

Raymond J. Jirran

A. Introduction

History takes on two major forms, narrative and explanatory. Narrative history at its best is fine literature. Explanatory history is more concerned with getting at the truth than with the fine turn of a phrase. School history tends to be more explanatory than narrative.¹ This explanation of the dichotomy between narration and explanation can tend to be somewhat simplistic. A more sophisticated approach considers history neither to be the narrative image nor the explanatory science of the past, but rather a meaningful interpretation of what has taken place.²

In the final analysis, the complexity of the past requires the simplification essential to good narration. Historical knowledge, however, is more concerned with the question of what should be presented, rather than how the presentation should be made.³ These lectures aim first at truth by way of explanation, then at politics by way of narration. The availability of technology has made these notes possible. The course goal for this lesson on exploration is **evaluating the impact of technology on civilization** according to the people, places, circumstances, and chronology involved. As fascinating as the story is, the facts do not speak for themselves and must be interpreted and explained.

B. Routes

In the first two centuries of modern times, from 1500 to 1700, Western Europe developed conditions for fundamental economic and technological change. The vast superiority of the Europeans over other peoples, during this time, stemmed from their superiority in seamanship, especially navigation, and weapons. The professor finds communication his main delight in modern times.

The use of the cannon particularly meant that weaker lords could no longer barricade themselves in their castles, away from the king. Cannon spread just as disease, germs and plants did, along the waterways of the world. Cannon required rare skills for their management and large amounts of metal for their production. That is probably why historians know that there were cannon at Fort Monroe from the time of the Revolutionary War onward. In any event, the late Ming and Manchu empires of China, the Tokugawa of Japan, and the more familiar Ottoman, Muscovite, Spanish, and Portuguese empires relied on cannon.⁴

As important as weapons were, seamanship was also significant. Chambers, apparently, assumes students are already familiar with Christopher Columbus (1451-1506).⁵ This is unfortunate because Columbus is one of the truly great men of history, whose tale takes more than is available in space here either. However, what was the purpose of the voyage, anyway? According to a recent interpretation, the liberation of the Holy Land.⁶ Historians, nevertheless, continue to view Columbus in secular terms. The greatness of Columbus rests in his communicating to Europe that he had found something worthwhile. This suits the notion that the true significance of modern technology rests in communication.

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During the thousand years before Columbus, travel literature made the place, for example Jerusalem, the focus of attention. Columbus made himself the hero, in control of the experience. Later, Walter Raleigh (1554-1618) shifted the wonder from himself to his reaction to the place.⁷

C. Trade

Capital made trade possible. The conventional view is that capitalism only began in the Sixteenth Century. Actually, Italian and German capitalistic practices were already in use from the Twelfth Century. This fact has yet to be widely disseminated.

The classic definition of capitalism is taken from liberal-Marxist thinkers of the Nineteenth Century.

Capitalism is a system of production based on wage labor, the free market, and the private appropriation of profit. It [capitalism] is located in states that have developed "national economics" and a legal system that guarantees individual property rights.⁸

The rights to one's own labor are among the basic of all property rights. Of very special importance to students is the notion that the more highly skilled the worker, the less expensive it is to pay him than to pay his supervisor.⁹

Beginning in early modern times, of what did trade consist? Wool, textiles, and the like, during the Fifteenth Century. During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, the chief product was precious metals. Then, from the beginning of the Eighteenth to the middle of the Nineteenth Century, the chief commerce was in slaves.¹⁰ According to the scenario in this lecture, when slaves became too difficult to supervise profitably, slavery ended.

The error in such thinking is to consider moral matters as a spin-off of economic matters, like Marx. The stronger scenario throughout all of these lectures is that economic matters are a spin-off of moral matters. Politics transmits morals to economics.

The error in regarding religion as a subset of either politics or economics is reflected in the current revisions of diplomatic history. As C. Vann Woodward puts it, "The rise of global empire that menaces constitutional freedoms [that it] is supposed to protect."¹¹ If morality comes first, then freedoms become grounded in morality rather than in constitutions and, then, constitutions can only legitimate empires if the basis of those empires is, first, moral. The current state of affairs is far from accomplishing this utopia.

D. Conclusion

By studying the Introduction to Exploration, Routes, Trade, and Production, the student was able to evaluate the impact of technology on civilization. Students are reminded to prepare a comment.

Supplement

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E. Introduction

The question of what to present explains the length of the supplement to this topic. The supplementary material seems significant to Dr. Jirran, yet does not appear in textbooks. The intention is that the supplement should be read in a manner similar to the way in which Chambers is read, not in the way in which the lectures are to be known.

Upon further reflection, more need to be written. Scholars never do both European and United States history. The professor does. At one time, the professor could read Latin and Greek, both useful for the last four topics, and Spanish and French, useful for this topic on Exploration.. At the baccalaureate level the professor has a concentration in philosophy. His concentration is like a Maser's Degree, only without the thesis. At the doctoral level, the professor has a cognate area in sociology and anthropology, areas important for the study of the three-way relationships between Europeans, native Americans, and Africans.

Much of history is political, about who conquered whom. Such drum and bugle history is easily accepted. What is more difficult to present is the technological aspects to human health. The human body is a sort of machine. The course goal for this lesson on exploration is evaluating the impact of technology on civilization according to the people, places, circumstances, and chronology involved. Public health is an appropriate subtopic for Exploration. The rise of the abortion issue is liable to bring matters of human health to the forefront as never before.

A comparative comment on the impact of printing on history is also pertinent here. The Europeans used printing for getting many copies made, whereas the Asians used printing for getting the text right. This does not mean that both uses have equal value. It is no accident that U. S.-trained Chinese scholars outnumber Chinese-trained U. S. scholars. The view from the literate West is the appropriate center of attention.¹² One good look at Chambers makes it evident that historians still do not primarily use printing for getting the text right.

The chauvinism associated with the idea that it was Columbus who discovered America becomes more evident with the passage of time. The first people here seem to have been Asians. Northern Europeans, that is the Vikings, may have taught Columbus how to sail this way.¹³ Africans simply had to enter the ocean to let the currents bring them here, as seems to have been the case.¹⁴ What Columbus did that other had not was communicate the importance of America.

F. Trade (continued)

1. Communication

a. Periodization

Periodization also requires some explanation. These lectures want to base periodization on communication. In that way, early modern times began with the Gutenberg Bible in 1455, rather than Columbus in 1492.¹⁵

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b. Printing

Printing communication lasted as a part of the increasing variety of forces that permitted a vast expansion of population before 1700, when middle modern times began. The year 1700 also brought a proliferation of slavery and, shortly, the marvels of the steam engine. Late modern times began with the ending of slavery and the emphasis that human rights were more valuable, even to the economy, than the rights of private property. Late late modern times ushered in satellite communications.

c. Value

The actual amount of overseas trade along the old and new routes was large and grew amazingly fast. In the case of England, foreign trade doubled from the decade (de' caade) 1701-1710 to the decade 1731-1740, and it doubled again from the latter decade to that of 1761-1770. See the graph on page 645 entitled "The Growth of England's Foreign Trade in the Eighteenth Century."¹⁶ Exploration and printed communication thereof characterized the whole 1500-1800 period.

c. Diseases among the Europeans

1.) Scurvy

As early as 1611, printed literature recommended the use of lemons and oranges as a cure for scurvy. In 1753, a definitive study was done in favor of using lemons and oranges. Still, the British Admiralty did not act, mainly because of the cost. Finally, in 1795, the Admiralty acted, but substituted the less expensive and relatively worthless limes, hence the name "Limey." Reformers had paid attention to urban sanitation, housing, health services, and water supplies. Scurvy continued to break out, as late as 1875.

2.) Cholera

Cholera struck Cleveland, Ohio in 1832 and 1849.¹⁷ In the fall of 1854, a cholera epidemic engulfed Pittsburgh.¹⁸ It was only in 1883 that Robert Koch (caulk) discovered the bacillus responsible for cholera. Over one hundred years later, in 1999, researchers began to discover how the bacteria worked.

Scientists discovered a gene called DAM, which the bacterium used to act as a sort of Trojan horse until the bacterial pathogen was already in the host victim. The disease studied was salmonella in mice, but the implications included cholera, plague, and typhoid fever. Salmonella, with 2500 strains, is no simple disease. Up to four million Americans are infected with salmonella food poisoning yearly. Globally about seventeen million people die from infections annually, about three times the number of cancer deaths.¹⁹

Science has reached the end of the road insofar as combating some infections is concerned. Vancomycin used to be the antibiotic of last resort, but some pathogen strains are resistant even to vancomycin. Discovering the DAM gene may buy some time to find a better defense against bacterial infections.²⁰

Cholera is also treated at J. Disease in the December 27, 1999 edition of Topic 24, Towns.

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2. Slavery

a. United States

Between the 1680s and 1780s the country of England, with the Americas, and the continent of Africa, with the Atlantic, had about the same rate of growth in trade. The construction of faster ships in the Eighteenth Century reduced the death rate of the horrible passage from Africa to the Americas.²¹ After the 1780s, the African slave trade peaked, to decline and end by the 1880s.²² Only five per cent of the approximately 10.5 million Africans forced to migrate ended up in the North American colonies, whether English, Spanish, or French. There are 27,233 known voyages that can be traced.²³

In the economic scenario, slaves would be considered capital goods. While bar iron, blades, pans, small quantities of textiles used as yarn by local weavers, and weapons might be classified as capital goods, most pre-industrial trade was in more clearly consumer goods. These included items used for nutrition, clothing, shelter, and psychological satisfaction, for example sugar, tobacco, and alcohol.²⁴

With the Emancipation Proclamation, slavery ended in the United States in 1863. The United States was among the last political units in Western civilization to proclaim an end to slavery. Savoy freed its serfs in 1762; Baden in 1783; Denmark in 1702. Prussia, Wurttemberg, Mecklenberg, Bavaria, and Hesse issued emancipation decrees between 1807 and 1820. While the United States acted quickly and without indemnification, the Europeans acted more deliberately and with indemnification. Just the same, the difference is remarkable.²⁵

b. Brazil

Because Brazil freed its slaves even after the United States, a special consideration of Brazilian slavery has merit. Brazil was America's largest and longest-lasting slave society. The study of Brazilian slavery warns students of United States slavery to beware of the following trap. Planters permitted slaves to sell some of their own produce principally in order to preserve slavery. This preservation lasted in Brazil three hundred years. The ability of the slaves to sell some of their own produce was not the principle that ruptured the slave system. This warning does not deny agency to the slaves in an evolving process of negotiation and struggle.²⁶

c. The Caribbean

Negotiation and struggle are highlighted in studies of slavery comparing the Caribbean and the southern United States. The Caribbean was more volatile, harsher, and less given to scientific farming and natural increase in population. Because Caribbean slaves had greater access to growing their own food, Caribbean slaves were less dependent upon their masters than were slaves in the United States. Caribbean slaves, therefore, were also less dependent upon European Christianity and more open to the moral legitimacy of revolt. More African cultural traits survived in the Caribbean than in the United States.²⁷

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d. Human Rights

The issue is human rights. Human rights strengthen the economy. This fact helps legitimate human rights. By strengthening the economy, human rights also strengthens political power. Those religions that strengthen human rights the most merit the most attention in Western civilization. Since the Ten Commandments can be regarded as the fundamental basis for all human rights, the professor is able to bring a very Christian perspective to his understanding of the history of Western civilization. As an academican, however, his first commitment is to the truth in the fact of whatever countervailing political pressures there may be. The fundamental act of faith is that that commitment to truth leads to God by way of Christianity. This history is presented on the WEB within the context of many cultures.

The WEB helps not only cultural exchange, but economic exchanges as well. Traders do bring cultures together. There is more to observe about the economy of the southern United States. Deerskins made an interesting item of trade between Indians and the English. Indians did adapt to the European invasion. Deerskins were traded for guns, textiles, rum, and other industrial goods. When there were no more deerskins to trade, the Indians traded for land.²⁸

English traders would marry Indian women. Their offspring would then rise to leadership among the Indians. Problems arose when the new leaders brought new customs for integration into established Indian customs. Indians began by owning everything in common; Europeans began with the concept of private ownership.²⁹

Some of what happened relative to the United States is well known: Andrew Jackson's conquest and The Trail of Tears. What is not so well known is that Thomas Jefferson began Jackson's policy, but in a more sophisticated manner. Jefferson directed that the Indians be placed in so much debt that they would have no choice but to sell their land. Through it all, Indians outnumbered the English in Carolina during much of the Nineteenth Century.³⁰ That may help account for why such a high percentage of Thomas Nelson Community College students have Indian ancestry.

The story of trade and adaptation is beginning to unfold. Not only the English, but the Spanish and French were also deeply involved.³¹ Scholars need to be careful in their treatment of the demise of both the Indian people and their cultures.

3. The Potato

a. In Itself

Ten thousand year old potatoes have recently been discovered in South America, in Peru. That these organisms were cultivated may mean that civilization began in the New World about the same time as in the Old. Wheat of similar age has been found in Iran and Iraq. It now appears that people migrated from Asia to the New World by way of what is now Alaska, before the ice age ended, at least 10,000 years ago.³²

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Wheat is a type of grass found throughout the world. One of the first grains to be cultivated, wheat was grown in the Nile River valley as early as 5000 BC.³³ Wheat has not caught the attention of the professor as much as the potato.

Introduced to Spain from South America in the Sixteenth Century, the potato eventually spread to Ireland, where it gained the name of Irish potato. From Ireland, the potato was re-transported to the rest of Europe and to North America. The potato enormously increased the food supply of these areas, making possible an extraordinary growth of population.

World travel spread the knowledge of new foods. Besides the potato, maize (corn), tomatoes, chili peppers, and peanuts were all spread throughout the world after the time of Columbus. Chili peppers and tomatoes supplied a rich vitamin source particularly important in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean areas. Oranges were picked up from China.³⁴

b. In its Effects

1.) The Virtue

The potato has the virtue of producing more calories per acre than any other easily grown crop. It was adaptable to a great variety of soils and climates and was relatively tasty, with minimal labor requirements.³⁵ The whole process of working the potato into the culture took some time. In Europe, maize (corn) and potatoes became significant only after 1650.³⁶ Chambers states that "...the humble potato [was] not common on the continent before 1750."³⁷ It was not until the 1780s that planting began to be common in Ireland. By the end of the Eighteenth Century, Ireland was using potatoes as a dietary staple. Family size and food are related.

Why was there a mysteriously low number of children per family in some premodern societies? A hint of an answer may be found in early modern times. Perhaps infants were just abandoned outside the family household. Saint Vincent de Paul (1581-1660) was concerned for such foundlings. It seems likely that some unwanted children were sold into slavery. Such behavior would not have contravened prohibitions against infanticide, abortion, and most forms of contraception. The seventh edition of Chambers mentions infant mortality on page 877.³⁸ During the two centuries from 1500 to 1700, an increase in growth patterns transpired.

The reason for the extraordinary population growth that had taken place in Europe by 1700 seems to have come from the nutritional value of the potato. Corresponding with the widespread use of the potato in the mid-Eighteenth Century came a decrease in deaths from infectious diseases. Late in the Eighteenth Century, improved sewer systems and water supplies also helped. In the second half of the Nineteenth Century, infanticide waned as the use of contraceptives became more widespread. Only in the Twentieth Century did medicine itself significantly begin to affect population growth. See the footnote on page 877 in Chambers, the seventh edition.³⁹

Whenever a law is passed, the only thing the historian knows for sure is that someone had been doing exactly that which the law forbade. In this case, the Act Anent Child Murder was in effect in Scotland from 1690 until 1809. The law invoked the death penalty if a woman hid her pregnancy,

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did not ask for help during labor, and could not produce a living infant. After a century, and as lawyers and jurors became reluctant to impose the death penalty, the law was repealed.⁴⁰

2.) The Vice

The dramatic European population increases between 1750 and 1850 may have been due to not only increased use of the potato but also to decreased use of rye. Ergot toxins suppress fertility and increase mortality. Circumstantial evidence for this phenomena exists for Russia between 1885 and 1926, where dietary changes occurred later than in western Europe. The increase in births and decrease in deaths in Russia during that time is consistent with the ergot toxin explanation.⁴¹

While the Americans were eating potatoes, the Europeans were eating rye in the form of bread. A fungus which grows on rye, ergot, produces a natural form of LSD. Ergot poisoning was a risk for the lower socio-economic strata of northern Europeans until the potato became a dietary staple in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth centuries. The area south of the Alps was not as dependent upon the hardy rye grain as was the area north of the Alps. Outbreaks of witchcraft may have been outbreaks of ergotism, the symptoms of which are tremors, parasthesias (sensations of pricking, biting ants crawling on the skin), spasms, seizures, contractions of the face and eyes, hallucinations and panic attacks. Positive correlation exists between outbreaks of witchcraft and the cold winters and wet, warm summers ideal for the ergot fungus. In Ireland, where the peasant diet consisted of dairy products and oats, witchcraft trials were rare.⁴²

The evidence for the assertion of food poisoning is treacherous because circumstantial. The professor includes these comments because students live in a drug-infested society and because William H. McNeill posits that the theory merits serious consideration.⁴³ Students of the professor with an interest in the history of LSD have long maintained the connection between rye and a history of LSD usage in Europe.

4. Grits

Both maize (corn) and potatoes were more productive of calories per acre than any other crop except rice in East Asian paddies. There was a vitamin deficiency with corn, however, which the American Indians solved by soaking the corn in a lime solution. The result was "hominy grits." The vitamin needed to produce niacin was missing. The resultant disease was pellagra.⁴⁴ Pellagra symptoms are skin disease, diarrhea, dementia, and ultimately death.⁴⁵ Grits are still in many diets.

5. Sugar

Although cane sugar had been known in Europe for some time, it was relatively rare before the Sixteenth Century; it was used largely for medicinal purposes by the wealthy, while honey continued to be the chief sweetener for the poor. After the Sixteenth Century, the refining of sugar and the distilling of rum became large industries in port areas such as London, Amsterdam, and Nantes. Sugar does much damage to health in Western civilization.⁴⁶

6. Exotics

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Coffee, tea, and cocoa also opened new taste experiences to the Europeans. The new beverages gave rise to special shops where people came to imbibe, to converse, and to exchange political and commercial information. Tobacco was also introduced into Europe from America. Quinine was still another new product that proved to be extremely useful in the relief of fever, especially malaria fever.

Coffee was discovered in Ethiopia or Yemen during the Fifteenth Century. In the Muslim environment in which it arose, coffee had three advantages: (1) as a stimulant it caused no real detrimental physical side effects, in contrast to wine which was outlawed by the Koran; (2) it helped people socialize. Other drugs made people more introverted and shut off from society. Finally, (3) coffee was easily transported and stored.⁴⁷

The coffeehouse filled a function in the Near East that the tavern did in Europe. It gave people a legitimate place to gather and exchange ideas. The Ottoman Empire itself popularized the coffeehouse. In addition to the taverns, Europeans also kept coffeehouses. Today coffeehouses have declined in importance in the Near East as well as in the Western world.

7. Cotton

Cotton was the most important of all the new products for consumption, insofar as the mechanization of its manufacture was concerned. Cotton textile makers were unhampered by guild regulations, for guilds were not organized in this trade. Being free from prescriptions of methods of manufacture, cotton textile makers could turn their minds and talents to finding new and faster methods of spinning and weaving.

To give some perspective on the situation, the manufacture of cloth dates from some of the older known Neolithic communities. Cotton was introduced into Mesopotamia between 2300-1600 B.C. What happened following the age of exploration involved improved, rather than new, ages-old technology.

8. Bullion

There is some agreement that by the end of the Sixteenth Century, Europe had three times more bullion, i.e. gold and silver, not soup, than it had at the beginning. Estimates indicate that the Spanish colonies sent the homeland 18,625 short (2,000 pounds each) tons of silver and 0.2 short tons of gold between 1503 and 1660. The effect of this bullion had far reaching consequences, as will become more evident as the course proceeds.

The ability to produce silver continued throughout the colonial era. About a hundred thousand tons of silver were mined from the middle of the Sixteenth Century until the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. Statistics on what happened have only recently become available. In the first half of the colonial era, about 1560-1685, about 30,000 tons were produced. In the second half of that era, from about 1685 until 1810, at least twice that amount was exported.⁴⁸

Of special interest is the computer bank only being set up in 1989 at Rutgers University for figuring how much money was worth on an historical basis. For example, in 1989 dollars, the 1.5 million

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Castilian maravedis Columbus spent on his first trip was enough to buy 53,000 days of unskilled labor or 1.4 million dollars. The data bank is set up for medieval and early modern money.⁴⁹

G. Amerindians

1. Personal Background

To the amazement of just about everyone, about one third of Thomas Nelson Community College students have Amerindian extraction. This means that the only good Indians are not dead Indians. The purpose of this segment of the supplement is to offer some insight into the international ramifications of native Americans.

2. Las Casas

a. The Person

When Columbus arrived, he met the Carib Indians, a primitive people, unsuited for slavery, because of their very primitiveness. In captivity they died, perhaps because of their lack of exposure to immune causing diseases.⁵⁰ From these people, came the names for the Caribbean Ocean and cannibal.⁵¹ The Church, in an effort to ease circumstances for the Indians, encouraged the importation of Blacks as relief. Father Bartolome de las Casas (1484-1566) became known as the Father of the Indians, in his efforts to help.⁵² Las Casas is indexed as an historian in the seventh edition of Chambers on page 478.

When was Las Casas born? The fifth centenary of his birth was celebrated in 1984.⁵³ *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate (r) Dictionary Tenth Edition* (Springfield, Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 1993), page 1414 gives the date as 1474, ten years earlier. This is the only instance in which the professor has questioned a biographical date in the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), does not index Bartolome de las Casas, thereby vastly decreasing the value of that encyclopedia. *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia: Third Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), page 482 uses the 1474 date. ??

The Spanish Black Legend turns on these writings of Las Casas. The term *Black Legend* was introduced only in 1914.⁵⁴ The seventh edition of Chambers indexes Las Casas as an historian on page 478. The English read Las Casas, much like the Soviets might have read Leon ?? Jaworski, the special prosecutor for Watergate,⁵⁵ and then projected the evils described by Las Casas on the whole of Spanish society. Since the English no more read the original Spanish of Las Casas, any more than the Soviets might the English of Jaworski, the truth was not readily available. Uncritical acceptance of the Spanish Black Legend has strongly influenced negative U. S. attitudes towards Latins. The English translated Las Casas, and then accused the Spanish of the very deeds against which the Spaniard, Las Casas, was railing.

Las Casas is a difficult personality. Understand him as a true priest, caught up in the practicalities of Spanish imperialism. Trying to alleviate the sufferings of the Indians, Las Casas suggested

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importing Africans and, with that suggestion, unwittingly participated in the origins of the African slave trade.

b. Liberation Theology

Las Casas can be regarded as forerunner of Liberation Theology, that theology which gives a preference to the poor. Gustavo Gutierrez coined the term "Theology of Liberation" in the late 1960s. Gutierrez credited Las Casas as a forerunner, a credit which historians dispute.⁵⁶

This religious concern about slavery must be understood very carefully. In the early Sixteenth Century, only Carmelite communities and not individuals were permitted to "possess Negroes, slaves, and mules."⁵⁷ The Carmelites offer a sense of Catholic Europe. For the Protestant English, the only good Indian was a dead Indian. The Indians of North America were more civilized than the Caribs, but less so than the Aztecs or Incas, whose descendants still survive in Central and South America.

Stephen Brett, S.S.J. finally researched the position of Saint Thomas with regard to slavery. Brett, a Josephite priest, found that the mature Thomas insisted that slavery was immoral because it is immoral for one human to become the purpose of another human, apart from God. The early Thomas, quoted often subsequently, was not opposed to slavery, as was the mature Thomas.⁵⁸

c. Demography

How many Amerindians were there in the first place? Between three to ten million? One scholar uses "at least some 20 to 25 million American Indians" as the base population in 1492.⁵⁹ Yet, another highly respected scholar uses one hundred million.⁶⁰ The best estimates range between 70 and 100 million,⁶¹ with six to seven million of those in the present area of Canada and the United States.⁶² No one really knows. How many Europeans were there west of the Ural Mountains at the same time. The current estimate is 55 million.⁶³

How many native Americans were left in 1550? No one knows that either. There is an estimate of 1.6 million in 1620.⁶⁴ How were the Amerindians eliminated? by disease? by execution? genocide? Genocide is associated with the Paraguayan Indians currently, so the issue of what caused the depopulation is still present.⁶⁵

Columbus characterized the Indians at two extremes, as either "noble savages" or "dirty dogs." Hernando Cortes proceeded to conquer the Indians, who were slow to recognize his secular threat. At first, Cortes was treated as a religious phenomenon, emanating from the Indian gods.

The Spanish missionaries, like Las Casas, brought a real love for the natives, but this love was tempered by the following Western debate. Were the natives different from or identical to, equal or unequal with Whites? Western knowledge of the Amerindians followed three main streams, judging the relative worth of their cultures, accepting or rejecting those cultures, and realizing or ignoring Amerindian identities.

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3. Missionary Activities

As part of the Quincentennial of 1492 the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes observed:

One can only imagine the astonishment of the hundred and thousands of Indians who asked for baptism as they came to realize that they were being asked to adore a god who sacrificed himself for men instead of asking men to sacrifice themselves to gods, as Aztec religion demanded.⁶⁶

Professional scholars and mainstream publishers seemed embarrassed by such an approach. The approach has merit. The Spanish empire is probably the only "expanding empire in human history to have called a halt to further conquest while theologians examined the moral principles that should guide conduct."⁶⁷

Current research is studying the language used to convey the realities involved in an attempt to understand the impact of thought and language on human relationships. Scholars are observing that knowledge and power are related. Without power, there is no knowledge, and without knowledge, there is no power; and vice versa, without knowledge, there is no power and without power, there is no knowledge. This is not simply a matter of Europeans versus non-Europeans. It is also a matter of how we treat ourselves and helps to account for the focus in the extended syllabus on the "you-knows."

Scholars today are trying to understand the aboriginal mind. Within ten years after Cortes conquered Mexico, six hundred young Indians had learned to read and write Spanish. Fifty-four years after that, in 1585, the Archbishop of Mexico forbade teaching the Indians about how the Spanish themselves had been converted from paganism⁶⁸

Some think that the Indian elite who chose to live under the Spanish had to abandon their people.⁶⁹ James Axtell suggests that, "the majority of Indian neophytes turned to the invaders' cultures and religions for empowerment, knowledge, and skills with which to sustain native identities and values in other guises."⁷⁰ The professor likes the way the Franciscan put it, ". . . missionaries . . . unable to distinguish adequately between the spiritual values of the Gospel and the cultural values of the European and Euro-American way of life they represented, attempted to impart both at the same time to the ill-starred objects of their religious zeal."⁷¹

Is it ever proper to educate Native Americans to be Christians? If the assumption is that education is the transfer of knowledge from one who knows to another who knows nothing, such education misses the mark. Only when education is taken as a dialogue through which each discovers what the other knows, leading to a mutual enrichment does education hit the mark.⁷² Twentieth Century education has a hard enough time meeting such a standard. Dr. Jirran does not think that the research tools are adequate to determine how the Native Americans were educated into Christianity. Dr. Jirran does know that Native Americans are largely Christian.

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Scholars have focused on Indian religion before Spanish contact. This focus is unnecessarily difficult. The Spanish had a lot to write about Indian religion. His post-contact record of Indian-European relations has been largely neglected. There is much of the tale to yet unfold.⁷³

The power knowledge brings can be abused. Studies of the western U. S. Spanish missions engage Western civilization conflict. In 1784 Junipero Serra (1713-1784)⁷⁴ died, after founding the first missions in Upper California. When Pope John Paul II was invited to beatify Serra during his 1987 apostolic visit, the fact that Serra apparently participated in enslaving the Indians was again brought to light. Despite earlier efforts dating from the early 1940s, trying to understand what had happened from a native American rather than a Franciscan point of view the historical case about Serra had been closed in 1985.⁷⁵ One writer concluded in 1946 that, "With the best theological intentions in the world, the Franciscan padres eliminated the Indians with the effectiveness of Nazis operating concentration camps."⁷⁶ The historical segment of the canonization case was never reopened.

Current research is examining Eighteenth Century theological works to show how the priests themselves looked at the missions and their Amerindian converts. At a deeper level, language constructs are being picked apart for an understanding of the social relationships and power exchanges between peoples.⁷⁷ Despite the objection expressed in *The American Historical Review*,⁷⁸ Serra was canonized anyway and is now revered as a Saint by the One, Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.⁷⁹

The conclusion of *The American Historical Review* article was not condemnatory of Rome, but rather cast aspersions on the ethics of the historical profession:

The failure of [the historian Herbert Eugene] Bolton in 1948 and of the historians interviewed for Bishop [Thaddeus] Shubsda in 1986 to present both sides of Serra's story profoundly challenges the ethics of the historical profession.⁸⁰

4. Disease among the Indians

a. Will to Live

What happened to the health of the early mainland American Indians? There is evidence of a lack of a will to live after the Spanish conquest. Newborn babies were abandoned to die. Suicide occurred. Laborers were treated harshly.⁸¹

b. Smallpox

When smallpox hit the island of Haiti in 1518, only about one thousand Indians survived, according to Las Casas. In 1520, Cortes brought smallpox to Mexico. The Aztec counter-attack upon the Spanish was stymied by the disease. Pizarro had similar fortune in Peru. Smallpox reached the Incas in 1525 or 1526. The reason Pizarro met no resistance was because the Incas were engaged in a civil war, resulting from the fact that disease had killed both the ruler and his only

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legitimate successor. The Spanish themselves were almost immune from smallpox, almost all having been exposed as children.

Scholars agree that smallpox ravaged the Mexican Indian population between 1518 and 1525. Farther to the north there were an estimated four more outbreaks between 1530 and 1581. In 1591, the Jesuits arrived in Villa San Felipe ?? with orders to keep records and write annual reports. These Jesuits established that there had already occurred a thirty to fifty percent decrease in Indian population since the Europeans landed.⁸²

With the arrival of the Jesuits, things became worse. From about 1546, mining activities in Durango and Chihuahua gathered Indians together forming a conduit of disease farther north. Missionary endeavors to gather formerly scattered mobile groups into one place also made it easier to spread contagion. Native populations decreased up to ninety per cent. The seventh edition of Chambers mentions this on page 477, column 2, paragraph 1, line 11. The Indians themselves blamed the Jesuits, brutally martyring Father Gonzalo de Tapia, S.J. in 1594 in Tovoropa??. Faced with depopulation, many missions were abandoned.⁸³

In 1721, half of the population of Boston died from smallpox. Only in the Eighteenth Century were isolation, exclusion, and even execution no longer used to contain the disease. During the Eighteenth Century, lack of sanitation was finally recognized as a smallpox preventative.⁸⁴

Smallpox was only eliminated worldwide in the 1970s, thanks to inoculation efforts coordinated by the United Nations World Health Organization. Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is the current pandemic. Thoughtful people now note that drug manufacturers recoup their research and development costs by selling drugs at a high margin relative to the non-R and D cost of production. Thinkers are worrying about the cost of the AIDS vaccine, once it is developed. The knack will be to reward the R and D and widely distribute the vaccine without pricing the drug out of the reach of all who need it.⁸⁵

c. Measles

Measles passed through Mexico and Peru in 1530-31. In 1558 influenza spread from Europe to America, again ravaging the Indian population. About twenty per cent of the people of Europe died from this epidemic. There are no comparable figures for America. Diphtheria and mumps added to the need for an immune build-up throughout the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

d. Syphilis

What about syphilis, called by some "the gift of the Indians." The evidence is very inconclusive. As indicated in Lecture 32, The Renaissance, evidence is strong that venereal syphilis was already in Europe when Columbus reached America. Spanish soldiers introduced syphilis to what became California.⁸⁶ From 1799 to 1833, there was an extreme excess of deaths to births among native Americans in the mission area of Junipero Serra. Other diseases present before European contact included: streptococcus, staphylococcus, gastrointestinal disorders associated with the intake of contaminated water, and tuberculosis.⁸⁷

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The political decline of Valois France (1559-1589) and of Ottoman Turkey after 1566 may well have been due to syphilis. This decline seems to have been politically helpful, giving others an opportunity to participate in governance. European populations seemed to increase throughout the Sixteenth Century, when the disease peaked.⁸⁸

e. Typhus

Typhus entered Spain from Cyprus in 1490. Typhus only came to a halt with the First World War. Typhus was primarily a disease of the poor, crowded together in cities. Had the infected lice not killed them, other diseases probably would have. These other diseases included dysentery, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. This meant that typhus, as such, had a negligible effect upon European health.

f. Malaria

The advantage of African health was the ability to cope with malaria. The reason Europeans did not colonize Africa, as they did the Americas, is because Europeans died in Africa. In reaction to malaria, Africans suffered from sickle-cell anemia, which, in its recessive version, protected against malaria. The recessive sickle cell was required in order to survive. Without the sickle cell, one died of malaria. When the sickle gene was dominant, the disease occurred, killing the victim. This meant that half of the babies would die from either malaria or sickle cell anemia.

In the final analysis, perhaps only twenty per cent of the original Amerindian population survived. The reason seems to be that the people were relatively isolated and in their isolation failed to develop important immunities. Thus it was, that the Europeans, urban and already largely immunized, spread their diseases around the world and managed to homogenize infectious disease themselves. In the process, cities like London and Lisbon became notorious as seats of disease. After 1700, however, conditions leveled off.

I. Africans

Indians became strangers in their own land. Across a span of fifty years, from 1519 when Cortes landed to 1570, Mexican Indian population decreased from nine to three million people. In the three hundred years before 1810 between 300,000 and 500,00, Africans were imported into Mexico.⁸⁹ During the first fifty years of conquest, almost no Spanish women entered Mexico.⁹⁰ By 1753, ninety percent of the Blacks were free and at least ten percent of the population was Black.⁹¹ When the time came, these Blacks fought not only for Mexican independence but to ensure successfully civil rights for all, whether of European, Indian, or African origins.⁹²

The term "slavery" arouses debate, not only for concrete historical circumstances, but even as an abstract and theoretical category.⁹³ Slaves often carved out a sphere of activities and customary rights that, in certain respects made them "proto-peasants." Caribbean slaves not only grew their own food, but also sold food to the free population and controlled as much as twenty per cent of the coin in regional circulation. This proto-peasant dimension enabled plantation slaves to become a "reconstituted peasantry" after emancipation.

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There is a special relationship between African cultures and the Americas, particularly Virginia, with the type of active, positive-role Latin approach which seems appropriate for the interpretation of the African-American experience at Colonial Williamsburg. Like Colonial Williamsburg, slaves accounted for between 35 and 40 per cent of the population in the Roman Empire.⁹⁴

How many African Americans came to the New World between 1500 and 1850? About ten million. Of those, about 400,000, or a mere four per cent, came to North America. What was lacking in migration was made up by natural increase. That 400,000 reached 4,000,000 by 1863, the time of emancipation in the U. S. In other places, populations decreased. By the mid-Twentieth Century, North America had thirty per cent of the New World population of African descent. Why? Who knows? It does seem that the economics of the situation made it better to import new slaves elsewhere and to raise new ones in the Northern Hemisphere.⁹⁵

Slavery spread with sugar between the Eighth and Thirteenth Centuries in the Levantine (eastern) Mediterranean. This experience, along with the earlier Roman experience prepared the Europeans for what they were about to do to the Africans. In the beginning, African slaves were used for almost any task, including fighting Indians, building cities, making and selling hats, huckstering, mining for silver. Where there were Indians to enslave, there was no need for Africans. This means about ten per cent of the Peruvians and about two per cent of the Mexican population was of African ancestry up until the mid-Seventeenth Century.⁹⁶

J. Latin Americans

Latin Americans have been isolated from the historical mainstream of Western civilization. This is not due to being either disconnected from or unsubordinated to the wider Western world or the capitalist world-system. It is due to a rejection of Latin American originality. Europeans refuse to judge Latin Americans on their own terms. As one recent scholar put it, ". . . should historians of North America stop at the `barricades of ideas' that obscure borderlands of historical interpretation?"⁹⁷

In general, the intellectual life of Latins does not treat God as a figment of the imagination. Saints have a reality. One of the saints important to this topic on Europe, Africa, and the Americas is St. Martin de Porres (1559-1639). Martin de Porres was a mixed blood Dominican lay brother who lived in Lima, Peru. His father was a white Spaniard and his mother a freed Black slave.⁹⁸

Martin de Porres is a popular Saint whom scholars today study in order to understand the masses. Christianity can be viewed as the "Big Story" of the theologians and the "Little Story" of how the people live their Faith. In the case of Martin de Porres, his love of animals reflects a love of creation and creatureliness by his admirers. The very person of Martin de Porres acts to offset the violent Iberian "pacification" of the Americas. The implications of this attitude are in the process of being understood.⁹⁹ According to legend, Saint Martin de Porres was confirmed by another, lesser known Saint, Toribio de Mogrovejo (1538-1606).¹⁰⁰

At first Indian-Spanish men, *mestizos*, could not be licitly ordained to the Catholic priesthood. On page 474, column 1, paragraph 2, lines 3-4, Chambers alludes to this by writing, ". . . unlike

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Portugal's [empire], intermarriage was strongly discouraged." In 1588, Philip II repealed legislation that forbade ordaining mestizos. At least one bishop made up his mind to fight the repeal. This was Francisco Verdugo, appointed bishop of Huamanga ??, Peru in 1624. The matter was only settled in the 1628 Council of the Indies that declared mestizo ordinations valid.¹⁰¹

In 1591, Saint Toribio de Mogrovejo (1538-1606) founded the first seminary in the New World in Lima, Peru, ten years after he arrived as bishop. This was part of the reforms of the Council of Trent.¹⁰² Toribio legitimated Indian dialects by learning them. A century after his death, Toribio was canonized a Saint. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* gives the year as 1726.¹⁰³ *The Catholic Encyclopedia* uses 1727.¹⁰⁴

There is much more to be written about Saint Rose of Lima (1586-1617), the first canonized Saint of the Americas. Rose of Lima was a recluse mystic.¹⁰⁵ A church in Hampton, Virginia is named after her. Our Lady of Guadalupe appeared as a young mestizo maiden to Juan Diego in Mexico in 1531. Her dress is European, though the decorations on the dress are Indian.¹⁰⁶ ??

K. Conclusion

By studying the regular lecture and reading Chambers and this supplement the student is better able to evaluate the impact of technology on civilization according to the people, places, circumstances, and chronology involved. The incompatible inseparables at work here are those between faith and reason, value and fact, morality and science, each claiming to be the path to truth.

Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 0462-0478.

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however, disagrees in many significant ways with mainstream thinking. Some of these disagreements are set forth above and others in the following comments.

Page	Column		
		Paragraph	
		Line	

0464 1 1 5-10 "... causes were political . . . economic or demographic . . . "

The Professor also includes religious changes as causes. The Professor likes to regard the origins of these changes as new insights into the relationship between truth and politics.

0466 1 2 6-9 "... capitalism means . . . capital . . . "

The Professor would prefer some other expression for the meaning of capitalism. In the January 8, 2000 rendition of Topic 38--Spain H.

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Economics, the Professor states that capitalism may be defined briefly, as a system of wage labor. He then elaborates what that means. The Professor likes wage-labor as a shorthand definition of capitalism.

This is the main entry for *capitalism* in the index. The Professor likes the dictionary definition of capitalism as an economic system characterized by private or corporate ownership of capital goods, by investments that are determined by private decision rather than by state control, and by prices, production, and the distribution of goods that are determined mainly by competition in a free market. The appropriate dictionary definition of capital is a stock of accumulated goods, especially at a specified time and in contrast to income received during a specified period; also: the value of these accumulated goods.

0468 1 2 last "... serfdom ..."

From here on Chambers regards serfdom as a more stringent form of peasantry. Slavery is a more stringent form of serfdom.

0468 2 1 3 "... because ..."

The Professor wonders how scholars might consider the causal relationship between government and monasteries in light of the fact that government first denied monasteries the means of being a source of food for the poor. Governments confiscated monastic lands. The professor wonders whether the causality worked the other way, because governments denied monasteries the ability to care for the poor, the governments themselves took up that task. The Protestant Revolt may have been a remote cause of the lack of monastic importance, but not an immediate cause. There were and still are Protestant monasteries.

0469 2 1 9 "Townfolk needed ... books ..."

Western civilization is providing economic opportunities otherwise not available except through books. These economic opportunities have political repercussions with the impact of truth on new political orders.

0470 1 3 3-4 "... books ... literacy ..."

0470 2 1 4 ", , , the study ..."

Western civilization promoting truth without political strings.

0471 1 2 last "... trade in ivory, gold, and slaves."

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As if there were no difference in the morality of trading the one or the other.

0472 2 3 2 "... Genoese sailor ..."

The Professor regards the source of Columbus's experience as broader than Genoese. Columbus's origins are contested.

0473

Chambers omits mention of Amerigo Vespucci, after whom America is named.

0476 1 1 8 "... fewer than two-thirds of those who left Europe actually reached their destination.

This can be juxtaposed with page 648, column 1, paragraph 1, the last four lines:

The mortality rate that resulted from these conditions [of the middle passage of Africans across the Atlantic] was a staggering 10 percent or more on average, and in extreme cases exceeded 50 percent.

The statistics Chambers uses indicate that more Europeans than Africans died crossing the Atlantic. The Professor wonders and wonders and wonders.

See below at 0477, 2, 2, 11-12.

0476 2 2 **The Aims of the Colonists**

Chambers seems to have a problem with the notion of God, Glory, and Gold as the three aims. These aims, all mixed up, make sense to the Professor and have often enabled the Professor to explain to his students why the Spaniards did what they did.

0477 1 3 3 "... prison ..."

Students have asked the Professor about the history of prisons, about when prisons began. This matter is taken up in the January 8, 2000 Topic 38--Spain at K. The Spanish Inquisition.

0477 2 2 11-12 "... often less than half--who survived the crossing. The slaves ..."

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See above, 0476, 1, 8.

0477 2 3 5-6 "They [settlers] created . . . universities. . ."

That Chambers seems to exclude Africans from among the settlers of America irritates the Professor. The place of Africans and native Americans in the universities of the New World is important for the relationship between truth and politics. Only today have we in the United States become critically concerned with diversity.

What I used to point out to my students was that the college environment made a difference, that the danger in my classes at Thomas Nelson Community College was my overreaching in my concern about racism. Outside of my classes in a White power structure, students would have to be far differently careful about their assumptions. The problem for this arises from the fact that most history doctorates come from predominantly White institutions. I think Howard University and Towson State University may be the only predominantly Black institution now granting doctorates.

The professor recognizes sexism as an aspect of racism. The professor is very concerned that females have been systematically excluded from the faculties of moral theology. The hope is that the principle of truth determining politics, even academic politics, will open up new vistas of truth emanating from Black and feminine scholarly assumptions.

0478 1 2 5th last "For all that the Europeans may have learned . . ."

Chambers seems not only to be calling attention to the fact that truth was not determining politics but also to be calling for a present remedy to that earlier aberration.

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¹ See Hayden White, review of Robert William Fogel and G. R. Elton, Which Road to the Past? Two Views of History in The American Historical Review, Vol. 90, No. 1 (February 1985), pp. 104-105.

² The American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 4, pp. ??

³ See Hayden White, review of F. R. Ankersmit, Narrative Logic: A semantic Analysis of the Historian's Language, The American Historical Review, Vol. 89, No. 4 (October 1984), pp. 1037-1038.

⁴ William H. McNeill, Plagues and Peoples (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), p. 205.

⁵ Columbus is indexed for the fifth edition of Chambers on pages 500, 501, and 503; in the sixth edition 428, 430, 430f, 431b; in the seventh edition 472, 472-473, 474.

⁶ Pauline Moffitt Watts, "Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus's `Enterprise of the Indies,'" The American Historical Review, Vol. 90, No. 1 (February 1985), pp. 73 ff., particularly p. 99; Delno C. West, "Christopher Columbus, Lost Biblical Sites, and the Last Crusade," The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 78, No. 4 (October 1992), pages 519-541.

⁷ Amy Glassner Gordon, review of Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* in The American Historical Review, Vol. 95, No. 3 (June 1990), page 797.

⁸ Immanuel Wallerstein, "Comments on Stern's Critical Tests", The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 1988), ca. page 875 [footnote 27 is at the bottom of the page].

⁹ Immanuel Wallerstein, "Comments on Stern's Critical Tests", The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 1988), p. 875.

¹⁰ David Eltis and Lawrence C. Jennings, "Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic World," The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 1988), p. 945.

¹¹ C. Vann Woodward commenting on Walter LaFeber in his review of *The New American History*, Eric Foner, editor, in The American Historical Review, Vol. 97, No. 3 (June 1992), pages 917-918.

¹² See Peter Buck, review of Daniel J. Bursting, The Discoverers, in The American Historical Review, Vol. 90, No. 1 (February 1985), pp. 103-104.

¹³ See Samuel Eliot Morrison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus. (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 1970), pages 25-26.

¹⁴ The authority is Ivan Van Sertima, They Came before Columbus: The African Presence in Ancient America, (New York: Random House, 1977). The tape recording of his speech on this topic, delivered at The Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History: 70th Annual Meeting, October 9-13, 1985, in Cleveland, Ohio is in the possession of the author.

¹⁵ For Gutenberg, see the fifth edition of Chambers, pages 427-428.

¹⁶ In the fifth edition page 776, 645 in the seventh edition.

¹⁷ Marian J. Morton, *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland, 1855-1990*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993), page 25.

¹⁸ ??, "??", *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (Fall 1998), page 294.

¹⁹ The Associated Press, Washington, "Scientists: Gene turns on Bacterial infections," (Newport News) *Daily Press*, Friday, May 7, 1999, page A 11, columns 1-6. The scholarly article by Michael J. Mahan appeared in *Science* of this date.

²⁰ The Associated Press, Washington, "Scientists: Gene turns on Bacterial infections," (Newport News) *Daily Press*, Friday, May 7, 1999, page A 11, columns 1-6. The scholarly article by Michael J. Mahan appeared in *Science* of this date.

²¹ Colin Palmer, "The Cruellest Commerce," *National Geographic*, Vol. 182, No. 3 (September 1992), page 87.

²² David Eltis and Lawrence C. Jennings, "Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic world," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 1988), pp. 940-941. The following also looks interesting: "Atlantic Slave Trade: Scale, Structure, and Supply," special section of *Journal of African History* (1989), 30:1.

²³ Joseph C. Miller, review of Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440-1870* in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 2 (September 1998), pages 646-647. In 1993, David Eltis used 12 million people as "the most recent estimates" and documented why. David Eltis, "Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery ??," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 5 (December 1993), page 1407, fn. 21.

²⁴ David Eltis and Lawrence C. Jennings, "Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic world," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 1988), p. 952.

²⁵ John Markoff, "Violence, Emancipation, and Democracy ??," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2 (April 1995), pages 381-382.

²⁶ George Reid Andrews, review of Stuart B. Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (February 1994), page 339

²⁷ Edward L. Cox, review of Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the Caribbean, 1763-1831* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 5 (December 1994), pages 1655-1666.

²⁸ Francis Jennings, review of Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2 (April 1995), pages 579-580.

²⁹ Francis Jennings, review of Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2 (April 1995), pages 580.

³⁰ Francis Jennings, review of Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2 (April 1995), pages 580.

³¹ Charlotte M. Gradie, review of James Axtell, *The Indians' New South: Cultural Change in the Colonial Southeast* in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 1 (June 1998), page 208.

³² "Spuds mark civilization's start," Carbondale, Ill (AP), Daily Press, Friday, March 22, 1985, p. E 5, col. 1-3. The name of the ethnobotanist at Southern Illinois University making the announcement was David Ugent. The article says "began" before the ice age ended, but that seems unlikely. The Ice Age or Pleistocene Era lasted from 1.8 million to 10,000 years ago. The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 325.

³³ *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia: Third Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pages 945-946.

³⁴ William H. McNeill, Plagues and Peoples (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), pp. 204 and 205.

³⁵ Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "Comment on Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective," The American Historical Review, Vol. 85, No. 5 (December 1989), p. 1110.

³⁶ William H. McNeill, Plagues and Peoples (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), p. 317, fn. 58. Of particular note is William H. McNeill, The Influence of the Potato on Irish History (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1947).

³⁷ Seventh edition of Chambers, page 816, column 2, paragraph 5, lines 6-7.

³⁸ The fifth edition of Chambers mentions infant mortality on page 1011; the sixth edition on page 809, the seventh edition on page 877. John Eastburn Boswell, "Expositio and Oblatio." The American Historical Review, Vol. 89, No. 1 (February 1984), p. 31.

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⁴⁰ Katharine M. Rogers, review of Deborah A. Symonds, *Weep[Not for Me: Women, Ballads, and Infanticide in Early Modern Scotland* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 3 (June 1999), page 991.

⁴¹ Malcolm Gladwell, "History: A Gastronomic Guide to the French Revolution," *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, November 27-December 3, 1989, page 38, columns 1-4. The scholar doing the research is Mary Kilbourne Matossian. The title of her book is *Poisons of the Past: Molds, Epidemics, and History*.

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⁴⁵ The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), page 899.

⁴⁶ See, for example, John Yudkin, Sweet and Dangerous, (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1972).

⁴⁷ Franz Rosenthal, review of Ralph S. Hattox, Coffee and Coffeehouses: the Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East in The American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 4 (October 1987), pages 1010-1011.

⁴⁸ Richard L. Garner, "Long-Term Silver Mining Trends in Spanish America: A Comparative Analysis of Peru and Mexico," The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 1988), pages 898 and 899.

⁴⁹ Fleming Meeks, "Faces Behind the Figures: Economic history, on line," Forbes, Vol. 144, No. 1 (July 10, 1989), page 122.

⁵⁰ For a map, see "Caribbean Area Around 1500," in Donald E. Worcester and Wendell G. Schaeffer, illustrated by Paul Sagsoorian, The Growth and Culture of Latin America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 15. Thomas Nelson Community College Library # F/1410/.W75

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⁵³ Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, review of Thomas Eggenesperger and Ulrich Engel, *Bartolome de las Casas: Dominikaner--Bischof--Verteidiger der Indios* and Pedro Borges, *?Quien era Bartolome de las Casas?* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80??, No. ??1 (January 1994??), page 335.

⁵⁴ Julian Juderias, *La leyenda negra: Estudios acerca del concepto de Espana en el extranjero* as cited by Richard L. Kagan, "Review Article: Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (April 1996), page 425, fn. 5. This footnote cites four more recent studies of the Black Legend, three of them in English.

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⁵⁷ Joachim Smet, O.Carm., The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: Ca. 1200 AD until the Council of Trent (Rome: Carmelite Institute {Private Printing}, 1975), p. 185.

⁵⁸ Stephen Brett, S.S.J., ??

⁵⁹ Herbert S. Klein, African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean, page 21, as cited by Franklin W. Knight, review of The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 3 (June 1988), page 801.

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⁶⁵ Donald M. Lowe, review of Tzvetan Todorov, The Conquest of America: the Question of the Other in The American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 3 (June 1987), p. 494.

⁶⁶ Quoted by Robert Royal in his review of John Eidsmoe, *Columbus and Cortez, Conquerors for Christ* and Antonio Caponnetto, *The Black Legends and Catholic Hispanic Culture: Liberation Theology and the History of the New World* translated by Jose R. Lopez-Gaston and Rosa M. Lopez-Gaston in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 3 (July 1994), page 647.

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⁶⁸ Colin M. MacLachlan, review of Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 2 (April 1994), pages 512-513.

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⁷⁰ James Axtell, "Native Reactions to Invasion," in *Beyond 1492*, 116, 118 as cited by Ida Altman and Reginald D. Butler, "The Contact of Cultures: Perspectives on the Quincentenary??" *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page 497, fn. 62.

⁷¹ Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., review of George E. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80 ??, No. 1 (January 1994??), pages 98-99

⁷² Gary MacEoin, "Columbus, Rome's New Evangelism, and the New World Order," Cross Currents (Winter 1991), page 461.

⁷³ James Lockhart, review of Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), pages 336-337.

⁷⁴ *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), page 1185.

⁷⁵ James A. Sandos, "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 5 (December 1988), pages 1263.

⁷⁶ Cary McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York: 1946), page 29 as cited in . James A. Sandos, "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 5 (December 1988), page 1259, fn. 32.

⁷⁷ Harry Kelsey, review of Some Reminiscences about Junipero Serra, Francis Weber (ed.), in The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 73, No. 1 (January, 1987), p. 156.

⁷⁸ James A. Sandos, "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 5 (December 1988), pages 1253-1269.

⁷⁹ James A. Sandos, "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record", The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 5 (December 1988), page 1255, ff.; The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 75, No. 1 (January 1989), page 186.

⁸⁰ James A. Sandos, "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 5 (December 1988), page 1269.

⁸¹ William H. McNeill, Plagues and Peoples (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), p. 182-3.

⁸² W. George Lovell, review of Daniel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (April 1993), pages 612-613.

⁸³ W. George Lovell, review of Daniel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (April 1993), page 613.

⁸⁴ Maris A. Vinovskis, *Studies in American Historical Demography* (New York: Academic Press, 1979, 183, as cited in Chris Beneke, "The Plague of Dissent: Religious Differences in Early Eighteenth-Century America, Draft 1, 9/27/00" written for The Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture Thursday, October 12, 2000, page 23, footnote v.

⁸⁵ Jonathan Power as found in the Third-World-oriented Compass News Features agency of London and reprinted in World Press Review, Vol. 37, No. 9 (September 1990), page 80.

⁸⁶ James A. Sandos, "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 5 (December 1988), page 1257.

⁸⁷ Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., review of George E. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80 ??, No. 1 (January 1994??), page 99.

⁸⁸ William H. McNeill, Plagues and Peoples (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), pages 194-5.

⁸⁹ Ted Vincent, "The Blacks Who Freed Mexico," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Summer 1994), page 257.

⁹⁰ Ted Vincent, "The Blacks Who Freed Mexico," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Summer 1994), page 265.

⁹¹ Ted Vincent, "The Blacks Who Freed Mexico," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Summer 1994), page 258.

⁹² Ted Vincent, "The Blacks Who Freed Mexico," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Summer 1994), pages 271-272.

⁹³ Steve J. Stern, "Stern's Reply," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 1988), p. 864. Footnote 90:

Recent episodes in the scholarly debate about the fundamental meaning of "slavery" include Igor Kopytoff and Suzanne Miers, "African Slavery" as an Institution of Marginality," in Miers and Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); compare Frederick Cooper, "The Problem of Slavery in African Studies," *Journal of African History*, 20 (1979): 103-25; Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York, 1986), 76-100. David Brion Davis has illuminated the changing meanings, symbolism, and implications of the slavery concept, especially in the context of Western civilization, in several important books: *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966); *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975); *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York, 1984). A sense for the variety of slave experiences in Latin America and the Caribbean may be gained from the recent overview by Klein, *African Slavery and the Caribbean*, and its excellent bibliographical essay.

⁹⁴ Franklin W. Knight, review of Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (June 1988), page 801.

⁹⁵ Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pages 4 and 90-01.

⁹⁶ Franklin W. Knight, review of Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (June 1988), page 801.

⁹⁷ Christopher Ebert Schmidt-Nowara, "Forum Essay: Responses: Borders and Borderlands of Interpretation," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 4 (October 1999), page 1228.

⁹⁸ *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), page 828; Roberto S. Goizueta, review of Alex Garcia-Rivera, *St.*

Martin de Porres: The "Little Stories" and the Semiotics of Culture in Cross Currents ??, Vol. ??, No. ?? (Winter 1967/97), page 563.

⁹⁹ Roberto S. Goizueta, review of Alex Garcia-Rivera, *St. Martin de Porres: The "Little Stories" and the Semiotics of Culture in Cross Currents* ??, Vol. ??, No. ?? (Winter 1967/97), pages 562-564

¹⁰⁰ "[[March ??] 23 : St. Turibius," *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, concise edition (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1956), page 89.

¹⁰¹ Sabine Patricia Hyland, "Illegitimacy and Racial Hierarchy in the Peruvian Priesthood: A Seventeenth-Century Dispute," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (July 1998), page 431.

¹⁰² F. de Armas Medina, "Mogrovejo, Toribio Alfonso de. St.," *Catholic Encyclopedia* ??, Vol. ??, pages 999-1000.

¹⁰³ David Hugh Farmer ??, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (New York: oxford Press, 1982), pages 384-385. This information was located by Jacoba Seaton ??, a student of the professor's.

¹⁰⁴ F. de Armas Medina, "Mogrovejo, Toribio Alfonso de. St.," *Catholic Encyclopedia* ??, Vol. ??, page 1000.

¹⁰⁵ *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), page 1138.

¹⁰⁶ *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), page 595.