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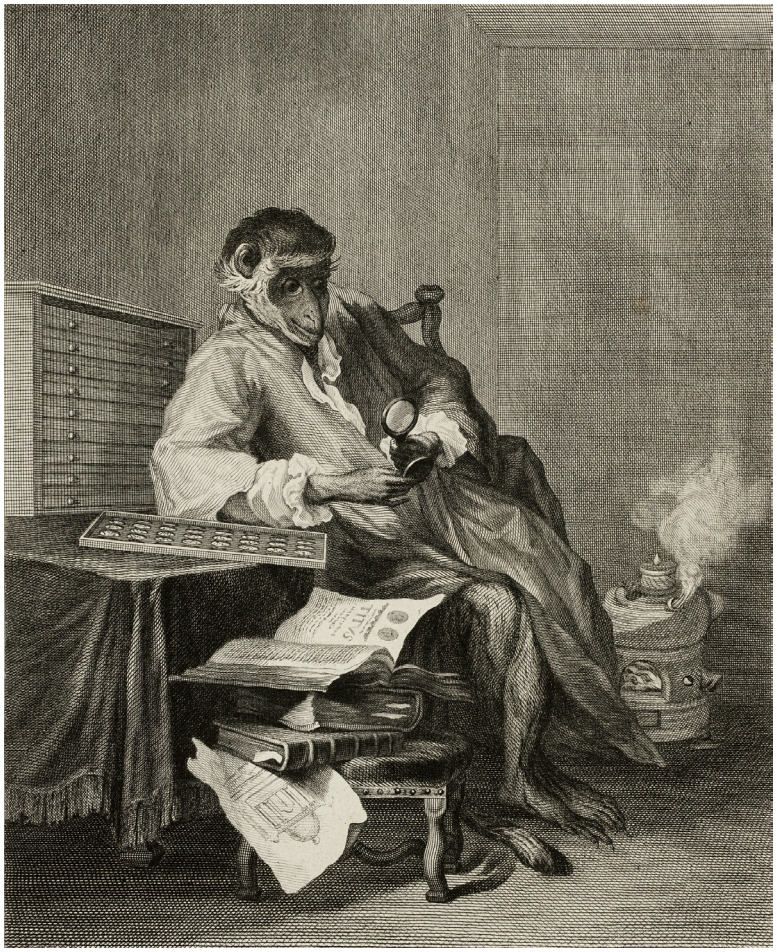

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THE NEW AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN

Volume IV Fall 2025

Contents

Antislavery, Amnesia, and the Archive? A Sermon on Paul in Captivity in Caesarea, Delivered by Ira Hart in Stonington, Connecticut, 1811

JOHN SAILLANT

The remembrance of New England's slave system and critique of its archive often concern scholars at the beginning of the second quarter of the twenty-first century. The archive of slavery has long been understood as more fragmented and incomplete than collections related to other historical phenomena of similar magnitude. New England achieved its nineteenth and twentieth-century reputation as a free region through a cultural amnesia that pushed its slaves and their enslavers out of public memory. One challenge for remembrance and interpretation is that both enslavement and opposition to the slave system were discussed in idioms that we no longer use. A second challenge is that some documentary materials concerning slavery and abolition were recorded and collected, i.e., archived, in ways that concealed their connections to the slave system.

An 1811 manuscript sermon on Acts 24:25, "The fatal consequences of Procrastination," (Figure 1) by Ira Hart (1771–1829, Yale 1797, ordained 1798), held at the Library of Congress, exemplifies these challenges.[1] A transcription is presented here, with an introduction, not only to offer an interpretation but also to participate in transcribing and publishing such works for the sake of recovering a history that has been obscured. The sermon was delivered in 1811, in Stonington, Connecticut, yet the manuscript suggests that Hart had been refining his thoughts on Acts 24:25 since at least 1799.[2] Departing from other ministers' practice, which involved writing the first date on which a sermon was preached at the top of the first page, then cramming others around that date or in the margins, Hart seems, for this manuscript, to have worked backward. He dated the sermon 1811, then listed earlier dates of delivery, evidently culled from other sermon notes. His method of recording dates suggests that he considered this to be an important

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[1] Sermon notes by Ira Hart, 1799–180[?] [1811], Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Palmer-Loper Family Papers, Part II: Miscellany, 1667–1979, Box II: 13, LCCN mm79035410, ID No. MSS35410.

[2] Biographical information on Ira Hart (not to be confused with his son of the same name) appears in Richard Anson Wheeler, *History of the Town of Stonington, County of New London, Connecticut, from its First Settlement in 1649 to 1900* (New London: Press of the Day, 1900), 89, 416.

The New American Antiquarian 4 (Fall 2025): 1–22.

work, perhaps the culmination of a decade's worth of thought and speech. Its importance may have been, I conjecture below, its criticism of the slave system—although the sermon never mentioned slavery.

Slavery in Connecticut underwent a momentous change from 1774 to 1811.[3] The state legislature banned future importation of enslaved persons in 1774. A gradual emancipation act freed all black people born after March 1, 1784. From 1805 to 1809, the first women and men liberated under the 1784 act became freedpeople, at age twenty-one for women and twenty-five for men. The *post nati* legislative action of 1784 was part of a long-term process involving other legislation and other forms of gaining freedom, such as individual manumission, that ended only when the state legislature abolished slavery in 1848. This process we now call gradual emancipation. Hart's life, from his childhood to his death, occurred within it. Born in Farmington, Connecticut, in 1771, Hart was a young child at the time of the 1774 act and an adolescent at the time of the 1784 one; soon he would travel to New Haven to enroll at Yale College. New Haven had a substantial black population, some free and some enslaved.[4] In New Haven, Hart studied under Ezra Stiles (1727–1795) and Timothy Dwight (1752–1817). Both Stiles and Dwight were, in the context of their times, seemingly benevolent patrons of black New Englanders. Stiles had supported black people in Rhode Island as well as in Connecticut, conducting prayer meetings and singing hymns with black believers and providing financial support to freedpeople, including his own former slaves, when they were short on money.[5] Similarly, Dwight promoted charitable endeavors such as schools for black children and missions in Africa. Dwight critiqued the abuses

[3] In 1774, Connecticut held the largest enslaved population in New England. Enslaved labor was important in port towns such as Stonington. Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England* (New York: Atheneum, 1969 [og. pub. 1942]), 74–77. The concentration of slaves in coastal Connecticut is described in Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973), 16, 205–6. Gradual emancipation in Connecticut is described in Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 68–71. I have relied throughout on these foundational works of scholarship, not only for the history of Connecticut slavery but also for Melish's argument concerning amnesia, race, and slavery. Gradual emancipation as a process, not an event, is emphasized in David Menschel, "Abolition Without Deliverance: The Law of Connecticut Slavery, 1784–1848," *The Yale Law Journal* 111, no. 1 (October 2001): 183–222, although the author inaccurately claims that historians have minimized means of gaining freedom or ending enslavement other than the 1784 *post nati* action.

[4] Robert Austin Warner, *New Haven Negroes: A Social History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 1–11.

[5] Ezra Stiles recorded numerous interactions with African Americans in his diary. Cited below are references to his diary in which he recorded personal interactions with black people. I provide these without commentary to show the breadth of his interactions across racial lines, including, of course, in years in which Hart studied with him. Not cited are numerous comments he made about black people of whom he had heard, for instance, in the slave trade or in the War of Independence, but never met. Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.*, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), I: 25, 28, 39, 52, 68, 81, 97, 108, 151, 174, 183, 204–9, 213–14, 220, 239–40, 247–48, 260, 269, 271, 283, 315, 335, 339, 348, 355, 364–65, 373, 394, 404, 412–13, 415, 424, 436, 438–39, 441, 447, 462, 521, 524–25, 533–34, 542, 548, 618, 628, 630, 647, 654, 658, 664; II: 236, 255, 269, 271–72, 365, 376, 395, 410; III: 50–51, 76, 78, 82, 96, 100–104, 116, 163, 204, 219, 307, 327, 332, 335, 381, 400, 402, 431, 437, 449, 456, 494, 504.

of the slave system and, in a religious frame, he considered the rise of the Atlantic slave trade to be an act of the Antichrist and a prelude to a battle during Armageddon between enslavers and their challengers.[6] Thus, Hart spent his adolescence and young adulthood in an alembic formed by a New England state in the midst of interdicting slavery and freeing slaves, a port city with a substantial black population, and a school of Calvinist theology that, at the least, promoted interracial benevolence and, at the most, defined the antislavery crusade as a battle to be won before the postslavery millennium would occur. Stiles, Dwight, and Hart critiqued the slave system in an idiom that was available to them, even if it seems lukewarm or misdirected today.

Hart preached among Native Americans at Brothertown, New York, in the mid-to-late 1790s, possibly as a missionary under Dwight's supervision. His connection to Connecticut remained intact. Hart almost certainly already knew Elijah Wampey, Jr. (1765–ca. 1812), a member of the Tunxis, born in Farmington, who moved to Brothertown, where he and Hart apparently met again. Returning to Connecticut, Hart served as minister of the Congregational church in Middlebury from 1798 to 1809, when he was dismissed as "the result of a struggle that was very fierce and long continued." Almost immediately, following Dwight's recommendation, he assumed the pulpit of the First Congregational church in Stonington in 1809 and remained in it until his death on October 29, 1829.[7]

The sermon transcribed below suggests the reason for the struggle in Middlebury. In telling "sinners the plain truth…expos[ing] their vices" (see p. 13 of the transcription below), Hart was prodding social and economic leaders for their seemingly lax religion and, implicitly, perhaps, procrastination in dealing with the moral sin of slavery in the decades-long process of Connecticut's gradual emancipation. Many New Divinity ministers lost their pulpits as a result of confrontations

[6] A fund-raising sermon for schools for black children was printed as Timothy Dwight, *The Charitable Blessed: A Sermon, Preached in the First Church in New-Haven, August 8, 1810* (New Haven: Sidney's Press, 1810). An appeal for funds for African missions (instead of spending on entertainment) appears in Timothy Dwight, *An Essay on the Stage* (London: Sharp, Jones, & Co., 1824), 137–40. Two examples of Dwight's understanding of the slave trade as a step in Armageddon are Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered July 23, 1812* (New Haven: Howe and Deforest, 1812), 44, and Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered August 20, 1812* (New York: J. Seymour, 1812), 4, 26. Peter Hinks, "Timothy Dwight, Congregationalism, and Early Antislavery," in *The Problem of Evil: Slavery, Freedom, and the Ambiguities of American Reform*, ed. Steven Mintz and John Stauffer (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 148–61, summarizes Dwight's writings concerning race and slavery. Tara A. Bynum, *Reading Pleasures: Everyday Black Living in Early America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2023), sees some of the black New Englanders who lived in Stiles and Dwight's orbit from their own perspective. Michael Monescalchi, "Converted Republic: Lemuel Haynes, Timothy Dwight, and the Anti-Racist Politics of the Republican Sermon," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 53, no. 1 (2024): 211–30, shows Dwight's antiracist, evangelical version of republicanism. It seems almost certain that Hart knew that Samuel Hopkins (1721–1803), literary executor of Dwight's grandfather Jonathan Edwards had formed, in 1801, in Newport, Rhode Island, an evangelical society devoted to black people. See John T. Lowe, "Abolitionism as an Expression of Benevolence in Edwardsean Thought," *Jonathan Edwards Studies* 12, no. 1/2 (December 2022), 25.

[7] Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York* (New Haven: Published by Timothy Dwight, 1822), 3: 182–84. Leonard Bacon et al., *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut* (New Haven: William L. Kingsley, 1861), 421, 485.

with their flocks. Hart was no exception, yet, after Middlebury, he found a permanent home in Stonington. He thrived there, it seems, for two reasons. First, his theological tutor, Dwight, recently appointed president of Yale College, seemingly promoted him as a man who could effectively evangelize in a mixed-race environment, since Hart had already evangelized among Native Americans. Second, Stonington was, amid gradual emancipation, coming to see itself as a white community, whereas a generation earlier it had counted a substantial number (16%) of its inhabitants as black or Native American. I argue below that if Hart opposed the slave system, he paradoxically contributed to the purported whiteness of Stonington in the way he critiqued slavery.

In the 1790s, Dwight conveyed this unstable sense of Stonington as a mixed-race community in desperate need of evangelists at the same time as it was becoming whiter. The indigenous population was declining, he wrote, while erroneous religion was flooding the town. Of Stonington, he wrote that a "considerable number of Indians reside in this township…. These Indians have continually declined in their numbers, notwithstanding their decrease has been checked by their cohabitation with the blacks." The white population was marked by an overabundance of religious enthusiasm. "There was no Congregational minister here," he wrote, "and the Baptist preachers were mere uneducated farmers or mechanics. Public worship, therefore, was either not celebrated at all, or celebrated in a forbidding and vulgar manner." It made sense for Dwight to recommend Hart as an orthodox minister of the newly founded First Congregational church in Stonington. Despite Dwight's conviction that Stonington's white and non-white residents alike needed an educated Congregational minister, demographic notes added to his description of Stonington suggest that its non-white population was disappearing: "In the year 1756, Stonington contained 3,518 inhabitants: blacks 200: Indians 365; in 1774, 5,412: blacks 219: Indians 245; in 1790, 5,648; in 1800, 5,437: blacks 42; and in 1810, 3,043. The same year, North Stonington contained 2,534: total 5,577."[8] In sum, it made sense to him to think that Stonington held a mixed-race population, albeit one that was becoming whiter, and that Stonington's residents of all colors needed an orthodox minister, particularly, apparently, one who had had experience preaching among Native Americans, even as the non-white population was declining.

With Dwight's comments on demography in Stonington now in hand, we are ready to ask: how might a sermon that never mentioned slavery be understood, in its time or in ours, as antislavery? And how might a sermon that never mentioned race be interpreted as amnesiac in relation to enslavement and the presence of black people in the local community? The answer lies in Hart's use of a New Divinity method of preaching, here applied to slavery. This was a typological method, rooted in hermeneutics, that defined the relationship between the Old and New Testaments as one of types and antitypes, precursors and fulfillments. By the late

[8] Dwight, *Travels*, 3: 26–35.

eighteenth century, American Calvinists were applying this relationship both to contemporary American history and to the slave system. Dwight's epic poem, *The Conquest of Canaan* (1785), for instance, applied typology to American history; Lemuel Haynes's essay "Liberty Further Extended" (1776) and his sermon *Divine Decrees* (1814) applied it to the slave system.[9] Authors like Dwight, Haynes (1753–1833), and Hart created parallels that allowed them to discuss two subjects at once, since the contemporary (the antitype) was, in the flow of Christian history, embedded in the ancient (the type). This was their antislavery idiom, which had great power among typologically-informed readers.

Hart's sermon on Acts 24:25 explicitly addressed Paul's sea voyage, his confrontation with hostile Jews, the sustenance provided by his friends, and his interactions with the Roman governor, Felix, while it implicitly, I speculate here, discussed the slave trade, the hostility of whites toward blacks, and the relationship between enslavers on the one hand and their critics and the enslaved on the other hand. The explicit and the implicit paralleled in one text constituted typology in action. Such indirect critiques of the slave system, if Hart's sermon is one of them, seem hard to swallow from later perspectives, but typology was a staple of the New Divinity. When the "plain truth" in a sermon aggressively critiqued the sins committed by its auditors, it incorporated common theological understandings such as the existence of Old Testament types and New Testament and contemporary antitypes.

If we understand Hart as a critic of slaveholders, sermons like his nonetheless fostered New Englanders' amnesia concerning their region's history of slavery. In Hart's sermon, slavery was everywhere yet nowhere. Indeed, antislavery was everywhere yet nowhere. Only typology allowed works such as this to make sense as criticism of the slave system. Without a typological hermeneutic, the sermon would appear to be solely a commentary on Paul and Felix. Such commentaries, despite their authors' intentions, helped white New Englanders eject the history of slaveholding from their region's public memory. As typology faded as an interpretive tool in the nineteenth century, whiteness remained. The sharp edge of the New Divinity critique of the slave system was dulled, indeed the tool was lost, once typology disappeared from the common stock. Today, we live two centuries after the disappearance of typology from the instruments used to interpret scripture, so reading a sermon like Hart's (whether or not we accept that it concerned slavery) demands the acquisition of a lost way of thinking.

[9] Timothy Dwight, *The Conquest of Canaan; A Poem, in Eleven Books* (Hartford: Elisha Babcock, 1785); "'Liberty Further Extended': A 1776 Antislavery Manuscript by Lemuel Haynes," ed. Ruth Bogin, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (January 1983): 85–105; Lemuel Haynes, *Divine Decrees, an Encouragement to the Use of Means* (Rutland: William Fay, 1805). The best-known work on American typologizing is Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978). Here I differ from Bercovitch in my focus on ordinary works that reflect the presence of typology in popular culture instead of on leading artistic and political texts.

A type/antitype parallel could be detailed and intricate. This is true of Hart's sermon. In what follows, I offer only the major points in the parallelism. Acts 24:25 occurs in the midst of Paul's sea journeys from Ephesus to Caesarea to Jerusalem, which result in his captivity by the Roman guard after he raises the ire of some of the Jews he encounters. While captive, Paul is brought before the Roman governor Felix, and his wife, Drusilla, to speak of the Messiah. Felix sympathizes somewhat with Paul, and he allows Paul's friends to succor him, yet he never frees him. Eventually, Paul, still captive, is taken to Rome (Acts 27–28). Acts 21–28 follows Paul through several sea voyages. The typological relationship implied is, I argue, to English transoceanic travel as well as to the Atlantic slave trade. Stonington was a seafaring town, so the type to which it was the antitype was close at hand. Paul visited cities that were easily seen as precursors of America: Caesarea, Jerusalem, and, finally, Rome, each one in need of salvation, likely parallels in the minds of Calvinists. Crucially, Paul also recounts his conversion on the road to Damascus, which became central in the sermon since Felix and, by implication, contemporary enslavers, refuse to follow the evangelist into the holy light. Paul encounters enemies and friends, a precursor of a common trope of antislavery writings and the slave narrative. His enemies are cast as nominal believers who follow a warped version of the law while ignoring the spirit—again, a trope of abolitionist views of slave traders and slaveholders. One of his friends is Philip, the follower of Christ most known for baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch, a staple figure in early abolitionism. And, of course, Paul is taken captive, harassed by the Jews who reject his Messiah and seized by the Romans who protect him yet put him on trial and never free him.

It is as a captive that Paul is most a type both of the slave and of the slave system's enemy. It is his interaction with Felix and his Jewish wife, Drusilla, that is most revealing. Felix, a Roman, calls Paul to testify, for he has an inkling of Christ's message, yet he also wants a bribe. Drusilla attends. As Paul speaks, Felix trembles. Felix has some sense of the glory of God and of the future punishment of sinners, and he experiences the beginnings of compunction. Yet he remains greedy and adulterous (he had taken Drusilla from another man), and he dismisses Paul with the mention of a possible future meeting. This episode allowed Hart to make two antislavery moves. First, Hart observed that the Old Testament types of Felix and Drusilla were Ahab and Jezebel, who had killed Naboth, taken his land, and disinherited (or murdered) his sons. Like Felix and like enslavers, Ahab and Jezebel manipulated understanding of the law in order to condemn Naboth. The story of Naboth's death and the seizure of his lands was, for American Calvinists, a ready type of the sins within the slave system. Second, Hart focused on the state of mind that converted someone from toleration of the slave system to opposition to it. The type was Paul on the road to Damascus. Felix started on that road through his trembling, but he veered off it.

The nineteenth-century antitype included, in Hart's view, both the mental and emotional horrors that slaves suffered and the anxiety that free people should

experience when they confronted the fact of enslavement in their society.[10] This was a pillar of American Calvinist opposition to the slave system: that an adequate confrontation with the slave system was a deeply emotional and unsettling experience that left one feeling naked before an omnipotent God. Indeed, ministers in this tradition tried their best to blend the conversion experience and antislavery feelings, so that if a preacher could induce extreme anxiety over sin and salvation he could also, in the same moment, incite a fear that the self would disintegrate if one tolerated the slave system any longer. This anxiety was a central experience both of slaves who were suffering under enslavement and of opponents of the slave system who were facing an existential crisis over its continuance. In Acts, Felix trembled in Paul's company: the typological reading of Hart's sermon is that its auditors and readers would do the same 1750 years after Paul's time in Caesarea.

Read typologically, Hart's sermon may well have been a jab at slave traders, slaveholders, and those who cooperated with them. These men and women at best understood slavery as a sin for which atonement could be delayed. The fear and trembling that Paul and Felix felt—one fruitfully, one fruitlessly—was the moment before the collapse of the self in the sight of the God who, for Christians of the early nineteenth century, condemned the sins of man-stealing and slaveholding. Saul had let his self slide away, and he became Paul. Felix had the chance but turned away, procrastinating his salvation for a better season. American enslavers still had the opportunity in 1811. The message of the sermon was to avoid Felix's error, not to tremble then leave Paul captive, but rather to tremble and then follow divine will in freeing early-nineteenth-century captives with expediency. What Felix failed to do was what white Americans must do.

Local circumstances in Stonington seem present in the text too. Seafaring is obvious. Greed and adultery were also commonly mentioned in critiques of the slave system. Furthermore, it is possible, once again only with typology in mind, that Hart was paralleling Paul to Venture Smith (ca. 1729–1805), Stonington's best-known black resident, whose autobiographical narrative appeared in 1798.[11]

[10] A different southern New England minister, Alexander Viets Griswold, preaching in Bristol, Rhode Island, another port town connected to the slave system, used the same technique at about the same time. In a series of sermons delivered shortly after the 1808 interdiction by the U.S. Congress of the international slave trade, Griswold not only linked the compunction inherent in the conversion experience with anxiety over the existence of American slavery but also made the same typological references to Ahab and Naboth that Hart made. Griswold was one of the evangelical Episcopalians who declared themselves, like the New Divinity men, to be followers of Jonathan Edwards. Some of his sermon manuscripts are preserved at University of Rhode Island, Kingston, R.I., University Archives and Special Collections, Rhode Island Episcopal Church Records, St. Michael's Episcopal Church (Bristol, Rhode Island) Records, Mss. Gr. 185 (1718–1999), Series 3, Box 1, Folder 17. A recent analysis is John Saillant, "A Black Woman's Baptism in the Episcopal Church: Prudence Gabriel in an Hour of Crisis, 1812," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 92, no. 4 (December 2023): 581–611.

[11] *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, A Native of Africa: But Resident above Sixty Years in the United States of America. Related by Himself* (New London: C. Holt, 1798). Additionally, it seems likely that Hart was familiar with at least some works published by Charles Holt (ca. 1771–1852), the freethinking newspaper editor of the *Bee* and printer of Smith's *Narrative*. Among these were a pseudonymous satire on overly ingenious typology, purporting to interpret Acts 19:34 (1797); Joel Barlow (1754–1812, Yale 1778),

Hart and Smith both moved about in southern New England in ways, whether by land or by salt water, that were common for preachers and mariners alike. As an adolescent or young man, Smith had lived nearby in Rhode Island, in Narragansett, and was taken by his master to Fishers Island, part of New York yet just a few miles from Stonington. In a brief effort at escaping enslavement, he fled to nearby Long Island. The Irishman who convinced Smith to run came to be, after their capture, imprisoned in New London, only about twelve miles from Stonington. Smith later moved to Long Island and entered the Rhode Island trade, during which time he indentured his son to a Rhode Islander, in whose care he died at sea. In his old age, Smith relocated to East Haddam, southwest of Hartford, while Hart had begun his ministerial work with his first pulpit, in Middlebury, southeast of Hartford.

Smith's narrative was published in New London in 1798, one year before Hart assumed his first pulpit. Smith died in 1805, when Hart was still in Middlebury. Smith is never mentioned, but there were many common points that may have been familiar to Hart's audience and that were the very substance of typology. Both Paul and Smith traveled by sea. Both were from socially prominent families, Paul an educated Jew and Smith son of an African king. Both changed their name and both submitted voluntarily to captivity. Both were falsely accused. Both were opposed by a woman, Paul by Drusilla and Smith by his master's wife. Both spoke directly to their oppressors and both freed others, Paul the Jews and Gentiles whom he freed spiritually through preaching, and Smith his wife and children whom he purchased from their masters. And both became authors, Paul of his epistles and Smith of his autobiography. Hart understood both the enslaved and the enemies of the slave system as antitypes of Paul, so it makes sense that as he preached in Stonington, the town's best-known black resident could come to mind.

At last, the archive itself merits comment. Hart's holograph sermon manuscript was preserved in the Palmer-Loper Family Papers at the Library of Congress. The preservation by the families of this one sermon—with no other sermons at all and no other document by Hart—suggests that at least one family member considered it important. The Palmer and Loper families knew of slaves and slaveholders. Several of the documents in the collection refer to local slaveholder Peleg Brown; these include manuscripts referring to Prudence Gabriel, a girl whom Brown once owned, along with her mother, and who left Stonington for Providence, Rhode Island, possibly in 1796, after her master's death. She became a

The Hasty-Pudding (1797); two printings (1798) of an account of the yellow fever in New London that satirize the federal authorities; an edition of Benjamin Franklin's autobiography (1798); a fictional and satirical letter (1800) attributed, absurdly, to Puritan divine Joseph Belcher (1669–1723); orations and polemical works (1801–1805), including one (1802) on the American Revolution by antislavery Baptist John Leland (1754–1841); and two editions of a "military catechism" (1805, 1806), which was a guide for enforcing discipline in a militia company. There is, of course, no proof that Hart read Smith's *Narrative* or had it in mind in 1811, but the evident importance of the subjects on which Holt published leads me to believe that Hart was probably familiar with his press, even if one man was a freethinker and the other a stalwart of orthodoxy.

freedwoman there.[12] I uncovered Hart's holograph manuscript while researching Gabriel's life in a series of journeys from Michigan to Rhode Island and Washington, D.C. Some remarkable friends, correspondents, and institutions supported this research.[13] This shared knowledge and financial support, along with the several journeys required, brought me to the moment when I was holding an 1811 sermon archived with papers that concerned slavery yet, upon first read, had little to do with those other manuscripts. The slave system and the battle against it are still in the archive in now-unfamiliar, often forgotten idioms. We can reverse the amnesia that has shrouded them.

[12] Documents concerning Prudence Gabriel are found in Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Palmer-Loper Family Papers, 1667–1994, Part II: Correspondence, 1762–1972, Box II:1, Folder 14. Saillant, "A Black Woman's Baptism," 581–84.

[13] Therese Seay shared her research into her family, which includes Gabriel, with me by email in 2016, sparking my desire to read further at the Library of Congress; Linda J. Borish authorized travel funds from the Western Michigan University Department of History Burnham-Macmillan Endowment; The Historical Society of the Episcopal Church and the Episcopal Women's History Project awarded me further travel funds in 2018 and 2022, respectively; Joanne Pope Melish introduced me to the University of Rhode Island Archives and Special Collections; Barbara Bair discussed with me the Library of Congress holdings and ways of understanding their provenances.

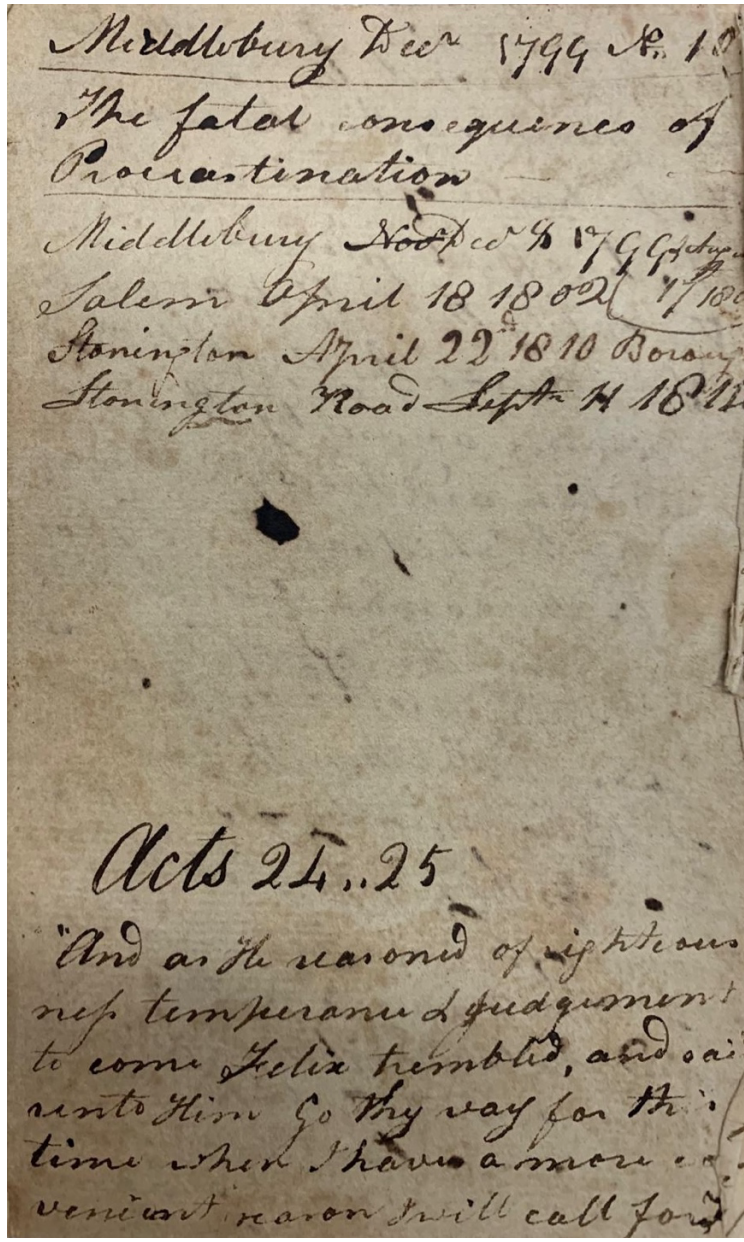

Figure 1. Sermon notes by Ira Hart, 1799–180[?] [1811], Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Palmer-Loper Family Papers, Part II: Miscellany, 1667–1979, Box II: 13, p. 1, LCCN mm79035410, ID No. MSS35410.

The Sermon[14]

Middlebury Dec^{r} 1799 A^{o}. 10

The fatal consequences of Procrastination

Middlebury ~~Nov~~ Dec^{r} 9 1799 & Aug 17 1800

Salem April 18 1802

Stonington April 22nd 1810 Borough

Stonington Road Sept^{r} 11 1811

Acts 24..25

"And as He reasoned of righteousness, temperance & judgement to come Felix trembled, and said unto Him Go thy way for this time when I have a more convenient season I will call for thee" [end p. 1] In discoursing from the text it will be proper to notice

[I] The preacher of this sermon

II The [Char]acter of his hearers

III The effects produced

IV Apply the subject to ourselves

I &—It was the Apostle Paul a prisoner accused by the Jews of sedition and heresy. He was sent by the chief Captain Lysias to Felix the Roman Gov^{r} to save him from the rage of the Jews. The Jews were resolved on his destruction

[14] The manuscript is fourteen sheets, with damage to the edges and with a few small sections of paper missing due to tears, bound loosely with string on one edge. In this diplomatic transcription, [sic] is used for spellings that might appear today to be erroneous, split words are included on the page where they first appear, and surmises about missing words or characters are noted with brackets. The author numbered most but not all pages; these numerals are included here only in brackets. The arrangement of dates on the first page suggests that this is a draft of 1811 (despite the Library of Congress catalog date of "1799–180[?]"), and that the other included dates were earlier occasions on which Hart had preached from this same text. One inference from the manuscript is that he preached at least six times from Acts 24:25 from 1799–1811; another is that this text was so meaningful to him that he recorded the dates when he preached from it. There is no textual evidence suggesting the sermon was ever revised, yet some would have been normal as the years passed and as he gained a new pulpit. It thus seems likely that this is a final draft of a sermon that Hart had been preaching for more than a decade.

and when they could not destroy him by ~~a~~ secret conspiraicey [sic], they appeared before the bar of Felix, & there accused him of sedition & heresy & on these charges desired that he might be delivered to them or put to death. At the request of Felix Paul makes his defence, alone and unassisted & in the midst of enemies whom the Gov^{r} [end p. 2] from motives of interest could not but wish to oblige. In the course of the trial it appeared that the difference between Paul $^{\text{and the Jews}}$ was confined to doctrines & matters of religion & concerning one Jesus whom Paul affirmed to be risen from the dead. The trial was adjourned, but the curiosity of the gov^{r} being excited, & perceiving Paul to be a man of talents, He wished to hear something more particular concerning faith in Christ. Paul was accordingly sent for, to preach before the court of Felix. He labored under great disadvantages[.] He was a prisoner, his [char]acter was attacked by the grand Jewish council & no friends appeared in his support yet in this situation, he would not lose an opportunity of preaching the doctrines to come.

II To consider the [char]acter of his hearers

Two only are mentioned Felix & his [end p. 3] wife Drusilla. But it is probable that there were others present, some of the courtiers of Felix or some of his family & connections. Felix himself was guilty, according to Josephus of bribery, & his wife Drusilla was an abandoned woman who had left her husband & lived in Adultery with Felix. His living with Her in this situation, is a proof that he was abandoned & unprincipled himself. Before these hearers Paul reasoned of righteousness and judgement to come, subjects applicable to their [char]acters. He reasoned of righteousness "that is of faithfulness in public offices.["] This was a sharp reproof to Felix who stood ready for money to acquit Paul whether he was guilty of the charges alledged [sic] against him or not. He reasoned of temperance, or continence[.] This reproved them both for

they lived in a state of adultery. He reasoned of a judgement to come, where they should stand before God and [end p. 4] receive the reward of their iniquities. Tho nothing more is mentioned yet he doubtless preached to them the doctrine of faith & repentance[.] For it said in the preceding verse that Felix sent for Paul & heard him concerning the faith in X [Christ]. He doubtless exhibited before them the odious nature of sin & their sin in particular. He held up [Christ] & him crucified as the only hope of sinners; that this savior was risen from the dead & now called all Jews & Gentiles to repentance[.] He held up the great doctrine of a future Judgement when [Christ] should appear in the glory of his Father & with 10,000 of his saints, & sit down on the throne of Judgement; that at this awful tribunal, the secrets of their hearts & the wickedness of their lives would be made known; that from this judgement there was no appeal & the soul [page torn]; wh[ich] not had an interest in Christ [page torn] must lie [end p. 5] down in everlasting misery. I proceed now to shew

III The effects produced by this sermon.

1 Felix trembled. Notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances attending the Apostle; his words were powerful. The holy spirit set them home on the conscience of Felix & He trembled. The truth flashed in his face, for he knew that the whole discourse on righteousness temperance & Judgement to come was against Him. The thought of appearing before God in judgement made Him tremble. He was discerned in the light of the Apostles discourse that He was wholly unprepared for this solemn Meeting with Jesus of Nazareth[.] It brought death, eternal things and the awful Majesty of God, into view. It is no wonder Felix trembled. A sight [paper torn] of his abominations in view [paper torn] of eternity & the holy orator of [paper torn] God was sufficient [end p. 6] to make Him trembling alive to his present situation. A proper sense of sin will

make any sinner tremble to appear before the bar of Christ in Judgement. Felix doubtless sent for Paul, to see a display of Genius & hear him argue & defend his principles of religion & prove the divinity & resurrection of Christ. But how great must have been his disappointment when the Apostle with all the force of genius & human learning, assisted by the unerring spirit of God; addressed to him a solemn discourse on righteousness, temperance & judgement to come. Felix knew he had none of these virtues & also that He was ~~openly~~ shamefully guilty of the opposite vices. Surprised, ashamed & convicted, He trembled. He felt the force of truth. His conscience searched the words of the apostle saying [end p. 7] "Thou art the Man."

2 Tho He was convicted yet He was not converted. The discourse of the Apostle effected nothing but legal conviction. Notwithstanding his trembling, & the stings of an awakened conscience He had no love for the truth. He did not expect to hear such reproof from a prisoner, & He found it in his heart to say to the Apostle "Go thy way for this time when I have a more convenient season, I will call for Thee." He did not so much as thank the Apostle for his ~~se~~ Sermon; He felt under no obligation to him for his solemn warning to flee from the wrath to come. The Apostle was barely suffered to go his way, without rebuke for his plainness of speech; with the bare compliment of being sent for again at a more convenient season [end p. 8] This was only a more refined way of telling the Apostle; "That the truths that He had spoken were alarming indeed; but that other business prevented an immediate attention to them. In short the things ~~wh~~ you have spoken if true are disagreeable truths. I will endeavor to attend to them at some future time, & then it is possible I may send for you." Well might the holy Apostle exclaim—If these things are true they demand your first attention, & you may lose all by delay. Now is a convenient [season] & I am ready to give you all the assistance in my power. But

this would not avail even with trembling Felix. "The Apostle must go his way for this time,["] a more convenient season never came & wretched Felix died in his sins & was fated to that judgement he was warned of by the Apostle then [end p. 9] to meet face to face his offended Judge & receive the reward of his iniquities and fatal procrastination. It is true He sent for Paul often & communed with him but, it appears He was seeking only a bribe to set him at liberty, & there is no intimation that he or his wife Drusilla wished to hear another sermon on "righteousness, temperance and judgement to come."

It was proposed

IV To apply the subject to ourselves.

1 We learn the duty of Gospel Ministers. They must imitate the example of Paul & strike at the consciences of their hearers. Whatever may be their vices however they may hope to be amused with a display of eloquence or argumentation [end p. 10] they should hear the odious nature of sin & the solemnities of a future judgement. There is a general way of preaching which leaves the heart unaffected & the conscience. Paul did not preach in this manner to Felix & if ministers deal in generals without a particular application to the hearts & consciences of Men; they do not imitate the example of Christ of Peter, of Paul, of Stephen & the rest of the Apostles. Some people feel as if Ministers should not be particular in their applications; but what was the manner of Pauls preaching. He reasoned of righteousness & Judgement to come. His sermon was pointed to the very sins of Felix, & it made him tremble. There is no other way of preaching divine truth which is at all calculated to alarm the consciences of men[.] David heard the general discourse of Nathan, but He took none of it [end p. 11] to himself, till he was told "Thou art the man." Sinners will forever put by divine truth from themselves, unless in some way or other the idea is impressed upon them that they are the

very persons to whom the truth applies[.] The Duty of a Minister then is plain To expose the nature of sin; to hold up the necessity of an interest in [Christ] and to warn the hearers of a Judgement to come. They ought never to be discouraged, for they never know when God is about to set home his truth to the heart. The appearance of Pauls a[u]dience was most discouraging; yet God made even a Felix to tremble. We can never tell beforehand what class of hearers, God will impress. Ministers ought not to spare People in high stations. Paul was preaching before the Govr, yet he held up the same truths, as to the lowest [end p. 12] Sinner. People in high stations are Sinners, & cannot be saved without the same repentance of Sin as others. Their souls are equally precious, and must not be flattered into ruin. We must tell sinners the plain truth; we must expose their vices; we must level the truth at their consciences & then submit both the truth & them, to the disposal of God.

2. We remark how easily God can make a proud rebellious sinner tremble. Felix was a proud Adulterer; a Man in high station surrounded by flattering Courtiers yet the words of a poor Prisoner shook him like a leaf in the wind. Paul was nothing but a weak instrument. The truth itself could not have produced this effect. For there is [no] account that these same truths affected the heart of Drusilla. But of Felix God said let him tremble and He [end p. 13] trembled. The same effects are produced on any sinner, when God speaks it is done. A motion of God's power will make the most hardened abandoned sinner tremble & cry out in agony of spirit. When God moves in conviction Sinners are alarmed & when he moves in regeneration they are reconciled to his [char]acter[,] to his laws, to his govt, to his doctrines, & to His Son Jesus Christ. What an astonishing change, produced with more ease, than a mote is born in the air. The proud heart is humbled, the arrogant spirit is made to resemble the dove. Past injuries are forgiven. Gross, open & secret sins are

forsaken & become a grief to the soul. The renewing power of Gods spirit will make an infidel, a warm advocate for the cross of Christ. It will make the adulterer like Felix, temperate, [end p. 14] and an opposer of truth one of its most strenuous and warm friends.

3 We remark the importance of hearing the gospel. Felix trembled while hearing divine truth[.] Sinners who wilfully [sic] refuse to hear the gospel, & absent themselves from the house of God; neglect the very place where He is accustomed to impress his truth upon the conscience, & the very means He has so often blessed in making sinners tremble at a judgement to come. Those therefore who for trivial excuses or because divine truth is disagreeable, neglect [in] public slights the institutions of God, & labor, by the most effectual means in their power, to cast a bar in the way of conviction and salvation. They must bear their own guilt, they are enemies to their own happiness, & without repentance, will mourn [end p. 15] forever, the destruction of their own immortal souls.

4. We remark that Felix patient[ly] heard divine truth. Pauls sermon on "righteousness, temperance, & Judgement to come" cut him to the heart & expound his wickedness in the most unequivocal terms. The sermon was unexpectedly disagreeable & close—it made him tremble, & this was also disagreeable; it made him appear vile & odious. But what was his conduct to Paul. Did He reproach him[,] Did He vilify his sermon? Did he speak against the truth delivered, or against Paul? No such thing. This example of Felix is so far well worth the imitation of those who hear the gospel. Take the example & see whether Felix uttered a single sarcasm or reproach against Paul, for a sermon [end p. 16] which struck his own particular vices, which cut up all his hopes, & brought him trembling to the awful bar of Judgement. Surely if Ministers preach no more pointed & personal than a Paul; they are entitled to

the forbearance of a Felix.

5. We learn the danger of procrastination. Tho Felix trembled & withheld all reproaches against Paul; yet he had no heart to repent & believe the gospel. He gave him this truth "Go thy way for this time when I have a more convenient season, I will call for thee." Paul might be hurt at this dismission however polite, but He could not complain; for in thus dismissing him Felix dismissed divine truth, God, [Christ], & salvation. The more convenient season never came. He got rid of his trembling, & sunk down to his [end p. 17] former Adultery & stupidity. This example was recorded by the Spirit of God to enforce the important order of making religion our first & great concern. Felix trembled but He put off [Christ] till more convenient season & finally perished[.] Sinners who are like him in conduct; must be his companions in misery. There is no excuse for delaying the business of religion. Other business may be put before religion; but religion must on no account be delayed till tomorrow—"We know not what a day may bring forth." On no principles, either of reason or revelation could Felix excuse his conduct; and my hearers if you conduct like him you are also without. The language of scripture is express. "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve." Today if ye will hear my voice harden not your hearts. Now is the accepted time—now is the day of salvation [end p. 18] It is unnecessary to multiply texts of Scripture on this subject[.] It is contrary to the voice of reason to put off religion a single day. Is not the soul of more value than a world. Is it not an immortal spirit which will survive the shafts of Death which will burst from the grave & blaze thro eternity, in the ~~bla~~ flames of infinite love, or in the fire of the damned. It is contrary to the dictates of reason and conscience to pursue a less good, and neglect a greater. Felix chose a less, & put off the interests of his soul—He was irrational in this conduct & stands self condemned. If you my hearers choose a less good &

neglect your immortal souls, your conduct is a open violation of reason & in this respect you cease to act like rational creatures. You have no excuse for this abuse of your rational faculties. Reason declares that the care of the soul is the most important of all cares, & should [end p. 19] engage your first attention. The soul is the Man or the woman: take away the soul, and they dwindle into brutes. When Persons neglect their soul they neglect themselves, they neglect their own most precious interests. Let me plead the cause of your own souls. Let me urge you to regard yourselves. While out of [Christ] you neglect your own happiness. You voluntarily subject your own soul to endless ruin. You daily provoke God despise [Christ] & his salvation. Procrastination is a fatal delusion. It has slain its thousand; & 10,000. There will never be again a day so favorable as the present day. Tomorrow will bring its cares, and an additional load of guilt. Tomorrow cannot be so favorable as today for your sins will not only be [end p. 20] multiplied, but the habits of sin will be strengthened, to make repentance more painful & difficult: to encrease the load of remorse & to give the soul a farther cast from God. How delusive then the idea of waiting for a more convenient [season], wh[ich] in the very nature of the earth cannot exist. Oh fatal procrastination! By you God is provoked—the Savior despised—the Holy Ghost resisted—The ~~body~~ load of sin increased—The habit of sin strengthened & the immortal part of man daily exposed to the flames of divine wrath. Suppose a ~~Person~~ Traveller should arrive on the banks of the Hudson & sit down without food or clothing determined to make no effort to pass the river until the stream ran dry. The stream unmindful of this Traveller [end p. 21] would glide onto the end of the world & he must perish in his folly. The Man who procrastinates & putts [sic] off his temporal business, will be always hurri[ed] to do a little—The habit will also encrease—but the soul which like Felix says to [Paul], to the Ministers of the gospel, & to divine truth go thy way

for this time—wait untill I have a more convenient season; will remain spiritually poor, the habit must be broken, or the consequences will be inevitable destruction. The soul is committed to our care as a gem or a diamond of inestimable value. The circumstances are something the same with those mentioned 1 Kings 20..39 "And as the King passed by, the prophet cried unto the King; & he said Thy servant went out into the midst of the [end p. 22] battle & behold a man turned aside & brought a man unto me, & said Keep this man, if by any means He is missing—thy life shall be for his life or else thou shalt pay a talent of silver—And as thy servant was busy here and there He was gone—And the King said so shall thy judgement be Thou thyself hast decided it.["] Your souls are thus a most sacred deposit, your life must go for the life of your souls. If you are busy here and there and it is gone & you plead this in excuse—so will your judgement be; your excuse will be your condemnation. You have no right to be [page torn] to the neglect of your immortal soul [page torn] Let me then plead [page torn] the cause of your [page torn] souls. If you are [page torn] aged, your hour [page torn] [end p. 23] lost the best season to take proper care of your souls. A further delay therefore, will be going from bad to worse. You can bear me witness that the convenient season has not yet arrived tho you are old & greyheaded. To delay longer, is almost certain death. Those who are young enjoy the best season they ever will enjoy. They are bound to listen to the language of experience & not hazard their souls on an uncertain hereafter. Remember Felix & tremble lest lest [sic] old age come upon you & find you rooted like the antient oak in habits of sin & spiritual sloth; or death cut [page torn] the things of life asunder [page torn] and close the various [page torn] of probation. Let [page torn] every youth remain [page torn] in that the fear [page torn] the Lord that [end p. 24] is wisdom and to depart from evil is understanding." Those who perswade you

that religion is improper for youth, are your worst enemies; & those who urge you to seek the happiness of your souls are your friends & your only friends. Let me plead the cause of your souls, dear youth & urge you not to put of[f] this momentous business untill a more convenient season. Be afraid that season will never come. Why will you not listen to the voice of God, the voice of reason & the voice of experience—they all unite in pointing out the present time as a day of acceptance with God. Remember therefore your Creator in the days of thy youth before the evil days come & the years draw nigh in which Thou shalt [end p. 25] say, I have no pleasure.

6 & lastly

We learn the propriety of enforcing the whole with the consideration of a future judgement. Paul preached of righteousness, temperance and judgement to come. It was doubtless the terrors of the judgement which made Felix tremble. He would not regard the sin of bribery & adultery, but for the awful consideration that these sins must come into judgement with every secret thing & without repentance would draw down divine wrath upon his affrighted soul. Sinners in this day of gospel light, ought like Him to tremble at the thought of a future judgement. Oh [end p. 26] Sinners! There is an awful day approaching, in which you all both small and great, both old & young, must stand round the bar of your Redeemer, the Lord J C and answer to every thought, to every word and to every action of your lives. You cannot avoid this day—It is appointed of God & fixed as his own eternal nature that the world shall come before him in Judgement. Then your state will be fixed forever. There can be no appeal from this sentence. In human affairs, men often solace themselves under a disadvantageous decision, by appealing to a higher court, where they hope to appear under more advantageous circumstances. But there is no appeal from the [end p. 27] court of heaven in which God in the person

of his son sits in final judgement. Well may sinners tremble at this day, a day in wh[ich] a word from Christ fixes their eternal doom[.] Be entreated then to make your peace with the judge secure his favor not only by trembling but by immediate repentance. Receive Christ this day lest He be angry & you perish forever. Banish the fatal idea of procrastination—Now is a convenient & now is an accepted time—Now is emphatically a day of salvation.
May God bless this word thro[ugh] Jesus Christ. Amen [end p. 28]

Building Indians, Imagining Empire: Wax Figures, Race, and Colonialism in the Early American Republic

RYAN BACHMAN

Baroness Hyde de Neuville stepped out of the summer heat and into New Haven's Columbian Museum. The visit was likely a welcome distraction from life in a wartime city. The War of 1812 had entered its second year by the time Anne Marguérite Joséphine Henriette Rouillé de Marigny, Baroness Hyde de Neuville, traveled to New Haven. Every day, newspapers warned of the growing Royal Navy presence in Long Island Sound, and some nearby towns had even been evacuated for fear of attack.[1] Inside the museum, the baroness temporarily escaped the pall hanging over the community. Hyde de Neuville made her way around taxidermied animals, cases of seashells, and paintings chronicling the Napoleonic Wars—perhaps an evocative sight for the exiled French noble—until she reached the hall of waxwork. Two wax Indians at the end of the gallery evidently caught her eye.[2] A talented artist, she took out her sketchbook and began to draw.

Wax Indians were a common sight in the museums of the early republic. Indeed, nearly every museum in the country contained some variation of a waxen *warrior* or *chief* during this period.[3] Unfortunately, despite their past ubiquity, none of these models survived to the present.[4] Indeed, Hyde de Neuville's drawing (Figure 1) is the only known depiction of such figures from the early national era. The exhibit captured by the baroness featured two wax Indians in a dugout canoe.

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[1] "New London," *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), June 14, 1813.

[2] This paper uses the word *Indian* when referring to wax figures. Per contemporary scholarship on the indigenous peoples of North America, it uses the words *Indigenous* or *Native* when referring to people. When possible, the names of specific tribes, nations, or communities are used.

[3] The figures were found in big-city institutions and small country towns alike. In 1817, for example, wax Indians were exhibited by Charles Willson Peale in his Philadelphia Museum and by J. Thurlo, an itinerant showman who roamed the Cumberland Valley. "Peale's Museum," *Aurora for the Country* (Philadelphia), March 28, 1817; "Elegant Museum of Wax Work," *Democratic Republican* (Chambersburg, Penn.), April 7, 1817.

[4] Countless sculptures fell victim to the fires, unruly spectators, and short institutional lifespans that plagued early national museums. The diaries of Ethan Allen Greenwood, transcribed by Georgia Brady Barnhill, contain a wealth of information on the daily upkeep of wax figures during this era. Greenwood, an artist and museum proprietor in Boston, regularly noted damage caused by visitors who either grabbed or knocked over his life-sized models. Georgia Brady Barnhill, "'Extracts from the Journals of Ethan A. Greenwood': Portrait Painter and Museum Proprietor," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 103 (April 1993): 91–178.

The New American Antiquarian 4 (Fall 2025): 23–51.

This article focuses on the construction and exhibition of the model on the left, described in the Columbian Museum catalog as a "Male…of Prince William Sound on the North West Coast."[5] In its construction, meaning in its possession of a waxen body adorned with Indigenous material culture, the figure was typical of the Indian models found in American museums. However, the model was exhibited with an unusual amount of detail—most curators simply framed their sculptures as *Indians*, without any cultural or political specificities. On one level, then, the figure serves as a vehicle to explore how wax Indians shaped popular ideas of Indianness more generally. On another, it sheds new light on the place the Northwest Coast occupied in the early national imagination.

Figure 1. *Sauvages en cire du Museum de Mr. Mix* (1813) by Anne-Marguérite-Joséphine-Henriette Roullé de Marigny, Baroness Hyde de Neuville. Watercolor, graphite, and black chalk with touches of black and brown ink on paper, 7 ¾ in. x 11 ⅛ in. Acc. no. 1953.287c. The New York Historical, New York.[6]

Indian waxworks were produced by multiple actors and processes. Their bodies were built and arranged by American artists and curators, while associated material culture like clothing often came from Indigenous communities. These latter

[5] John Mix, *A catalogue of a part of the curiosities, both natural and artificial, contained in the museum in New-Haven…* (New Haven: Joseph Barber, 1812), 3.

[6] The New-York Historical has produced a high-resolution scan here: https://emuseum.nyhistory.org/objects/38148.

items were routinely given to early national museums by American mariners, traders, and soldiers. In the case of the Northwest Coast figure, the owner of the Columbian Museum obtained its body from the East Haven, Connecticut workshop of Reuben Moulthrop. The mannequin was then customized with a woven hat and labrets from the institution's collection. These items were likely donated by parties involved in the maritime fur trade, which drew dozens of American ships to the Northwest Coast in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Wax Indians were designed and posed in ways that supported developing, nominally scientific notions of Indianness—namely, the belief that Native peoples were part of a physiologically distinct, inherently primitive race that was in the process of dying out. These views helped justify and encourage colonial ambitions throughout North America.[7] Indeed, by the early nineteenth century, waxworks were one among numerous popular culture media that presented the American subjugation of the entire continent as an inevitability.[8] A close analysis of the materiality of these figures, however, reveals how wax Indians also had the potential to challenge such fantasies of innate human difference and preordained conquest. Mannequins like those sketched by Hyde de Neuville were made using the same molds and materials as those representing white subjects, and some Indians were dressed in items that spoke to the limits of American political power. For example, the hat and labrets attached to the Northwest Coast figure, as well as the circumstances of their acquisition, alluded to the control that Indigenous nations had over the maritime fur trade, and to the young republic's relative lack of clout in the region.

Despite being staples of early American museum culture, wax Indians have only been subject to serious scholarly attention for the past few decades. Curator and art historian David R. Brigham's *Public Culture in the Early Republic* (1995)

[7] There is an immense body of scholarship on non-Native constructions of Indianness. For more general examinations of this phenomenon, see Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978); S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998); Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); and Paul Chaat Smith, *Everything You Know about Indians is Wrong* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009). For books on the colonial implications of casting Indigenous peoples as a physiologically distinct, innately primitive group in the process of going extinct (specifically in early national New England, where so many wax Indians were built and exhibited), see Daniel R. Mandell, *Tribe, Race, History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780–1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008) and Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). For works that interrogate how print and visual media helped disseminate racist ideas about Indigenous peoples, see Steven Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," in *Vancouver Anthology: A Project of the Or Gallery*, 2nd ed., ed. Stan Douglas (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2011), 267–91; Stephanie Pratt, *American Indians in British Art, 1700–1840* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005); and William H. Truettner, *Painting Indians and Building Empires in North America, 1710–1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

[8] James David Drake, *The Nation's Nature: How Continental Presumptions Gave Way to the United States of America* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 313–14.

was the first substantial study to draw attention to these objects. Art historian Ellen Fernandez-Sacco likewise examined the models in her doctoral dissertation three years later. Brigham and Fernandez-Sacco mainly discussed wax Indian figures in relation to their contributions to the construction of a white, American national identity.[9] More recent works by historian Catherine E. Kelly and art historian Ianna Recco have elaborated this interpretation of the sculptures. Kelly's *Republic of Taste* (2016) briefly explored how the exhibition of wax Indian figures helped naturalize hierarchical, white supremacist understandings of race.[10] Recco's article "In the Flesh at the Heart of Empire" (2021), meanwhile, examined the construction and exhibition of three models in eighteenth-century London. These sculptures had a direct impact on later American productions, like those exhibited in New Haven. While Recco provided vital, long-overlooked information on the modeling process, she mainly focused on the exhibition of wax Indian figures and the objectification of Native people.[11] This article takes a more material-focused approach toward wax Indian figures to uncover how they could also challenge developing, nominally scientific understandings of white supremacy.

Because this article relies so much on an image of a wax Indian figure, it is worth briefly examining the background of its creator. A self-taught artist, Anne Marguérite Joséphine Henriette Rouillé de Marigny was born into the French aristocracy in March 1771.[12] She and her husband fled to New York in 1807 after being implicated in a plot to assassinate Napoleon.[13] The Hyde de Neuvilles' American exile was relatively comfortable. In fact, the couple spent much of their time traveling. Their tour of North America brought them to New Haven in August 1813.[14] Along with Yale College, the Columbian Museum was one of the city's most popular tourist destinations at the time.[15] The baroness was evidently impressed by the institution; she toured the museum at least three times during the several weeks that she and her husband spent in New Haven.[16] It was during one of her September visits that Hyde de Neuville brought along her art supplies and

[9] David R. Brigham, *Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale's Museum and its Audience* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 127–30; Ellen Fernandez-Sacco, "Spectacular Masculinities: The Museums of Peale, Baker, and Bowen in the Early Republic" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 108–9.

[10] Catherine E. Kelly, *Republic of Taste: Art, Politics, and Everyday Life in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 189.

[11] Ianna Recco, "In the Flesh at the Heart of Empire: Life-Likeness in Wax Representations of the 1762 Cherokee Delegation in London," *British Art Studies* 21 (November 2021), https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-21/irecco.

[12] Roberta J. M. Olson, *Artist in Exile: The Visual Diary of Baroness Hyde de Neuville* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 2019), 14.

[13] Ibid., 17–22.

[14] Olson, *Artist in Exile*, 186.

[15] "Communication," *Connecticut Herald* (New Haven), September 5, 1809.

[16] There are three works in her sketchbook dealing with the Columbian Museum; each piece bears a different date.

sketched the two wax Indian figures; the watercolors were likely added at a later date.[17] The work was simply titled "Sauvages en cire," or wax Indians.[18] Art historian Laura Auricchio observed that Hyde de Neuville's work was characterized by "objectivity and attention to detail."[19] Based on this assessment, we can reasonably assume that her drawing showed a generally accurate depiction of the wax Indians in the Columbian Museum.

The labrets and hat worn by the Northwest Coast figure were given to the Columbian Museum sometime between 1806–1812.[20] These items were part of the institution's larger collection of clothing and tools belonging to the "Savages of the North-West Coast."[21] Removed from their cultural contexts and put on display—whether in a glass case or on the body of a wax model—such objects were used to support contemporary racist notions about supposed Indian primitiveness. The interpretation found in the Columbian Museum erased not only the meaning that items like basket hats and labrets held in communities along the Northwest Coast but also obscured the ways in which they were acquired. The donors of the basket hat and labrets drawn by Hyde de Neuville are unknown, but the objects likely came from ship's officers, sailors, or merchants involved in the maritime fur trade. American ships had ventured to the Northwest Coast since the late 1780s in search of pelts to trade in Canton (Guangzhou).[22] By the early nineteenth century, traders routinely cruised a 900-nautical-mile arc stretching from the mouth of the Columbia River to the Russian outpost of Sitka in present-day Alaska.[23]

Unfortunately, it is unknown from where in this vast region the labrets and hat in the Columbian Museum came. Basket hats and labrets were worn all along the Northwest Coast but differed in shape and form depending on the region. It is worth noting that the items attached to the Northwest Coast figure may have come from different areas and been collected at different times. According to John F.C.

[17] According to curator Roberta J.M. Olson, Hyde de Neuville had an "enduring curiosity" about Indigenous peoples. She copied several contemporary prints that depicted Native subjects and sketched several Native people from life during her exile in North America. Olson, *Artist in Exile*, 168–78.

[18] Ibid., 188. For a discussion of the French term "sauvage" and its approximate English equivalent, see Olive P. Dickason, "The Concept of *l'homme sauvage* and early French colonialism in the Americas," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 64 (1977): 5–32.

[19] Laura Auricchio, "The Baroness Hyde de Neuville and the Sidewalks of New York, 1807–14," in *Women, Femininity, and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789–1914*, eds. Temma Balducci and Heather Belnap Jensen (New York: Routledge, 2014), 36–37.

[20] This estimate is based on when the museum opened and the first reference to the figure in question. For more on the history of the Columbian Museum, see Arthur W. Bloom, "Science and Sensation, Entertainment and Enlightenment: John Mix and the Columbian Museum and Gardens," *Performing Arts Resources* 21 (1998): 33–49.

[21] "Mix's Museum," *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), October 5, 1809.

[22] Mary Malloy, *"Boston Men" on the Northwest Coast: The American Maritime Fur Trade, 1788–1844* (Kingston: Limestone Press, 1998), 28.

[23] Malloy's *"Boston Men" on the Northwest Coast* provides a detailed overview of the American ships that traded along the Northwest Coast during this era. For more on this subject, see F. W. Howay and Richard A. Pierce, *A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1785–1825* (Kingston: Limestone Press, 1973).

Johnson, Vice President of Cultural Resources at the Chugach Alaska Corporation, the articles were not from Prince William Sound (as Mix claimed in his 1812 museum catalog), as their designs were inconsistent with items made or worn by the region's Chugach people during this era.[24] The labrets drawn by Hyde de Neuville likely originated well south of Prince William Sound. Given their probable date of acquisition, the piercings may have come from the Tlingit people, whose territory straddled the present-day border between southeastern Alaska and British Columbia. The locus of the maritime fur trade had shifted to the Tlingit nation by the early nineteenth century, where Americans emerged as their main trading partners.[25] The shape of the labrets further suggests a possible Tlingit provenance, as circular piercings of the sort drawn by Hyde de Neuville were common among the Tlingit.[26] The hat may have had Tlingit origins as well, but there is not enough detail in Hyde de Neuville's sketch to know for certain.[27] The acquisition of hats and labrets was of secondary importance to the fur trade. American and European ships flocked to the Northwest Coast during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in search of otter pelts—some of the only goods that Chinese merchants were willing to accept for commodities like tea and porcelain. Indigenous peoples like the Tlingit largely controlled the terms of this trade. In exchange for pelts, Native traders demanded goods like metal tools, clothing, and especially firearms. In 1808, Captain John Suter wrote to his employers in Boston, recommending that future ships bound for the Northwest Coast be loaded with literal tons of powder and shot, as well as hundreds of muskets.[28]

While fur trading was typically a formal affair handled by designated members of a ship's crew, exchanges of hats and labrets were more spontaneous. Almost as soon as they anchored off the coast, American vessels were approached by canoes full of people looking to trade. As noted by curator Mary Malloy, these "casual" encounters were characterized by Native men and women offering items they had on hand, like fishing gear and clothing. Mariners often found themselves frustrated by the terms of these meetings. For example, while Natives were typically willing

[24] John F.C. Johnson, email correspondence with author, March 20, 2018.

[25] For more on the shifting locus of the fur trade, see James R. Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods: The Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast, 1785–1841* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 135. For information on Tlingit trading relationships, see Andrei Val'terovich Grinev, *The Tlingit Indians in Russian America, 1741–1867,* trans. Richard L. Bland and Katerina G. Solovjova (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 113–14.

[26] Grant R. Keddie, "The Use and Distribution of Labrets on the North Pacific Rim," *Syesis* 14 (1981): 65–66; Marina La Salle, "Labrets and their Social Context in Coastal British Columbia," *BC Studies*, no. 80 (Winter 2013–2014): 130–35.

[27] An earlier draft of this article speculated that the hat may have been made by Haida craftspeople. The Haida Nation encompasses Haida Gwaii and the southern portion of the Alexander Archipelago. However, according to Sean Young, curator and archaeologist at the Haida Gwaii Museum, the style of the hat was not consistent with those made by the Haida during this period. Sean Young, email correspondence with author, June 8, 2021.

[28] Letter from John Suter to James and Thomas Lamb, July 15, 1808, John Suter Papers, Ms. N-49.50, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

to trade articles like hats in exchange for woolen fabric or metal tools, they usually refused to part with items deemed more valuable, like the whaling equipment desired by many a Yankee souvenir-seeker.[29] Despite negotiations that were at times tense or strained, the acquisition of Native items along the Northwest Coast was not typically characterized by the levels of violence found elsewhere in North America.[30] Instead, objects were usually obtained through transactions.

Woven hats had long been used as trade goods along the Northwest Coast. Tlingit traders, for example, sold them to customers in neighboring nations for centuries.[31] The hat sketched by Hyde de Neuville was likely made from the roots of spruce trees. According to Tlingit weaver Teri Rofkar, these roots were harvested in the spring, using techniques that did not damage the trees.[32] The roots were then split and woven into hats. As with other types of weaving in Tlingit society, this work was done by women. The plain, conical hat atop the Northwest Coast figure resembled the most common type of Tlingit headwear, a type that was made to handle "bad weather, rain, and canoe travel."[33] It was likely offered to an American mariner in exchange for some type of personal item, like a pocketknife.[34] Labrets also typically changed hands through interpersonal, spontaneous transactions. While there is some scholarly debate over the cultural meanings of labret-wearing during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is generally accepted

[29] Mary Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade: Northwest Coast Indian Art and Artifacts Collected by American Mariners, 1788–1844* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 2000), 41–42.

[30] This is not to say, however, that violence between American mariners and Indigenous peoples resulting in the collection of objects did not occur. In 1798, for example, John Boit, Jr. donated "several articles of Dress and Weapons" from the Northwest Coast to the Massachusetts Historical Society. Considering Boit's history in the region, some of these items were likely acquired through violent means. In 1792, Boit led a party of mariners from the *Columbia* that burned down the Nuu-chah-nulth village of Opitsaht after hearing rumors of a planned attack on their ship. This destruction recalled similar actions undertaken during the Sullivan Expedition of 1779, during which American soldiers collected many souvenirs that later wound up in American museums. Three years later, Boit captained the sloop *Union* on another voyage to the Northwest Coast. According to Boit, he and his crew killed over forty members of a Haida boarding party off Kunghit Island when they tried to take over his ship. For a description of the raid on Opitsaht, see John Boit, "Remarks on the Ship *Columbia's* voyage from Boston, (on a Voyage, round the Globe)," in *Voyages of the "Columbia" to the Northwest Coast, 1787–1790 and 1790–1793,* ed. Frederic W. Howay (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1941), 390–91. For Boit's account of the Kunghit Island attack, see George F. MacDonald, *Haida Monumental Art: Villages of the Queen Charlotte Islands* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 105. For more information on the items Boit donated to the Massachusetts Historical Society, see *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1879), 1: 116.

[31] Rosita Worl, "Standing with Spirits, Waiting," in *The Harriman Alaska Expedition Retraced: A Century of Change, 1899–2001,* ed. Thomas S. Litwin (Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 34.

[32] *Proceedings: Hidden Forest Values* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 2003 [PNW-GTR-579]), 11–12.

[33] George Thornton Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, ed. Frederica de Laguna (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 219.

[34] Such an arrangement would have been consistent with practices found elsewhere along the Northwest Coast. Frederick H. White, "Was Spain Really First? Rereading Juan Perez's 1774 Expedition to Haida Gwaii," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 26, no. 1 (2006): 14.

that they functioned as a type of gender-specific bodily ornamentation.[35] Only Tlingit women wore labrets during this era, which was consistent with cultural norms found in neighboring nations on the Pacific coast. A single labret—made from materials like wood or stone—was worn beneath the lower lip.[36] The gauge of one's piercing gradually increased over time. At a young age, girls wore what outsiders described as "needle[s]" beneath their lower lips. By adulthood, these piercings could encompass the entire area below a woman's mouth.[37]

The Northwest Coast figure in the Columbian Museum—with its trio of circular facial piercings—was apparently constructed with labrets from three different women. The size of these piercings suggests that their wearers were relatively young when the objects were acquired by American collectors. According to British fur trader Nathaniel Portlock, who did business with the Tlingit in the 1780s, labrets of the depicted diameter were typically worn by teenagers.[38] Unlike hats, piercings were not treated as commodities prior to Tlingit contact with Europeans and Americans, and it was typically foreign visitors who instigated the exchange of these highly personal items. George Dixon, a British officer who visited the Northwest Coast in 1786, left behind an especially detailed account of such a transaction. Dixon hoped to acquire labrets for the collection of his friend, the English naturalist Sir Joseph Banks. When he approached an elderly Haida woman about buying her piercing, Dixon was frustrated by her unwillingness to trade. One by one, she rejected all his offerings—a hatchet, basins, and numerous other trade items—"with contempt." Finally, the woman named her own price and traded the labret for a set of metal buttons.[39] Native women were willing to give up their piercings but carefully dictated the terms of exchange.

Labrets were incredibly popular with sailors and officers of the maritime fur trade. Malloy argued that these men probably viewed the items in terms of gender relations and sexuality. Lower lip piercings were mocked as "ugly" and associated with gender norms that shocked American sensibilities. Native women all along the Northwest Coast took an active part in the fur trade. The prospect of dealing with female business partners—not to mention the sight of wives publicly rebuking their husbands during trade negotiations—made many a mariner uneasy.[40] Brian Rouleau argued that mariners "read" women's bodies in order to make sense of the various places in which they traded.[41] Along those lines, labrets—so closely associated with the bodies of Indigenous women—may have functioned as tangible reminders about the workings of their respective societies. The objects may have also

[35] La Salle, "Labrets and their Social Context," 128.
[36] Ibid., 148–49.
[37] Ibid., 125.
[38] Quoted in Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, 246–47.
[39] Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 36.
[40] Ibid., 10–12.
[41] Brian Rouleau, *With Sails Whitening Every Sea: Mariners and the Making of an American Maritime Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 139.

served as personal mementos of sexual encounters. Sex between Native women and American men was not uncommon, despite the fear and disgust that often shaded how the latter group viewed the former. In some societies, women directly exchanged sex for foreign commodities. In others, Native enslavers offered the bodies of young women and girls that they held in bondage for trade goods like copper.[42] Disturbingly, it is possible that the labrets drawn by Hyde de Neuville had once belonged to individuals trafficked to American mariners.

By the early nineteenth century, mariners regularly obtained labrets and basket hats with the intention of giving them to museums. Months before the Columbian Museum opened in July 1807, its proprietor ran a series of advertisements requesting donations from "persons in seafaring business." John Mix, an entrepreneur who transformed his own home into a museum, offered cash or admission tickets in exchange for any items.[43] Interestingly, no ships from New Haven traded along the Northwest Coast prior to Hyde de Neuville's visit in 1813.[44] Most vessels involved in the region's maritime fur trade sailed out of Boston, and the mannequin's adornments probably came to the Columbian Museum by way of that city.[45] At least one of these Boston-based ships, the *Caroline*, was owned by a group of New Haven businessmen who may have given the hat and labrets to their local collecting institution.[46] It is also worth noting that some of the Indigenous items in Mix's collection were on permanent loan from a museum associated with Yale College. Although more or less defunct by the early nineteenth century, the institution had once benefitted from a large network of donors, including those involved in Pacific trade.[47] Clothing, weapons, and tools from all over North America filled the collections of institutions like the Columbian Museum. Some of these objects were tucked away in glass display cases, while others were attached to the bodies of life-sized models.[48] Regardless of how Native items were displayed, they were commonly removed from the cultural contexts in which they were made or used, as well as the circumstances in which they were acquired. Past meanings were erased as objects were cataloged or exhibited, although there were some rare exceptions.

[42] Colin G. Calloway, *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 412.

[43] "Museum of Natural and Artificial Curiosities," *Connecticut Herald* (New Haven), December 23, 1806.

[44] Detailed maritime records for the Port of New Haven were regularly published in marine lists carried in the *Connecticut Herald* and *Columbian Register*. From the 1790s through the 1810s, most of the city's maritime activity was tied to direct trade with the Caribbean and the South Seas sealing industry.

[45] Malloy, *"Boston Men" on the Northwest Coast*, 23–25.

[46] The *Caroline* sailed for the Pacific in 1803 and returned two years later with a cargo of tea and porcelain. Logbook of the *Caroline*, 1803–1805, Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Rowley, Mass., Log 1357, OCLC no. 830832574.

[47] Christine DeLucia, "Fugitive Collections in New England Indian Country: Indigenous Material Culture and Early American History Making at Ezra Stiles's Yale Museum," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (January 2018): 141–43.

[48] In the Columbian Museum, for example, "five canoes, from different Tribes" cluttered its exhibition space, along with smaller Native items in display cases or attached to wax models. Mix, *A catalog*, 10.

For example, an 1803 catalog entry from the museum attached to the East India Marine Society correctly described a labret as a "Lip Ornament worn by the Women on the N.W. Coast [of] America[,] an incision being made…in the under lip to receive it."[49] More often, however, Native objects were interpreted in terms of American nationalism or developing notions of race, including those in the Columbian Museum described as having "savage" or "Indian" origins.[50] As in peer institutions, cultural and political specifics were often omitted from Mix's interpretation. Such policies were emblematic of attitudes that increasingly flattened Native identities into the monolithic, racialized figure of "the Indian."

To a certain extent, Europeans and Euro-Americans had always viewed Native peoples as a type of alien bloc; however, these attitudes were historically based more on cultural factors than physical attributes.[51] Europeans deemed Indigenous peoples *uncivilized* or *primitive* based on criteria like political structures, religious practices, and technology.[52] Within such a framework, perceived differences between Europeans and Native peoples were, theoretically, impermanent: Indigenous peoples could reach European levels of *civilization* by abandoning their cultures and embracing those of colonizers. But these older prejudices took on new, nominally scientific forms in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the course of organizing the natural world, Enlightenment theorists divided humanity into set racial categories based on physiological criteria. These hierarchies of humanity were often based on skin color.[53] Such was the case with the racial taxonomy developed by Samuel Latham Mitchill, one of the early republic's best-known naturalists. Minimizing the political and cultural differences between the continent's Indigenous nations, Mitchill classified them all as members of the "Tawny" race, along with "the Tartars, Malays, Chinese, [and] Lascars."[54] Crucially, new understandings of Indianness rested only partly upon such visual traits. William Robertson, the best-selling Scottish historian whose work remained popular well into the nineteenth

[49] Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 67.

[50] Mix, *A catalog*, 10–11.

[51] For a material-culture focused study on how early modern Europeans otherized Indigenous people through material culture, see Daniela Bleichmar, "Seeing the World in a Room: Looking at Exotica in Early Modern Collections," in *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World*, eds. Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 19.

[52] Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 5–7.

[53] Kelly, *Republic of Taste*, 188; Thierry Hoquet, "Biologization of Race and Racialization of the Human," in *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations,* eds. Nicolas Bancel et al. (New York: Routledge, 2014), 28–30.

[54] "Zoological Disquisition," *The American* (Hanover, New Hampshire), May 1, 1816. In building his "zoological" model, Mitchill also considered non-physical criteria, albeit secondarily. For instance, he argued that the languages of various "Tawny" nations shared certain words. Interestingly, he also maintained that the other two races, "the white man" and "the Black man" both diverged from the "Tawny" group at some distant point in history. For an in-depth look at the "birth of racial classifications," see Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Were Early Modern Europeans Racist?," in *Ideas of 'Race' in the History of the Humanities*, eds. Amos Morris-Reich and Dirk Rupnow (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 33–87.

century, argued that Indians were inherently primitive due to the "feeble" nature of their bodies and minds.[55] In the words of historian Jean M. O'Brien, such fantasies boiled down to the belief that Indians could "never be modern."[56] Native peoples were deemed physically incapable of cultural change. No amount of contact with European civilization would alter their allegedly primitive state.

Early national modelers unsurprisingly focused on the more physical traits associated with Indianness when building their wax Indian figures. Shops like the one owned by Reuben Moulthrop churned out generic model Indians during this period. The two figures drawn by Hyde de Neuville would have looked nearly identical when they were bought by the Columbian Museum; it was only after purchase that they were customized with objects from the institution's collection and took on the distinctive appearances recorded by the baroness. Replicable, batch-produced Indians reflected the Enlightenment's new notions of racial homogeneity. Once assembled and displayed in museums, wax Indians contributed toward the racist fantasy that Native peoples were frozen in history or, to use the terminology of anthropologist and art historian Ellen Fernandez-Sacco, trapped in a state of "temporal stasis."[57] On the one hand, they encouraged such notions through functioning as anthropomorphic display cases. Wax Indians were covered with Indigenous items that curators interpreted in terms of supposed Indian primitiveness. On the other hand, the exhibits froze Indian bodies in time, often in scenes that white audiences would have understood as uncivilized or backward. The belief that Native peoples were incapable of cultural change over time fed into myths about their inevitable extinction and helped justify American colonialism.

American wax modeling had its roots in European artistic traditions. Life-sized models of human subjects had long been cast and exhibited in Europe. Some of these figures were intended for anatomical study, while others were meant for public amusement.[58] Audiences could come face-to-face with subjects from popular culture, like European royals or characters from folklore. Indeed, these latter figures were among the first to tour North America. In 1733, a Boston showman imported a model of "Margaret Countess of Heninburg [sic]." This medieval Dutch noble

[55] British editions of the text were common in the early United States, and its contents were serialized in American newspapers. The first American edition of Robertson's work was published in 1812, a year before Hyde de Neuville visited the Columbian Museum.

[56] O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 4–5; S. Elizabeth Bird, "Introduction: Constructing the Indian, 1830s–1990s," in *Dressing in Feathers*, 4. Bird, an anthropologist, described this mindset as the belief that Indians were "frozen in history."

[57] Ellen Fernandez-Sacco, "Framing 'the Indian': The Visual Culture of Conquest in the Museums of Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere and Charles Willson Peale, 1779–96," *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation, and Culture* 8, no. 4 (2002): 584–85.

[58] For more on the history of anatomical waxworks in Europe, see Lucia Dacome, "Women, wax, and anatomy in the 'century of things,'" *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 4 (September 2007): 522–50.

allegedly "had 365 children at one birth" after being cursed by a beggar.[59] Historian Peter Benes speculated that these sculptures may have been made by Mary Salmon, who ran one of eighteenth-century London's most popular waxwork galleries, the Royal Wax-Work.[60] This same gallery exhibited in 1762 some of the first wax Indians on record: a trio of Indian figures representing Utsidihi, Kunagadoga, and Atawayi, three Cherokee leaders then on a diplomatic mission to London. This delegation captured the imagination of the British public and inspired ballads, plays, and paintings, in addition to Salmon's waxworks.[61] According to Timothy J. Shannon, public fascination with the Cherokee at this moment was shaped by the recent conquest of New France, which dramatically changed how Britons thought about their overseas possessions. Empire was increasingly being understood in terms of subjugating territory rather than the strategic control of coastal entrepots. Within this new context, Indigenous peoples—regardless of nationality—were viewed as curious objects of imperial conquest more than true diplomatic partners.[62]

The techniques used to build the Indians in Salmon's gallery were identical to those later used in the United States. First, an artist made a series of plaster molds. It is important to note that only a wax figure's head, neck, and hands (or sometimes arms) were actually made of wax; the rest of the model usually consisted of a concealed wooden framework or sacks stuffed with straw or rags.[63] Thus, artists only needed two or three types of molds to produce a given figure. Sometimes, these molds were taken from life. An individual's head and extremities would be brushed with oil, then covered with plaster; this method gave subjects at least a degree of control over how they were depicted. More often, however, modelers relied on stocks of premade molds to cast their figures' body parts.[64] The continual reuse of such molds for a variety of mannequins, including those of different races, reveals

[59] "This is to give notice," *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*, December 13, 1733. For more on the legend of Margaret, Countess of Henneberg, see Jan Bondeson, *The Two-headed Boy, and Other Medical Marvels* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 64–93.

[60] Peter Benes, *For a Short Time Only: Itinerants and the Resurgence of Popular Culture in Early America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 274. Special thanks to Dr. Laura Earls for uncovering Mary Salmon's first name.

[61] Recco, "In the Flesh at the Heart of Empire." For more on Indigenous visitors to London during this period, see Kate Fullagar, *The Warrior, the Voyager, and the Artist: Three Lives in an Age of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), and Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

[62] The 1762 Cherokee mission to London was not the first Indigenous delegation to visit Britain. Earlier visits attracted the public's attention, but their participants were viewed more as political allies than "human curiosities." For an in-depth study of how British understandings of Indianness changed during the mid-eighteenth century, see Timothy J. Shannon, "'This Wretched Scene of British Curiosity and Savage Debauchery': Performing Indian Kingship in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *Native Acts: Indian Performance, 1603–1832*, eds. Joshua David Bellin and Laura L. Mielke (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 221–47.

[63] "New Wax Figures in the Western Museum," *Cincinnati Advertiser,* March 7, 1827.

[64] These molds were often cast from heads and hands sculpted out of clay. Mary Hillier, *The History of Wax Dolls* (Cumberland: Hobby House Press, 1985), 126.

how little artists thought of race in terms of physiognomy during this period.[65] The Cherokee models were likely cast from the generic type of molds—exhibitors usually trumpeted any figures taken from life, and such was not the case with the Indians in Salmon's gallery.

With their molds complete, artists began casting wax body parts. These heads and extremities were made from bleached beeswax.[66] Also known as white or virgin wax, the substance was formed by exposing thin layers of raw beeswax to direct sunlight. The blanched sheets were then melted down and formed into cakes. Most uses for white wax were medicinal; it was found in numerous ointments and used in the production of bandages.[67] In North America, this meant that it was mainly sold by druggists, most of whom likely purchased it from local beekeepers.[68] On its own, virgin wax was a poor modeling material. To prevent cracking, and in the words of one eighteenth-century manual, "make it tough," artisans mixed their melted beeswax with turpentine before pouring it into plaster molds.[69] The turpentine used in the Salmon models was likely imported from British North America.[70] Interestingly, the likenesses of the Cherokee—themselves considered products of empire—were partly made of materials extracted from Britain's American colonies. In fact, there is a fair chance that the turpentine in the Cherokee figures came from either the Carolinas or Georgia, where enslaved people spent the summer harvesting and barreling the resin from pine trees.[71] Ironically, this work took place in regions bordering the Cherokee Nation.

Race-making mostly occurred during the casting and finishing stages of production. All wax bodies started out as the same pallid material and were given complexion through one of two means. During the casting process, some modelers added ground pigments to their liquid turpentine-wax mixtures to control the subject's skin color.[72] Others cast bleached heads and appendages, then used oil-based paint to create skin tone during the finishing process.[73] This latter method was apparently the one preferred by Salmon and her successors at the Royal Wax-Work,

[65] Recco, "In the Flesh at the Heart of Empire."

[66] Nancy Carlisle, *Cherished Possessions: A New England Legacy* (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 2003), 119.

[67] John Mason Good et al., *Pantologia. A New Cabinet Cyclopaedia* (London: J. Walker, 1819), 4.

[68] Reuben Moulthrop, for example, likely bought his white wax from the New Haven firm of Goodwin & Clarke. "Oliver Goodwin & Peter Clarke," *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), February 22, 1797.

[69] R. G. *The Accomplished Female Instructor: or, A very useful Companion for Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Others* (London: James Knapton, 1704), 161.

[70] Thomas L. Purvis, *Colonial America to 1763* (New York: Facts on File, 1999), 83. Parliament had encouraged the development of the North American turpentine industry in the early eighteenth century in order to move away from British dependence on foreign imports.

[71] Robert B. Outland III, *Tapping the Pines: The Naval Stores Industry in the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 19–22.

[72] Carlisle, *Cherished Possessions*, 119.

[73] Stacy C. Hollander, "Reuben Moulthrop: Artist in Painting and Waxworks," *Folk Art* (Fall 1994): 38.

as well as by Reuben Moulthrop.[74] Regardless of method, the Cherokee figures were left with what one spectator described as a "copper" complexion, a description that recalled contemporary racial categorizations based around the "tawny" skin of Indigenous peoples.[75] It was also during the finishing stage that empty sockets were fitted with glass eyes, and hair was pressed into waxen scalps.[76] Although some less-reputable artisans fitted their models with "horse-hair," most tried to top their mannequins with actual human hair.[77] Modelers generally turned to barbers and other sellers of "hair work" when seeking out this material.[78] Given the reputation of Salmon's gallery, the Cherokee figures were almost certainly adorned with the locks of various Londoners. This raises an interesting contradiction. At the same time that racial science began to classify Europeans and Indians as members of distinct racial groups, wax Indian models were being built with materials taken from European bodies.[79]

Around 1775, a second group of wax Indians debuted in London. These were the first such figures by an American modeler, Patience Lovell Wright. Wright had found success in the American colonies but relocated to London in 1772 with the hopes of furthering her career as an artist.[80] The move paid off. Wright modeled some of London's most prominent residents, and her gallery proved popular. By January 1775, she added two Indian models to her collection. Historian Charles Coleman Sellers argued that Wright had several motivations for sculpting the figures. For one, she wanted to appeal to contemporary interest in all things Indian. Her other motives related to the ongoing colonial crisis in North America. The Indian figures spoke to Wright's American identity and alluded to her support for the colonists in their fights against Parliament.[81] This was consistent with more abstract ideas of Indianness typical of the pre-war era. As noted by numerous

[74] Recco, "In the Flesh at the Heart of Empire"; Hollander, "Reuben Moulthrop: Artist in Painting and Waxworks," 38.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Hollander, "Reuben Moulthrop: Artist in Painting and Waxworks," 38.

[77] In 1823, an irate Nantucketer condemned the appearance of a waxwork exhibition that recently passed through the island. One of their complaints involved a figure who was customized with "horse-hair." "Advice, Gratis," *Nantucket Inquirer*, July 1, 1823.

[78] An 1828 article from Boston reveals the connection between barbers and wax modelers. "Administrator's Sale," *Boston Intelligencer*, June 28, 1828. The personal papers of American museum proprietor Ethan Allen Greenwood include a receipt for "hair work" purchased of Boston merchant and hairdresser Luke Richardson. Account between Ethan Allen Greenwood and L. Richardson, April 2, 1825, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., Ethan Allen Greenwood Papers, Bib. ID no. 271599.

[79] As noted by Sharon Block, Europeans and Euro-Americans increasingly believed that Europeans and Indigenous peoples had innately different hair. The hair of Indigenous peoples was described in terms more commonly used with animals than human beings. Sharon Block, *Colonial Complexions: Race and Bodies in Eighteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 79.

[80] Linda K. Kerber, "'I have Don…much to Carrey on the Warr': Women and the Shaping of Republican Ideology after the American Revolution," in *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution,* eds. Harriet B. Applewhite and Darline G. Levy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 249.

[81] Charles Coleman Sellers, *Patience Wright: American Artist and Spy in George III's London* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), 89–90.

scholars, European and American artists had long used images of Indians as allegories for the Americas. The continents were frequently depicted as half-naked men and women wearing feather headdresses.[82] However, this trend declined in the postrevolutionary period, as raids carried out by Indigenous allies of the British made the figure of the Indian an increasingly unappealing allegory for the new nation. Instead, citizens of the newly independent nation gravitated toward the Roman goddess Liberty.[83] Accordingly, modelers and exhibitors of the early republic eschewed metaphorical pretenses and framed their Indians as ethnographic objects.

Wright's Indian models were likely sculpted with the assistance of her daughter, Elizabeth Wright Platt, who had joined her mother in London in 1773 and soon took up the modeling trade.[84] It was she who first built and exhibited Indian models in the United States. Platt returned to North America in 1778 and set up her own waxwork gallery in Lower Manhattan.[85] In her studio, Platt cast and exhibited an eclectic lineup of figures that included biblical prophets, British royalty, heroes of the American Revolution, and "an Indian Chief of the Mohawk Tribe."[86] It is unknown exactly who this latter model was supposed to represent, but Platt's specification of its nationality was lost once her waxworks changed hands. After its purchase by Daniel Bowen—who popularized the exhibition and adornment of Indian wax figures in America—Platt's model was simply known as an "Indian Chief."[87] This set the template for how most model Indians were presented in the early republic: not as likenesses of any particular individual or even representations of a given nation, but rather "stock racial types."[88]

[82] For an in-depth examination of Indian allegories of the Americas, see Pratt, *American Indians in British Art,* 12–29.

[83] Megan Scallan Melvin, "Invoking America: Representation, Revolution, and Republican Motherhood in Eighteenth-Century American Iconography" (M.A. Thesis, University of Alabama in Huntsville, 2014), 22–37.

[84] Sellers, *Patience Wright*, 90. Unlike her predecessors, like Salmon, or the American artisans that followed in her wake, it appears as though Wright sculpted (rather than cast) at least some of her waxworks. In a move that scandalized some British observers, she would use the heat from her body to shape blocks of wax. For more on Wright's work, see Wendy Bellion, "Patience Wright's Transatlantic Bodies," in *Shaping the Body Politic: Art and Political Formation in Early National America*, eds. Maurie McInnis and Louis Nelson (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 17–18. Sellers, *Patience Wright*, 90.

[85] Sheldon S. Cohen, "The Odyssey of Ebenezer Smith Platt," *Journal of American Studies* 18, no. 2 (August 1984): 270–73.

[86] A biblical tableau based on an obscure story from the Book of Daniel, "Bell and the Dragon," debuted in 1785. "Wax-Work," *The Daily Advertiser, Political, Commercial, and Historical* (New York), October 19, 1785. An advertisement from 1787 revealed models of George Washington and the "Indian Chief of the Mohawk Tribe." "Wax-Work," *The Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), September 5, 1787.

[87] The model was referred to as such in one of Bowen's earliest known advertisements for his exhibition. "Wax-Work, as Large as Life," *The Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), March 26, 1789.

[88] Kelly, *Republic of Taste*, 189.

Originally from Bristol County, Massachusetts, Bowen ran a printshop in New Haven in the years following the American Revolution.[89] After seeing Platt's waxworks, probably when she toured New Haven with them in late 1787, he became enamored with the medium and its potential profitability.[90] Bowen bought Platt's gallery, began making his own figures, and taught the craft to other artisans, including Reuben Moulthrop.[91] Bowen and his protégés flooded the early republic with waxworks. Some of these individuals doubled as wax modelers and exhibitors.[92] Others, like Moulthrop, specialized in manufacturing.[93] Indeed, his was among the most prolific wax modeling shops in the nation. The manufactory was set up in a lean-to addition behind Moulthrop's house. In 1903, an aged East Haven resident recalled that it "gave employment to many in different capacities, both male and female."[94] Among these workers were members of Moulthrop's family and wage workers from all around the state, including a pair of sisters named Rachel and Lucinda Shailor, who boarded in Moulthrop's home and specialized in making clothing for the wax figures.[95] The reliance on kinship networks and the prominent role of women were consistent with earlier traditions of wax modeling as practiced by artists like Mary Salmon and Patience Wright.[96] These types of conditions remained common throughout the early national period. Moulthrop's establishment stood apart, however, in terms of its near-industrial output. His models were exhibited all over the country and as far away as the Caribbean.[97]

[89] "To Be Sold, by Daniel Bowen," *The New-Haven Chronicle*, May 15, 1787; "Elegant Paper Hangings," *The New-Haven Chronicle*, May 23, 1786.

[90] Platt brought her waxworks to New Haven in September 1787. "Wax-Work," *The Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), September 5, 1787.

[91] Bowen also jumpstarted the careers of William M. S. Doyle, Phillip Woods, and Charles Packard after resettling in Boston. Benes, *For a Short Time Only*, 274–76.

[92] Such was the case with Bowen. The former printer started out as a showman, but eventually taught himself the art of wax modeling. For a detailed biography of Bowen, see Loyd Haberly, "The Long Life of Daniel Bowen," *The New England Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (September 1959): 320–32.

[93] Judging by newspaper advertisements, there was a period when Moulthrop built and exhibited waxworks, but he apparently shifted to more of a manufacturing role by the early 1800s.

[94] Leverett S. Bagley, quoted in Sarah E. Hughes, *History of East Haven* (New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse, & Taylor Press, 1908), 135.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Richard Daniel Altick suggested that Mary Salmon may have learned the trade from her husband, a "famous waxwork man." Richard Daniel Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), 52. These types of conditions remained common throughout the early national period. Justin W. Street, who began his career with Moulthrop and was his brother-in-law, was in business with his daughter by the 1820s. See "Miss Street," *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), October 16, 1821, and Hughes, *History of East Haven*, 134–35. Henry Williams, who learned the modeling trade from another former Bowen apprentice, William M.S. Doyle, ran a Boston workshop with his wife, Cecilia, see "Croaker," *Boston Courier*, March 9, 1850.

[97] For example, an inventory of the Western Museum in Cincinnati (the westernmost museum in the United States as of its opening in 1820) revealed models from Moulthrop's shop among its collection. "Important to Capitalists," *The Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, September 10, 1835. A detailed table compiled by Peter Benes recorded all of the places where Moulthrop and/or his models turned up from 1793–1803. Benes, *For a Short Time Only*, Table 15.1.

Unfortunately, the exact division of labor in Moulthrop's shop is unknown. Given his training with Bowen, it was likely Moulthrop who made most of the wax body parts. Peter Benes found that Moulthrop put a great deal of care into his likenesses of early national celebrities. The molds used to cast his sculpture of Yale President Ezra Stiles, for example, were completed only after Moulthrop spent three days studying the old man's hands and face.[98] Moulthrop probably used premade molds for casting the more generic characters found in museums and traveling shows across the country. Among these figures were likenesses of George Washington, anonymous beautiful young women, and—of course—Indians.[99] Nearly every modeler in the early republic, starting with Elizabeth Platt, made some variation of these figures.[100]

When it came to models of Indigenous people, the circumstances of their construction fed into white supremacist fantasies of Indian homogeneity. Workshops like the one owned by Moulthrop produced batches of what Catherine E. Kelly termed "undifferentiated Indians."[101] For decades, Moulthrop and his peers provided exhibitors with a steady supply of replicated Indian figures. Moulthrop's shop apparently produced three types of Indian models: a man (often described as an Indian chief), a woman, and a child. The latter two varieties were much less common than the first. This supports Paul Gilmore's argument that white Americans had a particular interest in the male Indian body during this period, whose likenesses represented an alluring type of primitive, "authentic" masculinity that their middle-class, white counterparts had supposedly lost.[102]

Interestingly, an advertisement from Moulthrop's earliest days as a wax modeler revealed the source material for his line of Indian men. In 1793, Moulthrop claimed that this figure was based on the appearance of a "Cherokee, who was at Philadelphia." It is unknown whether the artist saw this man himself or relied on someone else's description.[103] It is also unclear exactly *how* Moulthrop's models resembled the anonymous Cherokee. Did he design his molds with this individual in mind, or was Moulthrop referring more to his sculptures' skin color or hairstyle?

[98] Benes, *For a Short Time Only*, 279. Stiles also recorded the incident in his diary. Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., L.L.D.: President of Yale College*, vol. 3, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons: 1901), 503.

[99] "Wax-Work," *The Diary, or Loudon's Register* (New York), December 7, 1797. Models of "beauties" were especially popular in the early United States. Oftentimes they were framed in terms of cities or states ("the Philadelphia beauty," the "Rhode-Island beauty," etc.).

[100] Interestingly, these were the three figures that Platt brought on her visit to New Haven that likely sparked Bowen's interest in waxwork. "Wax-Work," *The Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), September 5, 1787.

[101] Kelly, *Republic of Taste*, 189.

[102] Paul Gilmore, *The Genuine Article: Race, Mass Culture, and American Literary Manhood* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 77–80.

[103] "Reuben Moulthrop, Artist in Painting and Wax-Work," *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), September 4, 1793. The Cherokee "at Philadelphia" may have been a reference to a 1791 Cherokee delegation that visited the American capital hoping to amend the controversial Treaty of Holston. For more on this topic, see Charles H. Faulkner, *Massacre at Cavett's Station: Frontier Tennessee During the Cherokee Wars* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2013), 37–40.

In any case, Moulthrop's take on the mysterious Cherokee visitor to Philadelphia served as the template for countless near-identical Indian figures. However, it is worth noting the slight facial differences between the two figures drawn by Hyde de Neuville; the Northwest Coast figure's mouth was open, as if speaking, while the mouth of the figure to the right was shut. These details were likely added after the sculptures emerged from their molds.[104] Tailored faces added at least some variety to an otherwise indistinguishable stock of wax Indian figures.

Mix apparently bought his first group of wax Indians from Moulthrop in 1809, two years after opening his museum in New Haven.[105] Based on contemporary descriptions of Mix's gallery, he customized one of these mannequins with the basket hat and labrets around 1812.[106] By that point, curators had been covering undifferentiated Indians with objects from their collections for over twenty years. Bowen, for example, had attached "natural" Indigenous items to his "Indian Chief" (Platt's one-time "Mohawk") as early as 1789. He dressed the model in a genuine "war habit" and placed a "real Scalp" in one of its hands.[107] A broadside from this period described the figure in more detail, claiming that the six-foot-three-inch-tall "chief" was the "largest Indian in Columbia."[108] Bowen was much more active in collecting "curiosities" than his predecessors in the wax modeling trade. While Wright and Platt mostly exhibited their respective artworks, Bowen displayed a wide variety of items. By the early 1790s, Bowen's patrons encountered cases of taxidermied birds, massive history paintings, and a marble bust of Benjamin Franklin, in addition to Native material culture and dozens of waxworks.[109] Such an eclectic collection was common for the era and represented an early national museum culture that sought to balance education and entertainment.

The nation's first publicly accessible museums emerged around the close of the American Revolution. These were essentially businesses, owned and operated by individuals who acted as artists, naturalists, and entrepreneurs. With their sprawling collections of natural and man-made objects, museums were promoted as a

[104] For more on this type of finishing work, see Recco, "In the Flesh at the Heart of Empire."

[105] Wax Indians were first listed in a description of the Columbian Museum in September 1809. "Mix's Museum," *Connecticut Herald* (New Haven), September 5, 1809.

[106] The figure was not mentioned in an inventory of the wax figure gallery that was published in September 1809 and was first listed in the 1812 Columbian Museum catalog. "Mix's Museum," *Connecticut Herald* (New Haven), September 19, 1809; John Mix, *A catalog*, 3.

[107] "Wax Work, as Large as Life," *The Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), March 26, 1789. For more on the importance that exhibitors placed in dressing their waxworks in "real" items (albeit during a later time period), see Mark B. Sandberg, *Living Pictures, Missing Persons: Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 59–60.

[108] "Bowen's Columbian Museum," broadside, n.d., MS Thr. 479, Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Cambridge, Mass.

[109] A broadside from September 1792 listed the waxworks, paintings, and marble sculpture. "A Descriptive Catalogue of Bowen's Exhibition of Wax-Work & Paintings," broadside, September 4, 1792, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
The case of birds was mentioned in a subsequent newspaper advertisement. "Wax-Work and Painting," *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), August 21, 1793.

means for shaping an educated citizenry.[110] In practice, this meant that museum proprietors arranged their institutions with white audiences in mind, especially those in the middle and upper classes.[111] However, this did not necessarily mean that admission was restricted along racial lines. African Americans and Indigenous peoples also patronized the republic's museums, albeit in lesser numbers.[112] Museum keepers sought to make a profit and had little reason to completely exclude any potential customers, especially given the competition they faced from less reputable leisure venues, like the theater. As such, Bowen and his peers assured the public that their collections were both educational *and* entertaining. American museum pioneer Charles Willson Peale described this guiding philosophy as "rational amusement."[113] Waxwork galleries were well suited for this amusing pedagogy. Visitors were entertained by likenesses of popular literary characters or celebrities, while they also ostensibly learned about Indigenous peoples by encountering wax Indians dressed in *authentic* artifacts.[114] A critical analysis of how these figures were interpreted sheds light on the shallow nature of their educational value.

In 1797, Peale followed Bowen's lead and added wax Indian figures to his collection. His sculptures were initially treated with a level of care that was uncommon for the era. They were described as "real portraits" of "Musquacanokan (or Red Pole)" and "Weyapiersenwaw (or Blue Jacket)." Peale even provided his patrons with biographical information on the two men, noting that they were both Shawnee chiefs who once attended a peace conference at his Philadelphia museum.[115] This amount of supporting information was unusual, but also short-lived. Within a year, Peale was simply referring to the figures as "North American Savage[s]."[116] Ellen Fernandez-Sacco argued that such vulgar revisions were done with the intent of broadening the exhibition's appeal. Potential patrons may have found the prospect of seeing *savage* Indians more interesting than the likenesses of two Shawnee leaders.[117] Interestingly, as noted by David R. Brigham, the model of Blue Jacket had the potential to destabilize fixed understandings of racial difference, as he was believed to be "white by birth" and adopted by the Shawnee.[118] Such potential was diminished when Peale rebranded the figure and showed that even he—

[110] Kelly, *Republic of Taste*, 160–61.

[111] Brigham, *Public Culture in the Early Republic*, 8.

[112] For information on Indigenous visitors to early American museums, see DeLucia, "Fugitive Collections," 109–11.

[113] Brigham, *Public Culture in the Early Republic*, 20.

[114] Bloom, "Science and Sensation," 39.

[115] "Additions to Peale's Museum," *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), August 17, 1797.

[116] "Peale's Museum," *Aurora General Advertiser* (Philadelphia), March 12, 1798.

[117] Fernandez-Sacco, "Spectacular Masculinities," 109. As pointed out by Catherine E. Kelly, even the original iteration of Peale's exhibition dehumanized the models of Musquaconocah and Weyapiersenwah to a degree. The figures were not included with his other (painted) portraits of political leaders, but rather placed among Peale's sculptures of people from *savage* nations. Kelly, *Republic of Taste*, 189.

[118] Brigham, *Public Culture in the Early Republic*, 129.

one of the more outwardly intellectual museum keepers of the early republic—was not above reducing wax Indians to racial types.

Visitors to these collections were prompted to consider Native objects not in relation to their cultural or political meanings, but rather in relation to an abstract, distant past. Peale believed that ethnographic mannequins were a creative means for exhibiting any foreign material culture in an institution's collection.[119] Wax Indians thus functioned as extensions of more traditional exhibition strategies based around glass display cases. The interpretation attached to such displays supported the racist notion that Indians were stuck in a prehistoric stage of social development. The guidebook of New Haven's Columbian Museum, for example, described its cases of contemporary Native tools as analogous to those used in "ancient days."[120] When considering the intended audience of the Columbian Museum, the vague appeal to "ancient days" was likely meant to evoke thoughts of prehistoric Europe. Other institutions reached even further into the past when framing their Indigenous collections. Charles Willson Peale and his fellow curator and son, Rubens, both exhibited cases of Native objects alongside prehistoric fossils.[121] Edward Savage took a similar approach in his New York City institution. The painter-turned-museum-proprietor set up a pair of wax Indian figures, dressed in Native objects, beside a to-scale painting of the elder Peale's famous mastodon skeleton. Savage claimed that this set-up helped his audience better understand the size of the ancient beast, but it also underscored fantastical associations between Indians and prehistory.[122]

Ultimately, museumgoers were only presented with a narrow, selectively curated view of Indigenous material culture. As stated by New York museum proprietor John Scudder, collecting institutions only wanted "savage" items that "savage nations actually made."[123] Scudder and his contemporaries had no interest in anything that showed how Indigenous cultures changed over time—they sought only objects they could equate with antiquity. Ironically, many of the people who provided them with Native materials were intimately aware of such changes. For example, mariners who traded along the Northwest Coast witnessed firsthand how

[119] Quoted in Fernandez-Sacco, "Spectacular Masculinities," 95.

[120] Mix, *A catalog*, 10. As noted by Christine DeLucia, many of Mix's Indigenous items had previously been on display in a museum affiliated with Yale overseen by its president, Ezra Stiles. Mix presented the objects with less care for detail than their bookish former curator. DeLucia, "Fugitive Collections," 143–44.

[121] For more on Charles Willson Peale and his treatment of Indigenous objects, see Fernandez-Sacco, "Framing 'The Indian,'" 601. Rubens Peale specified the location of his Native objects in a circa 1831 catalog of his museum. Rubens Peale, *Guide Through Peale's New-York Museum, and Gallery of the Fine Arts*, Patricia D. Klingenstein Library, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[122] "To the editor of the Daily Advertiser," *The Daily Advertiser* (New York), October 14, 1802. Thomas Jefferson likewise exhibited his collection of Indigenous items alongside the remains of a "mastodon." For more on the arrangement of his private cabinet of curiosities, see Joyce Henri Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities: Thomas Jefferson's 'Indian Hall at Monticello,'" *Winterthur Portfolio* 30, no. 1 (1995): 24–25.

[123] "American Museum," *New-York Daily Advertiser*, June 12, 1817.

people in the region selectively adopted foreign goods, such as firearms, into their respective societies. These were realities absent from early national museum interpretation. For instance, in describing his collection of "Indian manufactures," the elder Peale once described their makers as "uninformed wild people, having very little knowledge of the arts, and being ignorant even of the existence of iron and steel."[124] Such statements revealed the cultural reach of fantasies about Indians and temporal stasis.

There was a marked change in how painters depicted Indians around the start of the nineteenth century. By then, European and American artists had depicted Indigenous subjects for hundreds of years. These earlier images were characterized by classical imagery and the celebration of Indian nations becoming *civilized* through their adoption of European material culture. For example, the well-known *Four Indian Kings* paintings, completed in 1710, depicted four Indigenous leaders (three Mohawks and one Mohican) dressed in a blend of European and Native clothing, and posed with a variety of European and Indigenous goods. Curator William H. Truettner argued that the works showed the British public a group of supposedly savage political allies who were in the process of becoming civilized.[125] Such sentiments were no longer appealing in the post-Revolutionary period, especially in North America. The devastation of eastern Indigenous communities—compounded by the American Revolution—and the influence of the Enlightenment caused artists to look west when seeking Indian subjects by the late eighteenth century. Nations like the Mohawk and the Mohican, the latter of which allied with the American colonists but nevertheless experienced high mortality and territorial displacement, were no longer viewed as sufficiently Indian. If a painter wanted to see *traditional* Indians, supposedly untouched by contact with European and American outsiders, they needed to find people from beyond the frontier. Truettner described the style of Indian painting that developed during the first two decades of the nineteenth century as ethnographic in nature. This did not, however, mean that images of Western peoples were accurate. Material evidence of contact with non-Natives was minimized, for example. Instead, they were ethnographic in the sense that they backed up contemporary racial science and presented spectators with "real" Indians fixed in time. Popular fantasies about Indians being stuck in the past influenced how non-Natives thought about their future. As one editorialist argued in stark terms:

> The Indian delights in ignorance, his prejudice against civilization is invincible, and his attachment to a wild, unrestrained, savage, barbarous manner of living is not to be overcome. Extinction is the inevitable fate of this race. It appears destined by the God of nature, that they should yield to the

[124] "Peale's Museum," *Gazette of the United States & Evening Advertiser* (Philadelphia), February 5, 1794.
[125] Truettner, *Painting Indians and Building Empires in North America*, 31–39, 61–62.

> superior genius and intelligence of the whites…we can have no regret in perceiving a race of men become extinct.[126]

The supposed inability of Indigenous peoples to change their "barbarous manner of living" was used to predict their ultimate disappearance. Philip J. Deloria described this ideology, later known as the "myth of the vanishing Indian," as grounded in the conviction that "less advanced societies should disappear in the presence of those more advanced."[127] According to Deloria, the myth of the vanishing Indian came to dominate white American conceptions of Indianness during the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Plays, novels, textbooks, and newspapers inundated the public with stories of dying Indians, many of whom were described as the "last of" their respective nations. Some even included a trope that Deloria described as the "Indian death speech," where the "last" Indian bequeathed their lands to the United States.[128] Such an artistic device may have helped assuage any feelings of sadness about the supposed disappearance of Native peoples. It also hinted at why fantasies about Indian primitiveness and their resultant disappearance were so popular, namely, because they excused the dispossession of Indigenous peoples. Acts of theft, coercion, and violence were more acceptable if Indians were doomed to die out.[129]

Such actions were distressingly common during the Revolutionary and early national eras. Indeed, the Columbian Museum likely contained Haudenosaunee items plundered during the infamous Sullivan Expedition.[130] In 1779, American troops under Generals John Sullivan and James Clinton carried out a scorched earth campaign against the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The Americans slashed their way through the Confederacy's heartland, burning villages and crops, skirmishing with Haudenosaunee warriors, and displacing thousands of people.[131] Veterans of this campaign filled the nation's earliest museums with plunder, and pioneered the macabre trend of giving Native body parts to American curators.[132] In 1790, Charles Willson Peale announced that his Philadelphia museum had received the "DRESSED skin of the leg and thigh of an Indian, killed in the march of General Sullivan."[133] This trend continued through subsequent wars against

[126] "Creek Indians," *Lancaster Journal*, September 9, 1818.

[127] Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 64.

[128] Ibid., 192–93.

[129] Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 18.

[130] The aforementioned museum at Yale College that loaned so many of its Indigenous items to the Columbian Museum held several mementos from the Sullivan Expedition among its collection. DeLucia, "Fugitive Collections," 124–25.

[131] Much has been written on the history of the Sullivan Expedition. For a book-length study that considers the campaign in terms of American empire, see Max M. Mintz, *Seeds of Empire: The American Revolutionary Conquest of the Iroquois* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

[132] Fernandez-Sacco, "Framing 'The Indian,'" 581; DeLucia, "Fugitive Collections," 124–26.

[133] "The following donations have been lately made to Mr. Peale," *Pennsylvania Mercury and Universal Advertiser*, July 1, 1790. For a focus on the bodily violence that characterized this campaign, see Zara Anishanslin, "'This is the Skin of a Whit[e] Man:' Material Memories of Violence in Sullivan's Campaign,"

Indigenous peoples, like the Northwest Indian War. In 1791, an officer in the U.S. Army presented Peale with a "human Scalp" taken while on campaign in the Ohio Valley.[134] Indeed, the scalp attached to Bowen's first wax Indian figure was also apparently a grim trophy from the Old Northwest. Years after the model debuted, he claimed that it gripped a "real Scalp of an Indian Chief, lately taken at the Westward."[135]

The violence behind museum donations like scalps was a popular topic among waxwork exhibitors. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, particularly following the campaigns of the War of 1812, frontier scenes were found in museums across the country. Most followed a loose formula, wherein an Indian figure sank a knife or hatchet into the waxen head of an American soldier or settler. Usually, the likeness of another American was present, rushing to the aid of their stricken countryman.[136] Mix unveiled his own version of the scene, which showed a "a Savage attacking a defenceless and innocent Family," about a year after Hyde de Neuville's visit. In a testament to the popularity of such exhibits, a nearly identical tableau was already on display in a new, rival institution just a few blocks away.[137]

However, while spoils of war may have been among the most alluring items in an institution's collection, not all Native objects were acquired through violence or processes of settler colonialism. Some materials were acquired under more amiable circumstances. In her examination of Ezra Stiles' Yale Museum, Christine DeLucia identified Indigenous objects that may have been obtained through diplomatic gift giving, as well as possible "tourist" goods that Native craftspeople "intended for use among faraway peoples rather than for internal community use." Museums were also full of materials that DeLucia described as products of "relatively equitable economic exchanges."[138] This latter category best describes items like labrets and basket hats from the Northwest Coast. The earliest known models to be adorned with these items—those owned by Phillip Woods—appeared just a few years before Mix's exhibit and appealed to contemporary interest in American trading activities and British travel literature. Woods was a Boston tavernkeeper and pupil of Reuben Moulthrop who embarked upon a new career as a mannequin showman in 1803. Among his waxworks was a model of the Nuu-chah-nulth chief

in *The American Revolution Reborn*, eds. Patrick Spero and Michael Zuckerman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 187–204.

[134] "Late Donations to Mr. Peale," *The General Advertiser and Political, Commercial, Agricultural, and Literary Journal* (Philadelphia), May 26, 1791.

[135] "Bowen's Columbian Museum," *Courier* (Boston), December 12, 1795.

[136] These types of scenes may have traced their origin to a tableau assembled by Moulthrop while he was still a wax modeler and exhibitor. In 1795, he unveiled an exhibit depicting the death of General Richard Butler at the hands of a tomahawk-wielding Indian. Butler died four years earlier during the Northwest Indian War. "Wax-Work & Musick," *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), December 23, 1795.

[137] "Don't Fail of Visiting Mix's Museum," *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), September 5, 1814; "Don't give up the Ship," *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), June 7, 1814.

[138] DeLucia cautioned that even if not outright violent in nature, it is still worth bearing in mind that amiable transactions often occurred within "larger structure of expansionist colonialism." DeLucia, "Fugitive Collections," 127.

Callicum.[139] At the time, Callicum was well known for his inclusion in the best-selling book *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 & 1789, From China to the North West Coast of America* (1790), an account of Pacific travels made by British trader and navigator John Meares. Within a decade, American readers could find Meares' text in port cities all over the East Coast.[140] Those unable to afford their own copy could read excerpts from the travelogue in local newspapers.

Figure 2. *Callicum and Maquilla, Chiefs of Nootka Sound* (1790), by Robert Pollard, after Thomas Stothard. Printed in *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, From China to the North West Coast of America*…, after p. 108.[141]

[139] "Never Before Exhibited," *New-England Palladium* (Boston), August 26, 1803.

[140] John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, From China to the North West Coast of America*…(London: Logographic Press, 1790). Woods may have purchased a copy of the text from the Boston booksellers E. & S. Larkin, who carried the text among their British imports around this time. "E. & S. Larkin," *The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser* (Boston), July 23, 1801. The earliest known newspaper to print a section from Meares' book was *The Pennsylvania Mercury, and Universal Advertiser* (Philadelphia), November 22, 1791.

[141] The British Library has produced a high-resolution scan of its copy of the print (Museum no. 1881,0312.26), viewable here: https://britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1881-0312-26.

Meares encountered Callicum after landing at Friendly Cove (Yuquot) on Nootka Island. He included a good deal of information about his Nuu-chah-nulth trading partner, but Woods's attention was likely drawn to the text's accompanying print by Thomas Stothard (Figure 2). Callicum was shown on the right-hand side of the image shaking hands with a fellow chief named Maquinna.[142] Although no detailed description of the Callicum figure survives, it probably resembled the man in Stothard's print. Indeed, Woods not only boasted that his model was dressed in garments from the Northwest Coast, but also went so far as to claim that it wore the actual garments in which Callicum greeted Meares in 1788.[143] While this latter assertion was almost certainly untrue, the figure was likely cloaked in Native garb from the Northwest Coast, perhaps even Nuu-chah-nulth. Numerous American traders ventured to Nootka Sound (Mowichat) during this period and returned home with souvenirs like the "spear, two arrows…cap or bonnet…[and] feathered necklace" given to one New York institution.[144]

Mix, too, turned to a popular book on Pacific exploration when building his Northwest Coast figure, likely basing its appearance on a print that appeared in *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, a chronicle of the final expedition of Captain James Cook (Figure 3). The image depicted a Chugach man, as drawn by expedition artist John Webber. Its caption—"A man of Prince William's Sound"—was nearly identical to the description of the Northwest Coast figure in Mix's catalog.[145] The desire to recreate a print from a well-known book and capitalize on public interest in all things Cook helps explain Mix's careless use of probable Tlingit material culture.[146] After all, the completed figure presented spectators with a vague imitation of Webber's drawing and it is unlikely that most would have noticed the differences between Chugach and Tlingit basket hats and labrets.

At least one other curator assembled a figure based on Webber's print, but not all models of Indians from the Northwest Coast were drawn from British travelogues.[147] For example, a Philadelphia museum proprietor named Jesse Sharpless put together his own Northwest Coast figure sometime between 1810–1812. The

[142] Alan D. McMillan, *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 199.

[143] "Never Before Exhibited," *New-England Palladium* (Boston), August 26, 1803.

[144] For a comprehensive list of American ships that called on Mowichat, see Howay and Pierce, *A List of Trading Vessels,* 6–52. For the donation in question, see "Late Additions to the Museum in this City," *The American Minerva* (New York), April 7, 1794.

[145] Mix, *A catalog*, 3; James Basire, after John Webber, *A Man of Prince William Sound*, 1784, in James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Undertaken, by the Command of His Majesty, For Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere*, ed. James King (London: W. and A. Strahan, 1784), plate 46.

[146] For more information on the contemporary popularity of such adventure and travel literature, specifically in early national New England, see David Jaffee, "West from New England: Geographic Information and the Pacific in the Early Republic," in *Global Trade & Visual Arts in Federal New England*, eds. Patricia Johnston and Caroline Frank (Durham: University Press of New England, 2014), 58–59.

[147] The other likeness of someone ostensibly from Prince William Sound was exhibited by John Scudder at the American Museum in New York City. Scudder quoted the book on Cook's final voyage when describing the figure. "The American Museum," *Spectator* (New York), July 20, 1811.

model was shown "preserv[ing] the life" of a shipwrecked American sailor.[148] This scene was likely inspired by the sinking of the *Eclipse*, which struck a reef off the coast of present-day Alaska in 1807. Most of the crew survived with the help of local Aleuts, and word of the ordeal reached the United States in mid-1809.[149] Interestingly, this scene of Native benevolence was located just feet away from a tableau that depicted an Indian killing General Richard Butler, an American officer who fell in the Northwest Indian War.[150]

Figure 3. *A Man of Prince William's Sound*, by James Basire I, after John Webber. Printed in *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*…, Plate 46.[151]

[148] "Museum of Wax Figures and Natural Curiosities," *Relf's Philadelphia Gazette*, February 29, 1812.

[149] For more on the wreck of the *Eclipse*, see Howay and Pierce, *A List of Trading Vessels,* 73. For an early notice of the wreck, see "The Palladium," *New-England Palladium* (Boston), June 6, 1809.

[150] "Museum of Wax Figures and Natural Curiosities," *Relf's Philadelphia Gazette*, February 29, 1812.

[151] The British Museum has produced a high-resolution scan of its copy of the print (Museum no. 1957,0705.21): viewable here: https://britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1957-0705-21.

While exhibits featuring Northwest Coast figures lacked the violent content and plunder of frontier scenes, they were nevertheless marked by colonial undertones. In framing the region's people as a race frozen in time (and, thus, doomed to extinction), exhibitors helped fuel visions of the Coast's eventual colonization. Such visions were consistent with Samuel Truett's definition of "settler fantasy," i.e., "the ways Americans imagined westward expansion."[152] The far reaches of the continent were eyed for settlement as early as the 1780s. John Ledyard, a Connecticut native who visited the Northwest Coast while serving with Captain Cook, returned home with tales of its abundant furs and the prices they fetched in Canton. Ledyard called for the establishment of a fortified American settlement in the region. According to historian Edward G. Gray, his imagined outpost would ensure American control of the fur trade and serve as a "western foothold for a new, continental empire."[153] Despite the interest of figures like Thomas Jefferson, Ledyard's scheme never moved past the planning stages.[154] Nevertheless, his description of the Northwest Coast and its abundant pelts encouraged American merchants to send ships to the area.[155] As the number of American vessels calling on the Coast grew, so too did fantasies about its absorption into the United States. On the one hand, such fantasies reflected the fact that American ships in the region soon outnumbered those from competing European powers.[156] On the other hand, they spoke to a general enthusiasm for empire that flourished in the post-Revolutionary period.

Numerous early American artists, authors, and politicians promoted a future where the republic stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The subjugation of the continent was presented as an inevitability, perhaps best summed up by a line in one of the nation's first textbooks: "we cannot but anticipate the period, as not far distant, when the AMERICAN EMPIRE will comprehend millions of souls, west of the Mississippi."[157] One of the more creative works of settler fantasy produced during this era was a widely serialized article, printed in 1818, that presented a look at the "speculative" future of the United States from the perspective of a newspaper editor living in September 2000. Among the stories about flying

[152] Samuel Truett, "Settler Colonialism and the Borderlands of Early America," *The William & Mary Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (July 2019): 438.

[153] Edward G. Gray, *The Making of John Ledyard: Empire and Ambition in the Life of an Early American Traveler* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 120.

[154] Strangely, Jefferson encouraged Ledyard to make his way to the Northwest Coast by way of Europe and Asia. Ledyard would cross through Russia, cross the Bering Strait, and then explore western North America before trekking east to Virginia. He was deported by the Russian government nearly a year into his journey and made his way back to London. From there, he joined an exploring expedition to Egypt, where he accidentally poisoned himself and died. Larzer Ziff, *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing, 1780–1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 32–52.

[155] Eric Jay Dolin, *Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 147–48.

[156] Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods*, 35.

[157] Jedidiah Morse, quoted in Drake, *The Nation's Nature,* 313–14.

carriages and the Nicaragua Canal was an article on the government's purchase of the Kamchatka Peninsula in Siberia. The move was praised because of the territory's proximity to the United States.[158] By 2000, the republic would evidently encompass all of North America, including the Northwest Coast. There was no mention of Indians in this speculative future. Presumably, they were all thought extinct by the start of the new millennium.

Early national fantasies about colonizing the Northwest Coast had little basis in reality. Indeed, figures like the one in the Columbian Museum embodied the republic's lack of political clout in the region. Behind many a basket hat and labret were stories that demonstrated the balance of power along the Coast. Americans needed to meet the demands of their Native trading partners in order to leave with the souvenirs (and pelts) they desired. Those who offended their Indigenous hosts risked severe consequences. In 1803, for example, Maquinna and a group of his men attacked the *Boston* after its captain insulted the Nuu-chah-nulth leader. Most of the crew were killed and the survivors enslaved. According to Robin Fisher, this was a carefully calculated decision. Maquinna knew that the Americans were in no position to punish him militarily and that the most he risked was a loss of business. He was correct. Ships avoided Maquinna's territory for a few years, but no other action against him was taken.[159]

Of course, few museumgoers knew the details of how woven hats and labrets were obtained. Apart from those involved in the maritime fur trade, most Americans were ignorant of the power dynamics in the Pacific Northwest. Even well-known incidents like the destruction of the *Boston* were viewed more as individual acts of Indian "treachery" than evidence of political realities.[160] While the storming of the *Boston* was in direct response to a personal slight, Fisher also pointed out that tensions were already high around Nootka Sound because of economic factors. By

[158] "Anno Domini 2000, Anticipated," *New-England Galaxy* (Boston), March 27, 1818.

[159] Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774–1890*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992), 16–17. The failure of John Jacob Astor's settlement of Fort Astoria further demonstrated that the United States was at a disadvantage when it came to European rivals in the Pacific Northwest. The fort, located near the mouth of the Columbia River, was seized by the British during the War of 1812 after less than two years of operation. For more on the history of Fort Astoria, see Peter Stark, *Astoria: Astor and Jefferson's Lost Pacific Empire, a Story of Ambition and Survival on the Early American Frontier* (New York: Harper Collins, 2015). Russia was the most militarily involved foreign nation on the Northwest Coast during this era, and Russian colonial ambitions were likewise frustrated by Native political power. After colonizing Kodiak Island in the 1780s, Russian traders and settlers turned their attention to the North American mainland. A series of military defeats at the hands of the Dena'ina (1797) and the Tlingit (1802) permanently stunted the growth of Russian America. The colony was largely restricted to the coast and depended on the goodwill of its Native neighbors for survival. For more on this topic, see Alan Boraas and Aaron Leggett, "Dena'ina Resistance to Russian Hegemony, Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Cook Inlet, Alaska," *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 3 (2013): 485–504, and Ilya Vinkovetsky, *Russian America: An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 19–22.

[160] Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 16. For more on the dangers faced by mariners along the coast, see Dane A. Morrison, *Eastward of Good Hope: Early America in a Dangerous World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021), 222–23.

the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Nuu-chah-nulth economy was under increasing strain as the otter population in the region began to decline.[161] As this situation was repeated elsewhere along the Coast, the maritime fur trade began to collapse, a development that may explain why curators suddenly stopped exhibiting models of Indians from the northwestern reaches of the continent. Mix's "Male…of Prince William Sound" was the longest surviving of the Northwest Coast figures that emerged around the dawn of the nineteenth century. After Mix's death in 1821, it was purchased by Ethan Allen Greenwood and installed in his Providence Museum.[162] The model was last mentioned in 1824, after which time it was presumably destroyed or transformed into another type of model.[163] The disappearance of Northwest Coast figures by the mid-1820s roughly correlated with the decline of the maritime fur trade.[164] As American economic activity along the Northwest Coast slowed, so too may have interest in its inhabitants. Simply put, museum keepers likely phased out their Northwest Coast figures to keep up with public tastes.

In a more general sense, wax Indian figures remained popular long after those associated with the Northwest Coast faded into memory. Museumgoers all over the country, from major cities to rural hamlets, continued to encounter anonymous chiefs and warriors adorned with Native material culture. These generic, batch-produced sculptures played a key role in perpetuating the nascent fantasy that Indians were part of a homogenous, inherently backward race that was not long for this world—a fantasy Euro-Americans widely accepted as fact by the time racialized mannequins fell out of fashion around midcentury. Ironically, the materiality of wax Indian figures subtly hinted at the absurdity of scientific racism. The models were cast from the same molds used to make white subjects, and oftentimes dressed in items whose provenances demonstrated the ability of various nations to mediate their interactions with European and American outsiders.

[161] Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 16–17.

[162] Greenwood was best-known for his New England Museum in Boston, but he also operated smaller institutions in Providence and Portland, Maine. Barnhill, "'Extracts from the Journals of Ethan A. Greenwood,'" 96.

[163] "Great and splendid additions to the Providence Museum," *Rhode Island American* (Providence), October 5, 1824.

[164] For more on this decline, see Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods*, 177–82.

Por Haver Puesto Manos Violentas: An Account of Violence during a Mass in Coyoacán, 1629

AMANDA SUMMERS

In October of the year 1629, at the hermitage Nuestra Señora de La Concepción in Coyoacán, Mexico, a fight broke out in the middle of a Mass, leading to an assault on a priest by a group of Dominican friars. The fight caused damage to the altar and its adornments, spilled the offering, and scandalized the witnessing congregation, which was composed of Spaniards, newly converted Indigenous people, and at least one enslaved Black man and a free Asian servant (*chino libre*).[1] Weeks prior, in September, a devastating flood in Mexico City had forced the population to evacuate to nearby towns, exposing fatal flaws in the urban infrastructure and disrupting trade, bureaucracy, and everyday life. There had been extensive damage to flora and fauna, and a wave of starvation, epidemics, and deaths.[2] Along with nearly everything else in the growing city, the churches were underwater—a fact that brought these friars in contact with one another and a larger-than-usual congregation. The economic and housing effects of the flood were felt and documented until at least 1640, a significant date for the resurgence of large Inquisition trials against the wealthy Portuguese-Jewish merchant population. The city's clergy played a major role in the recovery efforts and subsequent reform of the city's infrastructure, intending to prevent future flooding disasters. Finally, this flood was a significant moment in the growth of the desagüe (drainage canal) and the draining and loss of Lake Texcoco. The desagüe channeled waters from the central Mexico basins in an effort to control flooding and expand Spanish colonial urbanism and agrarianism. Due to the difference in environmental understandings, class, and mercantilism between Spaniards and Nahuas, the desagüe led to long-lasting

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[1] Proseso de causa criminal contra los frayles dominicos de cuyuacan (1629), Helmerich Center for American Research (HCAR), Tulsa, Oklahoma, Conway Collection of Spanish Colonial Manuscripts, Acc. No. 40.10030 (previously C-30). A digital facsimile can be found at: https://collections.gilcrease.org/object/4010030. The Iglesia de la Inmaculada Concepcion en Coyoacán, or "La Conchita" (little shell) as it is known today, was the earliest constructed church in the region, dating to 1525, when it was built by order of Hernán Cortés over a Toltec altar. Leidy Saray, "Iglesia Inmaculada Concepción, 'La Conchita,'" *Arquidiócesis de México*, July 5, 2023, https://arquidiocesismexico.org.mx/2023/07/05/iglesia-inmaculada-concepcion-la-conchita.

[2] Richard Boyer, *La Gran Inundación: Vida y Sociedad en la Ciudad de México, 1629–1638* (Mexico: SepSetentas, 1975) and Louisa Hoberman, "Bureaucracy and Disaster: Mexico City and the Flood of 1629," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 6, no. 2 (1974): 211–30.

The New American Antiquarian 4 (Fall 2025): 52–98.

environmental destruction. The effects and limits of the drainage project, including ongoing flooding as experienced in 1629, are still felt today.[3]

The document transcribed and translated below includes an initial criminal complaint against the friars and the interrogation of several witnesses by inquisitor Gaspar de Baldespiña. We learn little about Baldespiña through this document. He received the complaint and conducted interrogations, which he limited to two simple and standard questions for each witness: "if he knows or suspects the reason for which he was called" and "asked what happened in Coyoacán?" He left no commentary or discussion, and no final judgement. The complaint was initiated by Br. (*bachiller*, or university graduate) Bartolomé López, a priest at the Cathedral, against three Dominican friars: Hernando de Olivares, Luis de Merida, and Thomas de Morales. What we learn of these friars comes to us through the testimony of select witnesses; none of the friars were called upon for questioning. The assaulted priest, licentiate Br. Esteban de Ferrufino, was also questioned. Because of the flood, he had been sent by the Archbishop to deliver Mass to the Spanish population who had fled from the city to Coyoacán. The friars resisted upon his arrival, but he followed orders, donned his robes, and began the Mass. As described by the witnesses, the actions of the friars included: entering the church mid-Mass; yelling obscenities at Ferrufino as he conducted the Mass; calling him a fraud and a liar; questioning his license to deliver Mass; assaulting and threatening to kill him; threatening the congregation with excommunication; desecrating the altar, spilling out the wine from the chalice; and throwing the host on the floor, claiming it was unblessed.

Baldespiña selected witnesses from a variety of urban social stations. Several were not Spanish. The witnesses who accompanied Ferrufino to testify were Pedro Espín, a trumpeter for the Viceroy from Hamburg; Luis Aponte, a servant of the Viceroy from Flanders; Br. Don Miguel Chavez de Rivera, a priest in Mexico City; Bartolomé de Celis, a cleric of minor orders; and Luis Sánchez, a weapons master. For the most part, the witnesses' stories corroborate the initial complaints brought against the friars, yet from perspective variations. Some observers reported what they saw outside the church while others had been participants in the Mass. Some gave colorful commentary on the events as they perceived them. One tried to intervene on Ferrufino's behalf. Advisors Juan de Ledesma and Francisco Calderon of the Society of Jesus as well as Fray Juan de Herrera of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy were called upon to give advice on proceeding with a trial against the three friars. Their selection is noteworthy because it demonstrated collaboration across and respect for other mendicant orders' judicial and theological expertise. Mendicant orders oversaw administering to the mixed population of Coyoacán, with Dominicans occupying the central place in local urban society. Tensions grew early between the mendicant orders and extended to their relations with secular clergy

[3] Vera S. Candiani, *Dreaming of a Dry Land: Environmental Transformation in Colonial Mexico City* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014).

and their parishes. Nahua–Spanish relations in Coyoacán pertaining to religiosity, land ownership, labor, tribute, and governance were shaped by these tensions.[4] The inquisition advisors received written copies of the testimonies and took three days to return the recommendation that several serious heresies were suspected (*sapiens haeresim*). Additionally, they made note that the friars' claim that the host of the church was unblessed was "a heresy and against the determination of the Council of Trent in session twenty-two, chapter four, and canon six, where it determines that the entire canon is pure from error" (fol. 15ᵛ). This citation lends insight into the theological and judicial framework of inquisition advisors; references to the Council of Trent are rare in Inquisition records. It also indicates the possibility that a trial commenced from this complaint, the most likely outcome of which would have been the friars' own excommunication.[5] Future researchers might fruitfully consult this document in the context of accompanying trials found in the *Archivo General de la Nación*, Mexico City.[6]

"The Criminal Case Against the Dominican Friars of Coyoacán" (Figure 1) is preserved at the Helmerich Center for American Research (HCAR) in Tulsa, Oklahoma, as part of the Conway Collection of Spanish Colonial Manuscripts.[7] Thomas Gilcrease bought this collection from G.R.G Conway in the early 1950s. Conway was an English engineer who spent much of his life in Mexico as the president of the Mexican Power and Light Company. There, he amassed a considerable collection of documents from the colonial archive as part of his interest and writings on viceregal Mexican history. Conway was a leading member of the Cortez Society, California Historical Society, and the American Antiquarian Society. He conducted extensive research in Mexican archives, including the AGN, and built an extensive social network of archivists, historians, and collectors across North America. Among his collections were many Inquisition trials against Englishmen and Jewish people, as well as trials pertaining to enslavement, blasphemy,

[4] Rebecca Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacán* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 69–70.

[5] Note, however, that the manuscript's cover matter reads "no se siguio" (fol. 1ʳ), it did not proceed, after the names of the friars.

[6] Inquisición 366, legajo 19 and Inquisición 340, legajo 13, as cited in Jonathan Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 180–81.

[7] For more on HCAR's Conway Collection, see Jane Ackerman, "George Conway and His Library of Colonial Mexicana" (unpublished manuscript, 2012), consulted with permission of Drew Wood (University of Tulsa); Ivie E. Cadenhead Jr., "The G. R. G. Conway Collection in the Gilcrease Institute: A Checklist," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 38, no. 3 (1958): 373–82; Iván Rivero Hernández, "La Colección de Manuscritos Coloniales Hispanoamericanos del Helmerich Center for American Research, en Tulsa, Oklahoma (EE.UU.)," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, February 21, 2025, https://doi.org/10.4000/13d5o; John F. Schwaller, "Small Collections of Nahuatl Manuscripts in the United States," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 25 (1995): 377–416; Clevy Lloyd Strout, "Literary-Historical Treasures in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 43, no. 2 (1963): 267–70; "The Spanish Colonial Manuscript Collection (Conway)," Gilcrease Museum Online Collections, https://collections.gilcrease.org/spanish-colonial-manuscript-collection-conway;
Amanda Summers, "BLOG: The Helmerich Center for American Research, Part I: Visiting and Using the Archive," HLat-Am (H-Net), February 16, 2025, https://networks.h-net.org/group/blog/20059725/blog-helmerich-center-american-research-part-i-visiting-and-using-archive.

witchcraft, and crimes of the clergy. Seymour Liebman, while conducting research on the *judeoconversos* of Mexico City in the 1960s, noted that the 1500 bound volumes of Mexican inquisition records held by the AGN were not comprehensive, and that "some are owned by private citizens, and many are reposing in churches or other institutions both within and outside Mexico."[8] Liebman further noted the inaccessibility of inquisition records in Mexico at the time, and himself relied on earlier notes from Ivie Cadenhead Jr., highlighting the damage done to Mexico's historical record due to collectors like Conway and his colleagues.

Conway's collection was scattered after his death. Today, many archives house documents from Conway and his associates.[9] Some documents returned to Mexico, and some were sold to collections around the United States, Britain, and Canada. A large portion was donated or sold to rare books and manuscript collectors in the United States, including the Library of Congress, Thomas Gilcrease of Tulsa, and Philip and Abraham Rosenbach in Philadelphia, as well as to collections in Cambridge and Aberdeen in the United Kingdom. HCAR's Conway Collection pairs exceptionally well with other Spanish American and Inquisition collections in the United States, particularly the Henry Charles Lea Collection at the University of Pennsylvania, the Inquisition Manuscripts at the University of Notre Dame, the Huntington Library, the John Carter Brown Library, and the Latin Americana Collection at the University of California, Berkeley. All of these collections should be consulted in conjunction with research conducted at the AGN and the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Spain (AHN) to resituate documents in context of their original archival provenance.

While previously unpublished, the case is well situated for all manner of historical examinations. At first, the 1629 assault and desecration at Coyoacán may seem insignificant. However, the events detailed in the complaint can inform several types of cultural analysis.[10] The Coyoacán affair was a part of a larger scandal involving the archbishop and viceroy, as well as a series of conflicts between Mexico's mendicant orders. The public conflict between them escalated in the years affected by the flood of 1629, with the archbishop accusing the viceroy of gross corruption and negligence, calling upon a total reform or abolition of the system of *corregidores*.[11] The events in this case contributed to both the viceroy and the archbishop being recalled to Madrid on charges of corruption by the Council of

[8] Seymour B. Liebman, "The Jews of Colonial Mexico," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 43, no. 1 (1963): 98.

[9] Michael P. Costeloe, *Mexico State Papers, 1744–1843: A Descriptive Catalogue of the G. R. G. Conway Collection in the Institute of Historical Research, University of London* (London: Athlone Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies, 1976); J. Street, "The G. R. G. Conway Collection in Cambridge University Library: A Checklist," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 37, no. 1 (1957): 60–81; A. P. Thornton, "The G. R. G. Conway MS. Collection in the Library of the University of Aberdeen," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 36, no. 3 (1956): 345–47; Schafer Williams, "The G. R. G. Conway Collection in the Library of Congress: A Checklist," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 35, no. 3 (1955): 386–97.

[10] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

[11] Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico*, 181.

the Indies. Another effect of the flood present in this case was the escalating conflict between diocesan and mendicant clergy as people of all casta designations migrated and upset the existing ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Clergy were obliged to follow their flock, and as seen here, the archbishop dispatched priests to various towns to do so and administer sacraments.[12] Spanish colonialism, cities, and Catholicism are inextricable from each other. Cities and their churches were the launching points and central focus of the empire, and having the church of a mendicant order in town was a source of communal pride. The mendicant orders took a leading role in the formation and governance of colonial towns and were deeply embedded in urban social life. As they expanded through *pueblos de indios*, orders conflicted over operations as parish priests and mendicant privileges.[13] Moments of conflict between the mendicant orders were not uncommon, as seen in a similar incident of a Mercedarian friar vandalizing a Dominican altar and insulting the Dominicans as scoundrels in a dispute over the use of an order's scapular in a feast day procession.[14] These tensions existed because of the close connections the orders had to their urban communities.

The case can also be quite neatly dissected for studies of power and gender in a religious context. It can equally serve as an excellent starting source for students of the early Americas to reconsider the power structures of local church governance and the connection of these structures with broader imperial patterns and struggles. The years between roughly 1610 and 1640 are less studied by scholars of the Mexican Inquisition, as they are bookended by two periods of intense trials against *conversos* that attract the majority of academic study.[15] But this manuscript shows that,

[12] Ibid., 182–84.

[13] Karen Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God: Mendicant Orders and Urban Culture in New Spain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 2.

[14] Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 185.

[15] A non-exhaustive list includes: Rafaela Acevedo-Field, "Denunciation of Faith and Family: Crypto-Jews and the Inquisition in Seventeenth-Century Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2012); Solange Alberro, "Crypto-Jews and the Mexican Holy Office in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450–1800*, ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 172–85; Miriam Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Martin A. Cohen, "Some Misconceptions about the Crypto-Jews in Colonial Mexico," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (1972): 277–93; Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Great Visitas of the Mexican Holy Office, 1645–1669," *The Americas* 44, no. 4 (1988): 399–420; Seymour B. Liebman, *The Jews in New Spain: Faith, Flame, and the Inquisition* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1970); José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México* (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1905); J. Schorsch, "Jailed Judaizers and Their Jailers' Servants," in *Swimming the Christian Atlantic: Judeoconversos, Afroiberians, and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 245–82; Amanda Summers, "Controlling Bodies, Controlling Empire: Sex and Violence in The Inquisition Prisons of the Early Seventeenth Century Iberian Atlantic" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 2024); Eva Alexandra Uchmany, "The Participation of New Christians and Crypto-Jews in the Conquest, Colonization, and Trade of Spanish America, 1521–1660," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West,* 186–202; Nathan Wachtel, "Marrano Religiosity in Hispanic America in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West*, 149–71; Matthew Warshawsky, "Inquisitorial Prosecution of Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, a Crypto-Jew in Colonial Mexico," *Colonial Latin American Review* 17, no. 1 (2008): 101–23 and "Beatings and Blessings: The

even during periods of muted Inquisitorial activity, there was conflict among the clergy shaping the Church's jurisdiction.

There have been some major studies dedicated to conflicts among clergy in early colonial Mexican history. In addition to already referenced works, much scholarship tends to focus on the upper echelons of religious hierarchy, particularly jurisdictional conflicts between Inquisitors and Bishops or Viceroys.[16] John Schwaller has considered similar moments of conflict as "an important process whereby the checks and balances of the ecclesiastical system were defined."[17] Seemingly petty squabbles may appear unimportant, or a routine part of colonial instability, but infighting was important for establishing power, prestige, and the role of institutions. As Schwaller has termed them, such disputes were "the visible manifestation of the process of change." Martin Nesvig proposes that theological conflicts were a cover for attempts at greater social control, because theologians served as the empire's "directors of moral culture."[18] This manuscript comes from a period of a growing and powerful *criollo* elite, who worked to install their sons into positions of prestige and power, which would indicate not only a clamoring for positions of power among and within *criollo* families, but a feeling of still being threatened by *peninsulares* coming to occupy coveted positions as well.

A critical component of the complaint is the desecration of the host. The Council of Trent recommended frequent communion, and with it frequent confession. The intent was that frequent communion allowed the congregation to grow as members of the Church through spiritual transformation. According to sixteenth century Dominican Luis de Granada, communion should be an act of love for God, never taken out of spiritual greediness.[19] Setting an example, priests were expected to live exemplary lives at the risk of severe punishment, and "the faithful were taught that if one consumed the consecrated host in a state of grave sin, one committed a sacrilege that deserved eternal damnation."[20] Mass, though ceremonial, was understood to be the actualization of Christ's sacrifice and the eucharist transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ through the consecration. This entire process and belief system was interrupted by the desecration enacted by the friars. Taken literally within the theology of participation, the

Unorthodox Crypto-Judaism of Duarte de León Jaramillo and His Family," *Journal of Jewish Identities* 5, no. 1 (2012): 15–36; Arnold Wiznitzer, "Crypto-Jews in Mexico during the Seventeenth Century," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (1962): 222–68.

[16] Matthew O'Hara, *A Flock Divided: Race, Religion, and Politics in Mexico: 1749–1857* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacán*; Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico*; and Martin Nesvig, *Ideology and Inquisition: The World of the Censors in Early Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 135.

[17] John Frederick Schwaller, "The Cathedral Chapter of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 61, no. 4 (1981): 651.

[18] Ibid., 652; Nesvig, *Ideology and Inquisition*, 166.

[19] Lehner, Ulrich L. Lehner, "Eucharist and Confession," in *The Inner Life of Catholic Reform: From the Council of Trent to the Enlightenment*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 88–89.

[20] Ibid., 88.

severity of the interruption was even more extreme than perhaps taken at first reading. For both Spanish Catholics firm in their faith and newly converted and still learning Indigenous congregants, the act of interrupting Christ's actual sacrifice was, as they all noted, scandalizing.

This conflict also allows the scholar to better study individuals, making a break from studies of *the Church* or *the Inquisition*. The Dominican friars, Ferrufino, each witness, Inquisitor Baldespiña, and the Archbishop all appear with brief but intimate introspection into who they were individually, not just as a faceless institution. Kimberly Lynn has presented one such examination, but for only a small number of important Inquisitors, as has Gustav Henningsen, yet here again only for one critical Inquisitor.[21] Lynn showed the importance of considering the individual career goals of Inquisitors, and in so doing humanized the institution of the Inquisition instead of considering it as a monolithic impersonal office. Religious institutions in Mexico were built with individual motives guiding the actions of the office. Events were shaped by local conditions and disputes. Her guiding questions on accounting for individual action, activities, motivations, and decisions are valuable for the Inquisition but also for any level of Church and State governance. It's a critical consideration that organizations at their heart are composed of men with feelings, goals, and anxieties, many of whom were faced with difficult decisions of which the historian is left to make sense.[22]

Furthermore, the friars' actions demonstrate where religious leaders' beliefs and even emotions placed them in a moment of human fallibility. Their role of caring for and guiding the faithful permeated their thoughts even as they tried to separate themselves from the worldly in exchange for the holy. They occupied an emotionally charged and confusing space between theoretical/theological and worldly/tangible. As jurisdictional power struggles occur at all levels of the Church, scholarly examinations can and should be applied to priests of lower orders, as is evidenced in this case. A group of ambitious, early career men were abruptly put into sharp competition for advancement. Their anxieties led to a very public outburst of violence. Each of them was different, facing a unique challenge in this moment, and they faced unique outcomes and detriments to their careers as a result. While men's emotions are only more recently considered in the analysis of historical events, men are emotional beings. Barbara H Rosenwein has written several works addressing emotions as socially constructed within words and actions that form part of rhetorical conventions of communities in specific times and spaces.[23] In *Anger's Past*, she proposes the questions: If Monasticism is about

[21] Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate: Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition, 1609–1614* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980); Kimberly Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional: The Politics of Spanish Inquisitors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[22] Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional*, 2.

[23] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); *Emotional Communities in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); and *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

patience as a virtue, what happens when righteous anger is felt? And how does that expression leak to their flock and extend to the rest of the world? This case is an excellent study in intersecting lenses on monasticism, masculinity, and emotion. Masculinity is a performance that is constantly changing and being reinvented. Situating the individual man's emotional struggle for power, authority, and autonomy in early colonial Mexico, in a period considered a lull in inquisitorial activity, this source highlights where various emotions shaped the background struggles developing in Mexico's institutions, making them quite active. This struggle was rooted in masculine concerns over power, but also the basic standard of stability that came with their careers and how they could advance them (or not). The case below provides a unique opportunity to examine masculine culture in a relatively unexplored theater, the Church. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera has proposed increased examinations of masculine culture for colonial Mexico because histories too often "rely on the easy stereotype of…the Mexican macho."[24] There were many types of masculinity in colonial Mexico, and each had to manage hierarchies of personal relationships with a balance of power, compliance, and rebellion.

The manuscript highlights a remarkable and little explored aspect of masculine emotion: the expectations and behaviors distinctly expected of the clergy. Asunción Lavrin recently considered men in the mendicant orders in the growing field of masculinity studies.[25] In addition to the normal socialization priests were subjected to as they transitioned from boys to men, they were also given an additional education to develop a particular character (including piety and self-discipline) that led them to become social and intellectual leaders as well as theological ones. This character expectation had been developed in Spain but was smoothly transported to elite criollo families.[26] Maleness had to be reoriented to fit the Church. Renouncing the world, giving up many things they enjoyed as *men*, accepting a new set of values in exchange for the mission of their order—the principles of religion came above all other concerns. As the source shows, the initial masculine socialization of boys remained a key component of priestly socialization, emotion, and action.

Religious men are uniquely important for masculinity studies in colonial Mexico. They occupied a place between the worldly and the godly and had higher expectations for behavior thrust upon them, especially when faced with public scrutiny. The life experience of these friars, priest, and congregation illuminate the construction of certain masculine models because there are multiple masculinities in contest here. These are men of authority, men with ambitions, men with insecurities, men who have had their homes and careers disrupted, and men whose place in Christianity was new and tentative and threatened with excommunication. As Lavrin posited, "colonial history is replete with examples of men of the cloth whose activities could

[24] Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, *The Origins of Macho: Men and Masculinity in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019), 1.
[25] Asunción Lavrin, *Men of God: Mendicant Orders in Colonial Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2024).
[26] Ibid., xv.

and should be analyzed in terms of constructions of masculinities," including internal rivalries and conflicts as expressions of masculinity.[27] Even within churches outside of the metropolitan center of Mexico City, men fought over Indigenous Christianization, and they did so after evacuating their homes in a major flood, or traversing an ocean, a jungle, or a desert to participate in the colonial conversion project. All of the events leading to the disrupted Mass were physical and emotional experiences; internal and external battles where they had to decide how to manage challenges and emotions. As the source shows, even Dominican friars could fail to meet the moment for which they had been trained their whole lives.

As we see in the treatment and expulsion of Ferrufino, the struggle between men occupying different places in the Church hierarchy was ongoing and led to the feminization and humiliation of lower-class men. A man's dignity was connected to his work and his home, a truism that was particularly prescient for clergy whose entire lifestyle was provided by the Church. Men's labor became tied to their identities and was either a source of pride or shame, depending on where they sat in the class hierarchy and the type of labor they performed. For all the men in this trial, we can see where their sense of pride and fulfillment were tied to their positions in the Church. There were ways for men to denigrate each other by insulting the type of labor they performed or the manner in which this labor was performed. Though it was expected that men of the cloth would not fall to such worldly behaviors, this case demonstrates that even the clergy were men with emotions and worldly concerns. When an outside priest was brought in and disrupted the friars' place in the Church hierarchy, that was an attack on their livelihood, their home, and their honor.

The case provides an entry for examination of any number of broader events occurring in and around Mexico City in the early seventeenth century. Among its many considerations is that the trajectory to authority is not linear, ambitions can be disrupted and frustrated.[28] When that happens, there can be violent, public outbursts from men that can disrupt a congregation or a town and lead to interventions from those higher up. It opens questions for how this one moment not only shaped or ended the careers of these men and those who tried them, but of the congregation who witnessed the event. For the new *Indio* congregation members, could this have swayed them away from Catholicism and Spain's colonizing efforts? For the Spaniards who fled to Coyoacán in the wake of Mexico City's Massive 1629 flooding, would this sway their settlement patterns or engagement with the congregations led by these young priests? What financial effects would outbursts like this have on Mexico's smaller churches if congregants were driven away? The flood of 1629 had clear implications for Church membership in the city and surrounding towns, causing building and environmental damage, population disbursement, economic change, and congregational membership change. Amid the wreckage, this source shows, emerged a disconnect between the Cathedral and other churches in the region, leading to power struggles at every level of Church leadership alongside gendered and class concerns.

[27] Ibid., xxiii.
[28] Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional*, 9.

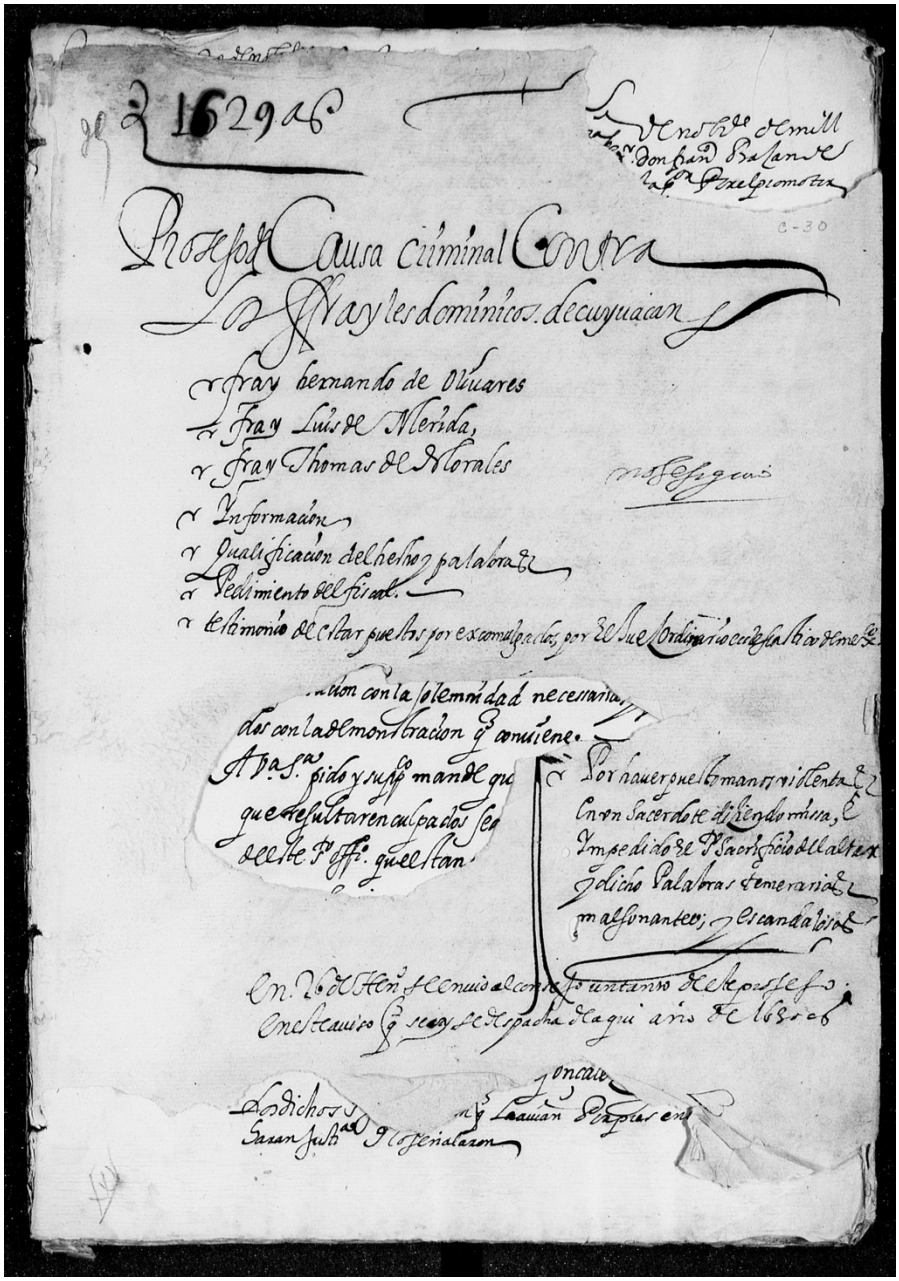

Figure 1. "Proseso de causa criminal contra los frayles dominicos de cuyuacan," Helmerich Center for American Research (HCAR), Tulsa, Oklahoma, Conway Collection of Spanish Colonial Manuscripts, Acc. No. 40.10030 (previously C-30), fol. 1r.

The Criminal Case Against the Dominican Friars of Coyoacán[29]

1629 a[no]s

Proseso de Causa Criminal contra los frayles dominicos de cuyuacan

- ~ fray hernando de Olivares
- ~ fray Luis de Merida,
- ~ fray Thomas de Morales

no se siguio

- ~ Ynformación
- ~ Qualificación del hecho y palabras
- ~ Pedimiento del fiscal
- ~ testimonio de estar puestos por excomulgados por el Juez ordinario eclesiástico de Mex[i]co

Por haver puesto manos violentas en un sacerdote diziendo missa, e ympedido el S[an]to sacrificio del altar y dicho Palabras temerarias, malsonantes, y escandalosas[30]

En 26 de Hen[er]o se envió al consejo un tanto de este proseso en este aviso q[ue] seay se despacha de aquí año de 1630 a[no]s
[end 1^{r}. 1^{v} is blank]

Presentada en 20 de nobr[iemb]re de 1629 a[no]s

+ Muy Ill[ustr]ees S[eñore]S

[29] The manuscript is sixteen folios, with several blank versos and one entirely blank leaf (fol. $14^{r\text{-}v}$). The following transcription is diplomatic, except for orthographic normalization of u/v and s/f characters. Paragraphing, punctuation, and capitalization have been preserved. Abbreviations have been expanded in brackets. Catchwords are included in the running text and omitted from the preceding page transcript.

[30] There is a hole in the page to the left of this sentence, which is written in a column to the right of the page.

~ En la çiudad de Mex[i]co veinte días de nobr[iemb]re de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve a[no]s ante los dos Inq[uisid]or d[octo]r don Fran[cisc]o Bazan de Albornoz y L[icencia]do Gaspar de baldespina se leyo esta p[etiti]on por el promoter fiscal presentada. ~ y vista por,

~ El Do[cto]r Soltero Promotor fiscal de este s[an]to offi[ci]o en la mejor via y forma que aya lugar de derecho; y premisso lo necesario, denuncio y me querello criminalmente de fray Hernando de Olivares, fray Luis de Mérida y fray Thomas de Morales, Religiossos professos de la orden de Santo Domingo, moradores del Conv[en]to de la villa de Cuyocan; y de las demas personae q[ue] parescieren culpadas, y dijo = que los suso dichos con poco temor de Dios y en daño de sus consciencias; y en grave escandalo del pueblo Xpiano han cometido muy graves delictos contra n[uest]ra S[an]ta Fe Catholica, Como consta de la ynform[aci]on y qualificación dellos de que hago Presentación con la solemnidad necesaria; y para que sean castigados con la demostración q[ue] conviene. ~

A v[uestr]a S[eñori]a pido y supp[li]co mande que los suso dichos Religiossos y demas que resultaren culpados sean presos y traydos a las carceles de este s[an]to offi[ci]o que estando en ellas, protesto accusarlos mas en forma y seguir contra ellos mi Just[ic]a la qual pido; y para ello &c y juro en forma esta mi querella no ser de malicia. —

-D[oct]or Bartholome Gonçalez Soltero[31]

Los dichos S[eño]res Inq[uisid]ores dijeron q[ue] le auian por presentada y por haran justi[ci]a q[ue] lo senalaron

[end 2^{r}][2^{v} is blank]

[31] The text contains a cross above Bartholome and an additional decorative signature.

B[achille]r B[artolo]me Lopez a Fray B[artolo]me enriquez de la orden de s[an]to domingo[32]

En la ciudad de mex[i]co lunes el ventinueve días del mes de otubre de mill seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años ante el s[eño]r inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en fu audiençia, de la tarde mando entrar en ella a un clerigo saserdote que bino de su boluntad del qual fue resevido Juramento en berbo saserdotis prometio de dezir Berdad y dijo llamarse

-el Br. Bme Lopes clerigo Presvitero natural de Jerez de la frontera, que Bive en la calle del arco junto a los portales de tejada Y acude de ordinario a la yglesia Mayor y que es de hedad de treinta y seis o quarenta años.

-Dixo para descargó de su consençia que un día después que susedió el alboroto y caso, que los frayles dominicos tubieron con un saserdote que el s[eño]r arçobispo havía enviado al dicho lugar de Cuyuacan a administrar los sacramentos a los españoles y estando este testigo en la yglesia mayor de esta çiudad en compañía de otros clerigos bio entrar en la yglesia a un frayle dominico que le dijo llamarse fray B[artolo]me Enrríques y Preguntandole del suseso que auia avido en dicho Cuyuacan Le dixo como venía a hablar al dean y al maestre escuela de la dicha santa yglesia, Y no hallando al dean aguardo, al maestre escuela que acavasen, nona, y Bísperas, y bío en manos del dicho Religioso un pliego de cartas con el sobre escrito para el dicho maese escuela Y antes que saliese, parlando este testigo con el dicho Religioso[.] Le pregunto el caso que avia susedido, el qual le dijo cómo él se avia hallado presente y que el Y otros dos Religiosos de su orden havían llegado a una hermita del dicho lugar donde havían hallado selebrando misa a un saserdote; que este testigo le dixo [end 3r]

[32] Upper left marginalia.

siera el L[icencia]do Ferrufino el qual le dijo que sí y que era un embustero alborotador de las quales Palabras siempre que se offresía mentarlo usaba = Y que havían llegado
quando el dicho saserdote estava en el orate fratres y lo primero que hizieron apagando las candelas fue dezirle tengase no pas[e][33] de aquí, Y le fueren quitando los demas aparejos como fue ara, calix y ostia, misal, y que dandole a otro el calix se avía de Ramado por un tornillo y La ostia se avía caydo en el suelo aunque no se avía quebrado, ni dixo quien la avia alsado y que avian hecho mal enno llavarse consigo al saserdote y que le dixo tanvién comoavía mucha jente española, y mestisa. Y que tanvién havía un fray le agustino el qual diría en el estado que estava la misa que los Barbades que savían ellos de eso. Y que tambien le dijo que quando yban a entrar en la dicha ermita siera clerigo que allí estava. fuera de la ermita Paseandose que traya unos antojos canicolorado le avía dicho al dicho Religioso que no entrase que estavan selevrando ~y Replicandole este testigo, Y tratando sobre siera sacrifisio ono, después de la oblata, le dijo este testigo que si ubiera el saserdote consagrado que que fuera. a que Respondió el dicho Religioso, que según estavan de colericos que lo mesmo fuera, y esto fue en orden atratan de la Jurisdisión que tenía el S[eño]r arsobispo Para administrar los santos sacramentos, o ellos en el dicho lugar Y que sobre esto apelo toda la conbersaçión alegando el dicho Religioso. Sus bulas y Privilegios que tienen y que Benía de hablar al S[eño]r arsobispo. Y que le avia Respondido mansamente, q[ue] porque no avian
[end 3v]

dejado acavar La misa Y que por haver hecho escrupulo de esto el savado Pasado que se contaron veintisiete de este presente mes entrego al s[eño]r fiscal

[33] Hole in page.

de este s[an]to off[ici]o un papel firmado de su n[ombr]e de su mesma Letra, todo, y aviéndoselo enseñado, dixo que era suyo, y el lo havía escrito y que aquello Y esto que a dicho se entienda seando uno y aviendosela leydo dixo estar Bien escrito Y que no lo dize por odio ni enemistad sino por descargo de su consençia Y lo firmo en cargosele el secreto en forma prometio lo, Br. Bme Lopes ante mí.

Eugenio de Saravia —

T[estigo]o el Br estevan de ferrufino a los frayles dominicos de cuyuacan[34] e luego yncontinenti el dicho s[eño]r inqu[uisid]or mandó entran en la dicha audi[enci]a un Clérigo que Bino de su boluntad del qual fue resevido Juramento yn verbo saserdotis Prometio de dezir berdad y dijo llamarse —~el Br Estevan de Ferrufino Presbítero n[atura]l de esta çiudad que Bive en casa de Juan B[apist]a de rio frio en la calle de santo domingo de hedad de treinta y sinco años + y dixo por descargo de su consençia que biene a dezir y declararar que estando este testigo Con su casa en una hazienda Junto a tacubaya que llaman Cartaga. Cuya hazienda es de estavan ferrufino su tío, le llego el lunes veintidos de este pres[en]te mes una orden y licençia q[ue] del s[eño]r arçobispo de esta çiudad Para administrar los sacramentos en la villa de cuyuacan como feligresia que es de la perroquía de la veracruz de esta ciudad. Y con la ocasión de la ynundaçión de esta çiudad y haverse ydo mucha jente de mex[i]co a la dicha villa ~el dicho día fue este testigo a hablar al provinçial de santo domingo que estava en el conbento de cuyucan e ynsinuandole
el orden que tenía de su s[eñoría] ill[ustrisi]ma, Le respondio el provincial y los demas Religiosos que tenían muchos Privilegos

[end 4r]

[34] Center page left marginalia.

Para no consentir semejante administración y qué mientras no trusesen provisión de su mag[esta]d que no lo avían de consentir con lo qual este testigo procuro ocasión en la dicha villa de cuyuacan Para dezir misa y haviendo ydo, el miércoles veintiquatro de este dicho mes entre sinco y seis de la mañana al lugar de san matheo, por ser administrasión de Clérigos hizo con el sacristán que llevase el Recado Para poder dezir misa el qual lo llevo salbo el calix Y corporales que este declarante tenía suyos y Con ellos se bino a la billa de Cuyuacan adonde esta una hermita llamada la Consepsion, de jente donde se suele dezir misa que tenía un tabernaculo y su altar de piedra, adonde se adorno y comenzo a bestir Para dezir misa, estando Presentes el sacristán de san matheo yndio, un negro esclavo llamado melchor y un chino libre que esta en servisio de este testigo y Luis Sanches español maestro de armas, que fue por vino para la misa. Y Por un escrivano que diese ffee de como dezía misa Y estando ya rebestido Para dezirla llegó el dicho Luis Sanches con gregorio de santacruz escrivano de Residençia Y un don Graviel alguasil y otros ministros de la dicha Residencia y haviendo enpesado la misa, le ayudo a ella un B[artolo]me de Seli[s] que trae avito de jente n[atura]l de esta çiudad que Bivía junto a la m[erce]d, Y haviendo llegado a la epístola diziendo, el tracto, llego al altar el Br Domingo de Riviera clérigo de orden sacro y dixo a este testigo, como el escrivi[an]o pedia los recuados que tenía de s[eñoría] ill[ustrisi]ma para poder dar el testimonio Los quales tenía este testigo sobre el mesmo altar Reselandose de lo que podía Resultar y le hizo señal con el Rostro que allí estavan y el dicho domingo de Rivera los tomo y llevo al dicho escrivano el qual los llevó
[end 4v]

Y se fue con ellos a san agustín adonde este testigo enbío por ellos con un esclavo, y selos trujeron después de uno o dos días sin que le diese testimonio

con una carta enque Benían enbueltos Los dichos Recados y Le dezía cómo selos embiava Y que el testimonio con las ocupasiones de la Residençia no se los podía enviar — Y prosiguiendo en la misa antes de dezir el evangelio y estando en el tocaron la campana de la dicha ermita que está ensima della y otra poravajo al Rededor de la dicha ermita con lo qual se juntaron muchos hombres y mujeres a oyr la dicha misa y prosiguiendo en ella con muy Gran quietud, hizo el calix, y el ofertorio casi del como de la ostia y se labo las manos y dijo el orate fratres. Y el prefacio de n[uestr]a S[eñor]a de la consepsión por dezir la misa della, y haviéndole acavado le dijo el que le ayudava como Benían unos frayles dominicos con muchos yndios haziendo muy Grande Ruido y Boces, que las oya. en el altar diziendo cleriguillo ynfame ydiota enbustero suspenso. Y a todo esto este testigo Prosiguió con su misa y en alta bos dixo, et omnium sircunstansion y Yaque llegavan al altar los dichos frayles que serían a su pareser quatro o sinco - dixo en altabos, comunicante et memoriam Benerantes de manera que lo pudieren oyr todos los que estavan oyendola dicha misa. Y a este tiempo uno de los dichos Religiosos que se llama fray Fulano de merida llego al altar con muy Grande desacato y quito el misal y la candela de aquella parte y por la otra parte otro Religioso diferente quito la vela y descubrio el calix y derramo en el suelo la offerta de bino y agua. Partee n el suelo y parte en los pies del dicho chino su criado de este declarante con palabras y[g]nominiosas diziéndole quítese de ay el embustero
[end 5^{r}]

y Bolviendose al pueblo uno de los dichos Religiosos dixo en alta bos que todos los que estaban allí que avían Benido a oyr la dicha misa estaban descomulgados porque este testigo no era saserdote y que estava suspenso porque seavía metido en su juridicion, Y a este tiempo este testigo por obligarles a que le dexaran

proseguir en el sacrifisio y el bolvieran el calix, tomo la hostia en las manos y diziendo las palabras, *at sepit* [*accepit*] *pannem*, uno de los dichos Religiosos dixo con bos alterada que a saltado, no llegava aquí y diziendo y haziendo con su mano cojio y arrebato la ostia estrujandola en su mano Y la echo en el suelo adonde después pareció, y dándole a este testigo Rempujones y empellomes paraquese desnudase llamandole de enbustero y de ydiota quitando con mucha dilijençia todo lo demas del altar. Y viendo ya desnudo y desmantelado el dicho altar, hallo este testigo el calix a un lado y cojiéndole en las manos se Bolbió al pueblo y dijo en alta Bos seanme testigos como lo que tenía este calix, lo derramaron los padres a lo qual con gran biolençia llegaron los dichos Religiosos y se lo quitaron de las manos, y según después pareçió el dicho calix havían dado con el en el suelo Pues estava abollado y sin tornillo el qual nunca paresió Y en toda esta ocasión y tiempo estavan los dichos Religiosos con palos amenasando y uno dellos llamado según dizen fray Hernando de Olivares se Jatava y Repetía muchas Bezes que avía de matar a este testigo y desaparesele a palos a lo qual un
hombre español criado de su ex[celenci]a que dize ser su cosinero embistió con uno de los dichos Religiosos enpunandose en la daga para querer darle a uno dellos porel maltrato que le hazían a este testigo diziéndole
[end 5^{v}]

que en berberia no se podían hazer semejantes acciones, a lo qual este testigo le pidió muy en caresidamente que no hiziese tal que aunque estavan enojados eran saserdotes y Religiosos Y todo no Basto para que los dichos Religiosos dejasen de proseguir con su colera y enojo y Bueltos a este testigo con muy Gran colera diciendole palabras afrentosas Les Respondió que soseegasen que todos eran saserdote y que este ^{testigo} no tenía causa ni enojo para que ellos le

tubiesn y diesen mal exemplo al pueblo que avia muchos yndios que se escandalisarian los quales estavan tristes y melancolicos por ber semejante acto, Y pasando en esto muy Gran tiempo Y ya cansado y affigido se puso de Rodillas Y les dijo que pues no estavan satisfechos[35] que alli estava que acauasen de quitarle la vida O[36] lo amarrasen a un pilar de lo qual los sercunstantes hizieron Gran sentimiento diziendo que ya se acavaba el mundo. Pues Bien semejantes cosas y que que avia que espantar que se anegase méx[i]co pues susedian semejantes cosas a lo qual Respondieren los dichos Religiosos que eran unos embusteros que quiera aquello y estando este testigo de Rodillas todo este tiempo Bolbiendo el rrostro Bio la hosti en el suelo estrujada como la havían arrojado y con gran dolor La levanto diziendo por que estar Bendita. Y la puso sobre el altar de donde no save que Religiosos la cojió y arrojo segundaves en el suelo diziendo mire el ydiota quien Le dijo a el que estava Bendita y con esto mandaron a los yndios
[end 6r]

Riñendolos porquellos no querían llegar, que quitasen y desbaratasen el altar que estava hecho de piedra muchos años antes, y de hecho lo desbarataron y dejen que todos los otros altares de las otras hermitas, y Bisto que no podía proseguir con el sacrificio de la misa muchos de los españoles seglares que havía le persuadieron que se desnudase este confesante y que le llevarían a su casa. Y haviéndose desnudado y entregado los ornamentos al sacristán que los avia traydo y Buscando las demas cosar como fueron calix corporales patena y purificador hallo en diferentes personas de yndios los corporales calix y patena tratandolos yndesenteminte sin poder haver hallado el purificador y funda del

[35] Hole in paper.
[36] Hole in paper continues.

calix y el tornillo que se quedó perdido,[37] a todo lo qual estavan presentes los dichos sin[co][38] o seys Religiosos diziendo con bozes acauese de yr de aquí el enbustero de manera que todos los sircunstantes quedaron admirados y escandalizados de haver bisto semejante hecho y aun toda esta Republica de Mex[i]co Lo esta oy esperando, una gran demotrasion de caso semejante. Y este testigo se fue a una casa y se Bino a esta çiudad a dar q[ues]ta a su s[eñori]a Ill[ustrisi]ma de lo susedió como tenía oblig[aci]on por averle enviado fu Ill[ustrisi]ma a la administración de los sacramentos de la dicha villa de cuyuacan

-y que en esta razon tiene dicho su dicha declaraçion de todo lo que paso en la dicho villa de cuyuacan

ante el Dr. Andres Fernandes Ju[e]z Comis[ari]o que su s[eñori]a Ill[ustrisi]ma envio ala averiguaçion de este caso el qual la hiza

[end 6^{v}]

copiosamente con ve[i]n[te]quatro testigos a la qual y a lo que allí dijo. Se rremite este testigo y que esta es la berdad de lo que paso. Para el juramento q[u]e tiene fecho y no lo dize por odio ni enemistad que tenga contra los dichos Religiosos con averle maltratado como dicho tiene y no a tenido contra ellos odio ni mala boluntad y haviendosele leydo dixo estar bien escrito y lo apido y firmo en cargosele el secreto en forma prometidolo, el B[achille]r estevan de ferrufino ante mí eugenio de saravia

-sacado del quaderno segundo de testificafiones a fojas dusientas y sinq[uen]ta y sinco con que concuerda de q[ue] doy fe

-Eugenio de Saravia[39]

[37] Hole in paper.
[38] Hole in paper continues.
[39] Signature.

~En la çiudad de Mex[i]co miercoles treintayuno de otubre de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años antes el S[eño]r Inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audi[eni]a de la tarde mando entrar en ella a un hombre sien do llamado del qual fue resivido juramento en forma prometio de dezir Berdad y dijo llamarse

—Pedro espín n[atura]l de la çiudad de hamburgo. clarîn del s[eño]r marqués de Serralbo birrey de este Reyno q[ue] Bino con su ex[celenci]a de spaña y es de hedad de veintiun años-

Preguntado si save o presume la causa para que a sido llamado

~dixo que es para que diga loque bieron en cuyuacan, de los frayles que Rineron con el saserdote y que lo que bio fue que estando en la villa de cuyuacan este testigo el miércoles pasado que se contaron veintequatro días de este pressente mes con otro compañero suyo llamado Luis de Pensé

[end 7r]

Crîado del s[eño]r Birrey q[ue] sirve de cosinero q[ue] havian ydo a buscar a otro compañero para que fuera con al desague con el s[eño]r Birrey y haviendo oydo muy de mañana que tocavan a misa en una hermita dixo este testigo a su compañero que fuesen a oyr misa y haviendo entrado en la dicha hermita hallaron a un saserdote Revestido en el altar que rasadam[en]te havîa enpesado la misa y estandola oyendo con quietud, llegaron dos Religiosos dominicos saserdotes al pareser, con dos garrotes en las manos despues que el saserdote avîa dicho el orate fratres y dixeron a este testigo y a los demas que se saliesen de allí y no oyesen misa porque estavan desculmugados y se llegaron al saserdote que estava en el altar diziendo mifa y le dixeron que no pasasse adelante Y le quitaron el misal y se lo dieron a un muchacho y Pidiéndoles el saserdote q[ue] le dexaran acavar la misa no quitaron diziendole Palabras ynjuriosas y que era un ydiota cleriguillo desuergonsado que se fuese de allí y le qitaron el calix y de Ramaron las ofrenda que tenia Y porfiando que se fuese y fino que lo matarían

a palos el dicho saserdote se hinco de Rodillas y les dixo que hiziesen lo que quisiesen del, que alli estava y a esta ocasión ya havían entrado otros dos Religiosos que tratandole mal no le dejaron acavar la misa. Y le obligaron a que se desnudase Los ornamentos y se fuese adonde estava el provinçial y otros Religiosos que tambien le trataron mal de Palabra y a todo esto los hombres y mujeres q[ue] oyan la misa llorando. Havan Grandes Bozes diziendo
[end 7ᵛ]

que por amor de Dios no mal tratasen a un saserdote de aquella manera. Y el compañero de este testigo dixo que si fueran seculares los mataría a puñaladas y que no se podía hazer más entre hereges que lo que con aquel saserdote havían hecho y que todo aquel lugar y esta çiudad está escandalizada de semejante caso. Y contandolo a la ex[celentisi]ma s[eñor]a Birreyna Morana de lastîma de oyr semejante suseso y que en esta R[az]on tiene dicho su dicho ante un juez comis[ari]p del s[eño]r arçobispo que se entienda de estoy y aquello seando uno y no contradisirse en cosa alguna y que esta es la verdad P[or] el juramento q[ue] tiene fecho y no lo dize por odio ni enemistad que tenga Y aviendosele leydos dixo esta bien escrito y lo firmo encargosele el secreto en forma promentiolo y firmolo, Pedro espín, antemí, eugenio de saravia
-concuerda con su orig[ina]l que esta en el libro segundo de testificasiones a fojas du sientas y sinquuenta y nueve de que doy

__Eugenio de Saravia[40]

Luego yncontinenti el dicho S[eñor] Inq[uisid]or mando entrar de la porteria a un hombre del qual fue r[eseui]do Juram[en]to en forma siendo llamado y dijo llamarse

[40] Signature

- Luis de Aponte n[atura]l de aras en flandes criado del s[eño]r Birrey q[ue] se ocupa en ser su cosinero de hedad de v[ein]te y nueve años = Preguntado si save o presume la causa p[or] que a sido llamado = dixo que poco mas o menos entiende sera por lo de cuyuacan = Preguntado qué fue lo que ubo en cuyuacan -dixo que el miércoles Pasado que se contaron veintiquatro de este presente mes estando en la villa de cuyuacan que avia ydo a buscar un pastelero para que fuese con el s[eño]r Birrey al desague oyo, que avian tenido a misa en una, hermita serca de cuyuacan y fue con otro compañero suyo a oyrla y hallaron a un saserdote que estava Revestido co[men]zando[41] la misa y después de aver dicho el orate fratres entraron dos frayles con dos palos en las manos y dijeron a este y a todos los demas que estavan oyendo misa q[ue] se saliesen porque estaven descomulgados y llegaron al altar y quitaron el misal y las candelas y el calix y lo derramaron en el suelo lo que estava dentro del y dijeron al saserdote que no Prosiguiese y se fuese de allí que era un ydiota Y clerigillo desbergonsado y luego llegaron otros dos Religiosos haziendo lo mesmo que los otros amagando con los Palos diziéendole que era un clérigo desbergonsado y le dixeron que lo matarîan a Palos y a esta sason
[end 8r]

seles hînco de Rodillas diziendo q[ue] allí estava q[ue] hiziesen lo que quisiesen y a todo este estava Revestido con sus ornamentos que dezía misa y aunqueles Rogo muchas vezes le dejasen acauar la misa no quisieron y quitaron todos los aparejos del altar diziendo que era un picaro ladron q[ue] lo avian de hazera agorcar en la plaza publica Y esto Con tanto Coraje Como si fueran erejes, y que aunque a visto muchos erejes en alemania y en françia no a visto semejante desacato que hallandose este testigo entre ungria y alemania en el campo del

[41] There is a water mark in the obscuring the -men-.

emperador a donde avía mas de treintamill hombres catholicos que yban contra el palatino y de su parte Benían mas de quarenta mill hombres, y estando el exerrito católico oyendo misa en el campo no quisieran los enemigos acometerles hasta q[ue] se acavara la misa lo qual dixo este testigo en la dicha ocasión y uno de los Religiosos le dixo como era un desbergonsado y que no sabia lo que se dezía que se fueran a mala con que este testigo se encoleriso y le dixo que si no fuera saserdote la diera de puñaladas de que toda la gente que allí avía presente clamavan y daban bozes de que no havía Justicia en la tierra que biniese del çielo Para aquel caso. Y que en este razon tiene dicho su dicho ante un juez comis[ari]o del s[eño]r arçobispo que se entienda ser todo uno y que es la verdad para el Juramento que tiene fecho y no lo dize por odio ni enemistad que tenga a los dichos Religiosos encargosele el secreto en el forma prometiolo y firmo lo de su n[ombr]e Luis de aponte antemi eugenio de saravia___
-Concuerda con su orig[ina]l que está en el segundo libro de testificaciones a fojas dusientas y sesenta de q[ue] doy ffe

-Eugenio de Saravia

[end 8^{v}]

El B[achille]r don mig[ue]l Chavez de Rivera C[ontr]a los frayles dominicos -en la ciudad de méx[i]co lunes sinco días del mes de otubre digo nob[riembr]e de mill seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años ante el s[eño]r inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audi[enci]a de la mañana un hombre siendo llamado del qual se resivio Juramento en forma se cargo del qual promeno de dezir Berdad y dijo llamarse
- el B[achille]r donmiguel chavez de Rivera n[atura]l de esta çiudad y vez[in]o a della q[ue] al press[en]te reside en la vílla de cuyuacan por causa de la ynundasión de esta ciudad y Bive en la dicha vílla con doña Fran[cis]ca de

Herrera balderrama su madre y que es de hedad de veintidos años poco mas o menos.
- Preguntado si sabe o presume la causa para q[ue] a sido llamado
-Dixo que presume que sera para q[ue] diga serca del suseco q[ue] pasó en cuyuacan ~~serca de lo q~~ con los frayles dominicos y un saserdote estando diziendo misa
-Preguntado q[ue] es loq[ue] paso ~
-Dixo que estando este testigo en la villa de cuyuacan miércoles ventiquatro días del mes de otubre de este pres[en]te año vio como en una ermita q[ue] llaman de n[uestr]a s[eñor]a de la conçepçion se Revistio para dezir misa el B[achille]r estevan ferrufino q[ue] yba con la lisençia del s[eño]r arçobispo y aviéndose Revestido y comenzado la misa hallandose alli un escrivano q[ue] dixeron estava en aquel lugar tomando la Residencia del dicho lugar el qual dixo a este testigo q[ue] pidiese al dicho estevan ferrufino la lisençia q[ue] tenía del s[eño]r arçobispo para poder hazer causa y darle
[end 9^{r}]

el testimonio de cómo dezía misa. Y este testigo fue al altar y pidió al dicho esteban ferrufino la dicha lisençia el qual la tenía sobre el altar y le dixo la tomase y llevase al dicho escrivano y haviendosela llevado y entregado se bolvió a oyr su misa y estando diziendo | orate fratres | bio que entraron dos Religiosos de la orden de santa domingo con fus Baculos en las manos. q[ue] dizen se llamavan fray tomas y fray Luis q[ue] no les save los sobrenombres q[ue] son saserdotes. Y el dicho fray tomas entro diziendo no le dexemos acavar la misa y llegándose al altar el uno apago las Belas y el otro apago el misal diziéndole que no Prosiguiese la misa y con el mucho Ruido que causo el escándalo que hazían, no pudo oyr. Las Palabras que le dixeron al saserdote Y que otro Religioso

distinto q[ue] se llama fray Hernando de olivares llego al altar y quito el calix. Y lo deramo en el suelo Públicamente q[ue] lo vieron todos y causo tanto escandalo q[ue] todos levantaron el grito. Y lo murmaron a lo qual el saserdote se bolvió al pueblo y dixo que le fuesen testigos q[ue] avîan deramado los P[adre]s el calix en el suelo y por la gran turbasión q[ue] este testigo tubo del hecho, no se acuerda de distintamente de lo q[ue] hizieron al dicho saserdote solo vio q[ue] se hinco de Rodilla y les dixo que hiziesen del loq[ue] quisiesen. Y como desnudaron el altar de manera q[ue] no pudo acavar la misa el dicho saserdote haviéndose ydo este testigo a su casa porque no le susediese alguna [end 9^{v}]

desgrasia Bolvió dentro de Poco Rato. Y vio como havían quitado el altar del tabernaculo que solía estar antes siempre Puesto. Y oy no lo esta sino solo los días de fiesta quando Ban los Religiosos a dezir misa. Y que esto fue lo que bio. Y que tanvien los dichos Religiosos ympelîan a algunos seglares diziendoles q[ue] estavan descomulgados que no Podían oyr allí misas de lo qual todo se siguio un gran escándalo y murmuracion q[ue] hasta oy dura de eur un atrevimiento semejante y que en esta Razón tiene dicho su dicho ante el Dr andres fernandes juez comisario del s[eño]r arçobispo q[ue] este y aquel se entienda ser todo uno y la verdad p[or] el juramento q[ue] tiene fecho y no lo dize p[or] odio ni enemistad q[ue] les tenga a los dichos frayles encargosele el secreto en forma prementiolo y firmola de su n[ombr]e y aviendoselo leydo dixo estar Bien escrito || testado. | serca de lo que | no bala___
Antemí Eugenio de Saravia B[achille]r Miguel Chaves de Ribera[42]

[42] Both men's signatures.

~en la ciudad de mex[i]co Lunes sinco días del mes de no[viem]br[e] de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años ante el s[eño]r Inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audi[enci]a de la tarde
[end 10r]

~en la ciudad de mex[i]co Lunes sinco días del mes de no[viem]bre de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años estando en su audi[enci]a de la tarde el s[eño]r Inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña Paresio siendo llamado un hombre y Juro en forma prometio de dezir Berdad y dixo llamarse
[end 10v]

Bar[tolo]me de Celis[43]
-B[artolo]me de Selis de ordenes menores n[atura]l de la çiudad de mex[i]co q[ue] Bivía en la calle de la m[erce]d, y por la ynundaçión Reside al pres[en]te en cuicuacan, Hijo de B[artolo]me de selis Procurader de los n[atural]es de esta çiudad y que es de hedad de t[rein]ta seis años —
~Preguntado si save o Presume la causa p[or] que a sido llamado
-dixo que Presume sera Por lo que susedió en Cuyuacan de los frayles dominicos
-Preguntado q[ue] es loque susedió
-dixo que estando este testigo en la villa de cuyuacan el miércoles Pasado que se contaron veintiquatro de otubre este presente mes Pafando Por una hermita que se llama n[uest]ra S[eñor]a de la conçepsión le llamo un saserdote llamado estevan ferrufino Para que le ayudará a misa. Y haviendo entrado en la dicha hermita, le ayudo a Revestir. Y la misa, desde él ytroyto haviendo dicho la epístola comenzaron a tocar a misa. Y prosiguiendo en ella haviendo dicho el evangélio

[43] Upper left marginalia.

y ofertorio y hecho el calis y la oblata y lavándose las manos y dicho orate fratres llegaron dos Religiosos de la orden de s[an]to domingo saserdotes con dos Baculos en las manos que no los conosio ni save como se llaman que dezían se llamava el uno fray Tomás de morales y el otro fray Luis y llegados al altar donde estava diziendo misa el dicho saserdote le dixeren que con que lisençía dezia misa Y que era un clerigillo de burla y ydiota y luego apagaron las velas y quitaron el calis derramando en el suelo, la oblata y obligándole con malas Palabras a que se fuese y no acavase el sacrifisdio como lo hizo desnudando [end 11r]

el altar y quitando todos los ornamentos del y a está ocasión el dicho saserdote se hinco de rodillas pidiéndoles le dexasen acavar la misa. Y amenasando y tratándolo mal de palavra les Respondió que allí estava que hiziesen del lo que quisiesen. Ya esta ocasión entraron otros tres Religiosos que dixeron a voser a los seglares que se fuesen que estavan descomulgados Por que oyan aquella misa con lo qual no Permitieron a que el dicho saserdote acavase la misa y le obligaron que se desnudase como lo hizo y tomó su manteo y se fue a su casa y los dichos Religiosos quitaron luego la peaña del altar y el tabernaculo y lo mesmo hizieren en las demas ermitas del dicho lugar y que a todo esto se hallo presente como Persona que ayudava la dicha misa y otras muchas personas hombres y mugeres españoles y yndios de que todos se escandalisaron de ver semejante hecho. Y que esta es la verdad para el Juramento q[ue] tiene fecho y que en esta Razón tiene dicho otro dicho ante el do[cto]r andrés f[ernande]z Juez comis[ari]o del s[eño]r arçobispo que este y aquel se entienda seando uno. Y no contradizirse y que no lo dize p[or] odio ni enemistad que tenga a los suso dichos encargosele el secreto en forma prometiolo y haviéndosele leydo dixo

estar Bien escrito y firmólo de su n[ombr]e – entrerrenglones | otubre | Bala enm[enda]do | ano Balo
-Antemi Eug[eni]o de Saravia Bartolome de Celi[44]
[end 11v]

-En la ciudad de mex[i]co martes seys días del mes de nob[riemb]re de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años ante el s[eño]r inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audi[enci]a de la tarde mando en ella un hombre
[end 12r]

siendo llamado del quál fue Resevido Juramento en forma prometio de dezir la berdad y dixo llamarse___
-Luis Sánches vez[in]o de esta çiudad q[ue] por la ynundasión al pres[en]te reside en san mateo termíno de cuyuacan es maestro de armas y de hedad de sincuenta años poco más o menos
-Preguntado si save o presume la causa Para que a sido llamado por este santo off[ici]o —
-dixo q[ue] presume será Para que diga lo que paso en cuyuacan con los frayles de Santo domingo y el L[icencia]do estevan de ferrufino
-Preguntado qué es lo que paso entre los susodichos
-dixo que estando el miércoles pasado veintiquatro del mes de otubre de este presente año en el dicho lugar de san mateo Para yr a oyr misa al convento de Santa maría de Churibusco Bio pasar un saserdote llamado estevan de ferrufino q[ue] le preguntó dónde yba y diziéndole que a oyr misa a santa maría Le Respondió q[ue] se fuese con él que él la yba a dezir a una hermita sería de allí

[44] Both men's signature.

q[ue] se llama n[uestr]a s[eñor]a de la concepçión Y que le faltava un poco de vino para dezirla y este testigo se fue con él y tomando su cvallo del dicho clérigo fue y le trajo el Bino y con alguna Priesa adornaron el altar de la dicha ermita y se Revistio para dezir la misa y aviendola comenzado y dicho el yntroyto mando que tocasen Las campanas. Y tocaron la que estava ensima de la ermita y otra Pequeña Por de fuera de la dicha ermita con que se Juntaron hasta treynta personas y Prosiguiendo e la dicha
[end 12^{v}]

misa dijo epístola y evangelio y ofertorio y hizo el calis y haviendolo offresido selavo las manos y Bolviendo al pueblo a dezir orate fratres entraron ~~por la puerta de~~ en la ermita dos Religiosos saserdotes de la orden de santo domingo con dos Bordones Gruesos en las manos diziendo no Pasea delante esa misa. q[ue] es un grandísimo Bellaco monigote que ya lean dicho que no benga a ynquietar. Y sálganse de aquí que están descomulgados y diziendo y haziendo se llegaron a el altar y apagaron Las Belas y serraron el misal y lo dieron a un yndio y en este mesmo ynstante entraron otros quatro Religiosos que no los conosió salbo uno que oyó dezir que se llamava fray Bernave enriques y que ansim[ism]o[45] llegaron a el altar y de Ramaron el calis en el suelo y entonses el dicho saserdote se bolvio al pueblo. Y dixo seanme testigos que me an derramado los padres el calix y los dichos Religiosos con mucha colera le ynpelían y le dixeron calle que es un Bellaco monigote y otras palabras afrentosas y el dicho saserdote se hinco de Rodillas y les dijo agan vuesas Reverencias lo que fueren servidos de mi Lo qual no Basto Paraque dejasen de maltratarle de palabra obligandole a que se desnudase y quitaron todos los

[45] Hole in page.

aparejos del altar, = Y aviendoles dicho este testigo que mirasen que avian hecho muy Grande escándalo le
[end 13r]

dixeron dandole un enpellon desvíese de ay que es un barvado Y esta descomulgado en aver venido a oyr esta misa y lo mesmo hizieron con un criado de su ex[celenci]a dandole un golpe en los Pechos - Y aviendo salido el dicho saserdote de la hermita se fue a una casa de un besino serca de allí adonde llegó un saserdote de santo domingo con mucha colera y le dijo que lo quería llevar ante el correg[id]or diziéndole Benga aca que lo de llevar al correg[id]or y diziendo y haziendo Le tiró del manteo y Por fuersalo llevo tres pasos. Y el dicho saserdote dixo que no era su jues que Biniese el si le quería Ber que estava desmayado y le quería Recejer de todo lo qual se escandalisaron Los circumstantes y todo el pueblo y que a oydo dezir despues aca que los yndios dizen que la misa de los clérigos no es Buena Pues los frayles les ynpiden que la digan y que en esta razon a dicho su dicho ante un Jues comis[ari]o del s[eño]r arcobispo que este y aquel se entendía ser todo uno sin contradesirse que como la memoria es frágil, Puede ser mudar algunas Palabras más que la yntención es dezir la verdad como la a dicho y no Por odio ni enemistad que tenga a los dichos Religiosos encargosele el secreto en forma prometiolo y aviéndoselo leydo dixo estar Bien escrito y firmolo de su n[ombr]e testado | por la puerta de | no Bala. Luis Sanchez
Ante mí Eugenio Saravia[46]
[end 13v][14r–14v is blank]

[46] Both men's signatures.

Cu[er]da de Calific[ati]on[47]

en la ciudad de mex[i]co martes seis días del mes de nobr[iemb]re de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años ante el S[eño]r Inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audiensia de la tarde mando entrar en ella a los Padres Juan de ledesma y fran[cis]co Calderon de la Compañía de Jesús y al p[adr]e Maestro fray Juan de Herrera de la orden de n[uestr]a s[eñor]a de la m[erce]d y su provinçial, para que Biesen y calificasen, la testificasión Resevida en este S[anto] Off[ici]o contra siertos Religiosos dominicos que Residen en el pueblo de cuyuacan sobre aver ympedido a sierto saserdote que avía comenzado la misa que no la acavará y maltratadole de palabra de que se avía seguido Grande escándalo y haviendo entrado en la dicha audi[enci]a fue resevido juramento en forma de drecho de los dichos Padres y le hizieron yn berbo saserdotis de que dirían su pareser conforme hallasen de Justicia en su consençia Y de que Guardarían secreto de lo que biesen y les fuese comunicado y haviendoseles leydo las dichas testificasiones y entendiolas dixeron q[ue] avian menester Ber y estudiar las proposiciones Y hecho Y que se les dio un tanto. Para que lo llevasen a su casa. Y Bolviesen dentro de tersero día con la Resolución del con que salieron del audi[enci]a de que doy ffee.

- Eugenio de Saravia[48]

~en la ciudad de mex[i]co el Biernes nueve días del mes de nobr[iemb]re de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años

[end 15r]

Qualific[ati]on[49]

[47] Upper left marginalia.
[48] Signature.
[49] Left center marginalia.

ante el s[eño]r inq[uisid]or L[icencia]dor Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audi[enci]a de la tarde mando entrar en ella a los p[adre]s Juan de ledesma y Fran[cis]co Calderon de la Compañía de Jesús y al padre maestro fray Juan de Herrera provinçial de la orden de n[uestr]a s[eñor]a de la merced y haviendo conferido entre sí sobre la calidad de hecho en conformidad dixer[on][50] que el hecho aver prohibido al saserdote q[ue] no acavase la misa y quitándole el misal y apagado las Belas y derramado la oblata del calix ya Bollado lo y arrojado la ostia en el suelo y desgecho el altar y todos las ornamentos del. Ynjuriando al saserdote Revestido con palabras y obligándole a que se desnudase con amenasas todo este hecho es Bejementem[en]te sospechoso de herejía por ser todos estos actos propios de hereges y sectas condenadas por la yglesia - Y en quanto a la calidad de laver dicho quien le dijo al ydiota q[ue] la ostia estava vendita es Proposición erronea y sapiens, h[a]eresin, por ser contra la determinasión del consilio tridentino en la seción veintidós capítulo quarto Y canone sexto donde determina que todo el canon es puro de herror. Y en él se llama Bendita la ostia. Y fuera de esto el sentir comun de la yglesia es tenerla por bendita antes de la consagrasión. Y en cosa grave no Puede herrán la yglesia como se sigue de lo contrario. Y en quanto ~ dezir que los que oyan aquella misa estavan descomulga[dos] Por que el saserdote que la dezía estava suspenso por no tener lisençia Para decir la misas es

[end 15^{v}]

escandalosa y ffalsa esto dixeron. Lo firmaran de conformidad salbo mejer parefsr esta

-Joan de Ledesma, Fr[ay] Ju[a]n de Herrera, Fran[cis]co Calderon, antemi Eugenio de Saravia[51]

[end 16^{r}]

[50] Ink stain on page.
[51] Four men's signatures.

1629
Criminal Case against the Dominican friars of Coyoacán

- Fray Hernando de Olivares
- Fray Luis de Merida
- Fray Thomas de Morales

it did not proceed

- Information
- Description of the facts
- Prosecutor's request
- Testimony of being posted as excommunicated by the Ordinary Ecclesiastical Judge of Mexico

For having laid violent hands on a priest while he was saying Mass, and impeded the Holy Sacrifice of the altar, and said reckless, profane, and scandalous words.

On January 26, this notice was sent to the council, announcing this process, which is issued from here in the year 1630. [end 1^{r}. 1^{v} is blank]

Presented on November 20, 1629
Most illustrious gentlemen,
~In the city of Mexico, November 20, 1629, before the Lords Inquisitors Dr. Don Francisco Albornoz and Licentiate Gaspar de Baldespiña, this petition was read by the public prosecutor, presented and seen by,
~Dr. Soltero, public prosecutor of this Holy Office in the best way and manner that is legally possible. I denounce and file a criminal complaint against Friar Hernando de Olivares, Friar Luis de Mérida, and Friar Tomás de Morales, professed Religious of the Dominican Order, residents of the convent of the town of Coyoacán; and against any other persons who appear to be guilty, and I say = that the aforementioned, with little fear of God and in damage to their consciences, and in grave scandal to the Christian people, they have committed very serious crimes against our Holy Catholic Faith, as evidenced by the information and qualifications of those whom I present with the necessary solemnity; and so that they may be punished with the appropriate demonstration.
To your lordship I ask and supplicate that you order the said Religious men and others who are found guilty be arrested and brought to the prisons of this Holy Office, for while they are there, I swear to accuse them more fully and to pursue my justice against them. I therefore swear that this complaint will not be based on malice.

-Dr. Bartolome Gonzalez Soltero (signature)
The aforementioned Inquisitors said that they had presented it and that they would do justice, and they signed it. [end 2^{r}. 2^{v} is blank]

[Testimony of] Br. Bartolome Lopez against Friar Bartolome Enriquez of the Order of Saint Dominic
In Mexico City, Monday, October 29, 1629, before the Lord Inquisitor Licentiate Gaspar de Baldespiña, during his afternoon audience, he ordered a priest to enter the audience,[52] who came of his own free will, from whom he was sworn *in verbo sacerdotis,*[53] promised to tell the truth, and gave his name as Br. Bartolomé López, clergy, native of Jerez de la Frontera,[54] who lives on Arch Street next to the Tejada gates and regularly attends the Iglesia Mayor,[55] and is aged 36 or 40.

-He said to clear his conscience that one day after the commotion and incident occurred, which the Dominican friars had with a priest whom the Lord Archbishop had sent to Coyoacán to administer the sacraments to the Spaniards. While this witness was in the Cathedral in the company of other clergy, a Dominican friar entered the church, who told him his name was Friar Bartolomé Enríquez. [López][56] asking him about the incident that had occurred in Coyoacán, [Enríquez] told him how he had come to speak to the dean and schoolmaster of the Church, and not finding him, he waited until the end of vespers,[57] and [López] saw in his hands a packet of letters addressed to the schoolmaster.[58] Before he left, [López] asked [Enríquez] what had happened, and [Enríquez] told him how he had been present and that he and two other Religious men of his order had arrived at the hermitage in Coyoacán where they had found a priest celebrating Mass. [López] asked him if he was [end 3r] the Licentiate Ferrufino, to which the priest replied yes, and that he was a liar[59] and troublemaker, words he always used whenever he referenced [Ferrufino]. They had arrived when Ferrufino was giving the *orate fratres*.[60] The first thing they did, upon extinguishing the candles, was to stop Ferrufino, telling him "hold, do not pass from here," and they took away his other paraphernalia such as the altar stone, chalice, host, and missal. When [Enríquez] gave the chalice to another, it had spilled through the screw [hole] and the host had fallen on the ground although it had not broken. [Enríquez] did not say who had picked it up. [Enríquez] said that they had done wrong in not taking the priest with

[52] Referencing the Sala de Audiencias, or courtroom.
[53] "By word of the priest" meaning to speak faithfully, or truthfully.
[54] Jerez de la Frontera is a town in Spain, near the coastal city of Cadiz.
[55] Iglesia Mayor in 1629 referenced what is now known as the Metropolitan Cathedral.
[56] Here and throughout the rest of the translation, many pronouns and references to *este testigo* (this witness) or *dicho*…(the said…) have been replaced with bracketed names to enhance clarity.
[57] Indicating he waited until the evening.
[58] A *matrescuela*, or schoolmaster, oversaw all schools in the diocese and offered courses in the church/cathedral, for the cathedral chapter he served as chancellor of the university. See: Schwaller, "The Cathedral Chapter of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century," 653.
[59] *Embustero* meaning liar or cheat, generally used to reference someone who is attempting to scam others for their own gain.
[60] The *Orate Fratres* is the invitation from the priest to the congregation to say prayer before receiving the Offering.

them. He also told [López] there were many Spanish and mestizo people present, and also an Augustinian friar who would say in what state the Mass had been; and what did the bearded ones [laypeople] know of that? [Br. Enríquez] also told [López] that when they were about to enter the hermitage, there was a clergyman who was outside walking wearing red-framed spectacles who told them not to enter because they were celebrating. And [Lopz] replying to [Enríquez], and discussing whether it was an offering or not, after the *oblata*.[61] [López] told him that if the priest had consecrated it, it would be. To which [Enríquez] replied that given how enraged they were, the outcome would have been the same. This was [conversation arose] in order to discuss the jurisdiction they or the Archbishop had to administer the holy sacraments in that place, and the whole conversation hinged on this, [Br. Enríquez] alleging the papal bulls and privileges that they [the friars] have and that he was coming from speaking to the Lord Archbishop and that he had responded meekly, asking only why they had not [end 3^{v}] left to finish the Mass. He stated that because he had felt scruples regarding this matter, last Saturday, the twenty-seventh of the current month, he delivered a document to the gentleman prosecutor of this Holy Office, signed and entirely in his own handwriting, and having been shown it he said that it was his, he had written it, and that he understood it all to be true, and having read it he said it was well written and that he does not say it out of hatred or enmity but to discharge his conscience. He signed it on charges of secrecy in the form, promised,

-Br. Bartolomé López, before me, Eugenio de Saravia (signatures)

Testimony of Br. Esteban de Ferrufino against the Dominican friars of Coyoacán

Then inquisitor Baldespiña ordered them to enter the said audience, although the clergy who came of his own free will, an oath *in verbo sacerdotis* was received from him, and he promised to tell the truth and said his name was -

Br. Esteban de Ferrufino, a priest and native of this city who lives in the house of Juan Bautista de Riofrío on Santo Domingo Street, aged 35. He said that, to clear his conscience, he would declare that while this witness was staying at an estate near Tacubaya, which is called Cartaga, which belongs to Esteban Ferrufino, his uncle, on Monday the 22nd of this present month he received an order and license from the Lord Archbishop of this city to administer the sacraments in the town of Coyoacán, at the congregation that belongs to the parish of Veracruz of this city. On the occasion of the flooding of this city, many people from Mexico had gone to [Coyoacán]. On that day [Ferrufino] went to speak to the provincial of Saint Dominic, who was in the convent of Coyoacán, hinting to him he had an order of call from His Most Illustrious Lordship. The provincial and the other friars responded that they had many rights [end 4^{r}] to not consent to such an administration and that as long as they did not bring a provision from His Majesty, they

[61] The oblation, or bread and wine offering prior to the consecration.

would not consent to it. [Ferrufino] seeking an occasion in Coyoacán to say Mass, on Wednesday the 24th of this month, between 5 and 6 in the morning, [Ferrufino] went to the place of San Mateo to give the administration of the sacraments to the clergy. He made the sacristan carry the requisites to be able to say Mass, which he did except for the chalice and corporals, of which [Ferrufino] brought his own, and with them he came to the town of Coyoacán where there is a hermitage called La Concepción. Among the people where he went to say Mass in a tabernacle with a stone altar, where he adorned himself and began to dress for his Mass, being present the sacristan of San Mateo (an Indian), a black slave named Melcor, and a free chino who is in service to [Ferrufino] and Luis Sánchez, a Spaniard, master of arms, who went to get wine for the Mass, and for a notary to give account of how he said Mass. [Ferrufino] being vested, Luis Sánchez arrived with Gregorio de Santa Cruz, a notary of the *residencia*,[62] and Don Grabiel, the bailiff, and other ministers of the *residencia*. Having begun the Mass, [Ferrufino] was helped by a Bartolome de Celis, dressed in the attire of the native people of this city, who lived near La Merced. [Ferrufino] having said the epistle, Bachelor Domingo de Riviera, a cleric of the holy order, arrived at the altar and told [Ferrufino] how the notary was asking for the orders he had from His Most Illustrious Lordship to be able to give the testimony, which [Ferrufino] had on the same altar and, being wary of what could result, he made a sign with his face that the friars were there. Domingo de Rivera took them and gave them to the notary who took them [end 4^{v}] and he went with them to San Agustín where [Ferrufino] sent for them with a slave. They were brought to him after one or two days but given to him without the testimony, with the papers wrapped in a letter, and it told him how he sent them and that he could not send him the testimony due to the business of the residence.

And [Ferrufino] continued with the Mass before saying the gospel, during which the clergy rang the bell atop the hermitage and another bell down below as a warning around the hermitage, where many men and women had gathered to hear the Mass. Continuing with the Mass with great quietness, Ferrufino prepared the chalice and the offertory of the chalice as well as the host and he washed his hands and said the *orate fratres*, and the preface of Our Lady of the Conception, for saying the Mass of her [feast]. Having finished, the one who was assisting [Ferrufino] told him that some Dominican friars were coming with many Indians, making a great noise and shouting, that he could hear them saying, "Infamous little cleric, idiot, suspended liar." And with all this, [Ferrufino continued] with his Mass and said out loud, *et omnium circumstantium,* and as the friars, who in his opinion were four or five, arrived at the altar, he said out loud, *comunicantes et memoriam venerantes* in such a way that all those who were listening to the Mass could hear it.[63] And at

[62] A judicial inquiry into an officeholder's conduct.

[63] Latin liturgy used to introduce and begin consecration of the Eucharist.

this time one of the clergy called Fray So-and-So[64] of Mérida came to the altar with a very loud shout he removed the missal and the candle from one side and on the other side another different clergy removed the candle and uncovered the chalice, spilling the offering of wine and water on the floor part on the ground and part at the feet of the said *chino*, servant of [Ferrufino], with ignominious words telling him "Get away from there, the liar." [end 5r] Turning to the people one of the friars said in a loud voice that all those there who had come to hear the Mass were excommunicated, claiming [Ferrufino] was not a priest and that he was suspended because he had intruded upon their jurisdiction. And at this time in an attempt to force them to let him continue with the offering and return the chalice, [Ferrufino] took the host in his hands and began saying the words, *accepit panem*,[65] one of the friars shouted with a loud voice that he had skipped ahead [in the liturgy], and with his hand he reached out and snatched the host, crushing it in his hand and threw it on the ground, where it was later found. The friars gave [Ferrufino] shoves and punches to make him undress his vestments, calling him a liar and an idiot, while very diligently removing everything else from the altar. Seeing the altar already naked and dismantled, [Ferrufino] found the chalice to one side, and taking it in his hands he turned to the people and said in a loud voice: "Bear witness: how what was in this chalice, the friars spilled it," and at this the friars and took it from his hands with great force, and as it later appeared, the chalice had been smashed on the ground because it was dented and without a screw which was never found.

And throughout this occasion the friars were threatening everyone with clubs and one of them, Fray Hernando de Olivares, jumped and repeated many times that he would kill [Ferrufino] and make him disappear with blows. To this a Spanish man, a servant of His Excellency, who claims to be his cook, attacked one of the friars, raising his dagger to try to hit one of them for the mistreatment they had shown [Ferrufino], telling him [end 5v] that in Barbary such actions could not be done, to which [Ferrufino] asked him very earnestly not to do it, that although they were angry, they were friars and Religious men. All this was not enough for the friars to stop their anger and rage, and turning to [Ferrufino] in great anger, saying insulting words to him, [Ferrufino] replied that they should calm down, that they were all priests, and that he had no cause or anger for them to have [anger] at him and to make a bad example to the people, that there were many Indians who would be scandalized and were sad and melancholic to see such an act. And after a long time, already tired and afflicted, he knelt down and told them that since they were not satisfied, that he was there, and that they should finish taking his life or tie him to a pillar. This caused great regret among the bystanders, who said that the world was coming to an end, and that it was no wonder Mexico was drowning, given

[64] *Fulano*, meaning "so-and-so," frequently appears in Inquisition cases when a witness refers to someone whose name they can't remember or don't want to give.
[65] The words of consecration used in the Eucharistic Prayer.

such things were happening. To this the friars responded that they were liars. [Ferrufino] was on his knees all this time, turning his face to see the host on the ground, crushed as they had thrown it, and with great effort he lifted it up, saying that it was blessed. He placed it on the altar, from where one Religious, which he did not know, took it, and threw it on the ground for the second time, saying, "look at the idiot who told you that it was blessed" and with this they sent out the Indians [end 6^{r}], scolding them because they didn't want to come near, and they ordered them to remove and dismantle the altar that had been covered in stone many years before. In fact, they destroyed it, and left all the other altars of the other hermitages, and seeing that [Ferrufino] could not continue with the sacrifice of the Mass, many of the lay Spaniards in attendance persuaded him to undress so they could take him to his house.

And having undressed and handed the ornaments to the sacristan who had brought them, and searching for the other things such as the chalice, corporals, paten, and purificator, he found on different persons among the Indians, the corporals, the chalice, and paten, and treating them indecently, without being able to find the purificator and case of the chalice and the screw that was left lost, at all of which were present the five or six Religious saying with loud voices that "the liar should leave here" in such a way that all those present were amazed and were scandalized to have seen such an event and even this whole Republic of Mexico is waiting for it, a great demonstration of a similar case. And [Ferrufino] went to a house and came to this city to give account to His Most Illustrious Lordship of what happened, as he was obliged to do, because His Most Illustrious Lordship had sent him sent him to the administration of the sacraments in Coyoacán.

And in this regard his said declaration of everything that passed in Coyoacán is before Dr. Andrés Fernandes, Judge Commissario, whom His Most Illustrious Lordship sent to the inquiry into this case, which he made [end 6^{v}] copiously, with twenty-four witnesses, to which and to what was said there [Ferrufino] refers himself, [Ferrufino]has sworn that this is the truth of what happened. For the oath that he has made, he said nothing out of hatred or enmity that he has against the friars, although they mistreated him as he said; and he has not had hatred or ill will against them. And having read it to him, he said it is well written, and he has approved and signed it; and the charge of secrecy was laid upon him in due form, which he promised. The Br. Esteban de Ferrufino before me, Eugenio de Saravia.
~taken from the second notebook of testimony, on folios two hundred and fifty-five, with which it agrees, which I attest
-Eugenio de Saravia (signature)

[Testimony of Pedro Espín]
In the city of Mexico on Wednesday, October 31, 1629, before the Inquisitor Licentiate Gaspar de Baldespiña, in his afternoon audience, he ordered a man to

enter, being called, from whom an oath was sworn in due form, he promised to tell the truth and said his name was:
—Pedro Espín, a native of the city of Hamburg trumpeter of the Lord Marquis of Serralbo, Viceroy of this Kingdom, who came with His Excellency from Spain, and is twenty-one years old.
Asked if he knows or suspects the reason for which he was called:
~He said that it is so that he can tell what he saw in Coyoacán of the friars who quarreled with the priest and that what he saw was that: being in the town of Coyoacán last Wednesday, which was the twenty-fourth day of this present month, with another companion of his named Luis de Pensé,[end 7r] a servant of the Lord Viceroy who served as a cook, [said] that they had gone to look for another companion to go to the drainage works with the Lord Viceroy and having heard very early in the morning that they were ringing for Mass in a hermitage, Espín told his companion to go hear Mass. Having entered the hermitage they found a priest vested at the altar who had already duly begun Mass and while they were listening to it quietly, two Dominican friars arrived with clubs in their hands, after the priest had said the orate fratres. The friars told Espín and the others to leave there and not hear Mass because they were excommunicated; and they approached the priest who was at the altar saying Mass, and they told him not to go forward. They took the missal from him and gave it to a boy, and when the priest asked them to let him finish the Mass they would not, saying insulting words to him, and that he was an idiot, shameless little cleric, and that he should leave from there, and they took the chalice and spilled the offering that it contained. They told him to go and if not that they would beat him to death with clubs. The priest knelt down and told them to do whatever they wanted with him, that he was there, and at this time two other friars had already entered and, treating him badly, did not let him finish the Mass. And they forced him to take off his vestments and go to where the provincial and the other friars were, who also treated him badly in words, and during all this the men and women hearing the Mass were crying. There were loud voices saying [end 7v] that for the love of God they should not mistreat a priest in that manner. And [Espín's] companion said that if they were laymen he would stab them to death, and that nothing more could be done among heretics than what they had done to that priest, and that the whole city is scandalized by such a case. [Espín] told the story to the Most Excellent Lady Morana, who was grieved to hear of such an event, and he has said the same in his deposition before the commissary judge of the Lord Archbishop, so that this and that may be understood as one and the same, and without contradicting himself in anything; and that this is the truth for the oath that he has made and he does not say it out of hatred or enmity that may have. And having read it to him, he said it is well written, and he signed it; secrecy was charged upon him in due form, which he promised, and he signed Pedro Espín, before me, Eugenio Saravia
- It agrees with its original, which is in the second book of testimonies, at folio two hundred and fifty-nine, of which I attest

-Eugenio de Saravia (signature)

[Testimony of Luis Aponte]
-Immediately thereafter, the Lord Inquisitor Gaspar de Baldespiña ordered a man to enter from the porter's lodge, from whom an was sworn in due form, and being summoned he said his name was:
- Luis de Aponte, native de Arras in Flanders, servant of the Lord Viceroy, employed as his cook, aged twenty-nine.
Asked if he knows or suspects the reason why he has been called:
He said that he more or less understands that it will be about Coyoacán.
Asked what happened in Coyoacán:
He said that last Wednesday, the twenty-fourth of this present month, being in Coyoacán, he went to look for a pastry chef to leave with the Viceroy to the drainage works, and he heard that they had held a Mass in a hermitage near the church. He went with another companion to hear it, and they found a priest who was vested in robes saying the Mass. After he said the *orate fratres*, two friars entered with sticks in their hands and they told this [priest] and all the others who were hearing Mass that they should leave because they were excommunicated. They went to the altar and took away the missal and the candles and the chalice and they spilled what was inside and they told the priest not to continue and that he should leave there, that he was an idiot and a little disgraced clergyman. Then two other friars arrived doing the same as the others, brandishing the sticks, telling him that he was a disgraced clergyman and telling him that they would beat him to death, and at this moment [end 8^{r}] he knelt before them saying that he was there, that they could do whatever they wanted. All this time he was dressed in his own robes and ornaments for saying Mass, and although he begged them many times to let him finish the Mass, they would not. They removed all the altar furnishings, saying that he was a rascally thief and that they were going to have him hanged in the public square—doing all this with such fury as if they were dealing with heretics. Although [Aponte] had seen many heretics in Germany and France, he had not seen such contempt. For when [Aponte] was between Hungary and Germany in the emperor's camp, where there were more than thirty thousand Catholic men who were going against the Palatine, and from his side more than forty thousand men were coming, and the Catholic army was hearing Mass in the field, the enemies would not attack them until Mass was over, which [Aponte] said on that occasion, and one of the friars told him how shameless he was and that he did not know what he was talking about, and cursed him to hell, whereupon [Aponte] grew angry and told him that if he were not a priest he would stab him. All the people who were present there clamored and cried out that there was no justice on earth that came from heaven for such a case. And that in this regard he has said the same before a commissary judge of the Lord Archbishop, so that it may be understood to be all one; and that this is the truth, for the oath that he has made, and he does not say it out of hatred or enmity that he has toward the said clergy. Secrecy was

enjoined upon him in due form; he promised it, and he signed it: Luis de Aponte, before me, Eugenio de Saravia.

It agrees with its original, which is in the second book of testimonies at folio two hundred and sixty, which I attest.

-Eugenio de Saravia (signature) [end 8v]

[Testimony of] Br. Don Miguel Chavez de Rivera against the Dominican friars
-In the city of Mexico on Monday the fifth day of the month of October, I mean November, of 1629 before the inquisitor Gaspar de Baldespiña, in his morning audience, a man was called, from whom an oath was received in due form, and under that oath he promised to tell the truth and said his name was:
- Br. Don Miguel Chavez de Rivera, a native and resident of this city, who currently lives in the town of Coyoacán due to the flooding of this city and lives with Doña Francisca de Herrera Balderrama, his mother, and he is approximately 22 years old.
- Asked if he knows or suspects the reason for which he has been called:
-He said that he presumes that it will be for him to speak about an occasion that happened in Coyoacán with the Dominican Friars and a priest saying Mass.
-Asked what happened there:
-He said that while he was in Coyoacán, on Wednesday the 24th day of October of this current year, he saw how, in a hermitage called Our Lady of the Conception, Br. Esteban Ferrufino had vested himself to say Mass, who went with the license of the Lord Archbishop, and dressed and begun Mass, finding himself there a notary who they said was in that place conducting the *residencia*, who told [Chavez de Rivera] that he should ask Esteban Ferrufino for the license he had from the Lord Archbishop to be able to say Mass, in order to be able to make a case and give him [end 9r] the testimony. And [Chavez de Rivera] went to the altar and asked Esteban Ferrufino for the license, which he had on the altar, and he told him to bring it to the notary, and having delivered it, he returned to hear [Ferrufino's] Mass. And while he was saying *orate fratres*, he saw two friars from the Order of Saint Dominic enter with their staffs in their hands. They say their names were Friar Thomas and Friar Luis, [Chavez de Rivera] doesn't know their surnames and that they are priests. And Friar Thomas came in saying, "Let's not let him finish the Mass," and when they approached the altar, one blew out the candles and the other took the missal, telling [Ferrufino] not to continue the Mass, and with the loud noise caused by the scandal they were making, [Chavez de Rivera] couldn't hear what they said to the priest. Another Religious called Friar Hernando de Olivares came to the altar and took the chalice and spilled it on the ground publicly, which everyone saw and caused such a scandal that all raised an outcry and murmured. Whereupon the priest turned to the people and said that they should be witnesses that the fathers had spilled the chalice on the ground, and because of the great disturbance that [Chavez de Rivera] witnessed, he does not remember

distinctly what they did to the priest. He saw only that the priest knelt on his knees and told them to do what they wanted, and that they stripped the altar so that the priest could not finish the Mass. [Chavez de Rivera] went home so that nothing would happen to him [end 9^{v}] misfortunate, and he returned again after a short time and he saw how they had removed the altar from the tabernacle that used to always be set in its place there before, and today it is not there, except on feast days when the friars go to say Mass. And this was what he saw, and also that the friars were pressing some lay people, telling them that they were excommunicated and could not hear Masses there. All of this caused a great scandal and murmuring that to this day lasts at such an audacity, and for this reason [Chavez de Rivera] has testified before Dr. Andres Fernandez, commissary judge of the Lord Archbishop so that this and that may be understood to be all one; and that it is the truth, by the oath that he has made, and he does not say it out of hatred or enmity that he has toward the said friars. Secrecy was enjoined upon him in due form; he promised it, and he signed it with his name; and having had it read to him, he said it was well written. Before me,
Eugenio de Saravia (signature) Br Miguel Chaves de Ribera (signature) [end 10^{r}][66]

[Testimony of Bartolomé de Celis]
- In Mexico City, Monday, November 5, 1629, before the Lord Inquisitor Doctor Gaspar de Baldespiña, during his afternoon audience, appeared, having been summoned, a man who swore in and promised to tell the truth, and said his name was [end 10^{v}] Bartolomé de Celis of minor orders, a native of Mexico City, who lived on Merced Street and, due to the flood, presently resides in Coyoacán, son of Bartolomé de Celis, Procurator for the Natives of this city, who is thirty-six years old.
-Asked if he knows or suspects the reason he was called:
-He said he suspects it's because of what happened in Coyoacán with the Dominican friars.
-Asked what happened:
-He said that while [he] was in the town of Coyoacán, last Wednesday, October 24th of this year, he passed by a hermitage called Our Lady of the Conception, when a priest named Esteban Ferrufino called him to help with Mass. Having entered the hermitage, he helped [Ferrufino] to dress, and having said the epistle they began to give Mass, beginning with the *Introit*,[67] and having said the Gospel, given the offering, made the chalice and the host, washed their hands and said the*orate fratres*, two friars of the order of Santo Domingo arrived, with two staffs in their hands. He did not recognize them nor did he know their names. They said one was called fray Tomás de Morales and the other fray Luis and that [the men] arrived at the altar where [Ferrufino] was saying Mass. They asked him with "What

[66] The final three lines of fol. 10^{r} concisely abstract the text on fol. 10^{v}. Above the signatures is a note certifying the scribe struck the text "serca de lo q" on fol. 9^{r} himself.
[67] The opening psalm of the Mass.

permission he gave Mass?" and said that he was a mockery of a little cleric and an idiot and then they extinguished the candles and removed the chalice, scattering the host on the floor. And forcing him with bad words to leave and not finish the sacrifice, which he did, as they stripped [end 11r] the altar, removing all its ornaments. On this occasion, [Ferrufino] knelt down begging them to let him finish the Mass. They threatened him and treated him badly with word, and he replied that was there, and they should do with him whatever they wanted. And on this occasion three other friars entered who told the laymen in loud voices to leave, that they were excommunicated because they heard that Mass. They did not allow [Ferrufino] to finish the Mass and forced him to undress, and he did. He took his robe and went home. And the friars then the altar's pedestal and the tabernacle and they did the same in the other hermitages of Coyoacán. And [Celis] was present for all this as the person who assisted in the Mass, along with many other people, men and women, Spanish and Indian, who were all scandalized to see such an event. And that this is the truth for the oath that has been made, and that he has said the same before Dr. Andrés Fernández, commissary judge of the Lord, Archbishop, so that this and that may be understood as one, and without contradicting himself; and that he does not say it out of hatred or enmity that he has toward the aforesaid. Secrecy was enjoined upon him in due form; he promised it; and having had it read to him, he said it was well written and he signed it with his name-[68]
Before me Eugenio de Saravia (signature) Bartolome de Celi (signature) [end 11v]

[Testimony of Luis Sánchez]
-In Mexico City, Tuesday, November 6, 1629, before the Lord Inquisitor Licentiate Gaspar de Baldespiña, during his afternoon audience, a man was called [end 12r] from whom an oath was sworn in due form, and he promised to tell the truth and said his name was:
-Luis Sánchez, a resident of this city who due to the flood currently resides in San Mateo, a district of Coyoacán, he is a weapons master and is approximately 50 years old.
-Asked if he knows or presumes the reason for which he has been called by this Holy Office:
-He said he presumes it will be to tell what happened in Coyoacán with the Friars of Santo Domingo and Licentiate Esteban de Ferrufino.
-Asked what happened between the aforementioned:
-He said that on last Wednesday, October 24th of this year, he was in San Mateo to hear Mass at the convent of Santa María de Churubusco. He saw a priest named Esteban de Ferrufino passing by, who asked [Sánchez] where he was going, and he told [Ferrufino] that he was going to hear Mass at Santa María. [Ferrufino] replied that he should go with him because he was going to say it at a hermitage near there called Our Lady of the Conception, and that he lacked a little wine in order to say

[68] A scribal note here certifies the dating of the events recounted to October 1629.

it. [Sánchez] went with him and, taking the cleric's horse, he went and brought him wine and in some haste they decorated the altar of the said hermitage and [Ferrufino] dressed to say Mass. And having begun it and said the *Introit*, he ordered that the bells ring. And they rang the one that was above the hermitage and another small one outside the hermitage. Then up to thirty people gathered and, continuing with [end 12^{v}] the Mass, he said the Epistle, Gospel, and Offertory, and prepared the chalice. And having offered it he washed his hands and returned to the people to say the *orate fratres*. Two friars of the order of Santo Domingo entered the hermitage with two thick staffs in their hands, saying "let that Mass proceed no further. [Ferrufino] is a very great scoundrel and puppet who was already told not to come and cause trouble. Leave, for you are excommunicated!" And saying and doing so, they approached the altar, extinguished the candles, and closed the missal and gave it to an Indian. At that same moment, four other friars entered, who [Sánchez] did not recognize except for one who he heard say that his name was Fray Bernabé Enrique, and they also arrived at the altar and spilled the chalice on the ground. Then [Ferrufino] turned to the people, and he said, "be my witness, that the friars have spilled the chalice." The friars with great anger pushed him and told him "be quiet, for you are scoundrelly puppet," and other insulting words. And [Ferrufino] knelt and told them "your reverences, do with me what you will." This was not enough to stop them from verbally abusing him, forcing him to strip, and removing all the altar cloths. And [Sánchez], having told them to look at the great scandal they had caused, they [end 13^{r}] said to him, giving him a shove, "get out of here, you bearded fellow! And you [all] are excommunicated for having come to hear this Mass." They did the same to a servant of His Excellency, hitting him on the chest. And [Ferrufino], having left the hermitage, went to a neighbor's house. From there a priest of Santo Domingo arrived very angry and told him that he wanted to take him before the magistrate, telling him "come here, for I am taking you to the magistrate," and he pulled his cloak and forcibly dragged him three steps. And [Ferrufino] said that it was not the magistrate was not his judge, and he should come if he wanted to see him, for he was faint and needed to recover. At all of which the people and the entire town were scandalized. And [Sánchez] has heard it said since that the Indians say that the Mass of the clerics is not good because the friars prevent them from saying it. And on this matter, Luis Sánchez has made his statement before a commissary judge of the Lord Archbishop, so that this and that may be understood as one, without contradicting himself; and that, as memory is fragile, he may have altered some words, but his intention was to tell the truth, as he has said it, and not out of hatred or enmity that he has toward the said religious. Secrecy was enjoined upon him in due form; he promised it; and having had it read to him, he said it was well written and he signed it with his name.[69]

[69] A note here certifying the scribe has struck the text "por la puerta de" on fol. 13^{r} himself.

-Luis Sanchez (signature) Before me Eugenio Saravia (signature) [end 13^{v}][14^{r}–14^{v} is blank]

Qualification
In Mexico City, Tuesday November 6, 1629, before the Inquisitor Licentiate Gaspar de Baldespiña, in his afternoon audience, he ordered the entrance of Fathers Juan de Ledesma and Francisco Calderon of the Society of Jesus and *padre maestro*[70] Fray Juan de Herrera, provincial of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, so that they could see and evaluate the testimony received in this Holy Office against certain Dominican friars residing in the town of Coyoacán, concerning their having impeded a certain priest who had begun the Mass so that he would not finish it, and having verbally abused him and causing a great scandal. Having entered the audience, the said fathers were sworn in the due form of law, and they said *in verbo sacerdotis* that they would declare their opinion as they found justice in their conscience. And that they would keep secret what they saw and what was communicated to them, and after the aforementioned testimony was read to them and they understood it, they said they needed to see and study the articles and the deed, and a copy was given so that they could take it home and return within three days with the resolution, with which they left the audience, of which I give faith.

-Eugenio de Saravia (signature)
In the city of Mexico, on Friday, November 9, 1629 [end 15^{r}]

Qualification
Before the Lord Inquisitor Gaspar de Baldespiña in his afternoon audience, he ordered the Fathers Juan de Ledesma and Francisco Calderon of the Society of Jesus, and the *padre maestro* Fray Juan de Herrera, provincial of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, to enter. And having conferred among themselves on the nature of the deed, namely—that the friars had prohibited the priest from finishing the Mass, taking away the missal and extinguishing the candles and spilling the oblation from the chalice and denting it, and throwing the host on the floor, dismantling the altar and all its ornaments, insulting the vested priest with words, and forcing him to undress with threats—all this deed is vehemently suspected of heresy, because all these acts are typical of heretics and sects condemned by the church. And as for the quality of the saying, "who told the idiot that the host was blessed," is an erroneous proposition and smells of heresy (*sapiens haeresim*), for it is against the determination of the Council of Trent in the twenty-second session, fourth chapter, and sixth canon, where it determines that the entire canon is pure from error, and in it, the host is called blessed. And beyond this, the common understanding of the Church is to consider it blessed before the consecration. And in serious matters, the church cannot err, as would follow from the contrary. And as for saying that those who

[70] "Father Teacher," indicating a spiritual leader, a mentor of a parish or order.

heard that Mass were excommunicated because the priest who said it was suspended for not having a license to say Mass, this is [end 15^{v}] scandalous and false. This they said. They signed it in conformity, saving better judgment.

-Joan de Ledesma, Fr. Juan de Herrera, Francisco Calderon, before me Eugenio de Saravia (signatures) [end 16^{r}]

Citizen Makers All? Tomorrow's Early American History and the Future of Humanistic Basic Research

PETER JAKOB OLSEN-HARBICH

The New American Antiquarian, the only American historical journal founded with an explicit commitment to publishing basic research,[1] strongly disagrees with recent decisions by the United States government to defund basic research across all academic disciplines.[2] Below are a few words on what we believe is specifically at stake for early American scholarship.

It is clear which way the wind is blowing. In the wake of severe funding cuts, American university departments and historical institutions will face tremendous pressure to direct dwindling funds toward scholarship on the past that promotes republican citizenship and civic identity. The traditional, patriotic vision of history's civic purpose is now federal doctrine. While future administrations will undoubtedly reject the naïve substance of that vision, they are likely to respond to it by directing funds toward projects that serve to revise and rehabilitate popular understanding of the American past for similar civic ends. This trend will be further accelerated by a growing sense among Americans of the imminence of state failure in the United States and the hope that promoting national histories, of either conservative or revisionist varieties, can help stave off this failure. American history will find significant support in this circumstance only to the extent that it can be applied to provide buttressing for the nation's decayed templates of citizen formation. This project, in which history and historians are conscripted as inputs in the manufacturing of citizens, will necessarily be as riven with contradiction and omissions as it was in decades past. And its ascendance will mean fewer opportunities than ever

Peter Jakob Olsen-Harbich is Editor of The New American Antiquarian. *An earlier version of this essay was first published in the mailing list of the journal on June 23, 2025.*

[1] Research pursued to advance fundamental knowledge without regard to predetermined valuations of that knowledge's relevance in practical applications, see Peter Jakob Olsen-Harbich, "Towards a New American Antiquarianism: Basic Research, Aesthetics, and the Irrelevant Early American Past," *The New American Antiquarian* 1 (Fall 2022): 3–7.

[2] In the year that has passed since the 2024 publication of the third volume of *The New American Antiquarian*, nearly 1,500 grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) were cancelled by the executive branch of the United States government. A partial list can be found here: https://impact.ach.org. Similar rescissions were made to National Science Foundation (NSF) grants, as summarized here: https://nytimes.com/interactive/2025/05/2/upshot/nsf-grants-trump-cuts.html.

for scholars whose work aims principally at the generation of new knowledge without special concern for that knowledge's application in our present.

The humanistic basic research of tomorrow will not be predominantly conducted in institutions backstopped by federal dollars. It will instead be wrought, as it has nearly always been, by individuals and private associations toiling with minimal resources and without any expectation of remuneration or broad recognition. These quiet stalwarts never attracted the sustained attention of benefactors principally committed to citizen-making, and we should not be so credulous as to believe that the state agencies of decades past were much invested in history as anything other than a store of munitions for legitimation.[3] Yet the situation is now decisively worse.[4] There is no longer ambiguity about the kind of institutions and actors that can be relied upon to further humanistic basic research. The best stewards of this research have always been and will always be individuals operating within institutions free from the state and its apparatus of dependent universities. *The New American Antiquarian* intends to be just such an institution.

This outlet remains committed to maximizing our collective factual understanding of early America through the empirical study and peer-reviewed publication of all its surviving evidence. We will continue to be a venue for basic research on the entirety of hemispheric early America, regardless of how obscure or irrelevant its artifacts are to contemporary imperatives. In a word, we will continue to be antiquarian, even in perilous times. We can offer this guarantee due to our fully independent publication model. Our efforts to further the research enterprise of American history are not contingent on the support of those whose interest in the past extends only so far as its utility. We will go onward, steadfast in our conviction that all the treasures of the past are worthy of study, and we will do so undaunted by those who diminish scholarship done for scholarship's sake. We welcome and sincerely appreciate your interest in joining us as we advance basic research in early American history for decades to come.

[3] In its announcement of fiscal year 2026 grants, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) of the National Archives stated its intention to fund "projects that promote access to America's historical records to encourage understanding of our democracy, history, and culture," the exact language it has used since at least 2014: https://web.archive.org/web/20251129222109/https://archives.gov/nhprc/announcement/editions.html; https://web.archive.org/web/20140721000646/https://archives.gov/nhprc/announcement/editions.html. The NEH's Scholarly Editions and Translations grant—the federal fund whose scope is most sympathetic to humanistic basic research—steadily increased its demands for the predetermined significance of funded works for years prior to the 2025 funding crisis. As late as 2012, the NEH was still willing to generally fund "editions and translations of pre-existing texts and documents that are currently inaccessible or available in inadequate editions," https://web.archive.org/web/20120418232248/https://neh.gov/grants/research/scholarly-editions-and-translations-grants. But by 2021, this scope had narrowed to "editing, annotating, and translating foundational humanities texts that are vital to learning and research," https://web.archive.org/web/20210117022512/https://neh.gov/grants/research/scholarly-editions-and-translations-grants.

[4] This year, the Scholarly Editions and Translations grants will reserve "Chairman's Special Awards of up to $1,000,000 for exactly five years" for "projects on topics in American history and culture with exceptional significance and audience reach," https://web.archive.org/web/20251122112345/https://neh.gov/grants/research/scholarly-editions-and-translations-grants. Antiquarians, we may safely assume, need not apply.

New World of Gain: Europeans, Guaraní, and the Global Origins of Modern Economy. By BRIAN P. OWENSBY. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2022. 378 pages. LCCN 2021013025. $140 hardback, $35 paperback.

It is rare when an author can take a history rife with extensive intellectual canon and gushing hagiography and still manage to posit original, lucid, and substantiated insights, but Brian Owensby has managed to offer new understandings of the extended interactions between different groups of colonizing Europeans and the Indigenous Guaraní during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries in his book *New World of Gain*. Owensby adroitly prioritizes Indigenous resistance and agency in his account of the historical economic encounter between Westerners and Native peoples of the Americas, resulting in a model with relevance beyond historical studies of present-day Paraguay and Argentina. *New World of Gain* leans heavily on a theoretical framework from Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* and augments the eighty-one-year-old paradigm with analyses of historical European documents and interpretations from more recent ethnographies and linguistic studies of the Guaraní.[1] Owensby's core argument is that whereas exchange practices among South American gift-giving Natives and profit-minded Spanish colonists were fundamentally antithetical (and the source of rampant intercultural misunderstandings and strife), deeply ingrained Guaraní concepts of reciprocity were in fact aligned with formative Jesuit ideals regarding the common good through charity, leading to mutually beneficial interactions. His wide-ranging research shows how exchange-based distinctions between the Indigenous population, Spanish profiteers, and European Jesuits were far more than economic; they were culturally enmeshed, inseparably linked with other aspects of life, and deeply ingrained in worldview and cosmological differences.

New World of Gain presents the story of Guaraní interaction with invading Europeans chronologically. Owensby's first chapter depicts Guaraní and European worlds before their initial encounters in the sixteenth century, contrasting Indigenous communal solidarity, abundance, and equity with the emphasis on gain inherent to burgeoning European commercial capitalism. It is followed by a chapter on the ill-fated initial economic exchanges between the Spaniards and Guaraní, highlighted by Owensby's extended analysis of how European colonists were quick to capitalize on Native gifts of kindred women, but refused to reciprocate and follow Indigenous norms by acknowledging affinal duties and working for their new Guaraní brothers-in-law (or *tobaya*). The third and fourth chapters detail numerous conflicts—between settlers and Natives, within Guaraní society, between different colonial factions under the Spanish monarchy, and even among and between religious and secular factions in Europe—as Indigenous women became the Europeans' preferred exploitable resource in the region. Chapter five explains how particularly ascetic clerics rose to power in this area of South America by establishing missions that combatted unfettered settler greed and "represented an emergent

[1] Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1944).

mutual commitment between Guaraní and the Jesuits to the solidarity of avoiding predation and responding to bodily needs of sustenance and security, grounded in distinct but resonant ideas regarding human sociality" (p. 150). Owensby's sixth chapter reveals how the geopolitics of Spain's war with Portugal and the consequent 1750 Treaty of Madrid resulted in significant cessions of Spanish South American territories with Jesuit missions to Portugal, the expulsion of these clerics, and the dissolution of any religious pact with the Indigenous population based on gift-giving, reciprocity, or the common good. The next chapter details the freefall of these colonies into a morally corrosive economy of exploitation, self-interest, and profiteering, most of which was at the expense of the Guaraní and their ancestral homeland. Owensby's final chapter explores how Western authors subsequently retold the history of Paraguay in the nineteenth century with little regard for accuracy or authenticity in order to serve their own political and philosophical purposes. He solemnly concludes: "In Europe's new lattice of sensibilities, the Western mind had moved on to a triumphal mode of historical reflection capable of recognizing only the stadial procession of a world of gain long in the making—leaving society, and those who might still insist on it, to the margins of moral and practical reason" (p. 292).

New World of Gain is at its best when exposing the dynamic historical rise of a profit-driven mercantile mindset in Europe and the incompatibility of this economic system with both Indigenous lifeways and Jesuit ideals. Owensby's explanation of tensions within the Old World as the obsession with gain and profit began to overwhelm time-honored religious moralities of communality and the greater good is especially poignant. *New World of Gain* also makes important contributions regarding Native resistance, the inextricability of economic, historical, and cultural factors within each of the given societies being discussed, and the distinctive nuances between different European religious orders involved in missionization. Scholars researching other areas of the world and different time periods will likely recognize meaningful parallels in their work—Indigenous adoption of colonizers as a strategic gift that is unrequited by Europeans,[2] broader political factors disrupting local gift-based alliances,[3] competing economic and religious priorities in multicultural proselytization settings,[4] etc.—and be open to the hemispheric applicability of Owensby's theory of economic encounter.

[2] For example, see Mamanatowick Powhatan's ritualized death ceremony for John Smith at Werowocomoco (near James Fort, Virginia) in 1607 that involved Matoaka's (Pocahontas') intervention, Smith's consequent adoption by the Powhatan, and Smith's refusal to move the English fortified settlement as a cacique in the Powhatan chiefdom in Seth Mallios, *The Deadly Politics of Giving: Exchange and Violence at Ajacan, Roanoke, and Jamestown* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 87–90.

[3] For example, see the shift in the balance of power in the Indigenous Carolinas (Ossomocomuck) and the ostracization of the Roanoacs in 1586, after the Chawanoacs allied with the English settlers, in Mallios, *The Deadly Politics of Giving*, 68–73.

[4] For example, see the tension between Father Segura and Father Carrera in outfitting the mission at Ajacan in 1570, specifically in Segura's insistence that the venture have no soldiers and no clerics with previous experience, which was an allusion to avaricious tendencies that had run amok in more southern areas of La

While a strength of this text is in its broad and overarching view of historical events impacted by evolving geopolitical dynamics, a byproduct of this framing is that the book occasionally leaves the specific individuals involved in the micro-encounters between the Guaraní and the European colonists nameless and faceless. Accordingly, readers of *New World of Gain* may be left wanting to know more, especially in terms of scrutinizing its historical sources and the paucity of active Indigenous voices within, and examining the nuances of its methodological rigor for assessing historiographic veracity. Furthermore, anthropologists like me who read Owensby's text will also likely wonder about its criteria for defining and determining different kinds of exchange. We are left to wonder if Owensby defines gift exchange solely on the basis of the form of the transaction, as mutual something-for-nothing offerings, because there is limited discussion and measure of: 1) the perpetual and permanent interdependence of those involved in the transaction, 2) the like status of those involved in the transaction, and 3) the inalienability of the transacted goods. These criteria, though not mutually exclusive and frequently fluid, have been staples of anthropological investigations of gift exchange for generations.[5] A deeper engagement with the work of past anthropologists who studied gift exchange and societies that prioritized the accrual of debt over immediate material gain would have made *New World of Gain* even more applicable to other case studies from around the globe and across time.

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Florida (Mallios, *The Deadly Politics of Giving*, 40–43, 114–15; Mallios, "The Apotheosis of Ajacan's Jesuit Missionaries," *Ethnohistory* 54, no. 2 (2007): 223–44).

[5] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1922); Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur le don forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques," *L'Année sociologique* 1 (1923–1924): 30–186; Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship (Les Structures élémentaires de la Parenté*), rev. ed., ed. Rodney Needham, trans. James Harle Bell and John Richard von Sturmer (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969); Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972); Frederick H. Damon, "The Kula and Generalised Exchange: Considering Some Unconsidered Aspects of *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*," *Man* 15, no. 2 (1980): 267–92; C. A. Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (London: Academic Press, 1982); Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91; Nancy D. Munn, *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Marilyn Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Maurice Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift*, trans. Nora Scott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Pierre Bourdieu, "Selections from *The Logic of Practice*," in *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity*, ed. Alan D. Schrift (New York: Routledge, 1997), 190–230.

We, the King: Creating Royal Legislation in the Sixteenth-Century Spanish New World. By ADRIAN MASTERS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023, 319 pages. LCCN 2022057091. $117.00 hardback, $39.99 paperback.

Adrian Masters has written a highly relevant book not only for the historiography of the Spanish Empire but also for the broader understanding of all early modern empires, one that in turn profoundly impacts the traditional debate about the birth of the modern state. His work feeds discussions on the nature of political power in the early modern period, the various legal formulas that shaped the formation of imperial aggregates, and it further delves into classic questions about the transition from empires to nations and the memory of those empires in the nations' present. *We, the King: Creating Royal Legislation in the Sixteenth-Century Spanish New World* is part of an ongoing renewal of historiography in English on early modern empires and the Atlantic, a shift that has left behind totalizing visions based on centralizing or binary logics that were often teleological. This renewal includes recent books by Adolfo Polo y La Borda, Santiago Muñoz-Arbeláez, and Chloe Ireton, among others.[1] Within this group, Masters addresses a crucial problem for understanding the Spanish Empire: the creation of royal legislation in an increasingly complex pluricontinental polity.

Masters's book stands at the intersection of political and legal history, an almost imperceptible distinction, as all scholars who work on these matters are well aware. The argument of *We, the King* is clear: the legislation that sustained the Spanish Empire was not constructed from the top down, as an imposition by the king and his councils upon subjects on both sides of the Atlantic. Instead, Masters proposes a bottom-up alternative for understanding the construction of the empire's political and legal realities, taking into account all aspects of what he calls "the legal fiction of vassal–lord dialogue" (156) as well as a kind of "legal alchemy" (77). The book seeks to unravel a complete process of lawmaking and the creation of government documents, which the author rightly identifies as often underexplored by legal history. The result is a multifaceted book that uses Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory to gauge the presence of multiple "actants" (23) in the creation of imperial law. It also draws, very effectively, on the paradigm of *empowering interactions*, defined in 2009 by Blockmans, Holenstein, and Mathieu.[2] By expanding the notion of actor, here no longer limited to powerful individuals involved in negotiating and drafting laws, and by emphasizing the power of multiple

[1] Santiago Muñoz-Arbeláez, *The New Kingdom of Granada: The Making and Unmaking of Spain's Atlantic Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2025); Adolfo Polo y La Borda, *Global Servants of the Spanish King: Mobility and Cosmopolitanism in the Early Modern Spanish Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024); Chloe L. Ireton, *Slavery & Freedom in Black Thought in the Early Spanish Atlantic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2025).

[2] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Wim Blockmans, André Holenstein, and Jon Mathieu, eds., *Empowering Interactions: Political Cultures and the Emergence of the State in Europe, 1300–1900* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

interactions in political action, *We, the King* opens up an exploration of the various procedures and steps that shaped the entire process of law-making and imperial governance.

The structure of the book, from the prelude to the epilogue, is guided by the transatlantic journey of Pedro Rengifo, a Peruvian son of a conquistador and an Indigenous woman, who was charged with transporting the petition of 10,000 mestizos requesting permission to be ordained as priests. This episode allows the author to gauge the power of government documents in constructing the social reality of the Spanish Empire's American spaces. The unification of a broad group of individuals under the category "mestizos" invites us to consider that social, religious, racial, or ethnic categories and identities were not vertically determined, as idealized by the logic of *castas* or the notion of the two republics (already addressed by Masters in a widely circulated article).[3] Instead, *We, the King* demonstrates a far more complex reality in which subjects of the Crown, no matter how distant they were from the so-called centers of power, geographically or socially, had a certain capacity to influence the laws and policies implemented. The agents who made this possible, following Latour's influential work, were diverse and not limited to individuals or collective groups. Masters deploys remarkable historical imagination to unpack the details of how petitions were created and executed and the many actants involved.

The first chapter focuses on those involved in making the fiction of vassal-monarch communication effective, through notarial powers that required translators and various proxies, developments that ultimately expanded the "trust in the validity and integrity of the empire's communications systems" (79). This transformation was made possible by the infrastructure of petition-making, which is the subject of the second chapter. The logistics of transportation, which were "not a detail but a central problem for the transmission of petitions to Iberia," (79) come to the forefront. Storms, ships, and even mules are considered actants of empire and key components in the construction of imperial bureaucracy. Chapter three offers a gendered approach to the construction of the Council of the Indies—and the subsequent reforms of 1542 and 1571—highlighting the role of women "intentionally and often inadvertently, in prompting the council's move away from pure patrimonialism" (113). Masters develops a subtle analysis of how mentalities were transformed and adapted within institutions often perceived as monolithic. Chapters four and five are connected in exploring the impact of the council's sedentarization beginning in 1561. That chronological shift shaped "ministers' and subalterns' everyday practices, their decision-making technologies, and their social milieus" (158). These chapters address the debate between case-based and systemic lawmaking, offering an alternative vision grounded in the pragmatism of officials before 1561 and the power and value of the archive after that date. Chapter six

[3] Adrian Masters, "The Two, the One, the Many, the None: Rethinking the Republics of Spaniards and Indians in the Sixteenth-Century Spanish Indies," *The Americas* 78, no. 1 (January 2021): 3–36.

makes a striking discovery: "officials tended to insert considerable intact parts of petitioners' phraseology verbatim or near-verbatim into the empire's most important legislative documents" (223). Here, Masters engages with the material production of texts, "deconstructing and constructing the royal decree" (225) and establishes an analytical model that dialogues with recent scholarship on record-keeping as a powerful political act.[4]

We, the King is a truly important book that reshapes our understanding of daily politics in the early Spanish Empire while addressing broader questions such as the nature and extent of political power, approaches to difference in the early modern world, and the extreme complexity of Atlantic societies. It is beautifully written and thoroughly researched, and it stands as a landmark not only for students and researchers of history but also for anyone interested in the nature of power and in historiographical debates on record-keeping and archival epistemologies.

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[4] For the debate, see Giora Sternberg, "Writing to Undo: Protestation as a Mode of Early Modern Resistance," *The American Historical Review* 128, no. 1 (2023): 214–48.

Encyclopédie Noire: The Making of Moreau de Saint-Méry's Intellectual World. By SARA E. JOHNSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2023. 376 pages. LCCN 2023020762. $45.00 hardback, $29.99 e-book.

I first encountered M.L.E. Moreau de Saint-Méry in my college library, ca. 1982, when I stumbled upon a reprint of the curious 61-page booklet he had published in 1796, *Danse,* which spoke in an authoritative, exoticizing voice about Afro-Haitian dances he called *Don Pédre* and *Kalenda.* Later I puzzled over his obsessively rigorous (bordering on fictive) nomenclature for racial intermixture in the *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie francaise de l'isle Saint-Domingue,* wondering why many of the terms he catalogued did not appear in French archives documenting the presence of people of color in France. Finally, I have returned to his monumental (there is that word!) *Loix et constitutions des colonies françoises de l'Amérique sous le vent* (6 volumes of upwards of 500 pages each, with detailed indices) trying to understand changing French ideas about race and slavery during the Old Regime.[1] Moreau's obsession with race and seductive women of color is a relentless and disturbing presence in all of these works.

When I picked up Sara E. Johnson's *Encyclopédie Noire,* I was expecting a cradle-to-grave biography, but what I found was something far more imaginative and engaging. Johnson offers an extended riff on the visible and invisible people of color, enslaved and free, who made the French lawyer, writer, enslaver, traveler, and Enlightenment intellectual's wide-ranging life possible, taking creative risks with her book's structure and interpretive methods. Chapters 1, 4, and 8 emulate Moreau's draft manuscript for a comprehensive colonial encyclopedia, *Répertoire des notions coloniales*, which was, in turn, modeled on Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*. Each of these chapters is organized as alphabetized entries on "the people whom Moreau bought, sold, and manumitted" (18), as well as his other family members, certain African ethnic/political groups (e.g. Arada, Ibo), and specific topics, such as "*Nourrices*: women employed by Moreau as wet nurses for his children" (127). The final chapter reflects upon the "poisonous legacy" (21) of Moreau's published corpus.

Interspersed with these pillars are stand-alone chapters interrogating visual and textual iconography associated with Moreau's collected works, including Johnson's original collaborative illustrations prepared with artist Luz Sandoval. Chapter 2 interprets the engravings that accompanied Moreau's *Loix et constitutions* and incorporates two original "portrait collages of Moreau and a re-creation of his household" (19), while Chapter 3 illuminates how Moreau's typography and vast textual production was only made possible by forced labor. Chapter 5 focuses on

[1] M.L.E. Moreau, *Danse. Article extrait d'un ouvrage de M. L. E. Moreau de St-Méry. Ayant pour titre: Répertoire des Notions Coloniales* (Philadelphia: Imprimé par l'auteur, 1796) (reprinted as *De la danse* by Bodoni in Parma, 1801); *Description topographique*…(Philadelphia: Chez l'auteur, 1797); *Loix et constitutions*…(Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1784–1790), 6 vols.

Moreau's neglected natural history writings, and his translations of Spanish-language works into French. Chapter 6 interrogates how physical abuse, psychic terror, and sexual assault are implicated in print culture through Moreau's professional partner Baudry des Lozière's Kikongo-French dictionary. Chapter 7 deploys imagination and graphics to consider the perspectives of the Kikongo subjected to branding and who resisted through escape. Readers are encouraged to choose their own adventure via non-sequential passage "through pairings of source chapters and an intertext" (21). The book is a courageous venture into innovative historical interpretation. Extensive endnotes (comprising more than one-third of the book) bring the reader to a vast network of transatlantic authors from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as modern critical and historical expertise.

Although the chapters are organized to allude to Moreau's trajectory in roughly chronological order, the interpretive model is more *bricolage*, an assemblage and interpretation of juxtaposed images and text. I am sure that some historians will raise an eyebrow at this approach. It is not so much an argument with evidence as a series of meditations on Moreau and the enslaved and free people of color surrounding him who made his privileged life and work possible. The primary sources that Johnson draws upon include runaway slave advertisements, notarial records, parish records, portraits (painted and engraved). Through the juxtaposition of texts and historical and contemporary images, Johnson carefully layers evocations of the people of color who inhabited the same world as Moreau, emphasizing the quotidian violence, humiliation, and degradation that lurks silently below the surface of his self-congratulatory paternalist expertise.

In contrast to Miranda Spieler's decision "not [to] speculate about my subjects' thoughts and feelings,"[2] Johnson offers occasional hypotheses and questions to open up the possible feelings of the enslaved. For example, regarding the enslaved wet nurse's first child, who was replaced as suckler by Moreau's daughter, Aménaïde, Johnson writes: "Had this child died?…or perhaps [Aménaïde succeeded the wet nurse's oldest child, now eight, who]…had been nursed by her mother at least three years…[or] any number of children in the interim" (31). Or, when discussing an unnamed domestic servant who had accompanied Moreau for most of his adult life in the colonies, Johnson asks, "What gossip might he have heard…What details could he share about the life of a man whom he served at such close quarters? Perhaps … maybe …," followed by imagined scenarios of the servant's care for Moreau's body and belongings (48). A similar sequence of questions invites readers to imagine the conditions of Asian laborers isolated at the home of Moreau's Dutch collaborator, Van Braam, outside Philadelphia in the 1790s, and Moreau's thoughts on encountering them (117–18). Meanwhile, Johnson also judiciously critiques Moreau's own ventriloquism of the enslaved, for example, when he self-servingly

[2] Miranda Spieler, *Slaves in Paris: Hidden Lives and Fugitive Histories* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2025), 12.

implied that another servant's devotion was based on free will, rather than coerced by the totalitarian system of slavery (49). Johnson addresses her use of informed speculation and imagination head on (232), as well as her positionality as a woman of color whom—she feels confident—Moreau would have been surprised to find in the role of his scholarly critic (247). *Encyclopédie Noire* is not a neutral assay at objectivity; Johnson leaves no ambiguity in her appraisal of the brutal system that stripped workers of their humanity to serve European interests.

Johnson's many years of labor and original approaches to interpreting Moreau's work make the book a must-read for researchers working with Moreau's publications. Yet, I have a few quibbles. I found the decision to include the full French quotations in parentheses after each translated passage distracting; this breaks up the flow of reading Johnson's analysis as the reader skips ahead, trying to find the end of the quoted passage. Unless the English translation is questionable (for example, glossing a particular multivalent or ambiguous word), it would have been better to place the French quotation in the notes, or set them in italics for easy skipping, or simply omit them altogether. Secondly, while Johnson made ample use of the Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry and the notarial records of Saint-Domingue, I was disappointed that she did not investigate censuses and cadasters of Cap Français (ANOM 5DPPC/49, 63 or 10DPPC/188–194) passenger lists (ANOM COL/F5/B/5 & 34), or other archives, such as the Archives Nationales Pierrefitte (Ministère de l'Intérieur, Ministère de la Police Générale), which might have allowed for cross-checking individuals discussed in the text. Finally, as a historian, I would have liked the inclusion of a timeline to track the comings and goings of Moreau and the people around him.

Yet these criticisms are minor. The overwhelming sense that a reader takes away is respect for the author's exhaustive research and expertise, admiration for her imaginative interpretive moves, and affirmation of her moral assessment of Moreau's exploitation and self-promotion. It will not be possible to read his voluminous texts the same way again.

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