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By J. H. Elliott.

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The archaeology of Dozier's wake as Fontana described it, is a statement of the cultural history of Santa Clara and all Rio Grande Pueblos. It all began with a rosary being said in English in the mortuary chapel. Then five penitents led a rosary in Spanish. "And everywhere in the room one heard Spanish, English, and Tewa being spoken" (Fontana's letter to the late William Sturtevant). Dave Warren's eulogy celebrated the end of Edward Dozier's personal odyssey and the return to the place where he had begun it. And so it should be for us all.

William Willard

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Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830. By J. H. Elliott. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006. 560 pages. \$50.00 cloth; \$22.00 paper.

As historians, we need constant reminders that just about everything in the past was the product of a million human choices and decisions that could have been made another way. Immersed in our often-narrow fields of inquiry, it is all too easy to accept certain historical realities—from the mundane to the monumental—as natural or inevitable, to forget their essential contingency, or to fail to notice them at all. At its best, comparative history can be the best way to reinforce our awareness that things could have been different, that the past is the product of choices and circumstances that could have gone in another way in another context. J. H. Elliott's new book is a *tour de force* of historical synthesis and analysis, and one that will become essential reading for historians of British and Spanish colonization in the Atlantic world. With massive erudition and lively comparisons, Elliott provides new insights on every page about the natures of Spanish and British colonization from the discovery of the New World to the independence movements that ended both empires.

This is a large book, and Elliott frames it in grand terms, referencing Herbert Bolton's long-ago challenge to write the "epic of Greater America." Yet anyone looking for a concise thesis or pithy characterization of colonial styles—a la Francis Parkman's famous quip that the Spanish Empire enslaved the Indian, the French embraced him, and the British shunned him—should look elsewhere. Much stems from a basic contrast between an urban Spanish empire and a dispersed English one, but Elliott admits that this is not a book that will result in simple or essential formulae of British and Spanish imperialism. Rather than producing generalities, this book drives at fascinating and illuminating particularities. The book's real value is in its use of comparisons to illuminate the empires' myriad characteristics, both subtle and essential. For readers of this journal, one of the book's strengths is certainly in its constant attention to the place of indigenous peoples within the two imperial cultures under investigation. Still, it must be said that the book's focus is mostly on Europeans and their plight; a highly illuminating chapter on identity gives almost no consideration to indigenous identities.

The book is arranged chronologically and thematically, with three main divisions: occupation, consolidation, and emancipation. The strongest insights come in the book's earliest chapters, when Elliott discusses the ideologies and strategies of empire and, in the end, when Elliott turns his attention to the waning empires and the structural and cultural transformations that precipitated independence movements so much earlier in the British case.

Elliott's early discussion of the ideologies of empire demonstrates the strength of the comparative approach. As Atlantic world historians have reminded us in recent years, neither the Spanish nor the English came to America free of prior ideas about empire, and both colonial powers largely equated colonization with conquest, an idea that grew out of prior colonial experiences of both states—England in Ireland and Spain in the Reconquista. Although Elliott's analysis of Spain and England in the early contest for the Atlantic will surprise few readers, it is the comparison that is illuminating, for Elliott's juxtaposition of the two imperial ideologies makes the important similarities apparent. Elliott's comparison will be especially thought provoking to historians of British America who traditionally have contrasted English "Dreams of Liberation," in Edmund Morgan's phrase, to the supposedly more rapacious ambitions of Black Legend conquistadores. Elliott's contribution is to make us see the West Country Boys and the conquistadores from Extremadura as carrying a common set of assumptions, built not on their response to the New World as much as on their comparable experiences in the old.

Elliott's comparison of the missionary encounter is also insightful. Historians of British America will be familiar with John Eliot, the Puritan minister who dedicated his life to converting New England Indians, translating the Bible into the Massachusetts language, recording Indians' own confessions in his remarkable *Tears of Repentance* (1653), and establishing "praying towns" at Natick and other areas of New England. But when J. H. Elliott examines the Puritan missionary side by side with Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries in the Spanish empire, the result is a far richer picture of what is essentially Puritan about missionary John Eliot's approach. There were similarities between Catholic missionaries and Eliot. For example, both Catholic missionaries and the Puritan Eliot arrived with an idealistic notion of Indians as *tabula rasa*, that is, culturally "blank" people presenting an opportunity for an ideal primitive church. Also both Spanish and English missionaries possessed similar ideas about missionary strategy, with Eliot's praying town design equating roughly to the notion of the Spanish *reducciones*.

Yet, here differences arose. In Latin America, urbanized Indians were far more inclined to accept the terms of life on the *reduccion*, while semisedentary Algonquians in New England found the praying town confining and so resisted. Confronted by resistance, the Catholic theology was better equipped for dominance, given the Catholic doctrine of *compelle eos entrare*—"compel them to come in." In contrast, a fundamental tenet of Puritan theology was exclusivity—not all people were saved. The missionary's role was, as John Cotton wrote, "to permit them either to believe willingly or not to believe at all" (75). In the end, we learn how Eliot's career, usually interpreted as an example of Puritan border crossing and efforts at cross-cultural inclusiveness (the minister

even was responsible for the inscription on the Massachusetts Bay seal that depicted an Indian with the inscription “Come over and Help Us”), actually remains representative of Puritans’ attitudes of exclusivity, as contrasted with the Spanish Catholic missionaries. These comparisons thus put very specific new flesh on the bone of an old generalization—that the Spanish established a frontier of inclusion, the English a frontier of exclusion.

One fascinating point of comparison comes in a highly satisfying chapter on the subject of colonial identities and culture. In both the Spanish and the English cases, colonial Americans began to define themselves—and to be defined by those in Europe—as different. The ways in which distinctive American Creole identities developed over time is an increasingly rich aspect of historical research among scholars of the Atlantic world, and here Elliott provides an excellent synopsis of recent attempts to historicize colonial identities within the Atlantic world. In the English case, the pejorative notion of “rustic Americans” stung the pride of William Byrd and other elites, particularly those in the Caribbean. Meanwhile, people like Cotton Mather feared “Criolian degeneracy” among second- and third-generation English colonists, reflecting the anxiety that Anglo colonists felt about losing their Englishness in the savage American environment. Indians were a major feature of anxieties and discourses about identities, and colonial British Americans worked their fears out in writings about captivity and the improvement of the wilderness. In comparison, Spanish colonial identity was more complex. Far less anxious about their proximity to Indians, Spanish colonists embraced a distinct identity as *criollos*, one that was built precisely on a romantic view of Indian antiquity that formed the cornerstone of a distinctive American *patria*. Yet Spanish colonists took the mission to raise indigenous Americans up to civility, or *atenciones*, far more seriously—and for a much longer time. Spaniards born in America also had less-straightforward notions about the superiority of metropolitan culture over their provincial selves. They developed a provincial culture in which they aimed not only to “outperform the productions of the mother country” but also to pursue “an idiom that would express their own distinctive individuality” (247). In contrast to the English, who doggedly copied and tried only to emulate the mother country, the Spanish were more willing to try to create something distinctive.

Toward the end of his narrative, Elliott makes a brilliant contribution when he contrasts the American Revolution to the anticolonial movement by Túpac Amaru II in Peru in the 1770s and 1780s. To this reviewer, the more convincing and illuminating comparison is to Pontiac’s rebellion of 1763, which Elliott also briefly develops. Either way, Elliott’s comparison highlights some of the consequences of Spain’s relatively more flexible empire, the difficulty of mounting resistance among an interethnic colonial population in Peru, and the relatively more developed sense of colonial identity in British America.

Elliott’s work is built on the latest scholarship in British and Spanish colonial history. His highly useful footnotes will be invaluable to students looking to follow up Elliott’s discussions with the best and most helpful scholarship, while not getting intimidated by the huge bibliography that follows

the text. But *Empires of the Atlantic World* is not merely a survey of others' work. Elliott is especially strong when he combines his summaries of recent scholarship with on-the-ground accounts by contemporary travelers, colonial diary keepers, and artists' paintings and images that are beautifully reproduced. Another excellent feature of the book is the way that Elliott allows his imperial comparisons to come from colonists, using accounts by people such as Thomas Gage, an Englishman who traveled in Spanish America during the eighteenth century. The end result of Elliott's strategy does not read like a summary of historians' interpretations but instead reads like a blend of analysis and narrative.

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Keeping It Living: Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America. Edited by Douglas Deur and Nancy J. Turner. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005. 404 pages. \$50.00 cloth; \$27.50 paper.

Keeping It Living developed from the content and discussions surrounding the 1997 American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) symposium entitled "Was the Northwest Coast of North America 'Agricultural'?: Aboriginal Plant Use Reconsidered." It is a compilation of exceptional work done by many scholars who have studied Northwest Coast Native communities from Oregon to Southeast Alaska. In each chapter, the authors present evidence from historic accounts and oral histories describing the management of plants for improved productivity.

The long-standing construct is that Northwest Coast populations did not practice plant cultivation and instead relied almost exclusively on harvesting of marine resources and gathering of native fruits for sustenance. The book's editors and contributing authors challenge this perspective. They suggest that the common view is based on the assumptions codified in the historical accounts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and perpetuated by many anthropologists who visited with community members in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Although archaeological studies have provided plenty of evidence for the antiquity of Northwest Coast fishing practices, climate conditions in this region are not adequate for the preservation of plant remains. As such, there is no physical evidence of the history of indigenous horticultural or agricultural management. In light of this dilemma, the authors approach the subject from an ethnographic standpoint, utilizing past accounts and modern perspectives to reconstruct plant management by the indigenous peoples from Oregon to Southeast Alaska. The authors deftly organize the ethnographic evidence describing harvesting, seed collection, planting, and cultivation practices used by indigenous communities in this region. More than three hundred indigenous plants used by these communities are described and/or listed in this volume.