ARISTOTLE AND THE AMERICAN INDIANS

A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World

by

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Bibliography

OUT OF PRINT

HENRY REGNERY COMPANY
CHICAGO, 1959
Notes

INTRODUCTION.


CHAPTER I

2. Dominik Josef Wörfel, “La curia romana y la corona de España en la defensa de los aborígenes canarios”, *Anthropos*, XXV (Vienna, 1930), 1011–1083. The Catalan mystic and missionary, Ramón Lull, may have been responsible for sending ecclesiastics to the Canary Islands and for the application there of peaceful conversion practices. This is the view sustained by Elías Serra Rafols in *La missió de R. Lull i els missioners mallorquins del segle XIV* (Mallorca, 1954), as reviewed in *Revista de Historia*, XX, nos. 105–108 (La Laguna de Tenerife, 1954), pp. 184–185. Joaquín Xirau points out the parallel between the ideas of Lull and Las Casas, “Ramón Lull y la utopía española”, *Asomante* (Puerto Rico, 1945), no. 3, p. 43; no. 4, p. 45. The most recent study is by Ramón Sugranes de French, *Raymond Lulle: Docteur des Missions* (Fribourg, 1954). It is interesting to note that Lull admitted “la possibilité de l'emploi de la force contre les infidèles—non pas pour les convertir, mais pour rendre possible la prédication” (p. 80).
4. Referring to the Negro slaves brought back from Africa, Azurara stated: “... posto que os seus corpos stevessem em algúa sogeiçom, esto era pequena cousa em comparaçom das suas almas, que eternalmente avyam de possuycr verdadeira soltura”, *Chronica do descobrimento de Guiné*, chap. XIV. A recent study is Margarida Barradas Carvalho, “L'idéologie religieuse dans la *Crónica de Guiné*”, *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut Français au Portugal*, nouv. ser., XIX (Lisbon,
1957), 34–63. When the Portuguese reached India, the situation was entirely different, for there they met Hindus and not the Moslems, against whom they were “to wage incessant war”. Affonso de Albuquerque thus instructed Frei Luis to treat the Hindus well. H. Morse Stephens, Albuquerque (Oxford, 1897), pp. 65–66.

5. A goodly portion of this literature is referred to in a book review by Francis M. Rogers, Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, LXXIII, nos. 7–9 (Lisbon, 1955), pp. 405–410.

6. Portuguese indifference has been studied at length by Fidelino de Figueiredo, “A epica portuguesa no seculo XVI: Subsídios documentares para uma teoria geral da epopêa”, Boletins da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, C r. Letras, no. 6 (São Paulo, 1950), pp. 61ff. For Spanish restraint with respect to America, see Marcos A. Morínigo, América en el teatro de Lope de Vega (Buenos Aires, 1946), pp. 11–54. A useful summary may be found in Ángel Franco, El tema de América en los autores españoles del siglo de oro (Madrid, 1954). Philip II possessed very few objects of art depicting America in his vast collection, according to the Inventario hecho al muerte de Felipe II in the Museo del Prado. Sr. F. J. Sánchez Canton, director of the museum, was kind enough to show me this important document.

The French also displayed little interest in the New World, according to Geoffroy Atkinson, Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance (Paris, 1935). Twice as many books were printed on Turkey during the period 1480–1609 as on North and South America together. Ten times as many brochures on Turkish events were issued. Books on the East Indies and on Asia generally also surpassed those on America (pp. 10–11). Nor was Italy greatly excited, according to Rosario Romeo, Le scoperte americane nella coscienza italiana del Cinquecento (Milan–Naples, 1954).


Leonard, “Conquerors and Amazons in Mexico”, Hispanic American Historical Review, XXIV (1944), 561–579; Otis H. Green, “Notes on the Pizarro Trilogy of Tirso de Molina”, Hispanic Review, IV (1936), 208–209; and Affonso Arinos de Mello Franco, O índio brasileiro e a revolução francesa (Rio de Janeiro, 1937). On the persistence of the legendary earthly paradise to be found in the Atlantic, see George Boas, Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages (Baltimore, 1948), p. 172. George P. Hammond has recently demonstrated that fantastic ideas persisted long after the first century of conquest and that “these stories of the fabulous were an integral feature of the age of the discovery of America and the conquest of its native peoples”, “The Search for the Fabulous in the Settlement of the Southwest”, Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIV (1936), 19. One idea widely cherished was that St Thomas had christianized the New World centuries before. A German newsletter (c. 1514) reported that Indians met by the Portuguese in Brazil were eager to point out his footsteps in the hinterland. The Indians also suffered a strange fantasy concerning Europe, for the Portuguese returned with their ship below deck “laden with brazil wood and above deck full of purchased young boys and girls which cost the Portuguese little since most of them were offered voluntarily, for these people actually believe their children are travelling to the Promised Land”. Tidings out of Brazil. Translated by Mark Graubard. Commentary and Notes by John Parker (Minneapolis, 1957), p. 34.


11. Leonardo Olschki, “Ponce de León’s Fountain of Youth: A History of a Geographical Myth”, Hispanic American Historical Review, XXI (1941), 384. As late as 1528 Antonio de Villasante obtained the privilege of selling certain drugs he had discovered on the island of Hispaniola, one of which was a marvellous “oil which enabled one to avoid old age”, José Pérez de Barradas, “De cómo los españoles descubrieron la medicina de los indios”, Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, CXXV (Madrid, 1949), 260.


13. H. W. Janson, Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the
Renaissance (London, 1952), pp. 74-75. See also Otis H. Green, "'Lo de tu abuela con el ximio' (Celestina, Auto I)", Hispanic Review, XXIV (1956), 1-12.


16. Ibid., fig. 49.

17. Ibid., p. 179.


21. Ibid., p. 759.


23. José Durand, Ocaso de sirenas manaties en el siglo XVI (Mexico, 1950).


25. Pedro Cieza de León, Parte primera de la chronica del Perú (1553), Chap. 52. Antonio Pigafetta, chronicler of Magellan’s voyage, reported that they carried on a friendly conversation with a Patagonian giant so tall that their heads reached only to his waist. Francisco Encina, Historia de Chile (20 vols., Santiago, 1940-1952), I, 388. Encina goes on to say that Las Casas and other friars manifested an equally fantastic spirit when they thought the Indians were capable of civilization. Ibid., I, 389.


27. Olschki, Ponce de León’s Fountain of Youth, p. 384.

28. W. R. Jackson, Early Florida Through Spanish Eyes (Miami, 1954), Introduction. A rich literature on unicorns is to be found in the Muslim

29. Juan de Solórzano Pereira has collected much information on these possibilities, and tends to discount all such stories of previous knowledge of America as attempts by jealous foreign nations to diminish the glory of Spain, *Política indiana* (Madrid, 1647), Libro I, caps. VI–VII.

30. Additional information on these questions will be found in the writer’s *The First Social Experiments in America* (Cambridge—Mass., 1935), and *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia, 1949). Alberto Salas gives a summary of opposed opinions on the Indians by two early writers in his article “Pedro Mártil y Oviedo ante el hombre y las culturas americanas”, *Imago Mundi*, I (Buenos Aires, 1953), no. 2, pp. 16–33. Europeans invented the “noble savage” concept, in accordance with their moral, political, and social ideas, before Indians were discovered, according to Giuseppi Cocchiara, *Il mito del buon selvaggio* (Messina, 1948), p. 7. Mircea Eliade accepts this explanation in part and then goes on to provide a psychological answer, “El mito del buen salvaje o los prestigios del origen”, *La Torre*, año III, no. 11 (Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1955), 49–60. Neither view satisfies one who has worked in the Iberian sources, particularly the voluminous reports on contacts between Spaniards and Indians.


32. Las Casas and his early support of Negro slavery has been a subject of perennial interest, especially to those who do not like Las Casas. For a well-written defence of Las Casas see Fernando Ortiz, “La leyenda negra contra Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas”, *Cuadernos Americanos* (Mexico, 1952), no. 5, pp. 146–184. Marcel Bataillon gives a valuable brief note in “Le ‘clerigo Casas’ ci-devant colon, réformateur de la colonisation”, *Bulletin Hispanique*, LIV (1952), 366–368.

33. The fundamental work by Alonso de Sandoval is *Natraleza policia sagrada i profana, costvumbres i ritos disciplina i catechismo evangelico de todos etiopes* (Seville, 1627), and a popular item is by Mariano Picón Salas, *Pedro Claver. El santo de los esclavos* (Mexico, 1950). Neither Jesuit appears to have denounced Negro slavery as an un-Christian institution.

34. Archivo de Indias. Indiferente general 424, libro 22, f. 133. See also fs. 134–136; 152 vuelto—155; 219 vuelto—224 vuelto; 298 vuelto—299 vuelto; 334–335. Carlos A. Romero has written a brief account, “El camelio en el Perú”, *El Comercio* (Lima, 28 de febrero, 1937), and has also treated the subject in his *Los héroes de la isla de gallo* (Lima,
1945). Ricardo Cappa also gives some pertinent information in his Estudios críticos acerca de la dominación española en América (6 parts; Madrid, 1889–1897), V, 428, but the subject is a hilarious one and merits investigation.

CHAPTER II

1. Francisco Romero, Sobre la filosofía en América (Buenos Aires, 1952), p. 125. Marcel Bataillon has been working intensively in this field during the last few years and has given a summary of his 1951–1952 lectures on “La découverte spirituelle du Nouveau Monde” in the Annuaire du Collège de France (1952), pp. 276 ff.


3. Welch, Europe’s Discovery of South Africa, p. 249.


5. Colección de Juan Bautista Muñoz, Academia de la Historia (Madrid), LXXX, 270. José Durand has begun to open up this subject in his useful work on La transformación social del conquistador (2 vols., Mexico, 1953). Some valuable references will be found in C. J. Bishko, “The Iberian Background of Latin American History: Recent Progress and Continuing Problems”, Hispanic American Historical Review, XXXVI (1956), 67, note 31.

The first scientific treatise on agriculture in Spain includes a ringing statement in favour of labour on the land, and even a recommendation that those who are too lazy to work should be denied food or even killed. Gabriel Alonso de Herrera, *Libro de agricultura, que es de la labrança y criança, y de muchas otras particularidades y provechos del campo* (Valladolid, 1563), fol. 3v.

A basic work on Spanish character is by María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La idea de la fama en la edad media Castellana* (Mexico, 1952), and a related study is the article by José Luis Romero, “Sobre la biografía española del siglo XV y los ideales de vida”, *Cuadernos de historia de España*, I–II (Buenos Aires, 1944), 114–138.


8. Pedro Leturía, “Maior y Vitoria ante la conquista de América”, *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, II (Madrid, 1932), 44–82. A more recent study is by Silvio Zavala as the introduction for the volume *De las islas del mar océano*, por Juan López Palacios Rubios. *Del dominio de los Reyes de España sobre los índios*, por Fray Matías de Paz (Mexico, 1954). Translation, notes, and bibliography by Agustín Millares Carlo.

9. Rafael Altamira, “El texto de las leyes de Burgos de 1512”, *Revista de Historia de América* (Mexico, 1938), no. 4, pp. 5–79.


11. The only description extant of this controversy comes from Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Libro III, Chaps. 149–151. The courage displayed by Las Casas in opposing Aristotle may be appreciated in the light of the experience of Sepúlveda’s master Pietro Pomponazzi of Bologna. The dogma of the Church had been based on Aristotle as interpreted by Thomas Aquinas. When Pomponazzi claimed the right to study Aristotle for himself, his 1516 treatise *De immortalitate animi* was burned at Venice and Pompanozzi ran serious risk of death at the hands of the Catholics. “Any attack on Aristotle, or even an attempt to reopen the old discussions on the Aristotelian problems was regarded as a dangerous heresy”, according to John Malcolm Mitchell, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Eleventh edition, 1911), XXII, 58. See also Andrew

12. Sister Margaret Mary, C.I.M., “Slavery in the Writings of St Augustine”, *The Classical Journal*, XLIX (1954), 367. José Almoina has collected many examples, however, to show that there was a definite attempt to establish a “conexión de la idea de libertad espiritual de las Sagradas Escrituras con el orden social”. See pp. 170–175 of his edition of Fray Juan de Zumárraga. *Regla cristiana breve* (Mexico, 1951).


14. The literature on Caribs is large, confusing, and somewhat contradictory. A valuable collection of manuscript material on the treatment of Caribs by Spaniards up to about 1520 is to be found in the third legajo of the *residencia* of Rodrigo de Figueroa in the Archivo de Indias, Justicia 47. This early ethnographic document describes the attempts made to determine which Indians captured by Spanish captains cruising along Tierra Firme and the islands actually were Caribs. An unpublished paper entitled “Los Caribes” has been prepared by Vicenta Cortés of the Archivo de Indias, in which reference is made to other manuscripts there on Spanish relations with Caribs in the sixteenth century.

Columbus was originally responsible for the idea that Caribs were cannibals, according to Gandía, *Mitos de la conquista*, p. 47. Julio C. Salas, in *Los indios caribes* (Madrid, 1920), states that the Caribs were a brave, intelligent race and not cannibalistic as was claimed by those desirous of enslaving them. Domínguez places the blame on the Latin translation of Columbus’s letter to Luis de Santangel where the phrase *comer carne viva* was rendered as *carne humana vescuntur*, and concluded: “That barbarous Indians are treacherous; that when they slay their enemies they will tear them to pieces and burn them is beyond dispute. But that they will eat their flesh is a slander and a despicable falsehood founded on interested motives. I have yet to find the man who will tell me in good faith he has seen the Indians eat human flesh”, *The Conquest of the River Plate, 1535–1555*, L. L. Domínguez, ed. (London, 1891), pp. xxxvii–xxxviii. Domínguez was pre-
paring a historical account of this subject, which appears not to have been published. William Dampier also showed scepticism concerning the tales of cannibalism in the West Indies in his A New Voyage Round the World... (third edition corrected, London, 1698), pp. 485–486. Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland thought the cannibalism of the inhabitants of the West Indies was much exaggerated, Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America During the Years 1799–1804, edited by Thomasina Ross (3 vols., London, 1894), III, 86. Ewald Volhard gives a general view of the subject in Kannibalismus (Stuttgart, 1939), pp. 324–361.

Woodbury Lowery, Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States (New York, 1901), brings together some of the early Spanish legislation on Caribs on pp. 110–111. As a curious sidelight, Pedro Aguado tells us that some Indians in New Granada believed the Spaniards to be cannibals and thus fought desperately since they felt sure the invaders were looking for food, Historia de Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada, edited by Jerónimo Béckér (2 vols., Madrid, 1916–1917), II, 38–39.

Professor John H. Rowe of the University of California, Berkeley, writes: “There is no question that the Spaniards attributed cannibalism to many Indians who did not practice it in order to enslave them, but there nevertheless seems to be a good basis in fact for the attribution of cannibalism to some Caribs.”

15. The letter is dated December 10, 1555, and is in Archivo de Indias, Lima 313.


17. For a fuller account see the writer’s “Pope Paul III and the American Indians”, Harvard Theological Review, XXX (1937), 65–102. A more recent study, emphasizing the juridical points involved, is by Alberto de la Hera, “El derecho de los indios a la libertad y a la fe. La bula ‘Sublimis Deus’ y los problemas indianos que la motivaron”, Anuario de la Historia del Derecho Español, XXVI (Madrid, 1956).


New World (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956), p. 121, note 23, and passim.

22. Silvio Zavala, Ideario de Vasco de Quiroga (Mexico, 1941).

23. The many curious ideas cherished by the friar Francisco de la Cruz, which led to his burning at the stake by the Inquisition in Lima in 1578, have been described by Bataillon, Novo mundo e fim do mundo.

24. Mr Bruno Pagliai of Mexico City owns this document and has generously permitted the writer to use it. It has been published, with notes, by Juan Mesaguer Fernández, “A Doubt of Some of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mexico Solved by Pope Paul III at the Request of Cardinal Quiñones”, The Americas, XIV (1957), 183–189. Franciscans today are still agitated by the baptismal controversy in sixteenth-century Mexico, as may be seen from the somewhat apologetic and defensive tone of Father Ceccherelli in his learned exposition, El bautismo y los Franciscanos en México.

25. Manuel María Martínez, “El obispo Marroquín y el franciscano Motolinía, enemigos de Las Casas”, Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, CXXXII (Madrid, 1953), Cuaderno II, p. 192. The famous 1555 letter by Motolinía to Charles V in which this dispute is described may be found in Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españoles de América y Oceania, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias (42 vols., Madrid, 1864–1884), VII, 262–263. Hereafter cited as Documentos inéditos de América. For a balanced view of the Motolinía–Las Casas dispute, see Luis Nicolau d’Olwer’s introduction to his Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía), Relaciones de la Nueva España (Mexico, 1956), pp. xlix–lv. Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario, no. 72.


28. Luis Nicolau d’Olwer, Fray Toribio de Benavente, pp. 185–193.

29. Ibid., p. 65.

30. Ibid., p. 195.

31. For basic information and references to the pertinent documentation to this question, see the volume prepared by the writer and Manuel Giménez Fernández, Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1474–1566. Bibliografía crítica y cuerpo de materiales para el estudio de su vida, escritos, actuación y polémicas que suscitaron durante cuatro siglos (Santiago de Chile, 1954), pp. 64–65. Cited henceforth as Las Casas. Bibliografía crítica.

32. De Indis, I, xxiii. The text used is the volume edited by Ernest Nys, De Indis et de Juri Belli Rlectiones (Washington, 1917).

33. Ibid., pp. 120 ff.


37. See the writer’s *Spanish Struggle for Justice*, p. 12.

38. Edmundo O’Gorman, “Sobre la naturaleza bestial del indio americano”, *Filosofía y Letras* (Mexico, 1941), no. 1, pp. 141–158; no. 2, pp. 305–315; and Alfonso García Gallo, *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, XXXIV (Madrid, 1950), 212–220. García Gallo considers that Betanzos used *bestia* only in a “sentido despectivo” and that Paul III’s declaration that they were “truly men” demonstrates that they had been considered as men, though “incapaces”. The reasoning becomes rather fine on this point!


40. See the writer’s *First Social Experiments in America*, pp. 68–69.


