



# THE FORUM ON *European Expansion and Global Interaction*

## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The upcoming Forum panel at the American Historical Association meeting in New York (Jan. 2-5, 1997) is profiled in this issue. The year before last, our panel played to a standing-room-only crowd at the AHA, and this year's papers sound just as exciting. We hope to attract a good audience and to drum up membership.

If all goes well, we will be eligible to apply for affiliate status in the American Historical Association at the end of 1997. That would be an important plus, as we would then be able to sponsor our own panels, as well as proposing panels through the AHA's program committee.

Help us to publicize the Forum. Norman Fiering, Director of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, will be printing up a new batch of flyers. If you will be attending an academic meeting with potential new members, request flyers from Norman, so you can distribute them to interested parties (401) 863-2725.

I am pleased that Karen Kupperman, a specialist in early British exploration and colonization in the Western Hemisphere, has agreed to fill the slot on the Executive Committee that I vacated upon

being elected president. Karen recently joined the faculty at New York University, after many years at the University of Connecticut in Storrs. I look forward to working with her and with other members of the Executive Committee.

Carla Rahn Phillips  
President, FEEGI

## FEEGI at the AHA

The Forum is presenting a session at the American Historical Association meeting on Friday, January 3, 1997, 2:30-4:30 p.m., in the Empire Room 2 of the Sheraton Hotel, 811 Seventh Avenue at 52nd Street, New York City. The session will be chaired by FEEGI president Carla Rahn Phillips. The session is sponsored by the Society for Spanish & Portuguese Historical Studies, and affiliate of the AHA, as the panel was not formed in time to meet the regular deadline. The session will feature James Muldoon, State University of New Jersey, discussing "Middle Races, HalfBreeds, or Degenerate Europeans". Mary C. Fuller, Massachusetts Institute of Technology will discuss "Oh, My America: Newfoundland & Roanoke as American Origins". Marcus Vink, University of Minnesota, will speak on "The Temporal & Spiritual Conquest of India's Fishery Coast: The

Portuguese-Dutch Struggle over the Parova Community, 1645-1690".

## JCB LIBRARY CELEBRATES

The John Carter Brown Library celebrated 150 years of service to the advancement of learning in a special sesquicentennial program, October 9 - November 14, 1996. The numerous interesting papers were grouped into the following sessions: "Aspects of Travel and Exploration", "Italian Science and Navigation and the Expansion of

Europe to the West", "Communicating with the Indians: Aspects of the Language Encounter with the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, 1492-1800", plus numerous fascinating individual lecture topics.

The Library, through the kind services of Norman Fiering, was instrumental in launching our organization. This independently funded and administered institution for advanced research in history and the humanities has been located at Brown University since 1904. The Library has an outstanding collection of printed & manuscript materials concerning the Americas from 1493 to 1825. It offers fellowships, sponsors lectures and conferences, regularly mounts exhibitions for the public, publishes catalogues,

bibliographies, facsimiles, etc. It accepts associate memberships. For further information, contact Director, JCB Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912. Tel:(401) 863-2725, Fax: (401) 863-3477.

## RUTGERS CONFERENCE

The Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis & FEEGI were among the sponsors of a conference on "Religious Transformations: Colonial and Post-Colonial Encounters", held on October 25-27, 1996. FEEGI members Phyllis Mack & Michael Adas chaired the session. Sessions included Colonial Encounters in India, Southeast Asia, and the Americas; and Post-Colonial Encounters of Islam in Europe & Religion- - in the Contemporary World. More detailed information on individual papers can be obtained by calling (908) 932-8701.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

Athena Publications, publishers of Athena Review (Fall, 1996), have published Peter Martyr's New World Chronicles (2 vols.), the first written account of Spanish explorations in the Caribbean and Central and South America, as directly told to Martyr by a host of explorers ranging from Columbus to Cortez. MacNutt's well-known translation from the original Latin is updated with archaeological notes and abundant maps and illustrations. Athena Review, P.O.Box 10904, Naples, FL 33941-9957.

Aboriginal Colonial Mining Metallurgy in Spanish America, edited by Alan K. Craig and Robert C. West, is a complete and detailed account of the technology and social aspects of this important topic. Great detail is expended on the mines of Bolivia and Mexico.

The University of Florida has been the most active Southeastern institution in early modern studies. University Press of Florida, 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611-2079, Tel.(352) 392-1351, has produced the following volumes: The Spanish Missions of La Florida (Bonnie McEwan), Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida (Jerald Milonich and Charles Hudson), The People Who Discovered Columbus: The Prehistory of the Bahamas (William Keegan); Tocachole'-Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia During the Historic Period (Jerald Milanich and Samuel Proctor), Pottery from Spanish Shipwrecks. 1500-1800 (Mitchell Marken), First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States. 1492-1570 (Jerald Milanich and Susan Milbrath), Excavations on the Franciscan Frontier: Archaeology at the Fig Springs Mission (Brent Weisman), Missions to the Calusa (John Hann), Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation During the Early Historic Period (Marvin Smith), Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe (Jerald Milanich), Puerto Real: The Archaeology of a 16th Century Spanish Town in Hispanola (Kathleen Deagan), A History of the Timucua Indians and

Mission (John Hann), Fort Mose: Colonial America's Black Fortress of Freedom (Kathleen Deagan and Darcie MacMahon), The House of St. Augustine. 1565-1821 (Albert Manucy).

Variorum, (Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire GU77 3HR, UK) is publishing an ambitious set of tomes on An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History. 1450-1800, in thirty volumes. These include: I. Global Opportunity, II. European Opportunity, III. The Globe Encircled and the World Revealed, IV. Historiography of Europeans in Africa and Asia, V. Historiography in the Colonial Americas, VI. Scientific Aspects of European Expansion, VII. Technology and European Overseas Enterprise, VIII. Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World, IX. The Atlantic Staple Trade, X. European Commercial Expansion in Early Modern Asia, XI. Spices in the Indian Ocean World, XII. Textile, Production, Trade, and Demand, XIII. Organization of Interoceanic Trade in European Expansion, XIV. Metals and Monies in an Emerging Global economy, XV. Slave Trades, XVI. Worlds of Unfree Labor, XVII. Agricultural and Resource Exploitation and Environmental change. XVIII. Plantation Societies in the Era of European Expansion. XIX. Mines of Silver and Gold in the Americas, XX. Theories of Empire, XXI. Government and Governance of Empire, XXII. Imperial Administrations, XXIII. Local Government in European Empires, XXIV. Warfare and Empires,

XXV. Settlement Patterns in Early Modern Colonization, XXVI. Biological Consequences of the European Expansion, XXVII. European and Non-European Societies, XXVIII. Christianity and Missions, XXIX. Families in the Expansion of Europe, and XXX. European Intruders and Change in Behavior and Customs in Africa, America, and Asia.

## NEW PROGRAM AT PENN STATE

The department of History and Program in Religious Studies at Pennsylvania State University, University Park, has embarked on the creation of the Institute for Early Modern Europe in Global Exchange (IEMEGE). The creation of the institute will take place as part of the department's goals within Penn State's newest endowment campaign. Beginning in Fall, 1997, entering graduate students interested in any aspect of the early modern world (1400-1800) will take a new reading seminar designed by a cluster of faculty who teach in early modern Europe, the Americas, Africa, and India. The course exposes students to key themes and topics that link the emergence of Europe to other peoples, mentalities and cultures over this 400-year period. Taught in rotation by the graduate faculty specialists in these fields, the course will soon include additional faculty from other disciplines at Penn State and anticipated new appointments within the History/Religious Studies in the early modern period. This reading seminar also provides the first step

in the process of training graduate students toward competence in teaching World History. We will soon finish redesigning the undergraduate survey in World History in which graduate students will be able to work as Teaching Assistants. After passing comprehensive examinations and entering ABD status, they will enjoy the opportunity as instructors in charge of the course to prepare themselves for entering the job market. The Institute itself, when fully funded, will include an endowed professorship and graduate fellowship as well as funded workshops and invited guest professors. We look forward to working with other colleagues in the FEEGI group and invite comments and suggestions for the further development of this initiative. For further information, visit us at our Web home page at: <http://squash.1a.psu.edu/histrlst/>, or write directly to A.G. Roeber, Head and Professor of Early Modern History and Religious Studies; 108 Weaver Building, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802-5500. Tel. (814) 8651367.

*The following two articles were translated from the Brazilian magazine Veia and reflect on increased interest in history as Brazil approaches its bicentennial in 2000 (ed*

## TREASURE REVEALED

Obscured by a rococo picture frame,  
a piece of Brazilian history

hibernated amidst the dust for 150 years in a Bavarian castle in the south of Germany. After passing the scrutiny of specialists of the auction house of Sotheby for a few months, there is now no doubt. The scene is the same landscape, The City and Fort of Frederik on the Parayba of 1638, painted by Frans Jansz Post (1608-1669) on the order of Maurice of Nassau during the Dutch occupation of the northeast coast of Brazil in the 17th century. The work which ought to be auctioned in January when it goes to New York, will be offered for a price between \$600,000 and \$800,000. On the reverse of the painting, a detail raises its pedigree even further. It is numbered 443, a personal mark that the French king Louis XIV ordered printed on his artistic property. The painting was given to the king by Nassau, together with 41 other canvasses, in 1679. "This discovery is spectacular. For the last 70 years, there has not been the appearance of a Frans Post of such importance", said the Dutchman Frederik Duparc, director of the Mauritshuis Museum in the Hague, and one of the most knowledgeable about the works of the painter. Duparc's euphoria is not exaggerated. This Paraiban landscape, today belonging to a family of German nobles who demanded that Sotheby maintain their anonymity, completes the most valuable part of nearly 200 paintings done by Post. During the time he lived in Brazil in Nassau's service, between 1637 and 1644, Post painted only 18 canvasses as part of direct observation of the landscape of the New World. All the remaining of his works on the flora,

fauna, and inhabitants of Brazil make up the so-called capricci or imaginary landscapes done by the painter in Holland later, after having visited America. "Scarcely one geographic detail was dealt with. The pictures Post did in Brazil reveal a freshness and a singular freedom", said Duparc. In the Paraiban view, such qualities of the landscape painter were evident in the diffuse luminosity of the sky and in almost rural detail of the trees and animals painted in the foreground.

In the package given by Nassau to Louis XIV were all the 18 "Brazilian" paintings of Post, and also nine or ten pictures done by him in Holland and purchased for Nassau's special collection. These 18 canvasses have vanished. They could have been destroyed by being stored in various other castles. We know the destination of seven of these "Golden Posts" canvasses belong to the Louvre Museum in Paris, a fifth is in the Mauritshuis, and a sixth, The View of Antonia Bay, was bought in the 1920's by Brazilian diplomat Joaquin de Souza Leib. Two years ago, the heirs of Souza Ledo auctioned the canvas for \$3.5 million, the greatest price recorded for a work of Post. Today, the picture belongs to the American gallery of French and Company.

After a long period of disinterest, the works of Post are newly in evidence. On the international market in the last ten years, their prices have doubled. Among their private collectors are celebrities, such as Spaniard Carmen Cervera, Baroness Dyssen, who bought one canvas of the painter for about \$2

million in 1994. On the other hand, the works of Post are also the goal of many bold studies. The museologist Frederik Duparc arrived in Brazil at the end of the month to learn about 70 works kept in this country and even proposed an international exposition on Post.

In Sao Paulo, the antiquarian Pedro Correa do Lago, a representative of Sotheby's, and his wife Beatrice, conducted an exhaustive survey of all the painter's productions that should result in a catalogue up to the end of the year of his death. The most recent title on the subject, published in 1973, is by the author Joaquim de Souza Ledo, but is out of stock and out of print. He only points out the existence of 143 paintings. Besides these, however, about 20 other canvases of Post, painted in Holland, appeared. "Frans Post is not important only to Brazil. He is a unique case in the history of art. He was the first European to paint landscapes of the tropics," said Correa do Lago.

In a certain way, the adventure that Post experienced in the 17th century is reminiscent of the astronauts' first voyage to the moon. The difference is that before setting foot on lunar soil, humanity had scrutinized it from a distance. But in the 17th century, Brazil, with its forests and Indians, was a place so unknown as to be mythical to Europe. Son of a artisan, born in the town of Haarlem, Frans was a young man of 29 when he accepted Nassau's invitation. After his return to Europe, even before the expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil, he became an artist under commission, producing

requested records of the memories of the New World for his expedition colleagues and wealthy burghers.

But departing from this at the end of the 1650's, the works of Post became mechanical and tedious, with skies very blue and sweet compositions of Brazilian geography. A little before, Nassau decided to present Post to Louis XIV as the first ranking name in a journey to Paris, where he would be able to explain his painting to the king. That honor notwithstanding, Post became an alcoholic, cranky, staggering, and unable to travel. It is known that even without the proper explanations, Louis XIV loved the gift, ordering that the canvasses be exhibited in the Louvre, then his residence in Paris. Now, nearly three centuries later, one of these is newly on sale. Brazil, which this past year, gave up the modernistic Aboporu canvas of Tarsila do Amaral to Argentina, now has a chance to purchase a piece of its history.

## VISIONS OF PARADISE

In the school of Heerestrat, a path located near the mills that extend through Vlaams Strand or Flamengo Beach in the city of Nieuwe Rotterdam, the old Rio de Janeiro of Portuguese times, Professor Beatrix writes for her Negro class, "Brazilie is mijn vaderland."

The students copy diligently, "Brazil is my country." Except for one, the little Matthijs, a beginner who, in his first days of class, proved to be

more interested in the solemn picture that hung on the wall. Without concealing her impatience, the teacher answered, "But how is it that you don't know? He is the greatest hero in our history." Beatrix turned her eyes to heaven and finished, enunciating the syllables with fervor, as if she was declaring the name of a saint, "Domingos Fernandes Calabar".

The exposition that opened at MASP in Sao Paulo, which brought together the best works of Albert Eckhout, a painter who was part of the entourage of Count Maurice of Nassau during the period of Dutch domination in Northeast Brazil, furnishes us with a pretext for imagination. What if the Dutch invasion had been a complete success? The scene above presupposes some of this. The Dutch ended up besieged, driven out by the Portuguese, and thus did not consolidate their presence in the Northeast or extend themselves through all of Brazil. They called the land *Brazilie*, not Brazil. And the traitorous Calabar, villain of part of the history of Brazil, who spent it on the side of the enemy in the war against the Dutch, would not be a traitor at all. He would be a national hero. Now, one quickly asks, is *Brazilie* better or worse than Brazil? It is taken for granted that, in reality, the country enjoys a very keen crises in self-esteem from its history when between nine and ten Brazilians favor *Brazilie*. In other words, would we be better if we had remained in the hands of the Dutch? We would be blondes, obey the traffic regulations, and be alarmed if inflation threatened to rise above

five per cent per year.

Before pursuing the fantasy of a lost *Brazilie*, let's turn again to the exposition of MASP. It deals with a basic and undeniable event. For the first time in Brazil, it brings together the eight gigantic canvasses (2.6 by 1.6 meters on average) on which Eckhout recorded types of Brazilians when he trod here between 1637 and 1644. To summarize, there are six still-lives by the same artist - massed pineapples, mangos, and cassavas. Eckhout, born in 1610 in Groningen, Holland, supposedly died in 1665 in the same town. He formed part of the party of artist and scientists that Nassau took to Recife, where he landed in 1637 with the title of "governor, captain-general, and admiral." They were all young and talented. At 33, a member of one of the most important Dutch families, Nassau was an adherent of the spirit that was perfected in the universities of Geneva and Basel and cultivated to the same degree in the arts of war which he began to practice in European conflict. Nassau arrived to consolidate and give order to a force installed in Brazil for seven years. Eckhout, at 27, beginning in the same position as Rubens and Rembrandt before him, came with the mission of recording paradisiacal views of the New World that would fire the European imagination.

If the Dutch invasion had been successful - this is the first concrete conclusion with regard to the supposition proposed above - Eckhout was unappreciated, since this was the beginning of a task which was part of the most

fascinating adventure to which a man of his era was able to aspire. Bad luck has prevented us from appreciating him. In the first place, almost nothing was remembered about the expedition. Then when remembered, it was usually with reference to Frans Post, another member of Nassau's party, a ponderous creator of travel paintings that are today scattered among numerous museums and private collections in Brazil and Europe. Finally, Eckhout spent a great deal of time with the stigma that he was merely an accurate recorder of scenes of exotic lands, of interest only to ethnography, rather than a true artist. If the invasion had been successful, and we lived today in *Brazilie* rather than Brazil, he would not have been condemned to obscurity. He deserves honor from his country of nationality, but perhaps also from that of the Calabar of Professor Beatrix.

Very little remains today of the works of Eckhout, and practically all that is representative is concentrated in Denmark, from which works have now come for exhibition by MASP. On leaving Europe in 1654, Maurice of Nassau gave 26 canvas paintings to a relative who, through constant letters, let him know how much he appreciated things from the New World and how satisfied he was at being presented with records of these strange lands. This was King Frederick III of Denmark. Of the 26 canvasses given to Frederick, there are 21 left today, all in the National Museum in Copenhagen. Visiting Copenhagen in 1876, the Emperor Dom Pedro II grew so enthusiastic about the paintings that he

commissioned copies in a smaller size from a Danish painter. It was by means of these copies, integrated into the collections of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute, that Brazilians have become familiar with Eckhout. Almost a century later, in 1968, a half-dozen canvasses of the Dutch collection were loaned for an exposition by MAM in Rio de Janeiro dealing with the period of Nassau. After this, nearly everyone agreed that the most expressive part of the collection was, without doubt, the greatest and most ambitious of Eckhout's works, the Dance of the Tupuias.

In order to realize the exposition, several years of negotiations were necessary, beginning when the current Secretary of Culture, Sergio Paulo Rouamet, was ambassador to Copenhagen, and the formation of a pool of businesses. Insurance totaling \$45 million was agreed upon and MASP, the only Brazilian museum considered to have conditions suitable to receive the canvasses, promised to guarantee conditions such that the room temperature where the painting were displayed should never exceed 22 degrees centigrade, the relative humidity of the air would be 55%, and the number of visitors at any one time would not exceed thirty, so as not to create excessive heat in the environment. If the Dutch invasion had been successful, several things would be different in Brazil. For example, TV announcers would be predominantly the prettiest specimens of blonde men and women, and babies would be as pink as in Holland. Other things,

probably fantasies more supposed than real, would be better in Brazil than in Brazil. For example, our patrimony would receive the same careful state of conservation that was shown for the Eckhout canvasses, cared for with love and rigor by the Danes.

To the contrary of the advertisements that have appeared on the TV commercial slots, Eckhout was enchanted with the kinds of people in front of him and not because they were from distant lands. He, along with his cadre of colleagues, produced something not surprising to see - that savages, or near savages, are presented in elaborate, almost sacred, poses and were dressed like portrayals of noble Europeans of the same period. The collection of the eight canvasses can be divided into pairs, each a comparative example of a couple. There is a Tupi Indian couple, one of Tapuias, of Negroes, and mestizos - he a mulatto and she a mameluca. On all the canvasses, Eckhout exhibits the same exuberant tropicalism that defines, like Carmen Miranda, a trade mark of the country. Frans Post, who is usually represented as a big star among Nassau's artists, is restrained next to Eckhout. His landscapes are quiet and dark. Eckhout had no shyness about showing the same subject in a profusion of colors, all of which were honest, from the animals gathered around the feet of the people to the boa constrictor that is almost coiled around his Tapuia Indian and the plants that are splashed everywhere, like the "roof of cashews" that grow around his mameluca, as poet Joaquim

Cardoso says with respect to the subject.

The naturalist compulsion encouraged him to use the corners of the canvas to record typical scenes, such as the plantation he reproduced in miniature in the lower corner of the scene of a Tupi Indian woman. But, if he was naturalistic and faithful to the essence of the facts, he also did not resist the tendency toward certain special effects. For example, there are the cannibalistic attributes with which he painted his Tapuia Indian woman, with her strolling through the scene carrying pieces of hands and feet, as if she was going to make a sandwich in case she felt hungry while on the road. In reality, a perusal of Eckhout reveals that he went beyond naturalism, as Rouanet observed in his discussion at the opening of the exposition. "I suspect that Eckhout was preoccupied as much with allegory as with ethnographic notation," he said. "and in that regard, he was a true son of the 17th century baroque, which cultivated allegory as in no other period. The mameluca in white robes carrying flowers is a Brazilian cultural type, but she is also unequivocally an allegoric figure - a Flora or Ceres transplanted into the tropical fertility goddess."

Fine rationalizations such as Rouanet's are worthy of Brazil much more than for Brazil. Dutch Brazil was a country with social problems so solved that we would have time to dispassionately discuss euthanasia, as in Holland. It was like population growth in Japan, inflation to the Swiss, and gardens

in Holland filled with tulips instead of cashews. Truly, this is not a random myth that we pursue. We have a vision of an inverted paradise. Through Eckhout and the multitude of Europeans who were enraptured with images such as his of the New World, paradise was walking naked through the jungle, eating mangos with one's hands, and feeling warmth through the entire year. For us today, paradise is living in a land where we can collapse on the white sands of Natal. Or how about developing an administration like that of the Dutch of Recife, touted by historians of the last century as efficient, yet just and more tolerant than that of the Portuguese. Perhaps there could have been nothing better. Maybe Nassau is not really trading places with Dom Pedro II, who is praised overwhelmingly in Brazil for his virtues and humanism. In any case, the episode of the Dutch interval serves to engender the myth of a Brazil that could have been and not one that was.

However, there is something concrete to examine - the colonies that the Dutch established throughout the world. Do they furnish living examples of how Brazil would have been better had it remained in their hands? In South Africa, where the first colonizers settled, the land of today's Afrikaner, the Dutch ended up building a respectable nation, but with all their touted tolerance, they founded an apartheid regime. Another country settled between the 17th century and World War II was Indonesia. Today, Indonesia still has not left misery behind, lives under eternal dictatorship of general Suharto, and is remembered as being the site in 1965 of one of the most terrifying massacres when repression against a tentative coup resulted in 30,000 deaths. Finally, our neighbor Suriname was also a Dutch colony, formerly Dutch Guiana, in which strongman Colonel Bouterse reserves for himself the habit of personally killing his rivals. As a resident of Suriname, who is under the heel of Bouterse's boot, the vision of paradise is the frontier

of Amapa (Brazil). From this we can conclude that everything is relative; that paradise for some is purgatory for others; and that, in the fantasy of Brazilie that doesn't exist, the dream of Eckhout, woven with people, animals, and plants that exist or existed in reality, is preferable.

## SOCIETY FOR HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

This year's SHA meeting will be held January 8-12, 1997, at the Omni Bayfront Hotel, Corpus Christi, Texas. Sessions will include "Charleston in the Context of Trans-Atlantic Culture", "LaSalle Shipwreck Project", "Plantations and Slavery", "Indians and European Interaction", "French Colonial Mobile", and "Ships from the Age of European Expansion", as well as other interesting topics. The conference is sponsored by Ships of Discovery and Texas A & M's Institute of Nautical Archaeology. For information, contact David Carlson at (409) 845-5242.

It is impossible to imagine what the reality of Brazilie might have been.



**Post painted numerous views of the Brazilian landscape. Some of these views are topographically accurate while others, like this one, seem to be generalised views.**