imaginable humanity.

2d        A proper person or persons will be appointed to trade with the Natives for all manner of Provisions, Fruit, and other productions of the earth; and no officer or Seaman, or other person belonging to the Ship, excepting such as are so appointed, shall Trade or offer to Trade for any sort of Provisions, Fruit, or other productions of the earth unless they have my leave so to do.

3d        Every person employ'd a shore on any duty whatsoever is strictly to attend to the same, and if by neglect he looseth any of His Arms or working tools, or suffers them to be stole, the full Value thereof will be charged against his pay, according to the Custom of the Navy in such cases, and he shall recive such farther punishment as the nature of the offence may deserve.

4<sup>th</sup>        The same penalty will be inflicted upon every person who is found to imbezzle, trade, or offer to trade with any of the Ship's Stores of what nature so ever.

5<sup>th</sup>        No Sort of Iron, or any thing that is made of Iron, or any sort of Cloth or other usefull or necessary articles are to be given in exchange for any thing but provisions.

J.C.

#### 4. Denis Diderot, *Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage* (1771)

Louis Antoine de Bougainville was the captain of the first French expedition to circumnavigate the globe. He later wrote a widely read book describing his voyages and the Polynesians he had met. The philosopher Denis Diderot added a fictionalized version of Bougainville's encounter with the Tahitians, though he couched it as a "supplement," and claimed it included materials that Bougainville had been hesitant to publish, as it showed the Europeans in a bad light. It was also widely read, and became an important text in Enlightenment debates about civilization. In this scene, an older Tahitian speaks to a crowd just as Bougainville is leaving. For the entire text, see:

<http://courses.essex.ac.uk/cs/cs101/Boug.htm>

##### The Old Man's Farewell

He was the father of a large family. On the arrival of the Europeans, he cast looks of disdain at them, showing neither astonishment, fright, nor curiosity. [The presence of this old man and his attitude to the Europeans are mentioned by Bougainville.] They came up to him: he turned his back on them and retired into his cabin. His silence and his anxiety revealed his thoughts too well. He groaned within himself over the happy days of his country, now for ever eclipsed. On the departure of Bougainville, as the inhabitants rushed in a crowd on to the beach, attached themselves to his clothing, hugged his comrades in their arms and wept, this old man advanced, severe in mien, and said: "Weep, luckless Tahitiens weep, but for the arrival not for the departure of these ambitious and wicked men. One day you will know them better. One day they will return, holding in one hand the morsel of wood you see attached to this man's belt, in the other, the iron which hangs from that man's side: they will return to throw you into chains, to cut your throats, or to subject you to their extravagance and vices: one day you will serve under them, as corrupted, as vile, as luckless

as they. One consolation I have. My life is drawing to its close. And the calamity I announce to you, shall not see. O Tahitiens, my friends, there is one method which might save you from your tragic future. But I would rather die than advise it. Let them withdraw and live."

Then addressing Bougainville, he added :

"And thou, chief of the brigands who obey thee, quickly push off thy vessel from our shore. We are innocent; we are happy: and thou canst not but spoil our happiness. We follow the pure instinct of nature: thou hast sought to efface its character from our souls. Here all things belong to all men. Thou hast preached some strange distinction between thine and mine. Our daughters and our wives were held in common by us all: thou hast shared this privilege with us, and thou hast come and inflamed them with frenzies unknown before. They have lost their reason in thy arms. Thou hast become ferocious in theirs. They have come to hate each other. You have slaughtered each other for them: they have come back stained with your blood. We are free: and see thou hast planted in our earth the title of our future slavery. Thou art neither god nor demon. Who art thou then to make slaves? Orou! [a Tahitian who had learned European languages and served as a translator] thou who understandest the language of these men, tell us all as thou hast told me, what they have written on this metal blade! This country is ours. This country is thine! And why? Because thou hast set foot there? If a Tahitien disembarked one day upon your shores, and graved upon one of your stones or on the bark of one of your trees: This country belongs to the inhabitants of Tahiti, what wouldst thou think of such a proceeding? Thou art the stronger! But what of that? When someone took from you one of those rubbishy trifles with which your hut is filled, thou didst cry out and take thy revenge. Yet at that moment thou wast projecting in the depth of thy heart the theft of a whole country. Thou

art not a slave. Thou wouldst suffer death rather than become one, yet us thou wouldst enslave. Thinkest thou then that the Tahitien cannot defend his liberty and die? He, whom thou wishest to seize like an animal, the Tahitien, is thy brother. You are both children of nature. What right hast thou over him that he has not over thee? Thou art come. Did we fall upon thee? Did we pillage thy ship? Did we seize thee and expose thee to the arrows of our enemies? Did we yoke thee to our animals toiling in the fields? No. We have respected our image in thee. Leave us our customs. They are wiser and more honourable than thine. We have no wish to barter what thou callest our ignorance against thy useless knowledge. We possess all that is necessary and good for us. Do we deserve contempt because we have not known how to fabricate for ourselves wants in superfluity? When we are hungry we have enough to eat; when we are cold the means to clothe ourselves. Thou hast entered our cabins. What, in thy opinion, is lacking? Pursue as long as thou wilt what thou callest the commodities of life. But permit sensible beings to stop, when by continuing their painful labour they will gain but imaginary good. If thou persuadest us to cross the narrow limit of necessity, when shall we stop working? What time will be left over for enjoying ourselves? We have reduced to the smallest possible the sum of our annual and daily toil, because to us nothing seems better than repose. Go back to thine own country to trouble and torment thyself as much as thou wilt. Trouble us neither with thy artificial needs, nor thy imaginary virtues. Look at these men: how straight, healthy, and robust they are! Look at these women. How straight, healthy, fresh and fair they are. Take this bow. It is mine. Call to help thee, one, two, three, four of thy comrades and try to bend it. I bend it myself alone. I plough the earth. I climb the mountain. I pierce the forest. I cover a league of the plain in less than an hour. Thy young companions can scarcely follow me, and I am ninety years old and more. Woe to this island! Woe to all Tahitiens present

and to come for the day of this thy visit! We only know one illness that to which man, animal and plant have been condemned, old age: and thou hast brought to us another. Thou hast infected our blood. Perhaps we shall have to exterminate with our own hands, our daughters, our wives, our children: the men who have approached thy women: the women who have approached thy men. Our fields will be damp with the impure blood which has passed from thy veins into ours: else our children will be condemned to nourish and perpetuate the ill thou hast given to their fathers and mothers and to transmit it for ever to their descendants. Wretch! thou wilt be guilty of the ravages that follow thy fatal embraces or of the murders we shall commit to check the poison! Thou speakest of crimes! Knowest thou a greater than thine own? What with thee is the punishment for the man who kills his neighbour? Death by iron. And what for the coward who poisons him? Death by fire. Compare thy crime to this latter one, and tell us, poisoner of nations, the punishment thou deservest. A moment ago the young Tahitien maiden abandoned herself with transport to the embraces of the Tahitien boy: she waited with impatience till her mother (authorized by her reaching the nubile age), raised her veil and bared her throat. She was proud to excite the desires or to fix the amorous gaze of the stranger, her parents or her brother. She accepted fearlessly and shamelessly, in our presence, midst a circle of innocent Tahitiens, to the sound of flutes, between the dances, the caresses of him her young heart and the secret voice of her senses had chosen. The idea of crime and the danger of disease have come with thee amongst us. Our pleasures, formerly so sweet, are accompanied by remorse and terror. That man in black, next you, who listens to me, has spoken to our boys. I know not what he has said to our girls. But our boys hesitate: our girls blush. Plunge if thou wilt into the dark forest with the perverse partner of thy pleasures, but allow the good and simple Tahitiens to reproduce without shame, in the face of

heaven and the open day. What sentiment more honourable and greater couldst thou find to replace the one we have breathed into them and which animates their lives? They think the moment has come to enrich the nation and the family with a new citizen and they glory in it. They eat to live and grow. They grow to multiply, they find there neither vice nor shame. Listen to the succession of thy crimes. Scarcely hadst thou appeared among them, but they turn thieves. Scarcely hadst thou descended on our soil, but it smoked blood. That Tahitien who ran to meet thee, who greeted thee, who received thee crying Taio, friend, friend: you killed him. And why, did you kill him? Because he had been seduced by the glitter of thy little serpents' eggs. He gave thee his fruits: he offered thee his wife and daughter: he yielded thee his cabin. And thou hast killed him for a handful of these grains, which he took from thee without asking . And this people? At the sound of thy deadly firearms, terror seized them and they fled into the mountain. But understand they would have speedily come down again. Without me you may be sure you would all have perished in an instant. Why have I calmed, why have I restrained them? Why do I restrain them even now? I do not know. For thou deservest no sentiment of pity. Thou hast a ferocious soul which never felt it. Thou didst walk, thou and thine, in our island: thou hast been respected: thou hast enjoyed everything: thou hast found in thy way neither barrier nor refusal: thou wast invited in: thou sattest down: there was laid out before thee the abundance of the country. Didst thou wish for our young girls? Save for these, who have not yet the privilege of showing face and throat, their mothers presented thee them all quite naked. Thine the tender victim of hostile duty. For her and for thee the ground hast been scattered with leaves and flowers: the musicians have tuned their instruments: nothing has troubled the sweetness nor hindered the liberty of her caresses or thine. The hymn was chanted, the hymn which exhorted thee to be a man and our child to be a woman, a

woman yielding and voluptuous. There was dancing round your bed, and it is on leaving the arms of this woman, after feeling on her breast the sweetest rapture, that thou hast killed her brother, her friend, her father perhaps. Thou hast done worse still. Look this way. See this enclosure stiff with arms: these arms which had only menaced our enemies, they are turned against our own children: see the wretched companions of our pleasures: see their sadness. See the grief of their fathers: the despair of their mothers. In that place they have been condemned to perish by our hands or by the ills that thou hast done them. Withdraw unless thy cruel eyes take pleasure in spectacles of death: withdraw, go, and may the guilty seas which have spared thee in thy voyage gain their own absolution and avenge us by swallowing thee up before thy return. And you, Tahitiens, return to your cabins every one of you and let these unworthy strangers hear on their departure but the moaning wave, and see but the foam whose fury whitens a deserted beach."

He had scarcely finished, but the crowd of inhabitants had disappeared. A vast silence reigned over all the island. Nothing was heard but the shrill whistle of the winds and the dull noise of the water along all the coast. One might have thought that air and water, responsive to the old man's voice, were happy to obey him.



An illustration from Hemel's account

### **5. Hendrik Hemel's account of the shipwreck of the VOC ship *Sperwer* in Korea, 1668**

In 1653, the Dutch Ship *Sperwer* (Sparrow-hawk) left Taiwan for Nagasaki in Japan, on a normal trading mission. It never arrived, and was viewed as lost. Thirteen years later, a small boat carrying eight Dutchmen was picked up by the Japanese. They turned out to have been the last of the *Sperwer*'s crew, who had been shipwrecked and living in Korea, apparently forced to stay there by Korean officials who did not want reports about the country reaching the West. Hendrick Hemel, one of the survivors, wrote about the voyage and about Korea, providing some of the first information from Europeans about that country; his account was published in Dutch in 1668, and later translated into other languages. The section below relates what happened when they were taken from the site of the shipwreck to visit the local provincial governor. For the complete journal, and many more sources about this voyage, see:

<http://www.hendrick-hamel.henny-savenije.pe.kr/>

That afternoon they motioned us that we were to leave. Those, who were still able to ride, received a horse and those who could not ride because of the injuries, were transported in hammocks. After the noon we left, well guarded by horsemen and foot-soldiers. At night we stayed at a little place

called Tadjang (TaejOng). After we had eaten something, they brought us to a house to sleep but it looked more like a stable for horses than like an inn or a place to sleep. We had traveled for around four miles. At the morning of the 22nd time at the break of dawn, we mounted our horses again and we used a meal on our way at a small fortress, near which two junks were moored (at Aewôl, the old harbor is still there). In the afternoon we reached the city Moggan (Cheju city), where the residence of the governor of the island was. They call the governor Mocxo (probably Hamel mixed up the name for the governor and the city name). Having arrived there, we were brought on a field straight in front a city hall or government building and we got to drink a mug of rice water. We thought that this would be our last drink and that we would die a certain death. It was terrible to see, like they stood there with around 3000 armed men with their guns. They were dressed in the way of the Chineesen or Iapanders. We had never seen or heard something like this.

Immediately the bookkeeper and the three previously mentioned persons were taken in the previously mentioned manner in front of the governor and were thrown down. After they had lain there for a while, did he shout and motioned that they had to come on a big platform in the city hall. There he was, like a king, and seated along his side, he motioned and asked where we came from and whereto we wanted to go. We repeated and motioned as well as we could, that we wanted to go to Nangasackij in Iapan. Hereupon he nodded the head and it appeared that he could understand something of it. In the same way the rest of our people were brought to his excellency, in groups of four and questioned in the same way. We did our best to indicate what our answers were. Like before, we couldn't. As it seemed later, the governor was a good and wise man. He was about 70 years old and came from the king's city and at the court they held him in high esteem. He motioned us that he would write a letter to the king

to await orders what he should do with us. Since the answer of the King could not be expected soon, because the letter had to for twelve to thirteen miles by sea and another 70 by land, we asked the governor to give us every now and then some meat or some other additional. Because from rice with water and salt, we couldn't stay alive. We also asked permission to stroll around a little bit and to wash our bodies and clothes, which we didn't have very much anymore and that we were allowed to go out at turns of six men, which was granted immediately.

He had us come often, to ask us, both in their as in our language, questions therefore we could gradually communicate with each other, though in a crooked and broken way. He sometimes had parties or other entertainment organized, so that we wouldn't be too sad, and tried to encourage us daily by suggesting we could leave for Nangasackij as soon as the answer of the king came in. He also had the wounded cure, so we received a treatment from a heathen which would have ashamed many a Christian.

On October 29th in the afternoon, the bookkeeper, the head coxswain and the petty barber were summoned before the governor. When they came to him they found a man there with a long red beard. The governor asked them what kind of man that was, whereupon they answered: a Hollander like us. Hereupon the governor started to laugh and motioned or said that this was a Coreese man. After a lot of talking and motioning on both sides, the man, who had been silent thus far, asked, in very crooked Dutch, what kind of people we were and where we came from. We answered him "Hollanders from Amsterdam." Furthermore he asked us where we came from and where we were going to. Our people answered hereupon that they came from Taijoan with the intention to go to Nangasackij. This however, was prevented by the Almighty. Because of a storm which had

lasted for five days, we stranded on this island and expected now a lenient solution.

Our people asked him for his name, from what country he came and how he had come there. He answered thus: "My name is Jan Janse Weltevre from De Rijk. I came in 1626 with the ship *Hollandia* from the fatherland and in 1626, while going to Japan with the *jaght Ouwerkerck*, due to the unfavorable wind, we stranded at the coast of Coree. We needed water and we went with the boat ashore, where three of us were captured by the inhabitants. The boat with the remaining companions got away and the ship left immediately." He said furthermore that his two companions were killed after 17 or 18 years, when the Tartar came into the country, were killed. They were (called) Dirk Gijsbertsz from De Rijk and Jan Pieterse Verbaest from Amsterdam.

They asked him also where he lived, how he made a living and why he came to the island. He said that he stayed in the king's city (Seoul). He received from the king a royal maintenance and that he was sent there to find out what kind of people we were and how we got there. He told us further that he had asked the king and other high administrators to be sent to Japan. This, however, was him forbidden all the time.

He said that if we were birds, we could fly to there. They don't send foreigners from this country. They will provide you with a living and for clothes and in this way you will have to end your life in this country. He tried to comfort us in this way. Even if we came in front of the king, we couldn't expect anything else, so that our joy of having found an interpreter, almost changed into sadness. It was remarkable that this man, of 57 or 58 years old, almost had forgotten his mother tongue, so that we hardly could understand him and had learned it again within a month.



A painting of the Virgin Mary made in the Jesuit mission in Japan, combining European themes and Japanese ideals of female beauty.

## 6. Suzuki Shosan on Christianity, 1642

Suzuki Shosan was a Japanese samurai, and originator of what came to be known as “Ferocious Zen,” which advocated action and courage rather than contemplation. He wrote this attack on Christian teachings in 1642, shortly after Christianity had been banned in Japan as part of the effort to remove all foreign influences.

According to the Kirishitan teachings, the Great Buddha named Deus is the Lord of Heaven and Earth and is the One Buddha, self-sufficient in all things. He is the Creator of Heaven and Earth and of the myriad phenomena. This Buddha made his entry into the world one thousand six hundred years ago in South Barbary, saving all sentient beings. His name is Jesus Christus. That other lands do not know him, worshipping instead the worthless Amida and Shaka, is the depth of stupidity. Thus they claim, as I have heard.

To counter, I reply: If Deus is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and if he created the terrestrial domain and the myriad phenomena, then why has this Deus until now left abandoned a boundless number of countries without making an appearance? Ever since heaven and earth were opened up, the Buddhas of the Three Worlds in alternating appearance have endeavored to save all sentient beings, for how many thousands and tens of thousands of years! But meanwhile, in the end Deus has not appeared in countries other than South Barbary; and what proof is there that he did make an appearance of late, in South Barbary alone? If Deus were truly the Lord of Heaven and Earth, then it has been great inattention on his part to permit mere attendant Buddhas to take over country upon country which he personally created, and allow them to spread their Law and endeavor to save all sentient beings, from the opening up of heaven and earth down to the present day. In truth, this Deus is a foolscap Buddha!

And then there is the story that Jesus Christus upon making his appearance was suspended upon a cross by unenlightened fools of this lower world. Is one to call this the Lord of Heaven and Earth? Is anything more bereft of reason? This Kirishitan sect will not recognize the existence of the One Buddha of Original Illumination and Thusness. They have falsely misappropriated one Buddha to venerate, and have come to this country to spread perniciousness and deviltry. They shall not escape Heaven's punishment for this offence! But many are the unenlightened who fail to see through their clumsy claims, who revere their teachings and even cast away their lives for them. Is this not a disgrace upon our country? Notorious even in foreign lands, lamentable indeed!



An exoticized view of Clive's negotiations in India.

## 7. Robert Clive's speech to Parliament on India, 1772

Robert Clive was an official in the English East India Company who was instrumental in defeating the French forces to secure Bengal for British interests. He became the governor-general of Bengal, and extremely wealthy in the process. This led to investigations in Parliament about the source of his wealth and to questions about his conduct and that of other British officials in India. In this speech to parliament, he describes the situation in India, and defends the conduct of British officials there.

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1772clive-india.html>

## **8. Charter of Privileges and Exemptions for the Dutch West India Company, June 7, 1629**

The Dutch East India Company (VOC) was so successful that in 1621 the States General of the Netherlands chartered a similar West India Company to handle trade in the Atlantic. In this revised and expanded charter of 1629, the States General promised to supply troops and ships “if by a violent and continued interruption of the aforesaid navigation and traffic, the business within the limits of their Company shall be brought to an open war.” The charter also set out how the Company was to be governed and how profits were to be distributed. In this, the charter is very similar to other charters issued by many European governments.

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/westind.htm>

## **9. *Charter of Privileges which Gustavus Adolphus Has Graciously Given by Letters Patent to the Newly Established Swedish South Company*, June 14, 1626**

Several prominent Dutch merchants carried out work for other countries, including Sweden, and in 1626 Gustavus Adolphus decided to follow the Dutch example and establish a chartered company for trade in the Caribbean and Atlantic. The opening paragraph captures European motives succinctly: “And whereas by the reports of experienced and trustworthy men we have received reliable and certain intelligence that there are in Africa, America, and Magellanica, or terra australis, many rich countries and islands, of which some are inhabited by quiet and rather effeminate people, some by heathens and savages, some uninhabited, and some as yet only imperfectly explored. With which said countries it will not only be possible to carry on an extraordinary large commerce from our kingdom, but it is also most likely that the said people may likewise be made more civilized and taught morality and the Christian religion by the mutual intercourse and trade.” [http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/charter\\_014.htm](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/charter_014.htm)



pray to God, recite their catechism, or perform some little piece of work or task, they are ready at once, without murmurs and without excuses.

They have a special inclination to pray to God outside the hours specified for doing so and for their instruction. They urge us a hundred times a day to have them pray, and to teach them how it should be done, never wearying of this act. You will see them clasping their little hands, and giving their hearts to our Lord. They attend holy Mass every day, and are so attentive—not playing and talking, like the little children in France—that we are delighted...

They do not fail to recite their rosary every day. If they notice some Nun going aside to say hers, they present themselves to say it with her...They sometimes slip into our choir, and placing themselves on opposite sides, each holding a book in her hand, they act as we do during our service. They sing the Ave Maris stella and the Gloria Patri, making the same inclinations that they see us make; they sing it twenty and thirty times without tiring of it, thinking that they are offering a prayer very acceptable to God. This innocence is enchanting...

Their favorite recreation is to dance, after the fashion of their country; they do not do this, however, without permission. Having come one Friday to ask this, they were told that Jesus had died on Friday, and that it was a day of sadness. Nothing more was needed to stop them. "We will dance no more on the day," they said; "we will be sad, since Jesus died on such a day."...

I was greatly consoled when I learned that the Reverend Father Superior was inclined to have three of our seminarists make their first communion, if they were considered fitted for it. Father Claude Pijard instructed them with great care; he is much comforted at seeing them so well inclined. Verily, my good Father, they manifest so much desire to possess so great a

blessing that you would say they are about to enter heaven, so much joy appears on their faces. Agnes committed some childish fault yesterday; she was told that she was offending God. She began to cry, and, when asked the reason, she replied, "They will not let me receive communion, because I have offended God." She could not have been comforted, had we not assured her that that should not keep her from communion. They are so attentive to what is taught them that, besides the instruction the Father gives them, if I wished to have them repeat what has been told them, and what is contained in the catechism, from morning until night, they would willingly submit to this. I am carried away with astonishment at them; I have never seen girls in France so eager to be instructed, or to pray to God, as are our seminarists. I believe that the blessings of heaven are fully bestowed upon these innocent souls, for such they certainly are...

We learned that our Huron Seminarist, who was captured about ten years ago by the Iroquois, was married in their country; that she was the mistress in her cabin, which contained several families; that she prayed to God every day; and that she induced others to pray to him. This appears the more wonderful, as she was only about thirteen or fourteen years old when she was carried away by those Barbarians. We have in our house her sister, who is a young widow of charming modesty, and greatly given to prayer. She prays every day, as long as do the Nuns themselves; she lives almost constantly in the presence of God; and her soul is so illuminated, and so filled with light and with motives for the exercise of virtue, that, plainly, she is governed by a Spirit more exalted and sublime than that of man.

The father and mother of one of our Seminarists (our poverty compels us to maintain them in very small numbers) came to see their daughter, who was about ten years old. They told her that, as peace was being made with the Iroquois, those whom her father had known in that country, where he

had been a captive, were inviting him to go and dwell there with all his family; and, thereupon, they asked her whether she would not like to be one of the party and follow her father and mother. "What?" she rejoined, "are you not ashamed to wish to leave the country of prayer, and go to a place where you will be in danger of losing the faith? Are you not well aware that the Iroquois do not believe in God, and that, being among them, you will live as they do? Go, if you will, to that wretched country, but I shall not follow you; I will never leave the holy maidens if you forsake me." Her parents respected her courage, and assured her that they would not go away from the house of prayer...

As good trees bring forth good fruit, this noble Christian woman has a daughter who inherits the holy inclinations of her good mother. This child lives with the hospital Nuns, acting as Interpreter for the poor Huron patients, of whom there has been a goodly number all the year in that house of mercy. She is so intelligent that she mastered the French language in less than two years; and then learned to read and write, so that she outstrips the little French girls. She is of so excellent a disposition that she never excuses herself when her little faults are corrected; and if any one of her companions is accused of error, she is wont to say that it was she who committed the offense, and that she has no sense. Not long ago she made her first Communion; and, in proof that she knew him who had just visited her, she voluntarily offered herself to him, imploring him to retain her in his house and graciously permit her to become a Nun. She has so strong a faith that he will grant her this favor, that she is determined never to leave the Convent where she is, for the purpose of going to see her good mother and her relatives, who live at a distance of only two leagues from Quebec. And, if they come to see her, she is so afraid that they will speak to her of leaving this Hospital, that she dismisses them with very few words — an unusual thing for children to do. But he who gives force to the winds, and

who takes pleasure in innocence, makes their hearts strong and their tongues eloquent when he chooses.

[Describing a woman named Khionrea, a Huron who had learned both French and Algonquin] Two Huron men from her village came to the convent two years later and she preached to them through the grill. They listened to this young woman with unrivalled attention, and one day, when they were on the point of being baptized, one of them pretended no longer to believe in God and so she need no longer speak to him of faith or baptism. Our fervent Therese ... became disturbed and said, "What are you talking about? I see the Devil has overturned all your thoughts so that you will be lost. Know you well that if you died today, you would go to Hell where you would burn with Devils, who would make you suffer terrible torments." The good man laughed at everything she said, which made her think that he spoke with a spirit of contempt. She redoubled her exhortations to combat him, but failing, she came to us in tears. "Ah," she said, "he is lost; he's left the faith; he will not be baptized. It hurt me so to see him speak against God that if there had not been a grill between us, I would have thrown myself on him to beat him." We went to find out the truth ... and the man affirmed that he had done this only to test her faith and zeal.

[Describing another Huron woman, Cecline Gannendaris]: She was so solidly instructed in our mysteries and so eloquent in explaining them that she was sent foreign Savages, who were asking to embrace the faith. In a few days she had them ready for baptism, and had reduced the opinionated ones beyond defense by her good reasoning.

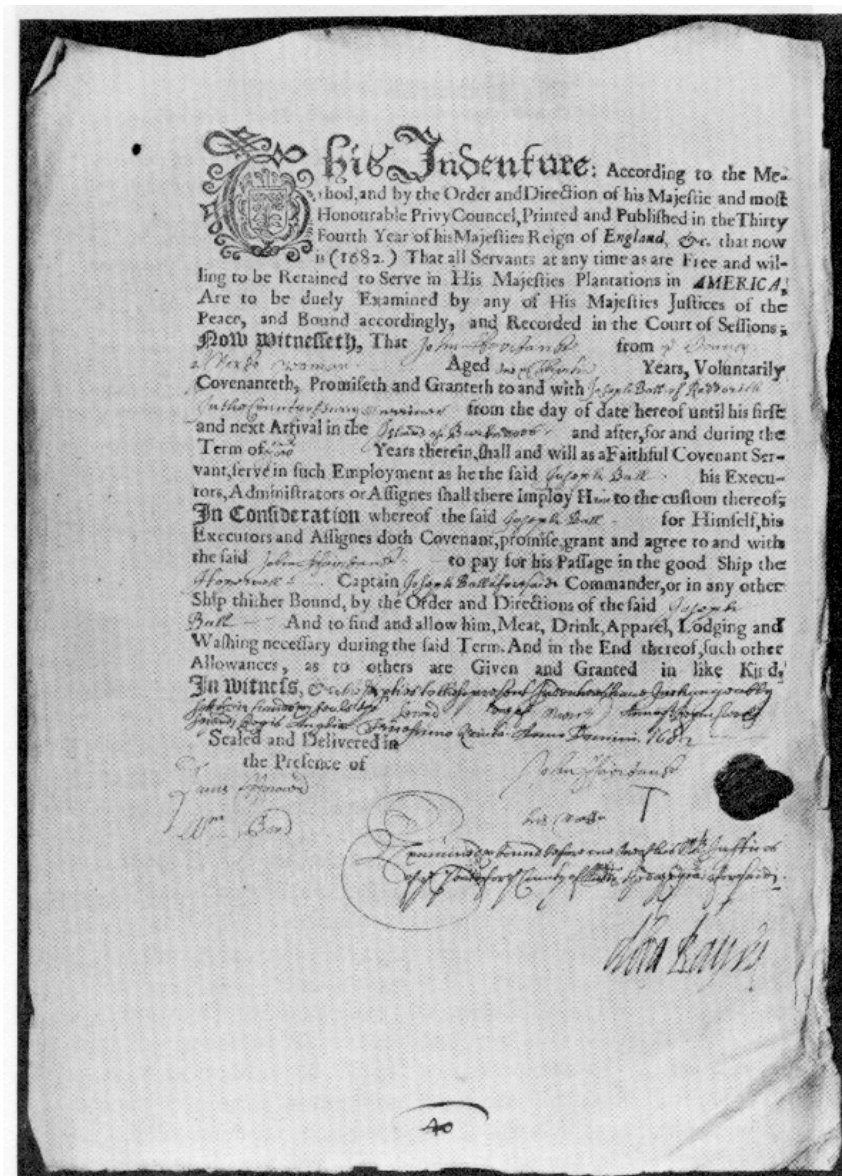


Figure 3.2 Indenture contract, Type B, Middlesex County, January 1683–May 1684

An indenture contract from 1683 (1682 old dating system) for a young man going to Barbados. The servant is illiterate, as he signs simply with an X (which actually looks like a T). Contracts were so common that they were printed up, as is this one, with blanks to fill in for the employer, servant, destination, and ship. Interestingly, this was dated as the “thirty-fourth year of His Majesty’s reign in England,” thus counting the years of Charles II’s reign from the execution of Charles I in 1649, rather than the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.

## 11. Indenture contracts, 1728 and 1755

Many Europeans came to the Caribbean and North America came as indentured servants, trading work for a certain number of years in exchange for their passage. The terms were set by an indenture contract, of which the following are very typical.

This Indenture, Made the Nineteenth Day July in the Second Year of the Reign of our Supreme Sovereign Lord, George the Second, King of Great Britain, &c. An. Dom. 1728 Between Rice Thomas of Clankerry in the County of Carmanthan \_\_\_\_\_ of the one Part, and Joseph Langdon of this City mariner of the other Part witnesseth, That the said Rice Thomas \_\_\_\_\_ hath, and by these Presents doth bind, and put himself an Apprentice and Servant to the said Thomas Langdon to Serve him, or his Assigns in the Plantation of Pennsylvania----beyond the Seas for the space of six Years next Ensuing, the arrival of said Servant in the said Plantation: And doth hereby Covenant well and truly to serve his said Master, or his lawful Assigns, in the said Plantation, for and during the said Term, according to the Laws and Customs of the said Plantation: And doth further Declare and Covenant That he the said Servant at the same Time of the Ensealing hereof, is of the Age of sixteen Years, a single Person, and no Covenant, or Contracted Servant to any other Person, or Persons. And the said Master for himself, his Executors, and Assigns, In Consideration thereof, doth hereby Covenant, Promise, and Agree, to, and with his said Servant, that he the said Master, or his Assigns, shall and will, at his, or their own proper Costs and Charges, with what convenient Speed they may, Carry and Convey, or cause to be Carry'd and Convey'd over unto the said Plantation, his said Servant; and from henceforth, and during the said Voyage, and also during the said Term, and at the End thereof, shall and will at the like Costs and Charges provide for, and allow his said Servant all necessary Cloaths, Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging, and all other

Necessaries, fit and convenient for him according to the Custom of the said Plantation, and as other Servants in such Cases are usually Provided for, and Allow'd.

In Witness whereof, the said Parties have to these present Indentures interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the Day and Year above written.

[signature of Joseph Langdon appears here]

Sealed and Deliver'd in the Presence of the Justice

This is to Certifie, That the above-named Rice Thomas came before Me M Draper ----- the Day and Year above-written, and declared himself to be a single Person, and no Covenant, or Contracted Servant to any Person, or Persons, to be of the age of Station \_\_\_\_\_ Years, and to be desirous to serve the above-named \_\_\_\_\_ Joseph Langdon six Years, according to the Tenor and Indenture above-written. All which is Register'd in the Office for the Purpose appointed by Letters Patents. In Witness whereof, I have hereunto affixed the Common Seal of the said Office.

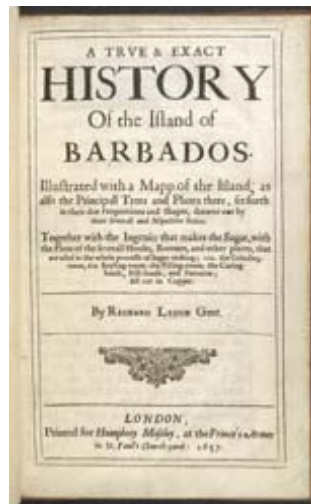
[signature and title of M. Draper appears here]

This Indenture, Made the Fourth Day of August in the Twenty-ninth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second King of Great Britain, & And in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and fifty five Between William Buckland of Baford Carpenter & Joiner of the one Part, and Thomson Mason of London, Esq. of the other Part, Witnesseth, That the said William Buckland for the Consideration herein after-mentioned, hath, and by these Presents doth Covenant, Grant, and Agree to, and with the said Thomas Mason Executors and assigns, That He the said William Buckland shall and will, as a faithful Covenant Servant, well and truly serve the said Thomas Mason his Executors and assigns in the Plantation of Virginia beyond the Seas, for the Space of Four Years, next ensuing his

Arrival in the said Plantation in the Employment of a Carpenter and Joiner. And the said William Buckland doth hereby Covenant and Declare him self, now to be the Age of Twenty two Years Single and no Covenant or contracted Servant to any other Person or Persons, And the said Thomas Mason for himself his Executors Or Assigns, in Consideration thereof, doth hereby Covenant, Promise And Agree to and with the said William Buckland his Executors, and Assigns, that He the said Thomas Mason his Executors or Assigns, shall and will at his or their own proper Costs and Charges, with what convenient Speed they may, carry and convey, or cause to be carried and conveyed over unto the said Plantation, the said Wm Buckland and from henceforth, and during the said Voyage, and also during the said Term, shall and will at the like Costs and Charges, provide for and allow the said Wm Buckland all necessary Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging, fit and convenient for Wm as Covenant Servants in such Cases are usually provided for and allowed and pay and allow William Buckland Wages on Salary at the Rate of Twenty Pounds Sterling per Annum Payable Quarterly And for the true Performance of the Premisses, the said Parties, the these Presents bind themselves, their Executors and Administrators, the either to the other, in the Penal Sum of Forty Pounds Sterling, firmly by these Presents. In witness whereof, they have hereunto interchanged by set their Hands and Seals, the Day and Year above-written. Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of

Tho Hayes Wm Buckland

W Kidd



## 12. Richard Ligon, *The True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, 1657

Richard Ligon was an English sugar planter on the Caribbean island of Barbados, just when this island was becoming the main supplier of sugar for the British market. He included a long discussion of sugar growing and processing, and the slave system that supported it, in the history of Barbados that he wrote in 1657. In his book, Ligon uses the term “Christian” to refer to Europeans, though some of the African slaves were also Christian.

The work of sugar making ... is now grown the sole trade in this island ...

It has been accounted a strange thing, that the Negroes, being more than double the number of Christians that there are, and they accounted a bloody people ... should not commit some horrible massacre upon the Christians thereby to enfranchise themselves and become masters of the island. But there are three reasons that they do not: the one is, that they are not suffered to touch or handle any weapons, the other, that they are held in such awe and slavery as they are fearful to appear in any daring act; and seeing the mustering of our men and hearing the gun shot (which nothing is more terrible to them) their spirits are subjugated to follow a condition, as they dare not look up to any bold attempt. Besides these,

there is a third reason which stops all designs of that kind, and that is that they are fetched from several parts of Africa who speak several languages. And by that means one of them understands not another. For some of them are fetched from Guinea and Bonny...some from Angola, and some from the river of Gambia. And in some of these places where petty kingdoms are. They sell their subjects, as such as they take in battle, whom they make slaves; and some mean men sell their servants, their children, or sometimes their wives, and think all good traffic for such commodities as our merchants feed them.

When they are brought to us, the planters buy them out of the ship, where they find them stark naked, and therefore cannot be deceived in any outward infirmity. They choose them as they do horses in a market; the strongest, youngest, and most beautiful yield the greatest prices...And we buy them so the sexes may be equal; for if they have more men than women the men who are unmarried will come to their masters and complain, that they cannot live without wives. And he tells them that the next ship that comes he will buy them wives, which satisfies them for the present...

At the time the wife is to give birth, her husband removes his board (which is his bed) to another room (for many several divisions they have, in their little houses, and none above six feet square) and leaves his wife to God, and her good fortune, in the room, and upon the board alone, and calls a neighbour to come to her, who gives little help to her delivery, but when the child is born (which she calls her Pickininny) she helps make a little fire near her feet. In a fortnight this woman is at work with her child at her back, as merry a soul as any there is. If the overseer be discreet, she is suffered to rest herself a little more than ordinary; but if not, she is compelled to do as others do. Times they have of suckling their children in

the fields, and refreshing themselves; and good reason, for they carry their burdens on their backs, and yet work too ... The work which women do is most of it weeding, a stooping and painful work; at noon and night they are called home by the ring of a bell, where they have two hours time for their repast at noon, and at night, they rest from six till six a clock the next morning.

On Sunday they rest, and have the whole day at their pleasure, and the most of them use it as a day of rest and pleasure; but some of them who will make benefit of that day's liberty go where the mangrove trees grow and gather the bark, of which they make ropes, which they truck away for other commodities, as shirts or drawers...

What their other opinions are in matters of religion, I know not... they believe in a resurrection, and that they shall go into their own country again, and have their youth renewed. And lodging this opinion in their hearts they make it an ordinary practice, upon any great fright, or threatening of their masters, to hang themselves. But Colonel Walrond having lost three or four of his best Negroes this way, and in a very little time, caused one of their heads to be cut off and set upon a pole a dozen foot high; and having done that caused all his Negroes to come forth and march around the head, and bid the look on it, whether this were not the head of such a one that hanged himself. Which they acknowledging, he then told them that they were in a main error in thinking they went into their own countries after they were dead; for this man's head was here, as they all were witness of; and how was it possible, the body could go without a head. Being convinced by this sad yet lively spectacle they changed their opinions; and after that, no more hanged themselves.



### 13. Willem Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea...*, 1705

Willem Bosman was a Dutch sea captain who spent fourteen years trading on the West African coast. His report was printed first in Dutch, then immediately translated into French and English, and contains first-hand information about the organization and effects of the slave trade in Africa, along with a very detailed map.

Not a few in our country fondly imagine that parents here sell their children, men their wives, and one brother the other. But those who think so, do deceive themselves; for this never happens on any other account but that of necessity, or some great crime; but most of the slaves that are offered to us, are prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty.

When these slaves come to Fida, they are put in prison all together; and when we treat concerning buying them, they are all brought out together in a large plain; where, by our surgeons, whose province it is, they are thoroughly examined, even to the smallest member, and that naked both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty.

The invalids and the maimed being thrown out, as I have told you, the remainder are numbered, and it is entered who delivered them. In the meanwhile, a burning iron, with the arms or name of the companies, lies in

the fire, with which ours are marked on the breast. This is done that we may distinguish them from the slaves of the English, French, or others (which are also marked with their mark), and to prevent the Negroes exchanging them for worse, at which they have a good hand. I doubt not but this trade seems very barbarous to you, but since it is followed by mere necessity, it must go on; but we yet take all possible care that they are not burned too hard, especially the women, who are more tender than the men.

We are seldom long detained in the buying of these slaves, because their price is established, the women being one fourth or fifth part cheaper than the men. The disputes which we generally have with the owners of these slaves are, that we will not give them such goods as they ask for them, especially the boesies [cowry shells] (as I have told you, the money of this country) of which they are very fond, though we generally make a division on this head, in order to make one part of the goods help off another; because those slaves which are paid for in boesies, cost the company one half more than those bought with other goods.

When we have agreed with the owners of the slaves, they are returned to their prison; where, from that time forwards, they are kept at our charge, cost us two pence a day a slave; which serves to subsist them, like our criminals, on bread and water: so that to save charges, we send them on board our ships with the very first opportunity, before which their masters strip them of all they have on their backs; so that they come to us stark-naked, as well women as men: in which condition they are obliged to continue, if the master of the ship is not so charitable (which he commonly is) as to bestow something on them to cover their nakedness.

You would really wonder to see how these slaves live on board; for though their number sometimes amounts to six or seven hundred, yet by the

careful management of our masters of ships, they are so [well] regulated, that it seems incredible. And in this particular our nation exceeds all other Europeans; for as the French, Portuguese, and English slave-ships are always foul and stinking; on the contrary, ours are for the most part clean and neat.

The slaves are fed three times a day with indifferent good victuals, and much better than they eat in their own country. Their lodging place is divided into two parts; one of which is appointed for the men, the other for the women, each sex being kept apart. Here they lie as close together as it is possible for them to be crowded.



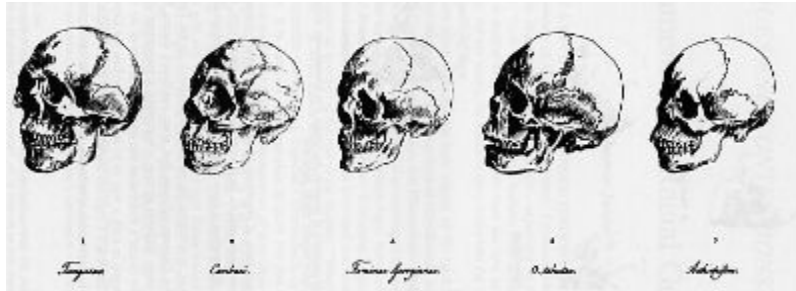


Illustration of the skulls of the five classifications of humans from Blumenbach's work.

### 15. Johann Blumenbach, *On the Natural Variety of Mankind*, 1795

Drawing on earlier works, the German anatomist and naturalist Johann Blumenbach developed a very influential system of classification for human beings, though he also argued they all belonged to one species. In this section, he lays out his ideas, and reviews and comments on the weaknesses in earlier systems of classification. This extract is from the English translation by Thomas Bendyshe, published in 1865.

81. Five principal varieties of mankind may be reckoned. As, however, even among these arbitrary kinds of divisions, one is said to be better and preferable to another; after a long and attentive consideration, all mankind, as far as it is at present known to us, seems to me as if it may best, according to natural truth, be divided into the five following varieties; which may be designated and distinguished from each other by the names Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. I have allotted the first place to the Caucasian, for the reasons given below, which make me esteem it the primeval one. This diverges in both directions into two, most remote and very different from each other; on the one side, namely, into the Ethiopian, and on the other into the Mongolian. The remaining two occupy the intermediate positions between that primeval one and these two extreme varieties; that is, the American between the Caucasian and Mongolian; the Malay between the same Caucasian and Ethiopian.

82. Characters and limits of these varieties. In the following notes and descriptions these five varieties must be generally defined. To this enumeration, however, I must prefix a double warning; first, that on account of the multifarious diversity of the characters, according to their degrees, one or two alone are not sufficient, but we must take several joined together; and then that this union of characters is not so constant but what it is liable to innumerable exceptions in all and singular of these varieties. Still this enumeration is so conceived as to give a sufficiently plain and perspicuous notion of them in general.

Caucasian variety. Colour white, cheeks rosy... ; hair brown or chestnut-coloured... ; head subglobular... ; face oval, straight, its parts moderately defined, forehead smooth, nose narrow, slightly hooked, mouth small ... . The primary teeth placed perpendicularly to each jaw... ; the lips (especially the lower one) moderately open, the chin full and rounded ... . In general, that kind of appearance which, according to our opinion of symmetry, we consider most handsome and becoming. To this first variety belong the inhabitants of Europe (except the Lapps and the remaining descendants of the Finns) and those of Eastern Asia, as far as the river Obi, the Caspian Sea and the Ganges; and lastly, those of

Northern Africa.

Mongolian variety. Colour yellow... ; hair black, stiff, straight and scanty... ; head almost square... ; face broad, at the same time flat and depressed, the parts therefore less distinct, as it were running into one another; glabella flat, very broad; nose small, apish; cheeks usually globular, prominent outwardly; the opening of the eyelids narrow, linear; chin slightly prominent ... . This variety comprehends the remaining inhabitants of Asia (except the Malays on the extremity of the trans-Gangetic peninsula) and the Finnish populations of the cold part of Europe, the Lapps, &c. and the

race of Esquimaux, so widely diffused over North America, from Behring's straits to the inhabited extremity of Greenland.

Ethiopian variety. Colour black... ; hair black and curly... ; head narrow, compressed at the sides... ; forehead knotty, uneven; malar bones protruding outwards; eyes very prominent; nose thick, mixed up as it were with the wide jaws... ; alveolar edge narrow, elongated in front; ... the upper primaries obliquely prominent... ; the lips (especially the upper) very puffy; chin retreating ... . Many are bandy-legged ... . To this variety belong all the Africans, except those of the north.

American variety. Copper-coloured... ; hair black, stiff, straight and scanty... ; forehead short; eyes set very deep; nose somewhat apish, but prominent; the face invariably broad, with cheeks prominent, but not flat or depressed; its parts, if seen in profile, very distinct, and as it were deeply chiselled... ; the shape of the forehead and head in many artificially distorted. This variety comprehends the inhabitants of America except the Esquimaux.

Malay variety. Tawny-coloured... ; hair black, soft, curly, thick and plentiful... ; head moderately narrowed; forehead slightly swelling ... ; nose full, rather wide, as it were diffuse, end thick; mouth large ... . upper jaw somewhat prominent with the parts of the face when seen in profile, sufficiently prominent and distinct from each other ... . This last variety includes the islanders of the Pacific Ocean, together with the inhabitants of the Marianne, the Philippine, the Molucca and the Sunda Islands, and of the Malayan peninsula.

83. Divisions of the varieties of mankind by other authors. It seems but fair to give briefly the opinions of other authors also, who have divided mankind into varieties, so that the reader may compare them more easily together, and weigh them, and choose which of them he likes best. The first person, as far as I know, who made an attempt of this kind was a

certain anonymous writer who towards the end of the last century divided mankind into four races; that is, first, one of all Europe, Lapland alone excepted, and Southern Asia, Northern Africa, and the whole of America; secondly, that of the rest of Africa; thirdly, that of the rest of Asia with the islands towards the east; fourthly, the Lapps. Leibnitz divided the men of our continent into four classes. Two extremes, the Laplanders and the Ethiopians; and as many intermediates, one eastern (Mongolian), one western (as the European).

Linnaeus, following common geography, divided men into (1) the red American, (2) the white European, (3) the dark Asiatic, and (4) the black Negro. Buffon distinguished six varieties of man: (1) Lapp or polar, (2) Tartar (by which name according to ordinary language he meant the Mongolian), (3) south Asian, (4) European, (5) Ethiopian, (6) American. Amongst those who reckoned three primitive nations of mankind answering to the number of the sons of Noah, Governor Pownall is first entitled to praise, who, as far as I know, was also the first to pay attention to the racial form of skull as connected with this subject. He divided these stocks into white, red and black. In the middle one he comprised both the Mongolians and Americans, as agreeing, besides other characters, in the configuration of their skulls and the appearance of their hair. Abbe de la Croix divides man into white and black. The former again into white, properly so called, brown, yellow, and olive-coloured. Kant derives four varieties from dark-brown Autochthones: the white one of northern Europe, the copper-coloured American, the black one of Senegambia, the olive-coloured Indian...

Meiners refers all nations to two stocks: (1) handsome, (2) ugly; the first white, the latter dark. He includes in the handsome stock the Celts,

Sarmatians, and oriental nations. The ugly stock embraces all the rest of mankind....

84. Notes on the five varieties of Mankind. But we must return to our pentad of the varieties of mankind. I have indicated separately all and each of the characters which I attribute to them in the sections above. Now, I will string together, at the end of my little work, as a finish, some scattered notes which belong to each of them in general.

85. Caucasian variety. I have taken the name of this variety from Mount Caucasus, both because its neighbourhood, and especially its southern slope, produces the most beautiful race of men, I mean the Georgian; and because all physiological reasons converge to this, that in that region, if anywhere, it seems we ought with the greatest probability to place the autochthones of mankind. For in the first place, that stock displays, as we have seen ... , the most beautiful form of the skull, from which, as from a mean and primeval type, the others diverge by most easy gradations on both sides to the two ultimate extremes (that is, on the one side the Mongolian, on the other the Ethiopian). Besides, it is white in colour, which we may fairly assume to have been the primitive colour of mankind, since, as we have shown above ... , it is very easy for that to degenerate into brown, but very much more difficult for dark to become white, when the secretion and precipitation of this carbonaceous pigment ... has once deeply struck root.

86. Mongolian variety. This is the same as what was formerly called, though in a vague and ambiguous way, the Tartar variety; which denomination has given rise to wonderful mistakes in the study of the varieties of mankind which we are now busy about. So that Buffon and his followers, seduced by that title, have erroneously transferred to the genuine Tartars, who beyond a doubt belong to our first variety, the racial characters of the Mongols,

borrowed from ancient authors, who described them under the name of Tartars. But the Tartars shade away through the Kirghis and the neighbouring races into the Mongols, in the same way as these may be said to pass through the Tibetans to the Indians, through the Esquimaux to the Americans, and also in a sort of way through the Philippine Islanders to the men of the Malay variety.

87. Ethiopian variety. This variety, principally because it is so different in colour from our own, has induced many to consider it, with the witty, but badly instructed in physiology, Voltaire, as a peculiar species of mankind. But it is not necessary for me to spend any time here upon refuting this opinion, when it has so clearly been shown above that there is no single character so peculiar and so universal among the Ethiopians, but what it may be observed on the one hand everywhere in other varieties of men; and on the other that many Negroes are seen to be without each. And besides there is no character which does not shade away by insensible gradation from this variety of mankind to its neighbours, which is clear to every one who has carefully considered the difference between a few stocks of this variety, such as the Foulahs, the Wolufs, and Mandingos, and how by these shades of difference they pass away into the Moors and Arabs.

The assertion that is made about the Ethiopians, that they come nearer the apes than other men, I willingly allow so far as this, that it is in the same way that the solid-hoofed ... variety of the domestic sow may be said to come nearer to the horse than other sows. But how little weight is for the most part to be attached to this sort of comparison is clear from this, that there is scarcely any other out of the principal varieties of mankind, of which one nation or other, and that too by careful observers, has not been compared, as far as the face goes, with the apes; as we find said in express

words of the Lapps, the Esquimaux, the Caaiguas of South America, and the inhabitants of the Island Mallicollo.

88. American variety. It is astonishing and humiliating what quantities of fables were formerly spread about the racial characters of this variety. Some have denied beards to the men, others menstruation to the women. Some have attributed one and the same colour to each and all the Americans; others a perfectly similar countenance to all of them. It has been so clearly demonstrated now by the unanimous consent of accurate and truthful observers, that the Americans are not naturally beardless, that I am almost ashamed of the unnecessary trouble I formerly took to get together a heap of testimony, by which it is proved that not only throughout the whole of America, from the Esquimaux downwards to the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, are there groups of inhabitants who cherish a beard; but also it is quite undeniable as to the other beardless ones that they eradicate and pluck out their own by artifice and on purpose, in the same way as has been customary among so many other nations, the Mongolians for example, and the Malays. We all know that the beard of the Americans is thin and scanty, as is also the case with so many Mongolian nations. They ought therefore no more to be called beardless, than men with scanty hair to be called bald. Those therefore who thought the Americans were naturally beardless fell into the same error as that which induced the ancients to suppose and persuade others, that the birds of paradise, from whose corpses the feet are often cut off, were naturally destitute of feet.

The fabulous report that the American women have no menstruation, seems to have had its origin in this, that the Europeans when they discovered the new world, although they saw numbers of the female inhabitants almost entirely naked, never seem to have observed in them

the stains of that excretion. For this it seems likely that there were two reasons; first, that amongst those nations of America, the women during menstruation are, by a fortunate prejudice, considered as poisonous, and are prohibited from social intercourse, and for so long enjoy a beneficial repose in the more secluded huts far from the view of men; secondly, because, as has been noticed, they are so commendably clean in their bodies, and the commissure of their legs so conduces to modesty, that no vestiges of the catamenia ever strike the eye.

As to the colour of the skin of this variety, on the one hand it has been observed above, that it is by no means so constant as not in many cases to shade away into black... ; and on the other, that it is easily seen, from the nature of the American climate, and the laws of degeneration when applied to the extremely probable origin of the Americans from northern Asia, why they are not liable to such great diversities of colour, as the other descendants of Asiatic autochthones, who peopled the ancient world. The same reason holds good as to the appearance of the Americans. Careful eye-witnesses long ago laughed at the foolish, or possibly facetious hyperbole of some, who asserted that the inhabitants of the new world were so exactly alike, that when a man had seen one, he could say that he had seen all. It is, on the contrary, proved by the finished drawings of Americans by the best artists, and by the testimony of the most trustworthy eye-witnesses, that in this variety of mankind, as in others, countenances of all sorts occur; although in general that sort of racial conformation may be considered as properly belonging to them which we attributed to them above ... . It was justly observed by the first Europeans who visited the new continent, that the Americans came very near to the Mongolians, which adds fresh weight to the very probable opinion that the Americans came from northern Asia, and derived their origin from the Mongolian nation. It is probable that migrations of that kind took place at

different times, after considerable intervals, according as various physical, geological, or political catastrophes gave occasion to them; and hence, if any place is allowed for conjecture in these investigations, the reason may probably be derived, why the Esquimaux have still much more of the Mongolian appearance about them than the rest of the Americans: partly, because the catastrophe which drove them from northern Asia must be much more recent, and so they are a much later arrival; and partly because the climate of the new country, which they now inhabit, is much more homogeneous with that of their original country. In fact, unless I am much mistaken, we must attribute to the same influence I mentioned above ... , which the climate has in preserving or restoring the racial appearance, the fact that the inhabitants of the cold southern extremity of South America, as the barbarous inhabitants of the Straits of Magellan, seem to come nearer, and as it were fall back, to the original Mongolian countenance.

89. The Malay variety. As the Americans in respect of racial appearance hold as it were a place between the medial variety of mankind, which we called the Caucasian, and one of the two extremes, that is the Mongolian; so the Malay variety makes the transition from that medial variety to the other extreme, namely, the Ethiopian. I wish to call it the Malay, because the majority of the men of this variety, especially those who inhabit the Indian islands close to the Malacca peninsula, as well as the Sandwich, the Society, and the Friendly Islanders, and also the Malambi of Madagascar down to the inhabitants of

Easter Island, use the Malay idiom. Meanwhile even these differ so much between themselves through various degrees of beauty and other corporeal attributes, that there are some who divide the Otaheitans themselves into two distinct races; the first paler in colour, of lofty stature, with face which can scarcely be distinguished from that of the European;

the second, on the other hand, of moderate stature, colour and face little different from that of Mulattos, curly hair, &c. This last race then comes very near those men who inhabit the islands more to the south in the Pacific Ocean, of whom the inhabitants of the New Hebrides in particular come sensibly near the Papuans and New Hollanders, who finally on their part graduate away so insensibly towards the Ethiopian variety, that, if it was thought convenient, they might not unfairly be classed with them, in that distribution of the varieties we were talking about.

90. Conclusion. Thus too there is with this that insensible transition by which as we saw the other varieties also run together, and which, compared with what was discussed in the earlier sections of the book, about the causes and ways of degeneration, and the analogous phenomena of degeneration in the other domestic animals, brings us to that conclusion, which seems to flow spontaneously from physiological principles applied by the aid of critical zoology to the natural history of mankind; which is, That no doubt can any longer remain but that we are with great probability right in referring all and singular as many varieties of man as are at present known to one and the same species.