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Representing Spain: The Ambivalence of England and France to Spanish Colonization in the Americas

Although Columbus was supposed to have sought French and English support, as well as Spanish backing, after Portugal would not finance his enterprise of the Indies, he did, as England, France and European nations were to lament, make his voyages to the New World under the flag of Spain. Henceforth, Spain served as an ambivalent example to England and France in the colonization of the Americas: it was the first to follow but also to rival then to displace. Other Italian mariners, such as John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto) for England in the 1490s and Giovanni Verrazzano for France in the 1520s, sailed for the New World as Columbus had, hoping for greater promises of God and gold, for a passage to Asia. In the first decade of the sixteenth century Binot Paulmier de Gonneville, a Norman, had sailed to Brazil and, following Columbus's tradition of kidnapping Natives, had brought back Essomericq to Harfleur (Gonneville 37-38; see Lestringant 1990, 29, and Litalien 53). Henry VII, François I^{er} and Elizabeth I challenged the Spanish and Portuguese monopoly over the New World that the papacy and those Iberian nations had claimed as a right in 1493-94. François I^{er}, for instance, asked to be shown where in Adam's will France should give up right to a share of the New World (see Green and Dickason 7, McAlister 199, and Pagden 1995, 47). In 1522, Jean Fleury, a corsair, carried back to France the plunder that Hernán Cortés took from Montezuma, and later in the sixteenth century, Jacques Cartier, Sieur de Roberval and Walter Raleigh sought the same gold the Spanish did even as they tried to distinguish their own countries in colonial enterprises in the Americas.

There was, then, from Columbus onwards, rivalry amongst the major European powers in claims to the New World. The French and English sought to imitate Spain, but increasingly, along with the Dutch, they drew on writers, like Las Casas, to develop the Black Legend of Spain (see Pagden 1992, xiii-xiv).

This legend represented the Spanish as cruel colonizers who mistreated the Natives, behaviour the French, English and Dutch claimed that they would avoid in setting up new colonial models. The war of propaganda in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries helped the French, the Dutch and English to define new ways of looking at themselves in Europe and North America, in fact as empires. The English and French relied on Spanish texts and translations of those works to help set the groundwork for their own slower expansion into the New World.¹

This imperial growth involved the myth of the Western movement of empire, the *translatio imperii* (see Breisach). The European contact with America soon revealed that this translation of empire and the assimilation of new peoples into a successor to the Greek and Roman empires would be a new and difficult balancing act. The American Natives or Amerindians represented peoples whom the Europeans knew nothing about. Their existence challenged European identity at home and in the New World. Even though the American experience was novel, many Europeans tried, for obvious reasons, to fit the Natives and their lands into the framework of European experience (see Elliott 48-59). Relations between European and Native cultures, questions of whether these "barbarians" were outside the *oikumene* or the Greek human family, were embedded in the European texts written in Europe and the New World (Pagden 1986, 15-16). Both the British and French empires owed debts to those of Portugal and Spain (not to mention the classical antecedents of Greece and Rome), and they continued much of that imperial strategy in their early relations with the Natives. The experience of Columbus in his first contact with Natives in the New World was complex, but he was receptive to stories that confirmed ancient expectations of cannibals and Amazons. On his first voyage Columbus had divided the Natives into good and bad, depending on how pliable they seemed and how pro-Spanish they were. He subdivided the bad Natives into Amazons and cannibals (Hulme, see Hart 1994).

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The debate between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda over the treatment of the Amerindians represented two ways of incorporating America into European history. Las Casas saw the contact as fulfilling Christian universal history in the conversion of the Indians, who were human and had souls to be saved. Sepúlveda argued for the growth of the Spanish monarchy and empire and denied the importance of the conversion of the Indians, whom he thought were not completely human. In the history of Spanish colonization, Sepúlveda and Oviedo argued against the humanity of the American Indian, whereas Las Casas defended them. The Synopsis of *Breve Relation... [A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies]* (1542, pub. 1552) states he spoke for Natives thus: "Prominent amid the aspects of this story which have caught the imagination are the massacres of innocent peoples, the atrocities committed against them and, among other horrific excesses, the ways in which towns, provinces, and the whole kingdoms have been entirely cleared of their native inhabitants" (3). This "discovery" of Otherness is a matter of heroism and wonder, which evokes the traditions of natural history (Pliny), history (Herodotus), epic (Homer, Virgil) and travel literature (Marco Polo). But beside these traditions are Las Casas's outrage at genocide and his defence of the humanity of the Natives, which defies Sepúlveda's application of Aristotle's theory of natural slavery and which draws on a radical New Testament distrust of class and race that institutional Christianity has sometimes perverted. Here was opposition from within the "us" to stand up for "them," the tradition of the Other from within (see Chambers, Greenblatt 119-51, Hart 1995).

Las Casas evoked an ambivalent reaction and did not have enough of an effect on Spanish policy to save the Indians. While some intellectuals took up this oppositional stance, those in France and England who advocated colonization began to use Las Casas's passionate defence of the Natives as a means of creating distance between their own imperial ambitions and the expansion of Spain. Michel de Montaigne also criticized European abuses against the peoples they were subjecting. In his essay, "Des Cannibales" (1580), Montaigne suggested that when comparing American Natives and Europeans, the usual stereotype of barbarism was not so easy to sustain: "Nous les pouvons donc bien appeler barbares, eu esgard aux regles de la raison, mais non pas eu esgard à nous, qui les surpassons en toute sorte de barbarie" (405; Livre 1, ch. 31). Not all the French and English writers interested in the New World used Las Casas as an agent against Spain, as the great purveyor of the Black Legend.

Writers like Oviedo, Thevet and Hakluyt all employed this relation between European and Native to define their imperial and national identities (see Hart 1996, 1997). Behind many travel narratives in the English Renaissance, such as Hakluyt's prose epic of the English nation (including Purchas's continuation of it), lay a whole network of Spanish, French and

English sources about mediation and the relation between Europeans and Natives. Some of the coming to terms with the example of Spain depended on the Dutch revolt against Spain and the War of the Spanish Succession. How different were the French and British practices from those of the Spanish when we look behind the rhetoric of the Black Legend?

The primary focus here on texts by Richard Hakluyt the younger, the anonymous M.M.S., Sir Walter Raleigh, Samuel de Champlain and Gabriel Sagard will permit some conclusions about the English and French use of the Black Legend of Spain, which was taken from Las Casas directly and indirectly and used in ways he would never approve of. The views of colonization and of Natives current in England affected notions of "identity" and mediation between the English and aboriginal peoples they encountered. During the sixteenth century, English ideas about colonization, while owing something to classical and mediaeval concepts and to the involvement of England in Ireland, depended most on continental sources. English promotional literature about America most often involved translations of continental authors, especially from Spain. The example of Spain was central in determining English attitudes to the New World and its inhabitants. In addition to Hakluyt, who translated or commissioned translations from the Spanish, other principal translators were Richard Eden, John Frampton and Thomas Nicholas. Although the English adapted Spanish writings that glorified the Spanish conquest for their own purposes – providing propaganda to encourage potential investors and settlers – they often adopted Spanish representations of the New World and the Native (Pennington 179). The "Spanish" authors most translated into English, such as Peter Martyr, Oviedo and López de Gómera, emphasized the glory of Spain in the face of Native American betrayal and barbarism even if they sometimes advocated conversion and condemned Spaniards for mistreating the Natives (Pennington 179-80). Only one edition of Las Casas's *Brief Relation of the Destruction of the Indies* appeared in English (*The Spanish Colonie* 1583). This translation was filtered through the French translation from which the Preface was taken. The Preface encouraged support for the Dutch revolt against Spain (M.M.S., *Spanish colonie*, sigs q²-q⁴).

Until after 1590, English promotional literature did not take up the anti-Spanish and pro-Native stance of the Black Legend, so often associated with Las Casas. In the Introduction to *Virginia Richly Valued* (1609) Hakluyt assumed the Spanish view that the Natives were liars and dissemblers and suggested that if the inhabitants of America could not be converted, then English soldiers trained in the Netherlands against Spain should prepare the Natives for the hands of English preachers. In *Principal Navigations* Hakluyt did not pay much attention to the champion of the Indians – Las Casas. Whereas the first edition contained no mention of Las Casas, the second alluded directly to him only twice. Only in a work that remained unpublished until the nineteenth-century – the "Particular Discourse" – did Hakluyt show

a clearly anti-Spanish and pro-Native stance (Pennington 180-83). Whether this was an accident of publishing history or whether this contrary position of Hakluyt as a proponent of the Black Legend was his private rather than his public view or whether there was a shift or tension in Hakluyt's thought is something that probably cannot be settled, but it was for others who sought to promote English colonization in the New World to emphasize the Black Legend. Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* tended towards the anti-Spanish and pro-Native position of the literature of the Black Legend; although he was arguing in his unpublished tract that the Spanish conquest was an illegal act that killed twenty million, his argument was also one of outconquering the Spaniards and finding even more gold (Raleigh 138-49, 71). It is quite possible that Raleigh distributed his tract to the Queen privately, and Hakluyt might have done the same, which would suggest a gap between the public promotion and secret matters of state. It is apparent, then, that the English representation of Natives was at least partly mediated through the relation between England and Spain.

The Spanish Colonie, Or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniards in the West Indies, called the newe World ... (1583), translated by M.M.S., was more than a translation of Las Casas' *Brevissima Relacion*. The printer added a supplement of remedies that Las Casas recommended to the government of Spain and a summary of the debate between Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and him at Valladolid in 1550-51 (Foreword). Whereas Sepúlveda, following Aristotle's doctrine of natural slavery, argued that the Spaniards could subjugate the Natives as slaves because they were from a lower order of nature, Las Casas opposed this view. In this opposition he related Spanish atrocities that the English and Dutch, enemies of Spain, as well as the French, seized on and helped to create the Black Legend of Spain.

In the address "To the Reader," the English edition advertises Spain's atrocities from the opening words: "*Spanish cruelties and tyrannies, perpetrated in the West Indies, commonly termed The newe found worlde* (q2)." After advertising Las Casas, the notice announces that the work is "faithfully translated by *Iames Aligrodo*, to serue as a President and warning, to the xij. Prouinces of the lowe Countries" (q2). The political struggle between the Dutch and the Spanish was mediated through its English allies via the French translation of Jacques de Migrode. The work was then translated into Dutch and served as propaganda against Spain (Foreword). The unidentified English translator (henceforth M.M.S.) sees his work as prophetic warning: "*Happy is hee whome other mens harmes doe make to beware* (2)." In the tradition of biblical prophecy this prophet begins with "Gods iudgements." Only "mans wisdom" and not the power of angels, is able to enter the depth of these judgements. By extension, the reader assumes this wisdom through the very act of address. With an immediate rhetoric of extremes, M.M.S. sets out the Spanish crimes:

Thou shalt (frendly Reader) in this discourse beholde so many millions of me[n] put to death, as hardly there haue been so many Spaniards procreated into this worlde since their firste fathers the Gothes inhabited their Countries, either since their second progenitors the Sarazens expelled and murdered the most part of the Gothes, as it seemeth that the Spaniards haue murdered and put to death in the Westerne Indies by all such meanes as barbarousnesse it selfe coulde imagine or forge vpon the anueld of crueltie. They haue destroyed thriseo much lande as christendome doth comprehend: such torments haue they inuented, yea so great and excessive haue their trecherie been, that the posteritie shall hardly thinke that euer so barbarous or cruell a nation haue bin in the worlde, if as you would say we had not with our eyes seene it, and with our hands felt it. I confesse that I neuer loued that nation generally, by reason of their intollerable pride, notwithstanding I can not but com[m]end & loue sundry excellent persons that are among the[m]. Howbeit, God is my witnes, hatred procureth me not to write those things, as also the author of the booke is by nation a Spaniard, and besides writeth farre more bitterly then my selfe. (q2r-v)

The translator/author has the reader join him as a friend in his opposition to Spanish cruelty. He asserts the crime of Spain and represents its bloody history, including the Goths' suffering under the Sarazens, which pales beside the Spanish killing and devastation in the New World. M.M.S. admits a possible motivation for their barbarity and cruelty, the two characteristics he attributes repeatedly to the Spanish, as if to tempt the reader into seeing it as a justification for that behaviour and then to dismiss it by way of a comparison which shows that they have destroyed an area more than three times the size of Christendom and by emphasizing the invention of new methods of torment. His point is that in cruel barbarism the Spanish are unique – beyond comparison – even to posterity, who might deny this claim, except for the witness of our eyes and the feelings of our hands. Here, the author appeals to "we" and "us" in his contract with the reader. But it is Las Casas, and not the translator (author of "*To the Reader*") and the reader, who has been an eyewitness at some of these atrocities. An elision occurs between Las Casas and his audience and the English translator and his (not to mention French and later Dutch mediators). To keep up the religious language and perhaps sensing the borrowed personal role as witness, M.M.S. confesses to not much love for the Spanish nation, although he likes some of its members. To bolster his attack on Spanish wrongs, he appeals to the authority of the original author, Las Casas, a Spaniard, who, by implication, must speak the truth about his countrymen. The truth is redoubled because he is even more bitter in his condemnation than M.M.S. is. Here is the rhetorical Trojan horse but this time designed by a Trojan even if used for the purposes of Greece. In writing his work Las Casas had intended to improve the place of the Indians in the Spanish empire by addressing the King of Spain and his government and not

by helping the heretical enemies of England and the Netherlands.

The example of Spain, seen most clearly in the propagation of the Black Legend, became a rhetorical and propagandistic centrepiece of growth of English and Dutch power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An appeal to religion, centred in God as judge, motivates this anti-Spanish text. M.M.S. gives two reasons for publishing his preface, dedicated to the provinces of the Low Countries. First, the people of these provinces will awaken from their slumber; second, they must know their enemy, to whom they have opened themselves through reckless quarrels (q2^v). Biblical – that virtue is rewarded and vice punished – may underlie this preface but even M.M.S. admits that God makes the good suffer as well as the wicked. He charts the spread of Mahamet and the Sarazins from Egypt through Africa over Spain to "the riuer of *Toyre*." Here, while the Sarazins were on the verge of conquering all France and perhaps all Christendom, "God raised vp that mightie Duke of *Brabant*, *Charles Martel*," who pushed them back over "the Pirenean mountaines" (q2^v-3^r). But M.M.S. sees further complications, because tyrants can be "executioners of his iustice" (q3^v). It does take wisdom to see God's judgement, which is the attempt M.M.S. is making as he builds up to his moral: "those that haue the most right are by the wicked robbed, slaine, and murdered, which is neuertheless Gods doing" (q3^v). Doing God's work negligently is another theme.

M.M.S. shifts the particular manifestation of God's justice through the suffering of the righteous in Las Casas's *Brevissima Relacion*. The English translator uses Las Casas as a holy example against the Spanish: although he is a member of a Catholic order, Las Casas becomes a means of subverting the Pope's authority:

For I pray you what right had the Spaniards ouer the Indians: sauing that the Pope had giuen them the said land, and I leaue to your iudgemente what right hee had therein: for it is doubtfull whether his power doe stretch to the distributing of worldly kingdomes. But admit hee had that authority, was there therefore any reason that hee should for crying in the night, There is a God, a Pope, & a King of Castile who is Lord of these Countries, murder 12. 15. or 20. millions of poore-reasonable creatures, created (as our selues) after the image of the liuing God: Heere doe I, as in the beginning I said, see a bottom-less depth of Gods iudgements (q3^v).

M.M.S. is reacting to the Papal Bull *Inter caetera* of 4 May 1493, which divided the undiscovered world (in European terms) between the Portuguese and the Spanish, and the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, which confirmed the Bull but shifted the one hundred league demarcation to three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. But within a generation of the Bull *Inter caetera* Protestantism appeared, and countries like England and the

Netherlands opposed the papal edict. Even François I of Catholic France (1515-47) wanted to see the will of Adam that deprived France of the right to territory in the New World (Fauchille 687, qtd. in Green and Dickason 7, see 5-6). In response to the Spanish protest over Drake's circumnavigation of 1577 and his disregard of Spanish claims based on the crosses Magellan had planted, Elizabeth I replied to Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, "she would not persuade herself that [the Indies] are the rightful property of Spanish donation of the Pope of Rome in whom she acknowledged no prerogative in matters of this kind, much less authority to bind Princes who owe him no obedience, or to make that New World as it were a fief for the Spaniard and clothe him with possession" (qtd. in Green and Dickason 11). About six years afterwards M.M.S. shows a similar attitude. While offering his readers the choice to form an opinion about the right of the Pope to give sovereignty in the New World, M.M.S. judges papal authority and finds it wanting. He does so by using a holy Catholic Spaniard against the claims of Spain and by performing a kind of sarcastic ventriloquy. Moreover, M.M.S. follows Las Casas in denying Sepúlveda's natural and racial claims and in asserting that the Natives, like the Europeans, were created in God's image: therefore it is an outrage that the Spaniards should have massacred them in the millions. Having been created in God's image, M.M.S. implies, we (translator/author and reader) should call on God's judgement.

M.M.S. appeals to the way reason should understand that it is more astonishing when a nation is lost or "infinite nations" perish owing to evil than when the wicked persecute people better than themselves. To support this view, he cites two examples from the Bible: the overthrow of Sargon where nothing was left standing and the orders of complete destruction that Og, king of Basan, gave to Joshua. But M.M.S. admits the contradictory nature of biblical evidence, citing God's rejection of Saul for his disobedience, that is his lenient treatment of Amalec and his saving of the cattle intended to be sacrificed to God. The lesson from this apparent contradiction is "God *loueth obedience better then sacrifice*" (q4^r). God is proved right that Saul's mercy to the Canaanites and Amalekites was wrong because they subverted Israel and Saul. God's justice may appear severe at first. A further illustration is the experience of Moses and Israel: God expels Israel's enemies from their land because of their abominations and not owing to the righteousness of the Jews. The issue in this apparent digression is the question how difficult it is for human reason to discern causes or the just ways of God in His destruction of nations or in His punishment when the Jews will not destroy those He has ordered to be extinguished. By raising this issue, M.M.S. now faces squarely the logical inference that in this "so cruell and horrible" destruction of the Natives, the Spanish are instruments of God's justice and bottomless judgements. Nor does M.M.S. shy away from giving the rhetorical force of religion to this argument, which must be so contrary to his own and the case

he is building against the Spanish. The Spaniards, who execute this vengeance, deserve to be excused more than Pilate for condemning Christ, and Annas and Caiphas for procuring his death in defiance of God's counsel. God punished the wicked, whom he uses to chasten the good, according to their deserts. M.M.S. uses the instance of Ashur, who is a scourge to Israel until he faces God's punishment: the moral is that the abominable cruelties of such wicked instruments of God's justice cannot escape that pattern of justice. In this rhetorical scene M.M.S. concludes that we (the side he has set up that includes the reader and translator) cannot "judge that our selues shall haue the victorie ouer our enemies, because our cause is the better, for we are replenished with vice enough, whereby to leaue vnto god sufficient matter to punishe vs" (q4^v). Original sin makes the "we" subject to God's judgement and punishment.

The Black Legend of Spain is not, for this English translator, a simple matter. It has political dimensions that M.M.S. renders complex through theology. He asserts the cruelty of the Spanish and the admirable nature of the Low Countries, but qualifies this political agenda with two points based on biblical hermeneutics. Once more, the "we" brings reader and translator, English and Dutch together. First, we should not, trusting that our defence of liberty is just, consider that we commit lesser faults than Ezekiel before Sodom as if, already atoning with death, we need not fear God's judgement (q4^v-q4¹). Especially at this time, given our lack of effort to correct our abuses, some hope that God's remembrance might be buried in oblivion. Mid-sentence the "we" shifts to "some." Some are like a sick person and children who refuse to admit their condition. Still others say they are reformed but are so in word only. M.M.S. is not making a simple overt distinction between wicked Catholic and redeemed Protestant. For those Pharisee reformers, wine and harp concern them more than the contrition of Joseph. Second, every man generally attends to his private affairs and not to the public, except to reprove, so that hatred possesses many hearts, to the extent that many in the Low Countries who have suffered injury from the Spaniards have joined with them to destroy their own confederates and subvert the entire country. Here M.M.S. shifts back to a more political stance. The book will be like a table in which the Dutch can see the nature, purpose and intent of their enemy. The ensuing history, written by a Spaniard, will teach them what the Spaniards would have long ago executed in the Low Countries had God not stopped their course. M.M.S. has alerted the reader to the fallen condition of biblical and historical interpretation (a kind of post-lapsarian Augustinianism) in order to warn his side of theological, political and military smugness, but now, perhaps with greater effect considering the rhetorical quest of inscrutability of God's ways, of original sin and predestination, he represents a Providential history in which God has halted Spanish tyranny in the Netherlands to the mutual benefit of the Dutch and English.

The narrative that will help to support this version of prior events is that

of a Spaniard – Las Casas. His history should teach courageous deeds, and not mere words, "to repell so arrogant and intollerable an enemie" (qq1^r). In a final rhetorical shift, Las Casas becomes the "we" who is more credible because he is one of them. M.M.S. admonishes the reader through Las Casas's warning: he is a grave and worthy author who deserves to be read diligently and to obtain "immortal commendation, in that he durst oppose himselfe to his owne so cruell and barbarous nation" (qq1^r). "We" should thank God for sending such good masters like the Spanish to teach us our duties – unlike, by implication, those who inhabited Sodom, in this wretched time – in hope that God will "graunt vs happie deliuerance" (qq1^r). Here the translator shifts back to hope from a certain reading of Providence, as if thanksgiving were prayer enough and Las Casas's history testimony enough to deliver the Low Countries from Spanish tyranny. The preface asks for courageous resistance through deeds with words that equivocate between condemnation and caution. This reforming cause in the Netherlands should be outraged – they are like the Indians in Las Casas's narrative of Spanish terror – but they must find hope in God's grace in their just cause while remaining cautious about the inscrutability of God's judgement. The pattern favours the English and Dutch but the details show how hard it is to see the pattern. Most importantly, M.M.S. identifies the Dutch with the Indians as victims of Spanish cruelty and this strategy questions any later distinction the English and Dutch wish to make between European civilization and Native cruelty and barbarity. After all, in M.M.S. it is the Spanish who are cruel and barbarous, and even Las Casas is trying to defend civility against the barbarous aspect of Spanish colonization of the Indies. Las Casas made his case because he believed in Spanish civility and thought that these atrocities were not worthy of the Spanish crown and civilization. This is an element that M.M.S. lets drop quietly, although by inference his praise for Las Casas shows just how humane, good and exemplary a Spaniard can be. Las Casas is a reformer even if he is a Catholic and one of the enemy.

Nearly four decades after Las Casas's *Short Account* but only eight years after the English translation, in the aftermath of the defeat of the Spanish armada, Sir Walter Raleigh, who lived as the enemy of Spain and died in 1618 as an alleged friend of Spain, depicts the dark side of the propaganda by the Spaniards. Raleigh's *A Report of the Truth of the fight about the Isles of Acores, this last Sommer. Betwixt The Revenge, one of her Maiesties Shippes, And an Armada of the King of Spaine* (1591) begins with a denunciation of Spanish lies in the face of the author's truth:

Because the rumours are diuersly spread, as well in Englande as in the lowe countries and els where, of this late encounter between her maiesties ships and the Armada of Spaine; and that the Spaniardes according to their vsuall manner, fill the world with their vaine glorious vaunts, making great appearance of victories: when

on the contrary, themselves are most commonly & shamefully beaten and dishonoured; thereby hoping to possess the ignorant multitude by anticipating and forerunning false reports; It is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth to overcome falsehood and untruth. (A3).

In Raleigh's view, Spanish propaganda assaults opponents in the Netherlands, England and elsewhere in order to cover up the loss of the Spanish armada and other military defeats. He evokes the glory of the 30 English ships that defeated the 240 vessels of the armada and the justice of Elizabeth I in sending back the invaders to their countries "to witness and recount the worthy achievements of their invincible and dreadfull Navy" rather than putting them to death (A4). English heroism and Spanish ineffectiveness can be seen in the battle with the armada, Francis Drake's taking of several forts and towns in the West Indies and Florida, John Norris's march on Lisbon, and Essex's camping at the gates of Lisbon. The English seek honour without vaunt or ostentation whereas the Spanish are so greedy for honour that they will use false rumours and untruths for it (A4').

But Raleigh's portrait of the Spanish is not simply one of villainy even if he leads up to Las Casas's denunciation of Spain's atrocities against the Natives in the New World. Raleigh emphasizes the heroism of the *Revenge*, especially of its captain, Sir Richard Grenville, who wanted to fight to the death, but he also stresses the compassion of the general commander of the Spanish armada, Don Alphonso Bassan, towards Grenville (B-C). This balanced view of Spain does not last for long. The heroic death of Grenville and the sinking of the *Revenge* lead into a reading of the bad weather as a Providential sign against Spain and for England (C2-C3): The lesson is that it pleases God that "the Spaniard, who seeking to devour all nations, are themselves devoured" even as "they seeke vnlawfull and vngodly rule and Empery" (C3).

After questioning the legitimacy of the actions of the Spanish empire, Raleigh speaks about those English and Irish Catholic traitors, like Morice Fitz John, who served Spain in the attempted invasion of England. The unnaturalness of these rebels in serving a foreign king is Raleigh's theme. He cites the example of the beheading of Morice's cousin, the Earl of Desmond, the hanging of his other cousin, Sir John of Desmond, the hanging, drawing and quartering of still another cousin, Sir James Desmond, all of whom also supported Spain (C3-C4'). For Castile, the motive is political no matter how much it is dressed up in religion with a pious show: "But sure I am, that there is no kingdom or common wealth in all Europe, but if they bee reformed, they then invade it for religion sake: if it be, as they terme Catholike, they pretende title; as if the Kinges of *Castile* were the naturall heires of all the worlde" (C4'). The English, French, Dutch all challenge Spanish claims in Europe and beyond. After condemning the Jesuits and the way the Spanish ruin noble houses in other countries, Raleigh warns English Catholics with the

example of Portugal as a Catholic country that Spain has wasted. Catholics in England "shall find that the obedience euen of the Turke is easie and a libertie, in respect of the slauerie & tyrannie of *Spaine*" (D). For these Catholics, Raleigh follows with a rhetorical question about the Spaniards: "What they have done in *Sicill*, in *Naples*, *Millayne*, and in the low countries; who hath there beene spared for religion at all?" (D).

In the author's mind there is a connection between the Low Countries and the New World. Spain pillages both. Raleigh tells the ironic story of the burger of Antwerp who thought that the Spanish would spare him because he was a Catholic: they did but looted his house because his goods were all heretical. With sarcasm, Raleigh calls Spain "that holie and charitable nation" (D). The warning leads Raleigh to the linking of the Low Countries and the New World, where Spanish cruelty should act as a negative example even to Flemish and English Catholics. Of the Spanish, Raleigh complains:

Neither haue they at any time as they protest invaded the kingdomes of the Indies and Peru, and els where, but onely led thereunto, rather to reduce the people to Christianitie, then for either golde or emperie. When as in one onely Iland called Hispaniola, they haue wasted thirtie hundred thousand of the naturall people, besides manie millions els in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmlesse people created of God, and might haue bene won to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as manie as euer were perswaded thereunto. The storie whereof is at large written by a Bishop of their owne nation call[ed] Bartolome de las Casas, and translated into English and manie other languages, intituled The Spanish cruelties [actually *The Spanish Colonie*]. (Dr-v)

Raleigh's Las Casas becomes a witness against Spanish aggression in Europe and the New World. The Dutch and English are, by implication, innocent victims like the Indians. The Natives are harmless: the Spanish are not. Other nations have placed a Spanish Catholic bishop's exposé of Spanish imperialism under the rubric of cruelty. But Raleigh returns to England: the Spanish, "a nation of raiuous straungers," "more greedily thirst after English bloud, then after the liues of anie other people of Europe" because of the many overthrows and dishonours England has given Spain and thereby expose its weakness to the world. The Spaniards will, therefore, try to enslave and subject all the English, including the Catholics and especially traitors, after they "bewitch" England from "the obedience of our naturall prince" (D'). Such traitors should not, Raleigh amplifies, sell their country to strangers and forsake obedience and faith contrary to nature and religion. Even heathen and irreligious nations will die for their country, prince or commonwealth. Raleigh concludes by appealing to God's defence of Elizabeth I against enemies, traitors and invasions (D2). The black legend of Spanish cruelty in the New World allows the English to demonize the enemy, who has tried to invade them and been their rival in

American colonization.

Ralegh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (1596), dedicated to Charles Howard – victorious admiral in the battle against the Spanish armada – and to Robert Cecil, shows ambivalence about Spain. It is a positive and negative model. Ralegh is advising England how it can become rich from gold in the New World as Spain has done while trying to show how the Natives would prefer to deal with the English owing to their distrust of the Spanish, who have been cruel towards them. In the Epistle Dedicatorie, Ralegh speaks of his goal, "that mighty, rich, and bewtiful Empire of Guiana, and ... that great and Golden City, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturalls Manoa" (A3^v). Here, Ralegh sounds like Columbus, although the latter mentions God as much as gold (often in conjunction), while the English explorer is more often silent about the divine (see Hart 1994). Ralegh takes his cue from Spanish legends as Columbus had from Marco Polo. The great reason England should be interested in Guiana is that Ralegh claims that it has more gold than the Indies or Peru (A4). The Natives support England's ambitions: "All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Maisties vassals: & seeme to desire nothing more then her Maisties protection, and the returne of the English nation" (A4). In Ralegh's view the Natives await their true Lord while others may throw off Spanish domination: Spain is so rich and has so many cities, it will not miss this small area of America. He maintains that "if it had not bene in respect of her highnes future honer & riches, I could have laid hands and ransomed many of the kings & Cassiqui of the Country, & have had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption" (A5^v). Long-term, rather than short-term, profit is Ralegh's goal for England. It seems, however, that even in light of his earlier attack on Spanish treatment of the Indians, he would have been willing, at least rhetorically, to kidnap the local chiefs and kings to gain riches. Instead, he leads a life of poverty for the good and honour of his monarch. Ralegh does bring in God at the end: he delayed any action in this enterprise "untill I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royall heart eyther to follow or forelow the same" (A5^v). While Ralegh prays for God's power to help his cause, he uses the conventional topos of modesty to take responsibility for the errors in his book, which his dedicatees are asked to pardon.

The next layer of Ralegh's text is his address "To the Reader." In the first sentence he gets to the nub of his problem: an alderman of London and an officer of her majesty's mint have declared the gold worthless. Ralegh's address is a response to this "malicious slaunder" by saying that some of his men kept marcasite, found in Trinedado and not in Guiana, even when he told them it was not gold. The mineral Ralegh saw in Guiana was "El madre del oro (as the Spaniards terme them) which is the mother of golde" (q2). Ralegh testifies to all those in London who made many trials of the gold ore and found it to be of high quality and once more refutes the unnamed alderman who has tried to

make a scandal (q2^v). He also maintains that the gold is from Guiana even if he did not bring more home: good gold is found in strong stone. The more than hundred persons in Ralegh's party could testify how impossible it is to navigate the rivers in Guiana from the beginning of June through the end of September. The theme here is always gold (q3). Self-defence is Ralegh's imperative: his only motivation in seeking gold is "to serve her majesty and my Country" (q3^v). To defend himself, Ralegh brings back the image of Spanish menace and cruelty in order to stir feelings against his English detractors: "If the spanishe nation had bene of like beleefe to these detractors, we should litle haue feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatned" (q3^v). Spain's threat to England, which did not end with the defeat of the armada, is used as a justification for Ralegh's plan to seize gold and land in the New World. He implies the Spanish rape of these territories, saying that Charles the Fifth "had the Maydenhead of Peru, & the abundant treasures of *Ataóalipa*" and how he and his successor have endangered kingdoms, so that, by the new king, "many vessels, treasures, and people are deuoured, & yet notwithstanding he beginneth againe like a storme to threaten shipwracke to vs all" (q3^v). What enables the King of Spain to threaten England and other nations is not any produce from Spain, Portugal or any of his other provinces: "It is his Indian Golde that indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into Councels, and setteth bound loyalty at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe" (q3^v). The seeking of gold is not an activity in and of itself but a matter of national interest and security. Ralegh reasons further that if the King of Spain can keep the English from his foreign enterprises and from impeaching his trade or can besiege England "in Britayne, Ireland, or else where" he has endangered "us" further. All of "us" are threatened, and, therefore, Ralegh suggests implicitly, no one should monger after scandals concerning his enterprise in Guiana and the gold he claims to have brought back. Rich princes can wage war more successfully because they do not impoverish and alienate their people. The moral is now pointed: "whatsoever kingdome shalbe infored to defend it selfe, may be compared to a body dangerouslie diseased, which for a season may be preserved with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by little and little, the same must needs fall to the ground, and be dissolued" (q4). Ralegh claims that throughout his life, according to his small power and persuasion, he has attempted to achieve profit for England and to "be a lett & impeachment to the quiet course, & plentiful trades of the Spanish nation" (q4). This portrayal of Spain in the New World is more peaceful and less sinister than some of Ralegh's representations of Spanish imperialism and, by implication, suggests his work as a kind of disturbance. Such a war, Ralegh says, could endanger and weaken the King of Spain as much as any prince in Europe considering how many nations he collects revenue from and how weak they are "so farre seuered from mutual

succor" (q4). Raleigh promises by Elizabeth's favour and good opinion of him and with his life that these provinces and the empire he has newly "discovered" shall be enough to enable the queen and England to find more treasure than Spain and to achieve more than the author has declared or promised in his discourse. He appeals to the readers to accept as their reward this discourse that seeks to profit and honour their monarch. Raleigh's gold will guard the realm.

The body of Raleigh's *The Discoverie of Guiana* develops the need to observe the Spanish model of colonization while using its own methods to subvert it. He begins the text proper with a description of the route from England to the New World, natural phenomena and the situational friendship and trade of the English with the Spanish and Indians, but it is clear that wherever he is, Raleigh has "*Guiana* (the *Magazin* of all rich mettels)" in mind (3). One of the Native caciques came to speak with Captain Whiddon, who had met him the year before. The relations between English, Spanish and Native, no matter what war and rivalry had effected, are already mediated. Raleigh pretends to be on his way to supply English settlers in Virginia, but admits to the reader his real purpose: to revenge the ambush of eight of Whiddon's men by Natives and Spanish under the command of Don Anthonio de Berreo and to learn more about Guiana from talking with Spaniards (4-5).

But Raleigh soon gets to Spanish cruelty. A cacique gives Raleigh intelligence of Berreo, who mistreats the Natives:

For although he had given order through all the Iland that no Indian should come aborde to trade with me vpon paine of hanging and quartering, (hauing executed two of them for the same which I afterwards founde) yet euery night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his cruelty, how he had deuided the Iland & given to euery soldier a part, that he made the ancient Casiqui which were Lords of the country to be their slaues, that he kept them in chains, & dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, & such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the city after I entred the same, there were 5. of the Lords or litle kings (which they cal Casiqui in the west Indies) in one chaine almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments. (5-6)

Raleigh adds his eyewitness testimony of Spanish cruelty to a report he hears from a cacique. Since the English, French and Spanish have come amongst the Natives, they now call their leaders captains. Some of these Native captains Berreo had transplanted from other countries in order to waste the captains from that place. Raleigh calls together the captains that are enemies to Spain and, through the Indian interpreter he brought with him from home, portrays Elizabeth I and England as liberators from Spanish tyranny:

I made them vnderstand that I was the seruant of a Queene, who was the great Casique of the north, and a virgin, and had more Casiqui vnder her then there were trees in their Iland: that she was an enemy to the Castellani in respect of their tyrannie and oppression, and that she deliuered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, and hauing freed all the coast of the northern world from their seruitude had sent me to free them also, and with al to defend the country of Guiana from their inuasion and conquest. (7)

Raleigh also says the Natives could have become idolatrous gazing on Elizabeth's picture, which may be as much an exaggeration of the numbers of English nobility and gentry (as if pillars were trees). If the queen could rid northern Europe of cruelty, she could do so in the New World, particularly in Guiana, the land of Raleigh's desire. Against Spanish cruelty, an image built on the Black Legend, the English and Natives would unite. Raleigh is sure to represent the Natives paying homage to Elizabeth as "the great princesse or greatest commaunder" (7). He takes Berreo prisoner and finds out more about Guiana.

Raleigh's ambitions reveal his ambivalence toward Spain. One of his regrets is that he did not have the opportunity to go to the city of Manoa or to take other towns on the way. If he or someone else is given this chance, "he shall performe more then euer was done in *Mexico* by *Cortez*, or in *Peru* by *Pacaro*" (9). Clearly, the model is Spanish even if Raleigh wants to exceed it. Raleigh's words become his treasure, for some criticized him for not having brought home more booty: "whatsoeuer Prince shall possesse it, that Prince shalbe Lorde of more Gold, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then eyther the king of Spayne, or the great Turke" (9). The gold that motivated the Spanish, motivates the English. Part of Raleigh's motivation is promotional: he wants the English to build the greatest empire. Spain stands in its way; Spain must be outperformed and devalued, if at first only in language. The English have beaten Spain in Europe and now should take the fight to the New World. Raleigh's text never makes this claim so baldly but its accumulated rhetorical effects add up to such a strategy.

In exhorting the English to build an empire, Raleigh refers to Spanish discourses about the magnificent princes of Peru. He mentions Pedro de Cieza and Francisco Lopez: their words seem to have affected Raleigh's actions, or desire for action, as much as his writing. According to Raleigh, Guiana has more gold than Peru. His evidence is the word of the Spaniards he has spoken to, they who call Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, El Dorado. These same Spaniards attest to the riches of this city: "it farre exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is knowen to the Spanish nation" (10). While undermining the Spanish, Raleigh relies on them. He quotes at length in Spanish from chapter 120 of Lopez's history of the Indies, which describes the

magnificent court of Guaynacapa, the emperor of Peru, whose descendant is, in Raleigh's account, emperor of Guiana. His family escaped the Spaniards. Raleigh is implicitly building a coalition against Spain. So that no one misses the description of gold and more gold in all shapes and sizes, Raleigh translates the passage. He also furnishes a translation from chapter 117 in Lopez that amplifies the quantity of gold.

Raleigh's logic is that Incan gold made Spain rich and powerful; the Incan descendants are now in Guiana with more gold than ever; if England takes Guiana and thereby prevents Spain from doing the same, then England will curb, and perhaps supplant, Spanish power:

the Spanish King vexeth all the Princes of Europe, and is become in a few years from a poore king of Castile the greatest monarke of this part of the worlde, and likelie every day to increase, if other Princes forsloe the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this Empire to the rest, which by farre exceedeth all the rest: if his golde now indaunger vs, hee will then be vnrestisable. (12-13)

This rivalry continues throughout Raleigh's book. Midway through it, Raleigh exposes Spanish dirty tricks, for instance, how they told the Natives on the way to Guiana that the English were cannibals. This strategy allows Raleigh to contrast Spanish cruelty towards the Natives with English virtue. Raleigh constructs a moment of recognition when the Natives see the deceit and purpose of the Spanish,

who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wives, and daughters daily, and vsed them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this manner by strength. But I protest before the maiestie of the liuing God, that I neither know nor beleuee, that any of our companie one or other, by violence or otherwise, euer knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yooing, and excellently fauored which came among vs without deceit, starke naked. (51-52)

Although Raleigh proceeds to speak about how this good behaviour won love for the English – that is Native admiration – he reveals here the temptation the English had to overcome. Even if the Spanish gave into temptation and were full of deceit and were thus unlike the Natives and English, their actions are understandable. After all, Raleigh praises his followers for restraining themselves: if it had been something to be expected without Raleigh's discipline, then it would not merit a comment. Raleigh uses contrast between the English and the Spanish (over lust) and between the Natives (over deceit) to form a bond between English and Native. They are allies against the terrible Spaniards. Raleigh would not suffer any man to take anything without payment or "so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters: which course, so contrarie to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all

things) drew them to admire hir Maiestie, whose commandement I told them it was, and also woonderfully to honour our nation" (52). But Raleigh cannot entirely separate English from Spanish plunder. He admits that the "meaner sort" of English took spoils and stole from Native houses, but that he gave back as much payment as was demanded and punished those who fought. The great contrast in Raleigh's allegations is that *ex post facto* the English show more discipline and punishment of crimes than the Spanish. Raleigh shifts his rhetoric, as if to change the subject from this embarrassment, which, admitted, is to give more credibility to Raleigh's report, from English theft and abuse of the Natives to the indigenes' wonder over how the English had defeated the Spanish in Trinedado (Trinidad) and during the battle with the Spanish armada. Nor did Raleigh fail to mention that he told the Natives "that no nation of *Christians* durst abide their [the Spanish] presence" (52). Raleigh attempts to elide the English plunder of the Natives and build a common alliance with them, and all the world, against the tyrannous Spaniards.

The myth that Raleigh is trying to propagate, especially by way of flattering Elizabeth, is that he put her reputation before the sacking of towns and the hoarding of gold because this strategy would support the desire of Natives of Guiana for England to liberate them from Spanish cruelty. Elizabeth has sent Raleigh and his men for such a purpose, and he is assured that the Natives will fight to the last person to be rid of the Spaniards (79). Raleigh supplies the military intelligence to invade *Nueva Hispania* (here as elsewhere he uses the Spanish name as if the Spaniards have taken possession and have to be dispossessed). The English right to the West Indies is resurrected in Raleigh's description of Columbus's offer to Elizabeth's grandfather, Henry VII. As the queen's vassal, Raleigh appeals directly to her. He summarizes how Guiana is "discovered" and how the Spanish, thought among the Natives to be invincible, are disgraced and beaten. If Elizabeth takes bold action, gold and empire are hers (99-100). Finally, Raleigh reports a prophecy which the Spanish general, Berreo, related to him, as if to give it more credence. In the greatest Incan temple and other temples, a prophecy foresaw the loss of the empire to the Spaniards and its restoration and deliverance from *Inglaterra* (England). This is Raleigh's hope. Their good will leads to gold. He uses repetition in his coda: "For whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, shall bee greatest, and if the king of Spayne enioye it, he will become vnrestisable" (100-01). If Elizabeth acts and takes Guiana and beyond, she will gain reputation and, as part of her secular cult of the Virgin Queen, she will be the virginal queen over the Amazons, who will help her invade other empires. Here, the sexual roles are reversed. Raleigh had described Guiana as a land who still had its maidenhead and needed to be entered, but now the virgins are to invade other, presumably male-dominated, countries (101, see 96). Raleigh ends by appealing to God and Christ in royal imagery and implicitly conflates Elizabeth with the Virgin Mary as the "Lady of Ladies." All the men who would serve her in such an

action would, with her grace and leave, be kings. And all these military plans and invasions would be done in the name of the "king of al kings" (101). In God Ralegh trusts so the queen should trust Ralegh. The climax comes: this will be a holy war in which God and Gold, contrary to the Old Testament, are one.

Like the English, the French showed a marked ambivalence towards the Spanish empire. The imperial venture of Spain was a cause for emulation and envy as well as for criticism. One text represents this rivalry especially well, *Brief Discours Des Choses Plus Remarquables Que Sammel Champlain De Brouage A Reconneues Aux Indes Occidentales ...* (1599-1601). Champlain went on a voyage for Spain, in whose service his uncle from Provence was engaged as Pilot-General of their sea forces (4). Family concerns tempered national interests. While Champlain praised the Spanish, he also criticized them. In one instance, Champlain reports that after one English attack on Margarita Island off the coast of Venezuela, fifteen days later, they found some Indians taking refuge in the fortress, which they were also repairing (15). The Spanish general asked the Indians to file a report on the attack for the King of Spain and ordered them to go find those who had fled into the mountains so they could return home, "receuant tel contentement de voir ledit general et d'estre deliurez des Anglois, qu'ilz oublièrent leurs pertes passées" (19). Here the Natives are the eyewitnesses in the service of Spain against the English intruders, which is hardly the picture Ralegh represents of the nearby Guiana for Elizabeth I several years before.

Elsewhere Champlain describes war and conflict between Spaniard and Native. The Spaniards are exploring the strait of Magellan and "ont guerre avec les sauvages du pays, auquel l'on dit que l'on descouvre des mines d'or et d'argent" (61). After speaking about trees, plants and animals, he turns to a brief account of the Indians ("Indiens" here rather than the "sauvages" he often uses). He describes the moon-worship, which characterizes most of the Natives "qui ne sont point soubz la domination des Espagnolz" (61-62). This ceremony asks the moon to allow the Indians to conquer and eat the enemy: Champlain calls these non-Christian Natives "ces pauvres peuples, priez de la raison, que j'ay icy figurez" (63). If it were not for the attention of the King of Spain, the Natives under his domination "seroient en ausuy barbare creance comme les autres" (63). While showing pity and denouncing the cruelty of the Inquisition, Champlain sides with the civilized King of Spain against the barbarous indigenes:

Au commencement de ses conquestes, il auoit establi l'inquisition entre eux, et les rendois esclaves, ou faisois cruellement mourir en sy grand nombre, que le recit seulement en fait pitié. Ce mauuais traitement estoit cause que les pauvres Indiens, pour l'aprehension d'iceluy, s'enfuoient aux montaignes comme desesperez, et d'autant d'Espagnolz qu'ilz attrapoyent, ilz les mangeoyent; et pour

ceste occasion lesdictz Espagnolz furent contrainctz leur oster ladicte Inquisition, et leur donner liberté de leur personne, leur donnant vne reigle de viure plus douce et tollerable, pour les faire venir à la cognoissance de Dieu et creance de la ste Eglise: car s'ilz les vouloyent encor chatier selon la rigueur de ladicte Inquisition, ilz les feroient tous mourir par le feu. (63-64)

If the Spanish had been really as cruel as all that, then they would have exterminated all the Indians because they were incapable of maintaining Christian belief except under a vigilant domination. Champlain describes the *estancia* or landed estates, which he says are designed to keep the Natives in faith, while admitting that they do so partly from fear of being beaten (64-65). The Indians in Champlain's description are melancholy, intelligent, docile in the face of abuse, and nomadic (65-66).

While in many ways approving of the Spaniard's treatment of the Natives, Champlain can also give intelligence, for instance about the strategic river, Porto Bello, and how Drake died after failing to take it. This river is the heart of the gold and silver trade (68). Champlain is much more oblique than is Ralegh. He speaks of sailors, "mesme les Anglois," smoking like the Natives, and he praises Florida, once the land the Huguenots desired with such disastrous effects, as a beautiful and fertile land, which the King of Spain undervalues because it lacks gold and silver and where the Natives (Champlain oscillates between "sauuages" and "Indiens") make war on the Spaniards. On the way home, the Spanish expedition on which Champlain serves, captures two English ships, fitted out for war, and takes them to Seville.

During the 1630s and 1640s, religious concerns intensified once again in the colonization of the New World. After the English and French were establishing permanent colonies in North America and were trying to maintain them and to encourage their growth, England and France became rivals and focused their attention on each other as well as on the power of Spain. An example of the French preoccupation with the English in North America can be observed in Gabriel Sagard's *Histoire du Canada et voyages que les freres mineurs Recollets y ont faicts pour la conuersion des Infidelles* (1636). Sagard, a Recollet who travelled among the Huron or Ouendat, concentrated on conversion, but in his history from 1615 to the fall of Québec to the English in 1629, he could not avoid the English presence, whereas the Spanish were not a force in Canada. In his address "Au Lecteur," Sagard imagines how different kinds of readers might respond to the descriptions of the Hurons in his book: "Les plus deuots y trouueront dequoy occuper leurs bonnes oeures & charité à l'endroit de tant de pauvres ames esgarées & éloignées du chemin de salut. Les affligez leur consideration endurant pour le Paradis, où les pauvres barbares ne souffrent que pour l'enfer" (12).² Sagard himself, saying

2 All translations of Sagard in the notes are mine. I have only provided a translation of Sagard

that his volume should appeal to those curious about strange things as well as to the devout, represents the Natives in a more positive light. Rather than give a beautiful discourse, Sagard wishes "d'edifier les bonnes ames qui verront en cette Histoire vne grande exemple de patience & modestie en nos Sauvages, vn coeur vrayement noble, & vne paix & vnion admirable, car que seruent tant de mots nouveaux & inuentez à plaisir sinon pour vuider l'ame de la deuotion & la remplir de vanité" (Sagard 14-15).³ The example of the Native is now a spiritual version of the "Germania syndrome."⁴ Sagard contrasts the simplicity and dignity of the Natives with the vanity of stylistic invention, or those devout and servants of Christ, "qui veulent pindariser & faire les scauantes en matiere de bien dire" (Sagard 15).⁵ In defending his history, Sagard cites Demosthenes against those who would attack his rhetoric and representation of the Natives. Sagard remonstrates those who would not help the mission in Canada and some merchants who worked against the design of the Recollets to convert the Natives and make them sedentary while peopling the country (Sagard 15-16). A similar split occurred amongst the French that happened amongst the Spanish, where the landowners opposed the friars like Las Casas. In his mission, Sagard also claims obedience rather than self-interest and asks that God give him the grace to practise the same virtues for his grace that the barbarians ("barbares") exercise for the love of themselves (Sagard 21-22). Conversion became a central goal of New France in its first decades, which was one of the pretexts, as well as the occupation of the land, France used from the early sixteenth century to challenge the right of Portugal and Spain to the New World.

As late as 1636, Sagard was going over ground that the Spaniards first discussed a hundred years before. One of the topics he discusses is the ignorance of the ancients in geography.⁶ He sets out two reasons why Aristotle and others did not know that there were inhabitants beyond Europe, Asia and Africa. First, the sea was so large Europeans could not traverse it, which led St. Augustine to deny the Antipodes. Second, the ancients thought "mais ils se

as the text of Champlain is readily available in a bilingual edition whereas I am not aware of any translation of Sagard: "The most devout will find there what to occupy their good works and charity of so many poor souls, misguided and far from the road to salvation. The afflicted have their enduring consideration for Paradise, where the poor barbarians suffer only for hell." In my transcriptions underlined letters indicate omitted letters in abbreviations.

3 The translation reads: "to edify the good souls who will see in this History a great example of patience and modesty in our Savages, a heart truly noble, and an admirable peace and union, because what is the purpose of so many new words, ruffily invented, if not to rid the soul of its devotion and to fill her with vanity."

4 I am using Peter Burke's term; see Burke 46.

5 Translation: "those who wish to pindarize and play savants in the matter of fine speaking."

6 On José de Acosta's debt to Pliny and Herodotus, see Pagden 1986, 151; concerning the relation between Acosta and Aristotle's geography, see Grafton *et al.*, 1-2.

sont trompez comme tout le monde sçait à present" that the Torrid Zone was too hot and the poles too cold to be inhabited (Sagard 626).⁷ Even in a history of Canada, where the Spanish had no permanent settlements, the example and precedents of Spain became part of the narrative. Sagard says that America was named after Vespucci but reminds his reader that the honour was due to Columbus, who discovered the New World five years before (Sagard 627). This rehashing of the origins of America and the first European contact with it occurred, almost as an obsession, in French and English writing from the sixteenth century onwards. Sagard uses Las Casas as a source for Hispaniola and recalled the conquest of Mexico by Cortés (Sagard 629-30). A more telling aspect is the account of a Spanish Recollet baptising 400 Natives, an example for this French Recollet historian and missionary and one that serves his theme of conversion and cuts across the secular concerns of rival empires (Sagard 631). Sagard follows up with a description of the Recollet conversion of the kingdom of Voxu, a province in eastern Japan (Sagard 632). The success of Spanish Recollets, real and imagined, in conversion in America and the Far East became a model that the French sought to imitate amongst the Hurons in Canada.⁸

Another example that raised expectations amongst the French were the riches of Peru. Sagard describes it as perhaps having the richest deposit of gold and silver in the world as a means of talking about the Spanish possession of that country and the ransom king Atabaliba offered the Spaniards. This description might seem out of place in a history of Canada, but the reason for its presence becomes readily apparent. The anxiety Sagard anticipates in his readers is the inadequacy of New France beside the Spanish colonies: "Et bien messieurs vous voudriez bien que le Canada fut en mesme parallele, vous donneriez volontiers cinq sols pour auoir vne chartée d'escus, ouy mais cela ne se peut faire car les richesses de la nouvelle France, ne montent pas à si haut pris, neantmoins encores ne doiuent elles pas estre mesprisées pour si peu qu'il y en aye" (Sagard 787).⁹ Like Hakluyt, Sagard measures the commodities of his country's colony against the standard of Spanish America and often had to find compensating riches or enticements for prospective settlers and financiers. Pelts and copper mines soon yield to gold, rubies and precious stones in the

7 The phrase is "but they were wrong as everyone now knows."

8 Sagard thought in 1632 that even the most successful Jesuit missions in New France, like the one in Quendake or Huronia, was "very far away from the tens of million souls that our confrères have baptised ... in the East and West Indies" (Gabriel Sagard, *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, ed. Réal Ouellet and Jack Warwick, Montréal, 1990, 72, quoted and translated in Codignola, 215). On Sagard's View of the Natives, see Dickason, *Myth*, 78-79.

9 "And so gentlemen you would very much wish that Canada would be at the same level, you would give voluntarily five sous [pennies] to have a lot of cash, but that cannot happen for the riches of New France do not rise to such a high price, but none the less again they must not be dispised for as little as they have been."

Saguenay. The dreams of Cartier and Roberval died hard (Sagard 787-89). Sagard's history, which talked about conversion and profit, has a promotional element to it: he mixes commerce with religion.

The more immediate rival for France in the northern part of North America was England. Sagard interprets the arrival of the English at Tadoussac and fall of Quebec in 1629 as a sign of God's chastisement of New France (Sagard 915-20). The English, who corrupted the Natives with gifts (an easy thing to do in Sagard's opinion) and found French allies to help them with the destruction of the French settlements, and not the Spanish, become the bestial enemies: "Mais ô bon Dieu quels hostes, ils ne furent pas plustost entrez dans ce logis mal gardé, qu'ils pillerent & rauagerent comme ennemis iurez" (Sagard 919).¹⁰ God's punishment comes in part because some of these thieves were French: "comme i'ay dit, vne partie de ces voleurs estoient François naturels" (Sagard 919).¹¹ The French, whom Sagard exhorts to settle and help in converting the Natives, and the aboriginals themselves had sinners amongst them. Sagard revealed that the French had divisions amongst themselves, differences that would persist in New France in its attempt to develop a fur trade with the Natives, in its missionary work and in its resistance to English claims to Acadia and Canada. In the middle of his discussion of Recollet missionary work, Sagard described the "Hollandais perfides" ("perfidious Dutch") and a battle between the French and English (Sagard 945-54). The religious work Sagard advocated was surrounded by danger because of the rivalries amongst European and Native nations.

The 1630s would see the work of Jesuit missionaries amongst the Hurons, like Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemont, a Huguenot convert, who in the late 1640s would die at the hands of the Iroquois.¹² Like the Recollets, the Jesuits often looked to the success of Spanish Jesuits for inspiration: the founder of the Society of Jesus was a Spaniard. From Huronia (Owendake), Paul Le Jeune could write in 1637 about the success of turning the Paraguis from cruel cannibals to gentle lambs of God and of the good results of Portuguese conversions of the American Indians (Le Jeune 221). Catholic

religious orders, like Protestant sects, complicated loyalties to language and nation in a period where regions and national boundaries were in flux. There was also, as we have seen, an anxiety in France and England of losing people to Holland and Spain because of their flourishing economies, so that national borders were not as fixed and patriotism not as deep as the ruling elites would have desired. Thousands of French artisans and merchants had crossed into Spain after the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1610 (Boucher 27). The Flemish and Swiss were French and then French-speaking as such a distinction became possible. The Pilgrims lived in Holland and those who feared assimilation left for America, but those who did not stayed. National feeling and anti-Spanish sentiment, which is only part of the example of Spain, while there and important, is not a fixed entity, but, rather, is qualified by religion, region, language and commerce.

While Spain was a positive and negative example to England and France from 1492 into the eighteenth century and beyond, by the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century the Spanish, English and French, not to mention the Dutch and the Portuguese, all contended in trade and war in the New World. Paradoxically, Hakluyt constructed the principal navigations of the English from a polyglot encyclopedia of European texts: Spain was very much on his mind as he proposed ways for England to supercede it. M.M.S., the anonymous translator of the French translation of Las Casas (which was also translated into Dutch), illustrates how Spain's European rivals developed a Black Legend against Spain as a means of opposing its power in Europe and in the New World. An intertextuality, including the translation of translation, illustrates an ambivalence in the connection between the translation of empire and the translation of study. The ambivalent rivalry with Spain, whether in the conflict over the West Indies or in the Netherlands, makes itself known in direct references to Spain in these texts or in traces or implied comparisons. Raleigh's Las Casas becomes a witness against Spanish aggression in Europe and the New World, but the English courtier and explorer also harkens after Spanish riches and success in the New World and offers these prospects to his virgin queen. One of the founders of New France, Champlain, went on a voyage for Spain, for whom his uncle acted as Pilot-General of its sea forces, to the West Indies: the young Frenchman displayed ambivalent attitudes towards the Spanish but praised their harsh treatment of the Natives. Like Champlain, Gabriel Sagard, a Recollet, was as concerned with the English presence in the New World as with the Spanish there, but, unlike Champlain, Sagard contrasted the simplicity and dignity of the Natives with the vanity of stylistic invention, an aspect of European culture. The French Recollets and Jesuits attempted to live up to the example of their Spanish confrères. Conversion and occupation of the land were the pretexts of New France, which from the early sixteenth century, along with similar arguments amongst the English, challenged the right of Portugal and Spain to

10 "But o good God what guests ('hostes'); they had no sooner entered this badly guarded dwelling that they pillaged and ravaged like sworn enemies."

11 The translation reads: "as I said, some of these thieves were French natives."

12 On the torture of the Jesuits, Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemont, and the acts of anthropophagy by the Iroquois in that instance, see Lestringant, *Le Cannibale*, 218-23. The cruelty was not always Spanish but could be Native. The complication is that such cruelty led to martyrdom in the view of the Catholic Church, which involved an imitation of Christ. Another example of a discussion of the cruelty and barbarity of cannibalism occurred in the work of Claude d'Abbeville, someone, in Lestringant's view, that Léry influenced; see Lestringant, *Le Cannibale*, 208-11, Claude d'Abbeville 294-96, and Yves d'Evreux. D'Evreux was d'Abbeville's successor. More generally, see Charles Arpine, who looked at the Recollets from 1486 to 1606, and Philippe de Bethune, who in chapter 15, examined the Christianization of peoples of Brazil, Mexico and Peru.

the New World.

By the time Montcalm, Wolfe, and Washington fought over French, British and American culture and politics in the New World, some of the hidden grounds of those identities were set by the example of Spain, especially the relation of European to the American Indian. The exemplarity of Spain, that is its material and textual model and target, was much greater than they may have known or we may think: the ambivalence over the legacy of Spain in the New World remains just as the mixture of admiration, stereotyping and blame continues consciously and unconsciously. Moreover, that ambivalent mixture persists in the relations amongst European, settler and aboriginal cultures: the estrangement of history still has its traces and presents a gap between what was and is, between the moral and the existential, the "is" and "should be" caught in the movement of time, and the texts left behind to mark those changes in such refractory ways.

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NICOLE MALLET

Shakespeare aux quatre vents de la traduction

And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in Trees, books in running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.
(*As You Like It*, Acte II, Scene 1, 15-17)

Cette étude portera sur quatre versions françaises de *As You Like It* et visera, tout en sondant la double notion d'adaptation et de traduction théâtrale, à dégager certaines modalités de la réception de Shakespeare en France qu'une étude contrastive permet de mieux cerner. Ces quatre textes sont, dans l'ordre chronologique, le *Comme il vous plaira* de George Sand qui date de 1856, et les versions de François-Victor Hugo (1860), Jules Supervielle (1938) et Raymond Lepoutre (1989), toutes trois portant le même titre, difficilement contournable du reste, de *Comme il vous plaira*¹.

Avant d'en venir au détail de l'analyse, il est bon de faire quelques rappels d'ordre général qui permettront de délimiter les assises théoriques de notre enquête et de justifier le double choix qui a présidé à la constitution du corpus de cette enquête. Choix d'abord de *As you like it* comme pièce-laboratoire plutôt que *Hamlet* ou *Romeo and Juliet*, par exemple. Ensuite, sélection des quatre traducteurs/traductrices plutôt que d'autres s'étant livrés au même genre d'exercice. Ce préambule théorique sera à la fois d'ordre traductologique et historique.

On peut assimiler la traduction théâtrale à un genre, un genre qui jouit d'un statut spécial en raison même de la spécificité du texte dramatique, texte écrit pour être dit, pour être joué, pour être reçu par une collectivité. Sa problématique est donc une combinatoire où entrent en ligne de compte les contraintes, les impératifs et la poétique de la traduction littéraire, ainsi que les

1 A notre connaissance, parmi les différentes traductions françaises du théâtre de Shakespeare, seul Francisque Michel a opté pour un titre différent: *Comme vous l'aimez* (voir Michel).

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