TURKS AND INDIANS ON THE MARGINS OF EUROPE

WILLIAM O'REILLY

Early modern European travellers and thinkers found themselves unusually lacking when faced with the complexities of the New World. Starting out on their voyages, as they did, convinced of a void, "a not-yet-existing America" between Europe and Asia, they faced an ideological challenge unrivalled before or perhaps since: how to describe what was beyond the pale of imagination, a world which ought not exist.[1] Having imagined all that might exist and being prepared for the inevitable of the expected, when faced with a continent and a people hitherto unknown the European mind searched the store of existing phraseology and imagery for a suitable vocabulary of representation.[2] The social and historical contexts in which a European understanding of America and the Americans was forged, leading to a constructed understanding of what America was 'really' like, was conceptually, morally and politically intertwined with existing constructs of 'them' and 'us'.[3] This state of mind, a blending of the known and the imagined, led to an evolution in the ethnological representation of the other, a representation which placed Turks and Indians on the margins of a crystallizing Europe.

[1] I am grateful to the Millennium Research Fund of the National University of Ireland, Galway, for financial assistance which enabled the research for this paper. Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1972, p. 74. Of course, this paper is constructed along a western model: as has been pointed out, the high-points of European 'civil' society, "[t]he Renaissance, the Copernican revolution, the printing revolution, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment all might as well not have occurred for all the cognizance most Muslim intellectuals took of them." Juan R. I. Cole, 'Invisible Occidentalism: Eighteenth-Century Indo-Persian Constructions of the West', *Iranian Studies*, vol. 25, 3-4, 1992, pp. 3-16, here: p.4.

[2] "We imagine things before we experience them. And those preconceptions-govern deeply the whole process of perception." Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1922, p. 89; Gustav Jahoda, *Images of Savages: Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudice in Western Culture*, Routledge, London, 1999.

[3] M. McDonald, 'The Construction of Difference: An Anthropological Approach to Stereotypes', p. 232, in: Sharon Macdonald, *Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe*, Berg, Oxford and Providence, 1993.

A crucial component of this state of mind was the received representation of the Native American and the Ottoman, the Indian and the Turk. The Turk, as heathen, infidel, and cultural-linguistically other, was a devilish creature, never to be trusted and devoid of esoteric beauty.[4] The Turk as 'problem', as perception, is a fundamental element in the adaptation and adoption of a European consciousness, *vis-à-vis* non-Europeans.[5] As early as the end of the fifteenth century Erasmus of Rotterdam was writing in the *Querela Placis* of the solidarity of European princes in their war against the Turks, and how this was a good thing for Europe.[6] This age-old opposition against the absolute common enemy of Europe was reinforced by a substantial, some would say enormous, anti-Turk literature in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[7] The need to have an enemy, an opposition, was absolute and real.[8] This representation was enforced through religious wars and apocryphal stories; the stereotype thus became a point of departure for further inquiry and construction of identity.[9] In Louis Le Roy's *Oratio de Pace et Concordia*, the author often confused the

[4] The Ottoman Empire was far removed from the simplistic foil created by European writers. See *inter alia*: Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony. The World System A.D. 1250-1350*, Oxford U.P., 1979; Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, Phoenix, London, 1982; ibid., 'The Mongols, the Turks and the Muslim Polity', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 18 (5th series), 1968, pp. 49-68; Hans Georg Majer, "The Functioning of a Multi-Ethnic and Multi-Religious State: the Ottoman Empire", *European Review*, 5 (3), 1997, pp.257-265; N. Akmal Ayyubi, "Contributions of Muslim Turks to Geography", *Belleten* , (Revue publiée par la Société d'Histoire Turque), 51 (199), 1987, pp.67-74.

[5] Denis De Rougemont, *Vingt huit siècles d'Europe, la conscience européenne a travers les textes d'Hésiode à nos jours*, Paris, Payot, Bibliothéque Historique, 1961, pp.84-87. The term 'perception' here is used as defined in: David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (eds.), *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions. Germany and America Since 1776*, German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C., and Cambridge U.P., 1997, p.2.

[6] Marie Madeleine Payee La Garanderie, 'Erasme: Quelle conscience Européenne', in: *La Conscience Européenne au Xv et Xvème siècles*, acte du colloque international organisé à l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles (30 septembre - 3 octobre 1980), Paris, Centre national des lettres, collection de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1982, pp. 296-309, here p. 299.

[7] Jean Claude Margolin, 'L'Europe dans le miroir du nouveau monde', in: *La Conscience Européenne au Xv et XVème siècles*, ob cit., pp. 235-264, here p. 237; Klaus Roth, '"Bilder in den Köpfen". Stereotypen, Mythen und Identitäten aus ethnologischer Sicht', pp. 21-44, here p.27, in: Valeria Heuberger, Arnold Suppan and Elizabeth Vyslonzil (eds.), *Das Bild vom Anderen. Identitäten, Mentatliäten, Mythen und Stereotypen in multiethnischen europäischen Regionen*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1999.

[8] Vamik Volkan, *The Need to Have Enemies and Allies: From Clinical Practice to International Relationships*, Northvale, N.J., 1988, pp.90-95

[9] David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (eds.), *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions*, ob. cit., p.6.

respublica christiana with *Europa*, with *christiana concordia* and *Europea concordia*. For him, the only Christendom was Europe and vice versa.[10] Yet diverse and divergent cultural and ideological shades of Christian identity clearly did exist in this amalgous 'Europe' and historians from equally diverse backgrounds and trainings are now calling for greater consideration of these issues.[11] One pictorial representation attributes Turkish physical characteristics to inbreeding; a suggestion also made concerning the Native American.[12] So 'Europe' was defined by contrast to 'Turk'; added to this defining equation was Europeanness as fabricated *vis-à-vis* the Americas and Native Americans, as well as *vis-à-vis* fellow Europeans.[13] European receptivity of New World encounters and images was severely limited, with European interpretations encrusted with mediaeval myths and legends.[14] The image of the Turk became, by transference, the representational model for the Native American, being forced geographically, culturally, morally and theologically to appear 'other'. New information concerning America was subject to

[10] Denis De Rougemont, *Vingt huit siècles d'Europe*, ob cit., p.84. Jean Louis Vives (1492-1540), in a letter to the Pope, wrote: "*Les victoires des turcs nous ont porté dans un péril extrême: et vous voulez vous quereller! Quel Dieu vous protégera?*"; as cited in: Denis De Rougemont, *Vingt huit siècles d'Europe*, op. cit., p.84.

[11] See, for example,: Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings. Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, Cambridge U.P., 1994, esp. Introduction, pp. 1-22; Kiril Petkov, *Infidels, Turks, and Women: The South Slavs in the German Mond, ca. 1400-1600*, Peter Lang, Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1997, pp. 13-30, esp. p.17: "It is surprising to note that historians only recently turned to investigate the image which 'marginal' European peoples, eastern Europeans, Irish, Scots, or Scandinavians, enjoyed in the core lands of Europe. Modern scholars appear just as fascinated with the image of the exotic Oriental, African, or later, American 'other' as the late medievals and early moderns have been."

[12] Cf.: *Historische Calender, Genannt der Hinckender Bote*, Bern, 1746; also: Susi Colin, "The Wild Man and the Indian in Early 16th Century Book Illustration", in: Christian F. Feest (ed.), *Indians and Europe, An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, Edition Heredot, Rader Verlag, Aachen, 1987, pp. 5-36, here p.15: "...and the propensity of Indian men to have sexual intercourse with any woman regardless whether she is a close relative or not.".

[13] Peter Burke, "Did Europe Exist Before 1700?", *History of European Ideas*, 1, 1980, pp.21-29, here: pp.24-5. "European", however, was not necessarily, if ever at all, an imperical concept; see: Ezra Talmor, "Reflections on the Rise and Development of the Idea of Europe", *History of European Ideas*, 1, 1980, pp.63-66, here: p.65; James Joll, "Europe - An Historian's View", *loc sit*, pp. 7-19; Jack Lively, "The Europe of the Enlightenment", *History of European Ideas*, 1 (2), 1981, pp.91-102.

[14] Ernst Schulin, "European Expansion in Early Modern Times. Changing Views on Colonial History", *History of European Ideas*, 6 (3), 1985, pp.253-265, here: pp.258-9. See also: E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge U.P., 1983.

comparative analysis, which forced a European reliance on stock imagery already in existence.[15] While America, "unlike the lands of Europe, was not inscribed with the ciphers of a human past", the tradition of a native culture adapting to the land was replaced by a European need to inscribe a textual meaning on the New World landscape, just as had been done in Europe.[16] Just as in Europe, itself a cultural invention, cultural boundaries remained as hazy and contested as political and territorial boundaries, and like territorial boundaries they changed with the shifting fortunes of colonial struggles.[17]

Meanwhile, the image of the North American 'Indian' was a Spanish legacy to Europe, as Spanish exploration and settlement of the Americas resulted in geographical and anthropological reports returning to Europe.[18] Language was, as the Spaniard Antonio de Nebrija wrote to Queen Isabella in 1492, "the instrument of empire", and was clearly an integral part of colonial expansion.[19] These Indians, "for so caule wee all nations of the newe founde lands"[20] entered the vocabulary of France, of England, and of Germany. Descriptions of native life led to discussion of "Armenica", or "America". Corruption and extrapolation of the Spanish and Dutch imagery of the early sixteenth century entered the English and French imagination. Like the Turks, their neighbours to the east, American Indians were by definition uncivilised, as they were unchristian, and the adjectival use of 'sauvage' in French or 'savage' in English became *de rigeur*.[21] When Jacques Cartier encountered the native Americans of the Gaspé Basin in 1534, they

[15] Peter Burke, "European Views of World History from Giovio to Voltaire", *History of European Ideas*, vol. 6, 3, 1985, pp.237-251, here: p.243.

[16] A. Corboz, "The Land as Palimpsest", *Diogenes*, 121 (Spring, 1983), pp.13-31.

[17] Denis De Rougemont, "L'Europe, Invention Culturelle", *History of European Ideas*, 1, 1980, pp.31-38; Véronique M. Fóti, "In the Shadow of the Immigrant's Dream", *History of European Ideas*, 6, 3, 1985, pp.341-347, here: p.341.Cynthia Van Zandt, *Actors Across Boundaries in Early Colonial Atlantic America*, International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, 1500-1800, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA., 1996, Working paper No. 96-31, p.3.

[18] Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian. Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, New York, 1979, p.5.

[19] Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*, ob. cit., p.118.

[20] Edward Arber (ed.), *The First Three Books on America*, Birmingham, 1885, p.242, after: Berkhofer, p.5.

[21] For more on representation of the Turk in early modern English literature, see: Franklin L. Baumer, 'England, the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 50, 1, October 1944, pp. 26-48.

were unmatched in their savagery: "These men may very well and truely be called wilde, because there is no poorer people in the world."[22]

This 'Indian' terminology was contemporarily used in Europe for one other group, seen to be untameable and unrestrictable: the Gypsies of the Balkans, a 'link' group between Ottoman and Habsburg empires.[23] The German philosopher Herder, in his "Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind", 1784-1791, suggested that "this abject Indian cast" [i.e. the Gypsies] were useful only for military training.[24] Interestingly, as in the delimitation of civility in eastern and central Europe, the defining line was drawn between those who lived "this side of the forest", i.e., the Cis-silvanii, and those on the other side of the forest, the Trans-silvanii, with the name becoming geographically associated with a territory which had become 'Ottomanised'. For western Europeans, wood dwellers formed the border, the quarantine zone, the frontier of civilization.[25] Sixteenth century western Europeans employed a variant of the Latin *silvaticus*, a man of the woods or an inhabitant of the forest, to indicate a Native American, as the early use of *saulvage*, *salvaticho*, and *salvage* indicates. It has been suggested that this *terminus anima*, together with the image of the wilder Mann, 'the wild man', also used for the native American and the non-western European inhabitant of the continent, originated in the German lands, and indicated one lacking in civilized knowledge or will, existing on the very borders of humanity and animality, and ignorant or God and morality.[26] Wildness implied everything that eluded Christian norms and the established framework of Christian society, referring to what was uncanny, unruly, raw, unpredictable, foreign, uncultured, and uncultivated. It included the unfamiliar as well as the

[22] Richard Hakluyt's translation, in: ibid., *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Glasgow, 1903-1905, vol.VIII, pp.201-2, after: Berkhofer, p.13.

[23] For more on the representation of the Gypsy and Gypsies, see: David Mayall, 'Egyptians and Vagabonds: Representations of the Gypsy in Early Modern Official and Rogue Literature', *Immigrants and Minorities*, vol. 16, 3, November 1997, pp. 55-82.

[24] Here, of course, the geographic origins of Gypsies is being referred to. Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1992, p.181. Gypsies did reach the New World during colonial times, favouring Pennsylvania and Virginia, but these groups left few lasting traces behind. Cf.: ibid., p.235.

[25] Indeed, this 'Military Border', fluid and serpentine, was a physical, medicinal and cultural quarantine for 'civilized' western Europe. Cf.: Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, vol. I, Cambridge U.P., Cambridge, England, 1983, pp.145, ff.

[26] Berkhofer, p.13.

unintelligible. Just as the wildness is the background against which medieval society is delineated, so wildness in the widest sense is the background of God's lucid order of creation. Man in his unreconstructed state, faraway nations, and savage creatures at home thus came to share the same essential quality.[27] Roger Williams' catalogue of the nomenclature used in reference to America divides names for Native Americans into two categories: those of the English variety, and those "which they give themselves."[28] Williams lists, albeit further down his list of terms and references, *infidel*, *heathen*, *nation*, *tribe*, and *barbarian*, all terms used for the Turks and most residents of the Ottoman Empire. The known could also become other: often, such individuals were described as having "turned Turk".[29] Indeed, until the very end of the eighteenth century, the non-Germanic inhabitants of the southern Habsburg lands were collectively referred to as the 'Nationalities'.[30] This linkage facilitated a transition from description of the European other, those beyond the forest, to the American Indian as Noble Savage to the Noble American Indian, critic of European society and culture.[31]

But can one validly speak of a single European consciousness of America, or was there simply a series of divergent, self-motivated national consciousness?[32] As has been pointed out,[33] European Americana can broadly speaking be divided into Catholic and Protestant, north and south; but what about east and west?[34] The growing strength of the nation state in Europe facilitated the production of a plethora of publications, all serving national interests: Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* may only mention the

[27] Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology*, Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 1952, pp.19-20.

[28] Roger Williams, *A Key Into the Language of America: Or, An Help to the Language of the Natives in That Part of America Called New-England*, 1643.

[29] Warner G. Rice, "To Turn Turk", *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 46, 3 (March 1931), pp. 153-154.

[30] See, for example: Philip J. Adler, "Serbs, Magyars, and Staatsinteresse in Eighteenth Century Austria: A Study in the History of Habsburg Administration", *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol.XII-XIII (1), 1976-'77, pp.116-152.

[31] Berkhofer, p.75.

[32] Richard C. Simmons, "Americana in British Books, 1621-1760", p.364, in: Karen Ordahl Kuppermann (ed.), *America in European Consciousness 1493-1750*, U. North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill & London, 1995.

[33] Simmons, p.364.

[34] Robin Okey, "Central Europe/Eastern Europe: Behind the Definitions", *Past and Present*, 137 (November 1992), pp. 102-133.

"poor Indian" in passing, but his "untutor'd mind" could well be that of an inhabitant of the void and uncultivated lands which Hume wrote about, namely Hungary. Inhabitated, relatively densely in parts, they were void of civilization as they were void of western Europeans. Western European 'civilising' nations were as interested in Moor-European and Turkish-European interaction as they were with Native American-European interaction.[35] All were equally exotic and highlighted the civiliser's own sense of superiority and civility. Eighteenth-century America had a lasting and formative impression on Central and Eastern European society.[36]

Various attempts were made to link native Americans to Europe, or to European-contigious groups; some suggested that they were lost Jews, others that they had crossed a frozen sea, or that there must be a "Narrow Sea towards the North" which, when frozen, allowed people to cross it.[37] For many, the New World was the promised land, as portrayed in the 'Exemplary Tales', "El celoso extremeño", of Miguel Cervantes' stories.[38] Nonetheless, a defining concept of identity was not forthcoming, rather, the civilising English referred to themselves as English, more often Christian, which highlighted their common bonds with other Europeans, but rarely before 1700 did they refer to themselves as Europeans.[39] One might easily be defined, or define oneself, as coming from "Kent and Christendome",[40] but not from some amalgous Europe.[41]

[35] Simmons, p.374. See also: Ahmad Gunny, *Images of Islam in Eighteenth-Century Writings*, Grey Seal, London, 1996.

[36] See: Irene M. Sokol, "Eighteenth-Century Polish Views on American Republican Government", pp.89-96, in: Király, et al., *East Central European Perceptions of Early America*; Alfred A. Reisch, "Sándor Bölöni Farkas's Reflections on American Political and Social Institutions", pp.59-72, ibid.; inter alia.

[37] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians. The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640*, Rowman and Littlefield, N.J., 1980, pp.109, ff.

[38] Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge U.P., p.190.

[39] Kupperman, 1980, p.110.

[40] Anthony Parkhurst, "A Letter Containing a Report of the True State and Commodities of Newfoundland", 1578, in: E.G.R. Taylor (ed.), *Hakluyt Writings*, vol. I, pp.127-134, after: Kupperman, 1980, pp.110-111.

[41] "The Genoese philosopher Paolo Mattia Doria described 'our Europe' as like 'one great family' Montesquieu declared that 'L'Europe est un état composé de plusieurs provinces', and Burke that 'No European can be a complete exile in any part of Europe.'; Peter Burke, "Did Europe Exist Before 1700?", *History of European Ideas*, 1, 1980, pp.21-29, here: p.21.

If this 'amalgous' Europe existed anywhere, in was in the area of interaction between the Germanic and non-Germanic lands of central Europe, all members of the same Empire. For two centuries before the large migrations of the eighteenth century, central European writers had, together with their colleagues in the Spanish Habsburg lands, received and adapted information coming from the Americas. One might draw representative samples from any of the central European language groups, but Czech is one of the most rewarding to consider. When Henry Harrisse was compiling his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* in the last century, he was unaware of a Czech version of Amerigo Vespucci's letter to Lorenzo Piero Francesco de'Medici, generally known as the *Mundus Novus*. Harrisse had cited the Latin translation by Dionysius Periegetes of the *Situs Orbis*, dating from either 1508 or 1518. This text was said to have the first "allusions to the Oceanic discoveries".[42] Whatever the dating of both documents, they cannot prohibit us from the assumption that some contacts had been made with travellers who had been in America, if not direct contact, and that news of the 'New World' had reached Central Europe by the early sixteenth century. The image of America established in the Central European psyche in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was to last until the great migrations of the nineteenth century, and therefore are of central importance in our understanding of the non-Atlantic seaboard European perceptions of America.[43]

The naming of the new territories had, in its own right, a changing history. Just as news of the newly found continent changed, so, too, did the nomenclature. Typical references, "Orbis Novus", "Mundus Novus", "The West Indies" and "America also known as Brazil" came and went in

[42] Frantisek Svejkovsky, "Three Centuries of America in Czech Literature, 1508-1818", p.33, in: Király. In his dedication, the publisher, Johannes Cuspinianus, wrote: "However, in our century there have been discovered regions, which were previously unknown and neglected by writers, about which, Venerable Father, I will send you a message." "Tamen plurima seculo nostro sunt et inventa loca prius ignota et a scriptoribus vetustissimis neglecta: quae propr diem tuæ R.P. mittam." Johannes Cuspinianus to Stanislav Thurzo, Bishop of Olomouc (Olmütz) in Moravia.

[43] See: David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (ed.), *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions*. ob. cit., *passim*; Hans L. Trefousse (ed.), *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration*, Brooklyn College Press, New York, 1980, *passim*; Stuart Woolf, "The Construction of a European World-View in the Revolutionary-Napoleonic Years", in: *Past and Present*, 137 (November 1992), pp.72-101, esp. pp.80-83.

succession.[44] As Czech versions of Latin texts referred to Amerigo Vespucci as Vespucci Alberykus Wespucius, the way was not paved for the use of 'America' as an attributable *terminus loci*.[45] Equally important in considering the speed of acceptance or lack of it of names referring to North America is the relative isolation of Central European states from the sphere of interest in America. The 'New World' had a greater effect on the grand scheme of understanding, at a time when Europe was undergoing a mass theological re-examination, of how the World was ordered. As there was no direct economic or political interest in America, it could only appeal to fantasy, to the religious spirit and to the imagination. This blending of the real and the imaginary was facilitated all the more by the ill-definition of the boundaries between the belles lettres and other more imaginative literary genres.

America quickly became synonymous with exoticism and adventure; in this way the 'New World' was also a new world of literature. New discoveries were naturally assumed into this reviewed image of the world; the world was seen to be losing its quiescent mystique and the enigma was only restored with informative accounts of experience and adventure in America. For Central Europe, such literature was to bridge the gap between the New and 'Old' Worlds, and also provide a link to those countries in western Europe directly involved in ventures overseas. Travel literature had an established history in Bohemia, dating back to the Middle Ages, with Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* and Marco Polo's adventures translated into the vernacular. Gradually, a more Humanistic approach to travel writing replaced the fantastic allegories, and introduced documents such as the Czech "An Account of the New Lands and the New World of Which We Had No Knowledge Before nor Had Anyone Heard."[46] Works by Bartolomé de las Casas, José de Acosta and Jean de Léry would also be found in Czech collections of this era. Czech calendars and Cosmologies from the mid to late sixteenth century show an eagerness to include new, non-standard information on the New World; Daniel Adam Veleslavín's *Kalendář historicky* (Historical Calendar) of 1590 attributed the discovery of America to Amerigo Vespuccius, stating that his voyage began on the 20th May 1497, and Veleslavín proceeds to use the term 'America'; all facts which show the incorporation of new and available information.

[44] Svejkovsky, p.35.

[45] ibid., p.39.

[46] "Spis o nowych zemiech a o nowen swietie, o niemzto jsme prwe zadne znamosti nemeli, ani kdy co slychali", after: Svejkovsky, p.38.

Czech literature of this genre culminated in the work of John Amos Comenius and his proposed *Theatrum universitatis rerum* which he began in 1616 but never brought to a conclusion. He planned to pay special attention to America in his study, having, over the course of his fascinating life, had many indirect encounters with the land. Comenius' views of the New World and its poignant discovery pointed, for him, to an obvious conclusion; the Second Coming was imminent.[47] This millenarian angle to the discovery of America was evidenced by the germination of a dramatic change in the political, social and economic problems of his day.[48] War and civil war, unrest and discovery: all supported his hypothesis. America was, however, to be the ideal opportunity to recreate a perfect community, where the Native Americans, whom Comenius described as "white unto harvest" might be educated and New England developed as a laboratory of sorts for his social experiments.[49] World evangelization was incumbent upon all Christians and he insisted that "any neighbouring people, or any men in their own midst, who had not yet come to Christ" should and must be brought into the fold.[50] Indeed, Comenius ideas were to have more long-lasting affects on education in North America, with isolated settlements in Pennsylvania trying to unite church, state and school into ideal communities,[51] and Comenius (possibly) being asked by the younger John Winthrop to be President of Harvard College.[52] Information on America continued to be gathered and collected, not just in the Czech lands, but

[47] For an excellent overview of early modern Protestant, and especially sectarian, views of the 'New World' and the origins of these views in a Muslim-conscious Europe, see: Fuad Sha'ban, *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought. The Roots of Orientalism in America*, The Acorn Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1991, esp. ch. 1, 'A Place for My People. The Pilgrims in the New World', pp. 1-14.

[48] John Edward Sadler, *J.A. Comenius and the Concept of Universal Education*, George Allen, London, 1966, pp.92-3.

[49] Robert Fitzgibbon Young, *Comenius and the Indians of New England*, London, 1929, p.5 ff. Indeed, this language of 'social experiment' persisted well into the 19th century in Australasia and other points of colonial contact.

[50] Comenius' *Panorthosia* XVIII.13, after: Sadler, p.181.

[51] J.K. Clauser, *Pedagogy and the Moravian School Curriculum 1740-1850 in East Pennsylvania*, University of Pennsylvania, 1961, after: Sadler: p.186, n.123.

[52] Confusion still surrounds this story, which may be apocryphal. Cf.: Young, p.1, ff. In Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, the event was thus reported: "That brave old man, Johannes Amos Comenius, the fame of whose worth hath been trumpeted as far as more than three languages could carry it, was indeed agreed withall, by our Mr Winthrop in his travels through the low countries, to come over into New England, and illuminate this College and country in the quality of a President. But the solicitations of the Swedish Ambassador, diverting him another way, that incomparable Moravian became not an American."; *Magnalia Christi Americana*, New Haven, 1820, after: Daniel Murphy, *Comenius. A Critical Reassessment of his Life and Work*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1995, p.27.

throughout Central Europe. Cosmologies continued to include ever-increasing sections on the new world, with Comenius' highly important *Orbis sensualium pictus* (1658) including the following description: "[The terrestrial globe], however, is divided into three continents: ours (which is subdivided into Europe, Asia and Africa), the American, whose inhabitants dwell on the other side of the globe from us, and the hitherto unknown Australian land."[53] And the title page of Comenius's *Lux e tenebris* divided mankind into four categories: "Aquilonares", "Orientales", "Meridionales", and "Occidentales", the latter division comprising the Dutch, the English, the French, the Spanish, and on either side Americans, one (apparently) a Native American and the other (apparently) a Negro.[54] This comparison of the incomparable, of opposites, culturally, religiously, socially, civilly, was not unique to Europeans versus Native Americans, but also occurred within Europe. The 'heathen' and 'savage' analogies were as valid when western Europeans wrote and spoke about their contiguous neighbours to the east of the continent as it was when they discussed the exotic 'others' of North America. The literary symbol of the Indian as the noble savage, the generic, the unsubjugated, also reached the central European psyche, but perhaps was here felt closer to the bone than in western Europe. The 'New World' became a metaphor in humanistic literature.[55] Accounts of the New World acting as the mirror in which self-styled civility could join the dots of its ill-defined outline. Moreover, for a Czech audience not engaged in settlement of overseas territories, a uniquely critical view of colonists is often evident in this literature.[56] Quickly, however, the theory long read was called into practice, with Czech Protestants looking towards America as the land of religious freedom, following their defeat at the Battle of the White Mountain

[53] "[Sphaera terrestria] centerum divisa est in tres continentes: nostram (quæ subdivitur in Europam, Asiam et Africam), in Americam, cujus incolæ nobis sunt antipodes, et in terram Australem adhuc incognitam.", in: Jan Amos Komensky, *Johannis Amos Comenii Opera amnia*, Prague, XVII, 1970, pp.204-5.

[54] Dmitrij Cizevskij, *Aus zwei Welten*, 's Gravenhage, 1956, plate no.V, from the article: "Comenius und die Deutschen Pietisten", pp.165-171. Also to be considered is the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius (1570) and the *Queen Europe* of Sebastien Münster's *Cosmographia* (Basel edition, 1588).

[55] Svejkovsky, p.44.

[56] Cf.: The translation of Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil, autrement dite Amérique* (1578) by Pavel Slovák and Matej Cyrus, with additions, entitled: "Historie o plavení se do Ameriky, kteráz i Brasilia slove, od Jana Lérya z Burgundie, nejprv francouzsky sepsaná, potom od neho do latinského jazyku vylozená, nyní pak ted léta 1590 z latinského jazyku do ceského prelozená" (History of a Voyage to America, Which is also called Brazil, by Jean Léry of Burgundy, First Written in French, Then Translated by Him into the Latin Language, and now in this year 1590 Rendered from the Latin Language into Czech).

by Imperial forces in 1620. In this established tradition, Zinzendorf brought the Moravian church to America.

In the spirit of Comenius, the New World was assuming the mantle of a blossoming new Europe. Europe itself had received its goodness from the east; the arts of war and literature, of language and learning. Now, these arts were passing away, as Comenius wrote: "Once the eastern parts, Assyria, Egypt, the Jewish lands, flourished; they excelled in the arts of war and letters. Both [arts] then passed to Europe; barbarians overran everything there. Now again in Europe everything is rebelling, crumbling, raving, approaching a general downfall. The New World by contrast is beginning to flower."[57] Other writers developed this idea still further: Václav Budovec, in his treatise *Antialkorán* (The Anti-Koran) wove the interrelated threads of politics and religion into a theological tapestry for the world: America was proof that the world must be about to end, as its discovery was symptomatic of the coming of the Kingdom of Christ. Interestingly, Budovec proposed the exile of all civil and religious enemies to the 'New World', for there too "quidam Americanus pseudoapostolus", 'some American pseudoapostle', was at work. His most interesting development of his thesis compares and contrasts the role of eastern Europe with that of America: both places should be used as a place of exile for heretics and unbelievers. In this way, the Turk and the Native American were equally bad.[58] Budovec's punning on 'Transsylnavos' and 'Transmarinos', 'beyond the forest' and 'beyond the sea' is all the more apt when one remembers that so many of these migrants ended their lives in Penn's forest, Pennsylvania. The Germans were

[57] Jan Amos Komensky, *Veskeré spisy J.A. Komenského*, XV, Brno, 1910, p.151, after: Svejkovsky, p.46.

[58] Julius Glücklich, *Václava Budovce z Budova korespondence z let 1579-1619*, Praha, 1908, no.67 and no.69: "...qui omnes procul ad ultimos Indos vel anthropophagos relegandi" [...all of these should be sent to the most remote Indians or cannibals]. He also wrote: "Illosque nebulones e consortio fidelium ad Sarmatas vel Transsylvanos vel Transmarinos, imo ad ultimos Indos vel ad ipsa Tartara potius releget, ne non modo ecclesia Christi, set etiam ne rerum natura iis coniquinetur" [the Church should send those good-for-nothing fellows away to the Sarmats, Transsylvanians or Transmarinians or rather to the most remote Indians or directly to hell, so that neither the Christian Church nor the natural environment would be polluted by them]. This notion of sending 'enemies' of the state to America or to the east remained in common currency in Europe until the end of the eighteenth century, with Empress Maria Theresia sending many Viennese prostitutes to lands reconquered from the Turk and Benjamin Franklin wondered if it was a European conspiricy to send the poorest and most immoral lot to Philadelphia.

envisaged as frontier people, to be settled in the south-east to keep the Turkish infidel at bay, and in America so that the French in Canada might be confined "to their proper bounds."[59]

Thus representative images and tales of New World life and lore penetrated Central Europe, through literature, first-hand accounts from travellers and through religious imagery. During the decades between initial contact and the formation of a stock glossary of verbal and pictorial imagery, the active manipulation and retailing of New World encounters was an occasional, haphazard activity. By the beginning of the eighteenth-century this had changed. The merging of information from all parts of Europe, seaboard and inland, had altered the conceptualizing of America as a land beyond civility and conformity, to a land of potential exploitation and liberty. Reports of material success permeated negative narratives, shifting the direction of interest in America from exotic and distant to rewarding and attainable. A symbiotic relationship was emerging in Europe between information and the retailers of information; those individuals involved in the solicitation and enticement of potential European migrants to America. What remained wanting before movement occurred was an impetus: this was often the role played by agents, recruiters, emigration agencies and transporters which many have called to be evaluated in eighteenth century emigration.[60] The go-between was of immense importance.[61]

Cultural and information brokers were the face of a policy which would otherwise have remained anonymous and only through their actions, their communication networks, their exchange of information and their brokerage abilities, was colonisation possible in the eighteenth century.[62] Cultural brokers crossed boundaries, sometimes porous, sometimes not, but

[59] William Smith, *A True and Impartial State of the British and French Colonies in North America*, 1755, p.136.

[60] Cf.: Moltmann, Günther, p.13 & Thistlewaite, Frank, "Migrations from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", in: *XIe Congres International des Sciences Historiques*, Rapport V, Uppsala, 1960, pp.32-60.

[61] Cf.: Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions. The Wonder of the New World*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991, esp. ch.5, 'The Go-Between'.

[62] Friedrich Reschke, *Genese und Wandlung der Kulturlandschaft des südostlichen jugoslawischen Banats im Wechsel des historischen Geschehens*, Ph.D. dissertation, Cologne, 1968, pp.3-4; Irmgard Kuscko, *Die Organisation der Verwaltung im Banat vom Jahre 1717-1738*, Ph.D. dissertation, Vienna, 1934, n.p..

these boundaries shifted and developed in ways as yet not fully understood.[63] Being culturally amorphous, brokers functioned as an integral part of early modern migratory society.[64]

Images, stories, representations and dreams all shaped the invention of a composite framework of discourse and belief, recycled from stock myth and clichée. Yet the underlying image of freedom, of distant yet attainable salvation, even redemption, was America; a metaphor for magic, mysticism, movement. It was, as Stephen Greenblatt writes, in "the stories that a culture tells itself" that America was conceived in the settler psyche. And these stories were built on far older foundations, of language, culture and definition, conceived and formed along the margins of Europe.

[63] Van Zandt, p.18.

[64] Not merely information concerning advertising was carried across the seas; so, too, was revolution. For a sample of the wide-ranging information concerning the American Revolution and central and eastern Europe, see: Andrej Pantev, "The American Revolution and the Slavs", *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 1, 1977, pp.21-33; Daniel Stone, "Poland and the Lessons of the American Revolution", pp. 3-10, in: Béla K. Király (ed.), *War and Society in East Central Europe*, vol.4, Social Science Monographs, Boulder, Columbia U.P., New York, 1984.