

mation nor segregation nor melting pot.” (171). The movement of women to and within colonial settlements reveals the need to rethink gendered notions of physical space and the simplified bifurcations between men and women of various races in the early modern world. American geographies provided women with new roles, new avenues of religiosity, and new means of identity.

This volume greatly adds to studies of the trans-Atlantic world and knowledge of gender as a constitutive element of American colonialism in all its permutations. As a reciprocal relationship, the colonial project brought Europeans in contact with Indians and Africans, and vice versa; all sides were changed by their colonial encounters. This book advances our understanding of religion and its relationship to the shifting nature of gender and race. In addition, its specificity by time and place demonstrates the creation and persistence of social identities and practices in the early modern Americas.

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra. *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006. 344 pp., 55 illus., \$65 cloth, \$26.95 paper. Review by ELIZABETH R. WRIGHT, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA.

In this ambitious intellectual history, Jorge Cañizares examines how the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors and colonizers who cast their enterprises in providentialist and epic terms anticipated Puritan thinkers. Throughout, the author grounds his impassioned arguments in brief discussions of a large number and variety of printed texts and manuscripts, among which epic poems figure prominently. As well, he interweaves over fifty annotated illustrations into his chapters. Indeed, a reading entirely focused on the visual material Cañizares presents would, by itself, be illuminating. Literary scholars will, at times, find his discussions of epic poems and plays limited by a thematic framework that slights formal issues. More generally, many of the connections and resemblances Cañizares highlights will need the more focused analysis of case studies to fully take root. With these two caveats in mind, the six chapters I describe below reward careful examination together, at the same time each stands well on its own.

In his introductory chapter, Cañizares proposes the “satanic epic” as the linchpin which brings together the histories of the Iberian and Puritan colonization enterprises. Ashe fleshes out this genre label in the introduction and in the eponymous second chapter, the author shifts between “epic,” understood as narrative poetry, and a more general notion of any kind of writing which casts the enterprises of conquest and colonization as heroic quests. As concerns the former, genre-specific notion of the term, Cañizares avers that “the satanic epic was a literary tradition that first evolved in Portuguese and Spanish America” (27), thereby passing over such neo-Latin precursors as Petrarch’s *Africa* and Vida’s *Christiad*. Still, the spotlight Cañizares casts in Chapter 1 and 2 on this sub-genre is important, given that of the numerous Iberian epics of the colonial period, only Alonso de Ercilla’s *La Araucana* and Luis de Camoes’s *Os Lusíadas* have been widely studied and edited. He thus invites renewed considerations of such works as the Jesuit Jose de Anchieta’s *De gestis Mendi de Saa* (1563), which casts the third governor general of Brazil as a Christian Ulysses; Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega’s *La Mexicana* (1594), which presents Hernán Cortés as an agent of divine providence protected by the archangel Michael; and Pedro de Oña’s *Arauco dormado* (1596), which builds on and corrects Ercilla’s account of Spam’s brutal campaign to control Chile.

By contemplating long-neglected epics in relation to a wide range of other sources from the period, Cañizares convincingly refutes a long-standing paradigm in Hispanic literary studies that posits that Spanish conquistadors made sense of the new lands and people they encountered in the Americas by drawing on romances of chivalry. Popularized through simplifications of the path-breaking biographical detective work Irving Leonard recorded in his 1949 study *The Books of the Brave*, this theory of misidentification has long fomented conceptions of Spanish or Iberian intellectual backwardness. Here, the variety of sources Cañizares engages is a source of strength. At other moments, however, the author’s application of the same analytical tactics for epic poems as for non-fiction prose sources yields simplifications. For example, he sets aside Pedro de Oña’s *Arauco domado*, saying “I have briefly summarized cantos 1 to 4 of *Arauco domado*, which accurately captures the tone and argument of the remaining

fifteen” (48). Moving on, he notes that “I could continue almost endlessly my analysis of the numerous epic poems written about Iberian America in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries [. . .] all of them, however, follow the same basic structure, with the conquest of the New World cast as a cosmic struggle pitting God against Satan” (49). Turning too briefly to *Paradise Lost*, Cañizares hypothesizes that Milton’s heroic conception of Satan drew inspiration from the Iberian epic tradition. He does not, however, delve into this connection. Chapter 3, “The Structure of a Shared Demonological Discourse,” applies insights gleaned from Puritan typology—where theologians read Old Testament narratives as prefigurations of New World colonization—to illuminate demonological discourse in Iberoamerican sources. At times, however, the division into multiple subsections diminishes the chapter’s narrative coherence. For example, Cañizares quotes the Franciscan Andrés de Olmos, who describes how Satan “humiliates” his Amerindian vassals by chaining them in dungeons. An illustration on the facing page extracted from Diego de Valadés 1579 *Rhetorica Christiana* features woodcut illustrations of the devil leading a row of Amerindian slaves chained with collars. But without discussing in detail either the Andrés de Olmos citation or the Valadés illustration that follows it, the author moves to a discussion of Cotton Mather’s notion of moral serfdom (84). In like manner, in noting how colonizers often alleged Amerindian cannibalism to justify settlers’ violence Cañizares jauntily marks a transition by saying that “lest the reader be tempted to discard this story of cannibalism and collective demonic harassment as merely typical Iberian medieval claptrap, let us turn to colonial New England for another illuminating example” (93). Again, Cañizares leaves the precise mechanisms of cultural cross-fertilization up to the reader to infer or investigate.

Chapter 4, “Demonology and Nature,” examines texts that conceive of conquest and colonization as the transformation of a demonic landscape into a sacred holy place. As examples, the author comments on how this trope shapes canonical texts, most notably Spenser’s *Fairie Queene* and Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*. He also draws attention to works that were widely influential in seventeenth century Europe, but are now little known outside colonial Latin American studies, including monumental works by two Jesuits—the *Historia natural*

*y moral de las Indias* by José de Acosta and the *Historia Naturae* by José Eusebio Nieremberg. Many issues raised in Chapter 4 reemerge in Chapter 5, “Colonization as Spiritual Gardening,” which discusses how Iberian and Puritan writers deployed horticultural tropes to depict their struggle to control the New World. Once again, some of the connections Cañizares proposes need more analysis to be convincing or meaningful. For instance, he draws attention to how the early eighteenth-century Puritan theologian and preacher Jonathan Edwards echoes the sixteenth-century mystic Saint Teresa of Avila, when he describes being touched by God in terms of “holiness of a sweet, pleasant, charming, serene, calm, nature” (213). Without detailed analysis, however, the comparison adds little to our understanding of spirituality, whether in Counter-Reformation Spain or Puritan New England.

Chapter 6, “Toward a ‘Pan-American’ Atlantic,” invites renewed attention to Herbert Eugene Bolton’s “Epic of Greater America,” (*American Historical Review* 1933) in the hopes of expanding early American colonial studies beyond the confines of the original thirteen colonies. Cañizares relates this Anglo-American exceptionalism to notions of modernity from which Spain and Latin America have been excluded, a conception that has important implications for university curricula. As an example, he notes how Oxford University Press’s widely used textbook, *Modern Latin America*, depicts this region as the redoubt of traditional, indigenous societies. Yet he also finds examples of welcome change, as in the case of the prestigious *William and Mary Quarterly*, which has become increasingly receptive to scholarship about colonial Spanish- and Portuguese America. In closing, Cañizares emphatically and convincingly restates his contention that scholars examine North and South America in the colonial erain relation to one another.

This proposal is timely, given the increasing visibility of the Spanish language and Hispanic cultures in the United States. Already, Cañizares has inspired enthusiastic discussions among scholars of early-modern Spanish- and Spanish American literature with his bold prescription for a more expansive conception of the early modern Atlantic world. Given that Cañizares does not consider the aesthetic dimensions of the narrative poems he discusses, English Renaissance

specialists who wish to read more in-depth analyses of Iberian epics will find it useful to supplement this book with literary studies by Elizabeth Davis, James Nicolopoulos, Paul Firbas, Antonio Sanchez-Jiménez, and José Antonio Mazzotti. This limitation notwithstanding, *Puritan Conquistadors* is a goldmine of information and ideas that will be as valuable to scholars of Renaissance English literature who engage Spanish- or Portuguese-language sources as it will to their Hispanist counterparts.

John McCavitt with original drawings by Seán Ó Brógáin. *The Flight of the Earls: An Illustrated History*. Co. Down, No. Ireland: April Sky Design. 144pp + 127 B&W ill + 35 color ill. Cloth, £20, paper, £14. Review by MAUREEN E. MULVIHILL, PRINCETON RESEARCH FORUM, N.J.



Éire's Choice Heroes: Rory O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill, with Flight of the Earls facilitator (far right) Cúchonnacht Maguire, chieftain of Fermanagh, disguised as a French mariner. A modern rendering by Seán Ó Brógáin (An Clochán, County Donegal) © 2007. From jacket (verso), John McCavitt's *Flight of the Earls: An Illustrated History* (2007); and image detail, p 74. With kind permission, May 2008