

Jeffrey Glover. *Paper Sovereigns: Anglo-Native Treaties and the Law of Nations, 1604-1664*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. ix + 312 pp. \$59.95. Review by WILLIAM J. SCHEICK, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN.

In *Paper Sovereigns* Jeffrey Glover necessarily acknowledges the obvious fact that settler-instigated treaties tended to work against Native American interests, often with dire consequences. Nevertheless, Glover also finds that not all treaties were so one-sided in their design, instigation and result. During the early decades of European settlements in the New World, many Native Americans actively sought treaties to gain some advantage over their local rivals.

To foster their own agendas, several Native Americans even exploited transatlantic diplomatic channels, where alleged treaties could be internationally contested. This happened, for instance, when Narragansett sachems duplicated land claims based on government-approved treaties made by dissenters Roger Williams and Samuel Gorton. In such instances of Native American instigation, tribal interests were not always at the forefront of intention. Sometimes, as Glover observes, “speeches, gestures, x-marks, and pictographs represented individual rather than collective agendas.”

Glover offers a deeper understanding of this complex, if often unofficial, interaction in New England by pointing to a shift in the English court’s legal notions about treaties in general. Based on Roman precedent, the English court came to view treaties as an oblique means for making sovereign claims to new territories, including any trade conducted therein. “English colonists publicized treaties with Native Americans precisely to advertise this kind of possession,” Glover indicates. Theoretically, at least, treaties and treaty-related narratives were designed for an audience and, as such, they served as colonial devices enabling peaceful territorial conquest. This manner of proceeding prevailed until 1664, when the English crown’s assumption of imperial authority over the Native peoples of New England made the practice of publishing treaties pointless.

Up to that year, however, it had been important that arguments be made in support of the belief that Native people were competent to participate in treaties. English arguments advanced this case by

asserting principles said to be based on natural law. They also offered ample narrative exhibitions of *consensus ad idem*. But, of course, there was no firm ground in these arguments for any colonists unallied with the English court. "While the English crown had cited Native alliances in order to support its own rights in conflicts with Spain, it was not willing to recognize Native alliances as a source of rights for traders within its own waters." In the short term, at least, these traders tended to find greater legal stability locally within Native systems of exchange.

Asserting Native competency was one thing; proof of a voluntary and peaceful meeting of minds was still another. The latter required documentation beyond a published treaty. In fact, well before signed treaties emerged as a customary documentary form, early seventeenth-century New World settlers fashioned various other types of records that served as informal evidence of treaty-like *consensus ad idem*. These records included histories, sermons, land deeds, receipts, and ceremonial accounts that detailed positive individual or collective emotions (facial expressions, shouting, feasting) indicative of passionate indigenous assent.

Glover's five hefty chapters range from the settlement of Virginia in 1604 to the imposition of empire in Narragansett Bay in 1664. Each of these rewardingly detailed and well-researched chapters spotlights a particular treaty or cluster of treaties that reveal far more complexity in interpersonal colonial interactions than we have previously appreciated.

Andrew Casper. *Art and the Religious Image in El Greco's Italy*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014. xiii + 221 pp. + 84 illus. \$79.95. Review by LIVIA STOENESCU, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY.

Andrew Casper's *Art and the Religious Image in El Greco's Italy* breaks new ground in art historical literature by engaging recent research both in typological reassessment and in the plural temporality of works of art as well as the historical relations underpinning their meaning, form, and function. This represents a much-anticipated tack in El Greco studies, which have been dominated by questions of