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## **A Chronology of Pre-1830 Thought on Indian Origins:**

### **Who Were the Natives of the American Continent?**

### **Where Did These Natives Come From?**

### **And How Does This Relate to Book of Mormon Geography & Culture?**

Beginnings -----> 1830

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#### *Introduction*

Although my original intent was to make a comprehensive collection of LDS thought on Indian Origins, I soon came to realize that this collection would still lack the perspective that I desired--the reason being that there were numerous books and articles written prior to the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and the organization of the Church that contained ideas which undoubtedly had some influence on how members of the LDS Church viewed the origins of the American Indian as portrayed in the Book of Mormon. From the time that Christopher Columbus set foot in the New World until the Church was organized in 1830 many writings came forth. In 1607, for example, Gregorio Garcia published at Valencia his *Origin de los Indios* in which he listed 1700 authors on the subject of the American Indians, and in which he reviewed all current theories on the subject of their origins. Yet with only a few exceptions, LDS authors have not approached these writings on American Indian origins from either a comprehensive viewpoint or a chronological perspective. They have usually chosen to quote from more recent scholarly works, thus presenting Indian traditions in a random manner, and mixing later authors' comments with those from the original sources. Such an approach has not only tended to obscure the historical validity of the original author's claims, but has confused the facts of what was actually said. My objective here is to correct this deficiency.

In 1986, an anti-Mormon book regarding pre-1830 thought on American Indian origins in Joseph Smith's New York frontier environment was published. Dan Vogel, an avid anti-Mormon student of early Mormon history and especially the events related to the Book of Mormon, would author *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*. Although his focus was to prove that Joseph Smith authored the Book of Mormon from ideas that were part of his environment, his writings were also relevant to the many interpretations and proofs of Book of Mormon culture and geography that had been given by members of the LDS Church. In the "Introduction" Vogel explains his method:

A central question to ask about Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon is: How did this book fit into the ongoing discussion about the origin and nature of ancient American cultures? The discovery of the New

World had inspired a whole series of questions and debates. At what time and from what nation did the Indians originate? How and over what route did they travel to the Americas? . . . Who were the builders of the many mounds and ruined buildings which the early colonists found? . . . Archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, and other disciplines were still in their infancy at the time, and scientific answers were yet on the horizon. . . . [p. 7]

In 1990, Kevin Christensen would review Vogel's book in *FARMS Review of Books*. Among a number of criticisms, Christensen notes, "The material that Vogel presents may indeed seem 'plentiful' and 'striking' compared to nothing (p. 71), but is it adequate compared to the Book of Mormon text? [p. 219]

In other words, if I interpret Christensen correctly, while there is an indispensable need for further research in order to gain these new perspectives, there is no guarantee that this research, in and of itself, will be conclusive enough to decide what historical ideas and mythologies are relevant and what should be discarded.

So taking Christensen's challenge for more research on Indian origins while being aware of its limitations, and joining it to my focus on LDS interpretations of Book of Mormon geography and culture, I have resolved to compile and make available to the average student of the Book of Mormon a more lengthy and detailed body of information and quotations from these pre-1830 works before I focus my attention on LDS writings.

In my approach I have tried to place the pertinent authors with their writings in chronological order. I have drawn heavily from a number of authoritative sources, but I have always tried to give proper credit in doing so. Because of the scope and antiquity of my research, and the limitations of my time, financial resources and abilities to gain access to these early books and articles, I can never hope to be comprehensive for this time period before the Church had its beginnings. To be sure, there are any number of lengthy authoritative non-LDS works on the subject. My only hope is that what I have collected or will collect might be representative, and might provide a helpful chronological guide for those who follow in this line of research.

Again I remind the reader that in our modern age of communication and higher learning, while it might be possible to make an extensive list of books and articles on the subject of Indian origins, or to additionally make some quotations from those books or articles, there will always be questions in regards to (1) whether what I have selected represents the overall perspective of the author; (2) whether the author's original writings correctly represented the historical peoples and cultures that he wrote about; (3) whether or not, and to what extent the author's original writings were later interpreted by those authors who studied and quoted their books and manuscripts; and (4) whether or not, and to what extent these ideas might have affected authoritative LDS statements regarding the Book of Mormon story. Yet to be sure, it would be folly to assume that Church members from the beginning to the present were radically different in their exposure and influence regarding various thoughts on Indian origins than others of their same geographical location and time period.

#### *Geographical Knowledge Of the Ancients*

Note\* In order to chronologically relate these ancient people and the ancient events referred to in this segment, I will refer the reader to the Old Testament Chronology Charts prepared by the Church Educational System:

["**Old Testament Chronology Chart.**" Prepared by the Church Educational System. *Old Testament: Genesis-2 Samuel (Religion 301) Student Manual.* Prepared by the Church Educational System. Published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City, Utah, 1980, 1981., pp. 14-17]

["**Old Testament Chronology Chart.**" Prepared by the Church Educational System. *Old Testament: 1 Kings-Malachi (Religion 302) Student Manual.* Prepared by the Church Educational System. Published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City, Utah, 1981, 1982., pp. xii-xv]

According to this chronology, Adam was born in 6000 B.C., the Flood occurred in 2350 B.C., the Jaredites leave for the New World at the time of Babel in 2300, David and Solomon reigned from about 1000 B.C. to around 930 B.C., Pharaoh Necho II of Egypt reigned from about 610 to 545 B.C. Lehi left Jerusalem about 600 B.C.

In his *Narrative and Critical History of America*, published in 1889, the eminent historian Justin Winsor includes a chapter written by William H. Tillinghast, Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. The first 32 pages of this Chapter One relate "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients Considered in Relation to the Discovery of America." Next is a five-page "Critical Essay on the Sources of Information." This is followed by 21 pages of "Notes" and "Illustrations" which include the following: [ELABORATE]

- A. The Form of the Earth
- B. Homer's Geography.
- C. Supposed References to America,
- D. Atlantis [SEE BELOW] [note ]
- E. Fabulous Islands of the Atlantic in the Middle Ages,
- F. Toscanelli's Atlantic Ocean.
- G. Early Maps of the Atlantic Ocean

Illustrations: Various fifteenth century maps.

The following are some of the more pertinent comments in this chapter:

[p. 1] . . . Whence came the human population of the unveiled continent [of America]? How had its existence escaped the wisdom of Greece and Rome? Had it done so? Clearly, since the whole human race had been renewed through Noah, the red men of America must have descended from the patriarch; in some way, at some time, the New World had been discovered and populated from the Old. Had knowledge of this event lapsed from the minds of men before their memories were committed to writing, or did reminiscences exist in ancient literatures, overlooked, or misunderstood by modern ignorance? . . .

[p. 2] To whom belongs the honor of first propounding the theory of the spherical form of the earth cannot be known. It was taught by the Italian Pythagoreans of the sixth century [B.C.]\*

[Note\* Pythagoras founded a school at Crotona about 530 B.C. (see CES Chronology chart).]

[pp. 3-4] . . . Pythagoras has left no writings; Aristotle speaks only of his school; Diogenes Laertius in one passage (*Vitae*, viii. I, Pythag., 25) quotes an authority to the effect that Pythagoras asserted the earth to be spherical and inhabited all over, so that there were antipodes, to whom that is *over*, which to us is *under*. . . . Plato [about 390 B.C.], who was familiar with the doctrines of the Pythagoreans, adopted their view of the form of the earth, and did much to popularize it among his countrymen. . . . Aristotle [abt. 330 B.C.] made the doctrine orthodox . . . Greece transmitted it to Rome, Rome impressed it upon barbaric Europe; taught by Pliny, . . . expressed in the works of Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, it passed into the schoolbooks of the Middle Ages, whence, reinforced by Arabian lore, it has come down to us.

That the belief ever became in antiquity or in the Middle Ages widely spread among the people is improbable; it did not indeed escape opposition among the educated; writers even of the Augustan age sometimes appear in doubt. . . .

[p. 4] . . . The First measurement of the earth which rests on a known method was that made about the middle of the third century B.C., by Eratosthenes, the librarian at Alexandria . . .

[pp. 6-7] . . . The promulgation of the theory of the sphericity of the earth and the approximate determination of its size drew attention afresh to the problem of the distribution of land and water upon its surface . . . The increase of geographical knowledge along lines of trade, conquest, and colonization had greatly extended the bounds of the known world since Homer's day [840 B.C.] but it was still evident that by far the larger portion of the earth, taking the smallest estimate of its size, was still undiscovered . . .

We can trace two schools of thought in respect to the configuration of this unknown region [&] the conception of the earth. . . .

(1) . . . The suggestion is attributed to Thales, to Pythagoras [530 B.C.], and to Parmenides; and it is certain that the earth was very early conceived as divided by the polar and solstitial circles into five zones, whereof two only, the temperate in either sphere, so the Greeks believed, were capable of supporting life; of the others, the polar were uninhabitable from intense cold, as was the torrid from its parching heat. This theory, which excluded from knowledge the whole southern hemisphere and a large portion of the northern, was approved by Aristotle [330 B.C.] and the Homeric school of geographers [840 B.C.-->], and by the minor physicists. As knowledge grew, its truth was doubted. . . . Marinus and Ptolemy [300-200 B.C. ???] who knew that commerce was carried on along the east coast of Africa far below the equator, cannot have fallen into the ancient error, but the error long persisted; it was always in favor with the compilers, and thus perhaps obtained that currency in Rome which enabled it to exert a restrictive pernicious check upon maritime endeavor deep into the Middle Ages.

(2) . . . By some it was maintained that there was one ocean, confluent over the whole globe, so that the body of known lands, that so-called continent, was in truth an island, and whatever other inhabitable regions might exist were in like manner surrounded and so separated by vast expanses of untraversed waves. . . . The continental theory, despite its famous disciples, made no headway at Rome, and was consequently hardly known to the Middle Ages before its falsity was proved by the circumnavigation of Africa. The circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenicians at the command of Necho [610 B.C.- 545 B.C.] though described and accepted by Herodotus, can hardly be called an established fact, in spite of all that has been written in its favor.\*

[Note\* Here the author makes an interesting footnote--interesting because it briefly brings up and then dismisses the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phoenicians under the command of Pharaoh Necho of Egypt (abt. 600 B.C.). William Tillinghast seems to base such dismissal on the lack of any great impact of this accomplishment on the ideas of the time. He continues: "The story, whether true or false, had, like others of its kind, little influence upon the belief in the impassable tropic zone . . ." What makes this dismissal rather glaring is the fact that Tillinghast has just outlined how belief in the Torrid zone continued into the Middle Ages despite "certain" knowledge to the contrary. I wonder, then, how he can seemingly dismiss the advancements in knowledge attributed to Necho and the Phoenicians, especially in light of the fact that both countries were acknowledged as being secretive about what they knew. Also the first known computations relative to a spherical earth came out of the library at Alexandria. One should also be aware that scholarly perspectives concerning ancient navigation mainly come to us from

the *Mediterranean* area while most interestingly, the Indian Ocean was the location of some of the more ancient commerce by sea (David's and Solomon's fleets sailed to "Ophir" from the Red Sea centuries before this. Perhaps some surprising insights might be found in Arabic lore--see the volumes on the Jaredites and the Lehitites]

Tillinghast continues:

That portion of Europe, Asia, and Africa known to the ancients whether regarded as an island, or as separated from the rest of the world by climatic conditions merely, or by ignorance, formed a distinct concept and was known by a particular name.

[pp. 14-16] When [documentable] names first became attached to some of the Atlantic islands is uncertain. . . . it is certain that toward the close of the republic [of Greece?] the name *Insulae Fortunatae* was given to certain of the Atlantic islands, including the Canaries. In the time of Juba, king of Numidia, we seem to distinguish at least three groups, the *Insulae Fortunatae*, the *Purpurariae*, and the *Hesperides*, but beyond the fact that the first name still designated some of the Canaries identification is uncertain . . . The Canaries were soon lost out of knowledge again, but the Happy or Fortunate Islands continued to be an enticing mirage throughout the Middle Ages, and play a part in many legends, as in that of St. Brandan, and in many poems.

*Atlantis:*

[pp. 14-16] Besides these ancient, widespread, popular myths, embodying the universal longing for a happier life, we find a group of stories of more recent date, of known authorship and well-marked literary origin, which treat of western islands and a western continent. The group comprises, it is hardly necessary to say, the tale of Atlantis, related by Plato [380 B.C.] . . .

The story of Atlantis, by its own interest and the skill of its author, has made by far the deepest impression. Plato, having given in the *Republic* a picture of the ideal political organization, the state, sketched in the *Timaeus* the history of creation, and the origin and development of mankind; in the *Critias* he apparently intended to exhibit the action of two types of political bodies involved in a life-and-death contest. The latter dialogue was unfinished, but its purport had been sketched in the opening of the *Timaeus*.

Critias there relates "a strange tale, but certainly true, as Solon declared," which had come down in his family from his ancestor Dropidas a near relative of Solon. When Solon was in Egypt he fell into talk with an aged priest of Sais, who said to him: "Solon, Solon, you Greeks are all children,--there is not an old man in Greece. You have no old traditions, and know of but one deluge, whereas there have been many destructions of mankind, both by flood and fire; Egypt alone has escaped them, and in Egypt alone is ancient history recorded; you are ignorant of your own past." For long before Deucalion, nine thousand years ago, there was an Athens founded, like Sais, by Athena; a city rich in power and wisdom, famed for mighty deeds, the greatest of which was this. At that time there lay opposite the columns of Hercules, in the Atlantic, which was then navigable, an island larger than Libya and Asia together, from which sailors could pass to other islands, and so to the continent. The sera in front of the straits is indeed but a small harbor; that which lay beyond the islands, however, is worthy of the name, and the land which surrounds that greater sea may be truly called the continent. In this islands of Atlantis had grown up a mighty power, whose kings were descended from Poseidon, and had extended their sway over many islands and over a portion of the great continent; even Libya up to the gates of Egypt, and Europe as far as Tyrrhenia, submitted to their sway. Ever harder they pressed upon the other nations of the known world, seeking the subjugation of the whole. "Then, O Solon, did the strength of your republic become clear to all men, by reason of her courage and force. Foremost in the arts of war, she met the invader at the head of Greece; abandoned by her allies, she triumphed alone over the western foe, delivering from the yoke all the

nations within the columns. But afterwards came a day and night of great floods and earthquakes; the earth engulfed all the Athenians who were capable of bearing arms, and Atlantis disappeared, swallowed by the waves: hence it is that this sea is no longer navigable, from the vast mud-shoals formed by the vanished island" This tale so impressed Solon that he meditated an epic on the subject, but on his return, stress of public business prevented his design. In the *Critias* the empire and chief city of Atlantis is described with wealth of detail, and the descent of the royal family from Atlas, son of Poseidon, and a nymph of the island, is set forth. . . .

[p. 16] **Gomara [1552]**, Guillaume de Postel, Wyffliet, are among those who have believed that this continent was Atlantis; Sanson in 1669, and Vaugondy in 1762, ventured to issue a map, upon which the division of that island among the sons of Neptune was applied to America, and the outskirts of the lost continent were extended even to New Zealand. Such work, of course, needs no serious consideration. *Plato is our authority*, and Plato declares that Atlantis lay not far west from Spain, and that it disappeared some 8,000 years before his day. . . .

Some, notably Paul Gaffarel and Ignatius Donnelly, are convinced that Plato merely adapted to his purposes a story which Solon had actually brought from Egypt, and which was in all essentials true . . .

[**Introd. Traces of Atlantis. (1785).** William H. Tillinghast, "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients Considered in Relation to the Discovery of America." in Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 1889, 17]

[**Introd. Atlantis Insula** William H. Tillinghast, "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients Considered in Relation to the Discovery of America." in Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 1889, p. 18]

[**Introd. Contour Chart of the Bottom of the Atlantic.** William H. Tillinghast, "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients Considered in Relation to the Discovery of America." in Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 1889, p. 20]

[p. 21] In short, the conservative view advocated by Longinius, that the story was designed by Plato as a literary ornament and a philosophic illustration, is no less probable to-day than when it was suggested in the schools of Alexandria. Atlantis is a literary myth, belonging with *Utopia*, [etc.] . . .

[p. 23] That Plato, Theopompus, and Plutarch, covering a range of nearly five centuries, should each have made use of the conception of a continent beyond the Atlantic, is noteworthy; but it is more naturally accounted for by supposing that all three had in mind the continental hypothesis of land distribution, than by assuming for them an acquaintance with the great western island, America. . . .

[Note\* One thought on the above. Although Plato might be considered "our authority," what he wrote was only a fable based on what Solon said happened when he was in Egypt. And Solon's story is supposedly based on the words of an Egyptian priest. To this I might add the question, where did the Egyptian priest get his information? One intriguing possibility comes from southern Arabia and the Frankincense trade. For over two millennia before the origins of this story, the Egyptians, the Canaanites (Phoenicians), the Israelites, the Assyrians and Babylonians had been receiving Frankincense from a people on the coast of the Indian ocean. These traders had learned to navigate the ever changing desert landscape by navigating at night using the stars as well as simple instruments. Because of the extreme wealth acquired by such

trade, the Arabs would soon import the wood, the cotton, and other materials needed to construct ocean-going ships that would take their traders to far parts of the world. Unlike other peoples of the world, these Arab traders knew how to navigate using the stars and their simple instruments. That meant that they didn't have to stay close to the shores, but could navigate the open seas. This begs the question, how far did their explorations go and what geographical secrets did they hold? Were hints of these secrets ever communicated to the Egyptians or Phoenicians?]

#### *Phoenicians:*

[p. 23] The history of maritime discovery begins among the Phoenicians. The civilization of Egypt, as self-centered as that of China, accepted only the commerce that was brought to its gates; but the men of Sidon and Tyre, with their keen devotion to material interests, their almost modern ingenuity, had early appropriated the carrying trade of the east and the west. . . . they looked adventurously seaward from their narrow domain . . .

[Note\* The following appears in Rick Gore, "I Am a Phoenician" (p. 34) in *National Geographic*, October 2004:

Who were the Phoenicians? Although they're mentioned frequently in ancient texts as vigorous traders and sailors, we know relatively little about these puzzling people. Historians refer to them as Canaanites when talking about the culture before 1200 B.C. The Greeks called them the *phoinikes*, which means the "red people"--a name that became Phoenicians--after their word for a prized reddish purple cloth the Phoenicians exported. But they would never have called themselves Phoenicians. Rather, they were citizens of the ports from which they set sail, walled cities such as Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre.

The culture later known as Phoenician was flourishing as early as the third millennium B.C. in the Levant, a coastal region now divided primarily between Lebanon, Syria, and Israel. But it wasn't until around 1100 B.C., after a period of general disorder and social collapse throughout the region, that they emerged as a significant cultural force. From the ninth to sixth centuries B.C. they dominated the Mediterranean Sea . . .

[Note\* The purple dye used by the Phoenicians has been found in Mesoamerica--see Step by Step.]

[Note\* The Phoenicians were related to the tribes of southern Arabia from the ancient times of Joktan and shared with them the secret knowledge of sea-going navigation--see the volumes on the Jaredites & Lehitites]

[p. 24-25] We do not know when the Phoenicians first reached the Atlantic, nor what were the limits of their ocean voyages. Gades, the present Cadiz, just outside the Straits of Gibraltar, was founded a few years before 1100 B.C., but not, it is probable, without previous knowledge of the commercial importance of the location. There were numerous other settlements along the adjacent coast, and the gold, silver, and tin of these distant regions grew familiar in the markets of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India. The trade with Tartessus [Ophir], the El Dorado of antiquity, gave the Phoenician merchant vessels a name among the Jews, as well in the tenth century [B.C.], when Solomon shared the adventures of Hiram, as in the sixth [century B.C.] when Ezekiel depicted the glories of Tyrian commerce. The Phoenician seamanship was wide-famed; their vessels were unmatched in speed, and their furniture and discipline excited the outspoken admiration of Xenophon. Besides the large Tarshish ships, they possessed light merchant vessels and ships of war, provided with both sails and oars, and these, somewhat akin to steamships in their independence of wind, were well adapted for exploration. Thus urged and thus provided it is improbable that the Phoenicians shunned the great ocean. . . .

Whether the Tyrians discovered any of the Atlantic islands is unknown . . . Diodorus Siculus attributes to the Phoenicians the discovery, by accident, of a large island, with navigable rivers and a delightful climate, many days' sail westward from Africa. In the compilation *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, printed with the works of Aristotle, the discovery is attributed to Carthaginians. Both versions descend from one original, now lost, and it is impossible to give a date to the event, or to identify the locality. . . .

When Carthage succeeded Tyre as mistress of the Mediterranean commerce, interest in the West revived. In the middle of the fifth century B.C., two expeditions of importance were dispatched into these waters. A large fleet under Hanno sailed to colonize, or re-colonize, the western coast of Africa, . . . Himilko, voyaging in the opposite direction, spent several months in exploring the ocean and tracing the western shores of Europe. . . . Ultimately the Carthaginians discovered and colonized the Canary Islands, and perhaps the Madeira and Cape Verde groups. . . .

[p. 27-] As we trace the increasing volume and extent of commerce from the days of Tyre and Carthage and Alexandria to its fullest development under the empire, and remember that as the drafts of luxury-loving Rome upon the products of the east, even of China and farther India, increased, the true knowledge of the form of the earth, and the underestimate of the breadth of the western ocean, became more widely known, the question inevitably suggests itself, Why did not the enterprise which had long since utilized the monsoons of the Indian Ocean for direct passage to and from India essay the passage of the Atlantic? The inquiry gains force as we recall that the possibility of such a route to India had been long ago asserted. . . . Seneca, the philosopher . . . exclaims: ". . . How far is it from the utmost shores of Spain to those of India? But very few days' sail with a favoring wind." (Seneca, *Naturalium Quaest. Praefatio*.)

Holding these views of the possibility of the voyage, it is improbable that the size of their ships and *the lack of the compass* could have long prevented the ancients from putting them in practice had their interest so demanded.\* (\* Smaller vessels even than were then afloat have crossed the Atlantic, and the passage from the Canaries is hardly more difficult than the Indian navigation. The Pacific islanders make voyages of days' duration by the stars alone to goals infinitely smaller than the broadside of Asia, to which the ancients would have supposed themselves addressed.)

[Note\* In an article appearing in the May, 1895 issue of the RLDS publication *Autumn Leaves*, H. B. Root notes the following about the use of the compass:

That the Phoenicians ventured on voyages, there can be no question, for Herodotus makes a distinct statement to this effect and says they were accustomed to steer by the pole star.

We know that the magnetic qualities of metals were known to the Phoenicians, for Sanchoniathon ascribes to Chronos the invention of "Batulia," or "stones that moved as if they had life." Chronos lived 2,800 years before Christ; the earliest date the compass was known in China was 2,604 B.C. and was called "Tche chay," or "directing stones." --See article.02a, article.02b and article.02c ]

Their interest in the matter was, however, purely speculative, since, under the unity and power of the Roman empire; which succeeded to and absorbed the commercial supremacy of the Phoenicians, international competition in trade did not exist, nor were the routes of trade subject to effective hostile interruption. The two causes, therefore, which worked powerfully to induce the voyages of Da Gama and Columbus, after the rise of individual states had given scope to national jealousy and pride, and after the fall of Constantinople had placed the last natural gateway of the eastern trade in the hands of the *Arab* infidels, were non-existent under the older civilization. It is certain, too, that the ancients had a vivid horror of the western ocean. . . . Whether the Greeks owed this dread to the Phoenicians, and whether the latter shared the feeling, or simulated and encouraged it for the purpose of concealing their profitable adventures beyond the Straits, is doubtful. [However?] In two cases, at least, it is possible to trace statements of this nature to Punic sources, and antiquity agreed in giving the Phoenicians credit for discouraging rivalry by every art.



[p. 33] At the end of this article, although William Tillinghast sums up his scholarly views with words of skepticism, he does leave open the door to future perspectives:

The summing up of the whole matter cannot be better given than in the words applied by a careful Grecian historian to another question in ancient geography: "In some future time perhaps our pains may lead us to a knowledge of those countries. But all that has hitherto been written or reported of them must be considered as mere fable and invention, and not the fruit of any real search, or genuine information." (Polybius, *Hist.*, iii. 38)

[pp. 33-35] *Critical Essay on the Sources of Information*

The views of the ancient Mediterranean peoples upon geography are preserved almost solely in the ancient classics. The poems attributed to Homer and Hesiod, the so-called Orphic hymns . . . The writings of the earlier philosophers are lost, and their ideas are to be found in later writers, and in compilations like the Biographies of Diogenes Laertius (3d cent. A.D.), the *De placitis philosophorum* attributed to Plutarch, and the like. Among the works of Plato the *Phaedo* and *Timaeus* and the last book of the *Republic* bear on the form and arrangement of the earth; the *Timaeus* and *Critias* contain the fable of Atlantis. . . . The most important source of our knowledge of Greek geography and Greek geographers is of course the great *Geography* of Strabo, which a happy fortune preserved to us. The long introduction upon the nature of geography and the size of the earth and the dimensions of the known world is of especial interest, both for his own views and for those he criticises. Strabo lived about B.C. 60 to A.D. 24.

. . . Of vast importance in the history of learning was the astronomical work of Ptolemy, which was so honored by the Arabs that it is best known to us as the *Almagest*, from *Tabric al Magisthri*, the title of the Arabic translation which was made in 827. It has been edited and translated by Halma (Paris, 1813, 1816). . . .

Much is to be learned from the *Scholia* attached in early times to the works of Hesiod, Homer, Pindar, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (B.C. 276-193?), and to the works of Aristotle, Plato, etc. . . . The commentary of Proclus (A.D. 412-485) upon the *Timaeus* of Plato is of great importance in the Atlantis myth.\* (\* It was first printed in the Plato of Basle, 1534. There is an English translation by Thomas Taylor, *The Commentaries of Proclus on the Timaeus of Plato*, in 2 vols. London, 1820) . . .

[p. 36] . . . Medieval cosmology and geography await a thorough student; they are imbedded in the wastes of theological discussions of the Fathers, or hidden in manuscript cosmographies in libraries of Europe. . . .

[p. 40] [Notes] C. *Supposed References to America*

It is well known that Columbus's hopes were in part based on passages in classical authors. . . . after this we find it a common topic in the early general writers on America, like Las Casas (*Historia General*), Ramusio (introdu. vol. iii.), and Acosta (book i. ch. ii etc.)

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was not an uncommon subject of academic and learned discussion. It was a part of the survey made by many of the writers who discussed the origin of the American tribes, like Garcia, Lafitau, Samuel Mather, Robertson, not to name others.

It was not till Humboldt compassed the subject in his *Examen Critique de l'histoire de la geographie du nouveau continent* (Paris, 1836), that the field was fully scanned with a critical spirit, acceptable to the

modern mind. He gives two of the five volumes which comprise the work to this part of his subject, and very little has been added by later research, while his conclusions still remain, on the whole, those of the most careful of succeeding writers.

### Sources

While there are a multitude of books concerning Indian origins written before 1800, there are a few sources that should be spotlighted:

THE BIBLE:

THE ANCIENT CLASSICS:

In his *Narrative and Critical History of America*, published in 1889, the eminent historian Justin Winsor includes a chapter written by William H. Tillinghast, Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. The first 32 pages of this Chapter One relate "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients Considered in Relation to the Discovery of America." Next is a five-page "Critical Essay on the Sources of Information." in which we find the following:

[pp. 33-35] *Critical Essay on the Sources of Information*

The views of the ancient Mediterranean peoples upon geography are preserved almost solely in the ancient classics. The poems attributed to Homer and Hesiod, the so-called Orphic hymns . . . The writings of the earlier philosophers are lost, and their ideas are to be found in later writers, and in compilations like the Biographies of Diogenes Laertius (3d cent. A.D.), the *De placitis philosophorum* attributed to Plutarch, and the like. Among the works of Plato the *Phaedo* and *Timaeus* and the last book of the *Republic* bear on the form and arrangement of the earth; the *Timaeus* and *Critias* contain the fable of Atlantis. . . . The most important source of our knowledge of Greek geography and Greek geographers is of course the great *Geography* of Strabo, which a happy fortune preserved to us. The long introduction upon the nature of geography and the size of the earth and the dimensions of the known world is of especial interest, both for his own views and for those he criticises. Strabo lived about B.C. 60 to A.D. 24.

. . . Of vast importance in the history of learning was the astronomical work of Ptolemy, which was so honored by the Arabs that it is best known to us as the *Almagest*, from *Tabric al Magisthri*, the title of the Arabic translation which was made in 827. It has been edited and translated by Halma (Paris, 1813, 1816). . . .

Much is to be learned from the *Scholia* attached in early times to the works of Hesiod, Homer, Pindar, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (B.C. 276-193?), and to the works of Aristotle, Plato, etc. . . . The commentary of Proclus (A.D. 412-485) upon the *Timaeus* of Plato is of great importance in the Atlantis myth.\* (\* It was first printed in the Plato of Basle, 1534. There is an English translation by Thomas Taylor, *The Commentaries of Proclus on the Timaeus of Plato*, in 2 vols. London, 1820) . . .

[p. 36] . . . Medieval cosmology and geography await a thorough student; they are imbedded in the wastes of theological discussions of the Fathers, or hidden in manuscript cosmographies in libraries of Europe. . . .

[p. 40] [Notes] C. *Supposed References to America*

It is well known that Columbus's hopes were in part based on passages in classical authors. . . . after this we find it a common topic in the early general writers on America, like Las Casas (*Historia General*), Ramusio (introdu. vol. iii.), and Acosta (book i. ch. ii etc.)

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was not an uncommon subject of academic and learned discussion. It was a part of the survey made by many of the writers who discussed the origin of the American tribes, like Garcia, Lafitau, Samuel Mather, Robertson, not to name others.

WESTERN EUROPEAN THOUGHT:

THE CODICES:

Joseph L. Allen provides some information concerning Mesoamerican codices:

Some of what we know about the ancient history of Mesoamerica was written [depicted as a series of complex painted scenes] in books called codices. Every [native] pre-Spanish Conquest priest had a codex. In fact, libraries of codices were typically found in the cities. The vast majority of these native documents did not survive the Conquest. . . . many Maya priests, almost the only literate people among the Maya, were killed during the course of the Conquest. The Spanish inquisition that resulted in the burning of the codices by the Catholic priests almost negated any possibility of retrieving a detailed history of the Maya.

Note\* In his 2005 book, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*, Charles C. Mann would add this new twist to the destruction of the codices:

[p. 118] In addition to taking slaves and booty, wartime victors in central Mexico often burned their enemies' codices, the hand-painted picture-texts in which priests recorded their people's histories. Tlacaelel [1398-1480] insisted that in addition to destroying the codices of their former oppressors the Mexica would set fire to their **own** codices. His explanation for this idea can only be described as Orwellian: "It is not fitting that our people / Should know these pictures. / Our people, our subjects, will be lost / And our land destroyed, / For these pictures are full of lies." The "lies" were the inconvenient fact that the Mexica past was one of poverty and humiliation. To motivate the people properly, Tlacaelel said, the priesthood should rewrite Mexica history by creating new codices, adding in the great deeds whose lack now seemed embarrassing and adorning their ancestry with ties to the Toltecs and Teotihuacan. ]

Joseph Allen continues:

Although remains of completely decayed codices have been discovered by archaeologists, only a few survive. Some of these are:

1. *The Dresden Codex*: The Dresden Codex was discovered in 1739 when it was sold to the Royal Dresden Library at Vienna. . . .[It] was published\* in its entirety in Volume III of Lord Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico* (1831-1848). Yurri Knorozov, A Russian scholar, conducted one of

the most serious studies of the Dresden Codex. His work was translated by Sophie D. Coe from the Russian into English in **1982**.

2. *The Paris Codex*: One of the first students of the Maya writing was a French scholar by the name of Leon de Rosny. He is credited with finding the Paris Codex in the Paris Library in a basket of assorted papers in 1859. The manuscript was first published in **1872**. The Paris Codex is incomplete and is in a very frayed condition.

3. *The Madrid Codex*: The Madrid Codex (located in the Museum of the Americas in Madrid, Spain) was found in two separate parts. One part was referred to as the Troanus Codex, published in **1869** by Brasseur de Bourbourg, and one part was called the Cortez Codex, which was published in **1892**.

4. *The Grolier Codex*: This was first published in **1973** by Michael D. Coe, archaeologist.

5. *The Nuttall Codex*: The first copy of the Nuttall Codex was made by Zelia Nuttall in **1902**. It was published by the Peabody Museum. Shortly before his death in **1970**, the great Mexican archaeologist, Alfonso Caso, translated the Codex Nuttall.

[Note\* Although none of these codices were directly published before 1830, a number of codices were used by natives and chroniclers in their early writings.]

#### THE NATIVE DOCUMENTS:

To the above, there is another interrelated category of writings which had their ideological origins, if not their written origins before the conquest. Among the foremost are the following: (1) *The Popol Vuh*; (2) *The Annals of the Cakchiquels (Memoirs of Solola)*; (3) *The Title of the Lords of Totonicapan*; and (4) *The Books of Chilam Balam* (also the *Anales de los Xahil*)

#### THE CHRONICLES:

In 2005, LDS writer David G. Calderwood would come out with *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, which would provide "A Comparative Evaluation of Early Spanish and Portuguese Chronicles" with the Book of Mormon, with archaeology and with art history. In chapter 1 he writes on the "Origin Theories of the Indians":

The initial discovery of the New World by Columbus on behalf of the Spanish royalty was quickly followed by other explorers sailing mainly from Spain and Portugal; however, the French, English, Dutch, Italians and Germans also mounted their own exploratory expeditions and attempted to lay claim on the Americas.

Among the thousands of Europeans pouring into the New World, a few of the conquistadores, colonizers, government administrators, priests, and eventually native Americans as well, took the time to write accounts of conquest, discovery, and adventure in the New World. Their accounts provided information about the topography, the natural resources, and the people they encountered. Their reports, in the form of diaries, official documents, and historical manuscripts, contributed eyewitness descriptions of the conquest as well as extensive background information on many of the native groups. These early writings became collectively known as the "Chronicles of the Indies" and the writers were generally referred to as "New World chroniclers." . . .

These early explorers and priests had the advantage of hearing the first uncorrupted versions of the native legends and other stories which had been passed down in songs, tales, or through devices such as the *quipos* in Peru, and paintings and books in Mesoamerica, by which the natives remembered their cultural legacy.

Concerning these chroniclers, Barbara Simon, in her *Ten Tribes of Israel*, writes the following:

In order to form a just estimate of the value of testimony, it is necessary to obtain some knowledge of those who record it, since respectability and authentic sources of information constitute their claim to the attention and regard of the reader. The duration of their sojourn, their perfect knowledge of the language, records, and antiquities of the people, whose manners and customs they narrate, as well as the relative circumstances in which they themselves were placed, and the interests with which they were connected, are all to be taken into consideration. (Mrs. Simon, *The Ten Tribes of Israel: Historically identified with the Aborigines of The Western Hemisphere*. London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1836, pp. 1-2)

In his 1883 volume 5 "Native Races" of his multivolume works, Hubert H. Bancroft writes the following:

[pp. 146-49] The writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who derived their information from original sources, and on whose works all that has been written subsequently is founded, comprise:

**1st, the conquerors themselves**, chiefly

Cortes, [see the 1519 notation]

Dias del Castillo, [see the 1568 notation] and

the Anonymous Conqueror, whose writings only touch incidentally upon a few points of ancient history.

**2d. The first missionaries who were sent from Spain** to supplement the achievements of Cortes by spiritual conquests. Such were

Jose de Acosta, [see the 1590 notation]

Bernadino Sahagun, [see the 1560 notation]

Bartolome de Las Casas, [see the 1550 notation]

Juan de Torquemada, [see the 1613 notation]

Diego Duran, [see the 1581 notation]

Geronimo de Mendieta,

Toribio de Benavente (Motolinia), [see the 1560 notation]

Diego Garcia de Palacio,

Didaco Valades, and

Alonzo de Zurita

**3d. The native writers who after their conversion acquired the Spanish language** and wrote on the history of their people, either in Spanish or in their own language, employing the Spanish alphabet.

Domingo Munoz Camargo, a noble Tlascaltec [see the 1585 notation]

Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc, descended from the royal family of Azcapuzalco, wrote the chronicles of Mexican history from the standpoint of the Tepanecs.

Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl was a grandson of the last king of Tezcuco, from whom he inherited all that were saved of the records in the public archives. His works are more extensive than those of any other native writer, covering the whole ground of Nahua history. [see the 1608 notation]

Juan Ventura Zapata y Mendoza,

Tadeo de Niza, and

Alonzo Franco.

**4th. Spanish authors who passed their lives mostly in Spain, and wrote chiefly under royal appointment.** Their information was derived from the writers already mentioned . . .

Peter Martyr, [see the 1511 notation]

Francisco Lopez de Gomara, [see the 1552 notation]

Antonio de Herrera, [see the 1601 notation] and

Gonzalo Fernandez de Ociedo y Valdez [see the 1526 notation]

**5th. Catholic priests and missionaries who founded or were in charge of the missions at later periods or in remote regions,** as Yucatan, Guatemala, Chiapas, Oajaca, Michoacan, and the north-western provinces of New Spain. They wrote chiefly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Diego de Landa, [see the 1566 notation]

Diego Lopez Cogolludo, [see the 1688 notation]

Padre Lizana, [see the 1633 notation]

Juan de Villagutierrez Soto-Mayor [see the 1701 notation]

Ramon de Ordonez y Aguiar, [see the 1803 notation]

Fuentes y Guzman,

F. E. Arana,

Francisco Garcia Pelaez,

Domingo Juarros, on Guatemala, [see the 1823 notation]

Francisco Nunez de la Vega, [see the 1702 notation]

Francisco Ximenez, and

Antonio de Remesal, on Chiapas;

Ribas [1645], Alegre, and Arricivita on the north-western provinces; and

Francisco de Burgoa on Oajaca.

There may also be included in this class the writings of some later Mexican authors, such as

Boturini, [see the 1746 notation]

Siguenza y Gongora, [see the 1690 notation]

Veytia, [see the 1778 notation]

Leon y Gama, and

Clavigero. [see the 1806 notation]

Their works were mostly founded on the information supplied by their predecessors, which they did much to arrange and classify, but they also had access to some original authorities not previously used. Clavigero is almost universally spoken of as the best writer on the subject . . .

In addition to the sources and the writers, one must be aware of the various perspectives of the time period in which they wrote. In his 1938 book on perspectives relative to American Indian origins, Alvah Fitzgerald notes the following on page 1:

When the discovery of the American Indian aroused the scholars and ecclesiastics of the Old World, they began speculating wildly on possible explanations of origin of these people. The existence of human beings on a continent heretofore unknown was a severe blow to the complacent theorists of the day. True to prevailing mental habits, early commentators drew hasty and sweeping conclusions. Doubt was proof of weakness; whereas, positive assertions had great virtue. ~~To explain the origin of the American Indian, old legendary tales were revived and clothed with new meaning. Far-fetched analogies and native traditions were skillfully applied.~~

Some of the conclusions that were drawn and the methods of reasoning that were in vogue, seem amusing and absurd today. To appreciate them we must consider the limited knowledge of the world and its people at that time and the absence of a scientific method of approach. These limitations did not lessen the deep sincerity and energetic application of early writers. Dr. William Robinson who published, in 1777, the *History of America* said, "I have ventured to inquire without presuming to decide." This attitude of suspended judgment was even more rarely found then than it is today.

Fitzgerald divided the various theories into basic categories and time periods. On page 2 he writes concerning the time period before 1800:

Opinions of the time on the mode and route of advent vary so greatly even within each theory that areal origin [origin pertaining to an area or group] becomes the only practical medium of tracing the progressive development of these theories. . . . In the discussion of American Indian origin hardly a dissenting voice is heard in the Christian world previous to 1800 against the Bible story of man's origin. Bible cosmogony and chronology is literally accredited and Asia is assigned the original home of mankind. All routes of advent, therefore, hark back to Biblical sources. Differences in color, language, and culture were thought to be adequately explained in the light of supernatural scriptural events.

Some of the more popular theories for the time period before 1800 are briefly outlined below by Fitzgerald [Note\* For additional perspective, see Hubert Bancroft's *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, Chapter 1, pp.1-132; also Justin Winsor's, *Narrative and Critical History of America*]:

ISRAELITISH: [pp. 2-5] As early as 1556 Las Casas and other Spanish writers were correlating New World origin and Biblical narrative. . . . In the discussion of American Indian origin hardly a dissenting voice is heard in the Christian world previous to 1800 against the Bible story of man's origin. Bible cosmogony and chronology is literally accredited and Asia is assigned the original home of mankind. All routes of advent, therefore, hark back to Biblical sources. Differences in color language, and culture were thought to be adequately explained in the light of supernatural scriptural events. . . .

The Israelitish origin theory was by far the most popular during this period. Its supporters expanded their claims in point of time from the flood story of Noah to the destruction of Jerusalem, 70 A.D. Three sub-theories . . . are found within this group.

[Post-Flood / Babel] The coming of man to America shortly after the flood was a favorite belief at an early date. Shem, Ham, and Japheth were respectively designated as certain progenitors of the American race by different authors. (Shem: L. Estrange, *Americans No Jews*, 1652; Ham: Orrio, *Solucion del gran Problem*, 1763; Japheth: Author Unknown, *Inquiry into the Origin of the Cherokees*, 1763). The dispersion at Babel after the confusion of tongues as related in Genesis II was quoted as conclusive evidence of origin. No agreement exists as to the route followed to America. A land route by way of Northeastern

Asia, traversed in a comparatively short time, is highly favored. Ulloa suggests that experience in navigation acquired during the Flood may have developed adventurousness and skill sufficient to account for transportation by water. (Ulloa, A. de, *Noticias Americanas*, Madrid, 1772.) . . .

[Lost Ten Tribes] Another speculation within this division which may be termed the Lost Ten Tribe Theory, compensated in volume and conclusiveness what it lacked in real evidence. Much was made of the dispersion of the northern tribes of Israel in 722 B.C. and the account in Ezra II of an extended journey northward. Father Duran in 1585 was one of the first to state explicitly that these nations are of the ten tribes of Israel that Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, made prisoners and carried to Assyria.

[Miscellaneous Jewish] A third group of writers stoutly defended a general Jewish origin. For detailed description and comparison this theory surpassed all others in early writings. *Analogy here knew no bounds*. Manasseh Ben Israel published *Origin de las Americanas* in Amsterdam as early as 1650 in support of Jewish origin. In the same year Thomas Thorowgood contributed the first public discussion in English in his book *Jews in America*. James Adair's *History of the American Indian* published in 1775 attempted identification with the Lost Ten Tribes by analogies in religion, practices, customs, habits, traditions, and languages.

In America a mild but continuous debate was in progress. There is much evidence which indicates that the Jewish origin theory was very popular in New England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

MEDITERRANEAN: [pp. 7-8] The Mediterranean origin theory of the American Indian is herein used to include the territory and peoples, excepting the Israelites, surrounding the Mediterranean Sea.

Adventurous Phoenicians were credited with the discovery and settlement of America by an enthusiastic group of writers. A tradition was current during the seventeenth century that the Phoenicians whom Solomon, king of Israel, and Hiram, king of Tyre, employed to navigate their fleets, reached America and returned after a three-year voyage. Early legendary tales of other voyages were believed. Garcia and De Laet gave many pages to the discussions of this theory. George Horn claimed in 1652 that three Phoenician expeditions reached America.

Carthaginian and Phoenician theories are closely related in origin and development. Aristotle tells of a voyage westward by Carthaginian merchants to an uninhabited island of great mineral wealth and natural beauty. To prevent knowledge of this island from reaching other peoples, the senate of Carthage prohibited further navigation, and the manner of reaching the island was lost. Carthaginian contact with the Canary islands, also stimulated inventive minds to wild speculation.

Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Scythian, and Canaanitish contacts have even less basis of proof than those already mentioned, yet these theories were generously advocated and believed by many writers before 1800. Analogies in language, customs, and architecture were the principal evidences cited.

Thomas Morton in 1637 advocated that America was peopled by "scattered Trojans after such times as Brutus departed from Latium." (*New English Canaan*) In a public address President Styles of Yale in 1783 declared his conviction that in the main the Indians were the descendants of the Canaanites expelled by Joshua.

POLYNESIAN: [p. 10] Polynesian and Malay origin theories received comparatively little attention before 1800. They are listed together because the possibility of a Polynesian route to America "involves the relations of the Malays to the inhabitants of the Oceanic Islands and the capacity of early man to traverse long distances by water." However a few writers from a very early date, who favor Asiatic and mixed origins, mention the possibility of Polynesian influences. (Justin Winsor, *Op. cit.*, p. 81)

INDIGENOUS: [p. 6] Departing rather radically from sanctioned ideas, Isaac De La Peyrere advanced the Preadamite Theory in 1655 based on the supposed intimations in the Bible that a race of men existed



previous to Adam. ("Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth." Genesis 1:28; "That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair." Genesis 6:2)

[p. 10] In 1766 Thomas Pownall, Governor of Massachusetts, expressed his belief in indigenous origin and suggested the cranial measurement test to determine racial affinity of the Indian. (Justin Winsor, Op. cit., p. 81) Benjamin Smith Barton defended the same theory in his *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes of America*, which was published in Philadelphia in 1797.

WESTERN EUROPEAN: [pp. 8-10] The Western European origin theory had an early champion in Hugo Groteus. He challenged prevalent opinions by advocating in 1642 that all north and central America except Yucatan was peopled by the Scandinavians. (*De Origens Americanarum Dissertatio*) The visits of the Norsemen to America about 1000 B.C. are not claimed to have left permanent impression on the culture of the Indians. Only the question of discovery is involved here.

Welch claims of influence revert to a story of Prince Modoc of Wales, which was first printed in Lloyd's *History of Cambria*, in 1584. Prince Modoc sailing west discovered a new land in the year 1170 and later departed on a second expedition from which he never returned. The story appealed to the Welch national pride and was used to meet the Spanish claim of priority in discovering America. No unity in description is found. Morgan Jones published in 1730 an account of having his life spared by the Tuscarora tribe of North Carolina because these natives discovered they could understand the Welch language which he spoke. The location of this tribe was later localized by different authors in Mexico, Arizona, the Mississippi valley, and other places. "The myth places them with their Welch Bible on the Atlantic coast where they were identified with the Tuscarora, and then further and further west, until about 1776 we find the Welch or White Indians where they appear as the Mandan (according to Catlin) and later on Red River. Later still they are identified with the Hopi of Arizona and finally with the Modoc of Oregon after which they vanish." (F. W. Hodges, *Handbook of American Indian*, Part II, p. 282)

Less authentic are the claims of the Scotch, Irish and Dutch to pre-Columbian discovery and influence in America. National patriotism was usually the motive for these claims. However the stories were read with much relish and credulity as late as 1825. They reflect the general popularity of the subject itself and the volume of literature dealing with it.

MONGOLOID: [pp. 6-7] The Mongoloid origin theory involves the question of immigration to America from eastern and northeastern Asia. Alleged discovery of America by Buddhist priests previous to 500 A.D. has elicited much attention. The Chinese historian Li Yen who lived at the beginning of the seventh century related the return of Hwui Shan from Fusang, a country lying far to the east of China. The first detailed information given European scholars of the Chinese account was contained in an article published by M. De Guignes in Paris in 1761. Writers before 1800 largely disregarded this story.

Striking similarities in the appearance and culture of the Eskimo and northwestern Indians with northeastern Asiatics and the geographic features favorable to migration, led a few early writers to favor the Bering Strait route for man's advent to America. Practically all writers who favored this theory attempted to reconcile it with Biblical history.

[Gregorio] Garcia, whose voluminous works in 1607 reviewed all current theories, finally turned to Tartar origin as the better explanation. (*Origin de las Indias*) The same opinion was advanced by Brereward in 1632 and to some extent by Ezra Styles, President of Yale College in 1783. (William Robinson, *History of America*)

M. Du Pratz in his *History of Louisiana, Eastern Asia, China and Japan*, affirmed in 1783 that the Mexicans came originally from China. Placing great reliance on similarities in language, Thomas Jefferson favored eastern Asiatic contact in his *Notes on Virginia*, about 1800. He also mentions the distinctive features of the Eskimo and suggested that these tribes migrated from Greenland.

The pioneer work of William Robinson, written about 1777 and published in two volumes in 1812, merits special attention. (William Robinson, *History of America*) His scholarly approach to this subject

would do credit to twentieth century research. In the midst of extravagant theories based on tradition, rumor and analogy, he clearly set up standards of judgment by which origin may or may not be claimed. He expressed a personal preference for Asiatic origin. His example of unbiased inquiry profoundly impressed later historians and scholars.

[Note ]

ATLANTIS: [pp. 3-4] The Atlantis theory of origin of the American Indian reverts back to the story of a legendary island in the south Atlantic ocean. The island is first mentioned by Plato in *Timaeus*, in which Egyptian priests, in conversation with Solon, describe it with other islands which were said to be larger than Asia Minor and Libya combined. It was located beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Strait of Gibraltar) and was the center of a powerful kingdom. Atlantis was mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, and Plutarch. It was said to have been buried finally in the sea due to a series of earth convulsions, leaving as remnants the islands of Madera, Canary, and Cape Verdi. Throughout the middle ages little or nothing was known of Atlantis. The story revived during the renaissance and the discovery of America provoked a riot of speculation and controversy on the subject.

After the voyage of Columbus the location of Atlantis was disputed, corresponding to uncertainty regarding the topography of the world. A map by Nicholar Sanson early in the seventeenth century represented the New World as Atlantis. Another by Kircher in 1678 shows Atlantis as a large island midway between the Pillars of Hercules and America. (Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, pp. 18, 19.)

Some writers before 1800 regarded the whole story a myth while others accepted it as historical. It appealed to the fanciful and romantic, who eagerly seized upon it as an explanation of the origin of man in America. Count G. B. Carli supported it in 1784 with arguments drawn from mythology, tradition, geology and astronomy. (*Delle Lettere Americani*, Milan, 1784.)

[Note\* For additional perspective, see Bancroft's *Native Races*, pp. (see the 1883 notation)]

MIXED ORIGIN: This involved a combination of two or more of the groups discussed.

I will conclude this section with some wise words from Alvah Fitzgerald. He writes:

Some of the conclusions that were drawn and the methods of reasoning that were in vogue, seem amusing and absurd today. To appreciate them we must consider the limited knowledge of the world and its people at that time and the absence of a scientific method of approach. These limitations did not lessen the deep sincerity and energetic application of early writers. Dr. William Robinson who published, in 1777, the *History of America* said, "I have ventured to inquire without presuming to decide." This attitude of suspended judgment was even more rarely found then than it is today.

*Indian Origin Theories From Columbus -----> 1800*

## Significant *Books*, "Articles," & Events

[Significant Maps or Illustrations]

Notes\*

<u>YEAR</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>PERSON</u>	<u>PRIMARY SOURCE</u> <sup>2</sup>
( <sup>3</sup> )		

Note 1: The mark ^ after the year is purely a research tool indicating that a copy of the article or book is on file in the author's personal library.

Note 2: The year (listed on the left) for the event or quote is not always the same as the date of the primary source (listed on the right) from which the information was taken. If the source information (the later publication of the information) was significant, in and of itself, to the later time period in which it came forth, there will also be a separate listing for that later year. When appropriate, additional sources will be listed.

Note 3: When the article or book represents scholarly theory of the time in regards to Indian origins, such theory may be noted in parenthesis in small caps below the name of the author.

Note\* One of the big problems in providing a chronological collection of early works on Indian origins is that some of the works of the early chroniclers were not formally published until many years (even centuries) after they lived and wrote. For a number of reasons--primarily theological and political--these works would gather dust on the shelves of the royal Spanish archives or the archives of the Vatican. Additionally, most of these publications appeared in non-English languages many years before they were translated into English. However, a number of these early manuscripts were copied and circulated in manuscript form among scholars from the churches and royal courts, who in turn incorporated these ideas into their own writings. Thus there arises some confusion as to the true time period in which the significance of these works should be placed. As a partial solution to this confusion, I have tried to list the authors in the time period in which they initially wrote but with the date in brackets [YEAR]. I have also tried to note the time period or YEAR in which their writings were finally published. For clarification purposes, I have also tried to list the theme of their writings when applicable.

1492 Note\* **Arguments on Indian Origins-1492-1550.**

According to Lee Eldridge Huddleston :

[p. 21] Literary evidence of any great controversy or puzzlement over Indian origins is slight before 1550. . . . The most vital questions concerning the Indians did not deal with their origins or how they got to the New World. The questions focused on whether the Indians were capable of becoming Christians; whether they should be converted peacefully or forcibly; whether they were rational beings possessed of rights of Europeans; whether they should be enslaved, or, if already slave, liberated.

**[1492] Cristobal Colon "The Letter of Christopher Columbus describing the results of this first**

(Christopher Columbus) **voyage,"** in Colon. Cecil Jane (trans.). L. A. Vigneras (ed.). New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1960

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 3-4] When Columbus returned to Europe in late 1492 he wrote a letter to his patrons Ferdinand and Isabella informing them of his discoveries in the Western Sea. . . . This letter was subsequently published and went through several editions in various languages before the end of the century. Many Europeans received their first information on the New World from this letter, but it was singularly uninformative about the nature of the inhabitants:

The people of this island Espanola and all the other islands which I have found and of which I have information, all go naked, although some of the women cover a single place with a leaf of a plant or with a net of cotton . . . They do not hold any creed nor are they idolaters, but they all believe that power and good are in the heavens and were very firmly convinced that I, with these ships and men, came from the heavens, and in this belief they everywhere received me after they had mastered their fear. This belief is not the result of ignorance, for they are, on the contrary, of a very acute intelligence and they are men who navigate all those seas, so that it is amazing how good an account they give of everything. It is because they have never seen people clothed or ships of such a kind . . . In all these islands, I saw no great diversity in the appearance of the people or in their manners and language. On the contrary they all understand one another.

There is no reason to expect Columbus to puzzle over the presence of men in the newly discovered lands. As is clear from a reading of his first letter and his *Journal*, Columbus thought he had discovered some islands off the coast of Cathay; thus, he had no reason to wonder where the inhabitants could have come from.

**[1492] Cristobal Colon *Diario a Bordo*, Introduction, Appendix y Notes de Vicente Munoz**

(Christopher Columbus) Puellas. (This Edition by El Grupo Anaya, S.A., Madrid, 1985. See also *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*. Cecil Jane (trans.). L. A. Vigneras (ed.). New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1960

David Calderwood writes:

[p. 1] While writing in his journal on 17 October 1492, Columbus mistakenly referred to the newly discovered natives as "Indians." This misnomer has been applied to the native Americans for the last 500 years. . . .

[p.17-18] When Columbus arrived back in Spain on 15 March 1493, after his first voyage, he immediately left for Barcelona, where Fernando [Ferdinand] and Isabella [Isabel] had temporarily located their court, to render his report of his trip. Although Columbus kept a diary of each of his four voyages, he died on 20 May 1506 before he was able to publish his writings. News of the discoveries by Columbus and other early explorers were initially transmitted by letters and personal accounts to a limited European audience.

The Catholic priest Bartolome de las Casas, who spent years at the Spanish Court and apparently had access to many of Columbus's original documents, wrote his *Historia de las Indias* (*History of the Indies*) in 1551 His book included material from Columbus's diary as well as an extensive biography of Columbus. Las Casas's *Historias*, like so many other Chronicles, became lost. It was not published until **1875** in Madrid. Modern historians extracted the information pertaining to Columbus's diary from Las Casas's book and published Columbus's accounts separately in a book entitled *Diario de a Bordo* (Diary on Board).

Note\* See the 1875 notation.

Calderwood continues:

[pp. 3-4] **According to the 16th Century historian and priest, Pedro Martir de Angleria** [Peter Martyr-see the 1511 notation], **Columbus himself suggested the theory that the Indians were descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the land of Ophir where Solomon sent his ships to retrieve rare building materials for the Israelite temple.** Ophir is identified in Genesis 10:29 as a son of Joktan and grandson of Heber, who lived around the time of the Tower of Babel.

[Note\* According to Genesis 10:26, Joktan not only begat Ophir, but also begat Jerah (Jared?) Thus the question might arise in this context, could Ophir be considered to be the brother of Jared as mentioned in the Book of Mormon? In Ether 1:33-34 we find the following:

33. Which Jared came forth with his brother and their families, with some others and their families, from the great tower, at the time the Lord confounded the language of the people, and swore in his wrath that they should be scattered upon all the face of the earth; and according to the word of the Lord the people were scattered.

34. And the brother of Jared being a large and mighty man, and a man highly favored of the Lord, Jared, his brother, said unto him: Cry unto the Lord, that he will not confound us that we may not understand our words.]

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 4] Later writers made much of the belief that Columbus identified Espanola with the Ophir of Solomon. This belief stems from Pedro Martir de Angleria's [1511] *Decadas* : "This island of Espanola, which he [Columbus] affirmed to be the Ophir of which the third book of Kings speaks [RSV: II Chron. 8:18] . . . " Whether Columbus actually made such an identification or not is of little importance. The belief that he had done so was widespread and influenced subsequent writers who wished to locate Ophir in the West Indies.

It should be noted, however, that for Columbus to locate Ophir in the Indies in 1492 would **not** have the same implications as a similar placement by Cabello Valboa in 1580 [see the 1586 notation]. In Columbus' time most writers thought Ophir to be in the Indies of Asia, and Columbus' identification of Espanola as Ophir did not take Ophir out of Asia. To make the same identification after 1522 would require a conscious break with tradition and elaborate reasons for placing Ophir in an unknown section of the world.

Columbus did not question the existence of men in the New World because he did not know it was a New World. The realization of this fact was a gradual one not fully made until the reports of the Magellan Expedition of 1519-1521 became available. There was, therefore, no reason to marvel at a New World filled with New Men because neither phenomenon was recognized as such. The first must be understood before the second could be considered.

**1502 Amerigo Vespucci "Mundus Novus" [New World], and "Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle**

isole nuovamente ritrovate in quattro suoi viaggi" See *El Nuevo Mundo. Cartas relativas a sus viajes y descubrimientos*. Roberto Levillier (ed.). Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1951. Materials date from 1500-1504.

David Calderwood writes:

[pp. 19-20] Amerigo Vespucci arrived in the New World in 1501. Vespucci traveled to the New World again in 1502 and details of his voyages were contained in five letters that he wrote. Two of the letters, "Mundus Novus" [New World], and "Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuovamente ritrovate in quattro suoi viaggi," are what brought Vespucci his fame as an explorer of these regions. The second letter ended up in the hands of the German Martin Waldseemuller, writer and map maker for the court of Duke Rene II of Lorraine. Waldseemuller was the first to suggest that the continent should be named America after Amerigo Vespucci. Waldseemuller made a map showing the recently discovered islands and mainland completely separate from Asia. His usage of the name of America on his map was copied by other map makers and the name America came into common usage.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 5] A generation passed between the discovery and the identification of America as a New World [see the 1519 notation]. In the interim numerous accounts of the "Indies" appeared in Europe but few revealed any great concern for the population of the new-found lands. . . . Amerigo Vespucci did such a good job of popularizing the New World in Europe that many northern Europeans agreed with the British poet-dramatist John Rastell when he wrote in 1520 that the Indies "Ben callyd America by cause only Americus dyd furst them fynde."

Leaving aside for the moment the question of what Vespucci meant [in the title of his letter] by the phrase "Mundus Novus," his writings reveal no comprehension [of] a new world of the type America proved to be . . . Vespucci's comments on the population of the New World were very brief and almost totally uninformative. In his first published letter (July 18, 1500) he reported that the Indians were beardless, brown, naked, and cannibal, and that they had various languages. At this time, however, Vespucci still believed the New World to be "bounded by the eastern parts of Asia . . . because . . . we saw divers animals, such as lions, stags, goats . . . which are not found on islands, but only on the mainland." In his Lisbon letter Vespucci described the natives of Brazil as cruel and warlike, and ignorant of law, religion, rulers, immortality of the soul, and private property.

By 1503 Vespucci had seen so much of the coast of America (from southern Argentina to the Carolinas) that he had become convinced that it could not be Asia. Consequently, when he prepared his essay on the new lands, he chose to give it the title *Mundus Novus*-New World.

Later writers have taken Vespucci's use of the phrase *mundus novus* to indicate that Vespucci guessed that America was a distinct geographical entity, different from Asia, Europe, and Africa. A careful reading of Vespucci does not clearly indicate that that was what he had in mind. Considering the general concept of "worlds" in those days, it may well be that he chose to call America *Mundus Novus* to indicate that the "world" he was describing was unknown to the ancients. (*El Nuevo Mundo*, 1951: 276-281, 290-292, 299)

Vespucci's last letter (1506) does not clarify his meaning in *Mundus Novus*, but it does contribute a few more elements to his description of the Indians. They were reddish, but he thought they would be white were they not constantly exposed to the sun. Vespucci continued with the assertion that "they have broad faces, so that their appearance may be that of the Tartar" (311) This appears to be the earliest comparison of the Indians with the Tatars, a practice which would become exceedingly frequent in the future. But it would be improper to postulate that Vespucci imagined a Tatar origin for the American Indians. His intent probably was merely descriptive.

It seems likely that Vespucci did not suspect the true geographical relationship of America to Asia. He was certain that America was not the Asia of the travelers--such as John of Carpini or the [Marco] Polos--or of the Portuguese navigators; but he appears to have retained his belief that America was "bounded by the eastern parts of Asia." This would explain why it never occurred to him, in print at least, to wonder how the Indians got to the New World.

**1511-30^ Peter Martyr *Decadas del Nuevo Mundo*** (First published in partial form in 1511, First of Angleria complete edition in Latin in 1530. The first Spanish Edition published in 1892.) Published in Buenos Aires, Argentina by Editorial Bajel with the Latin translated to Spanish by Dr. Joaquin Torres Asensio in 1944. Republished in Mexico City with Introduction and Notes from Edmundo O'Gorman, by Porrúa e Hijos in 1964, p. 29.

David Calderwood writes:

[pp. 20-21] The Italian born Pietro Martire D'Anghiera is more commonly known in Spanish as Pedro Martir de Angleria and in English as Peter Martyr of Angleria. . . . Born in Italy on 2 February 1457 or 1459, Martyr studied medicine and became the private doctor to King Louis XI in France. He later relocated to Spain in 1487 and fought in the last battles against the Moors. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1492 and was named the personal chaplain to Queen Isabella. He remained close to the Spanish Royal Court and personally met with Columbus from whom he obtained the details concerning Columbus's adventures in the New World. . . .

By 1494, he had already written the first two books of Decade I, describing Columbus's voyages. . . . He included the events that occurred during the four voyages by Columbus. . . . In 1511, Decade I was published apparently without Martyr's knowledge. . . . He obtained information on the establishment of Spanish fortresses in the New World, the discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Vasco Nunez de Balboa in 1513, and the subsequent establishment of a Spanish colony in Darien, later known as Panama, under Governor Pedro Arias de Avila. Martyr also described the explorations around the Yucatan peninsula and into the Bahamas, Florida and Georgia. . . . Between 1514 and 1516, Martyr wrote Decade II and Decade III. He authorized the publication of all three Decades in 1516. In all he wrote eight Decades, ending his work with the events surrounding Hernan Cortes's conquest of Mexico.

In 1524, Martyr was appointed a member of the Supreme council of the Indies. Interestingly, Martyr never traveled to the New World, but his writings reflect a style as if he personally witnessed everything that he narrated. Martyr stated that he never wrote anything that he did not carefully verify with knowledgeable individuals. Because of his exalted position at the Spanish Court, all of the important conquistadores met with him during visits back to Spain or they sent him letters describing their adventures. . . .

Martyr's record covered more than thirty years of exploration and depending upon the language was given various titles. The Spanish generally refer to Martyr's books under the title, *Decadas del Nuevo*

*Mundo*. In 1555, Richard Eden translated the Latin edition into English under the title, *The Decades of the New World or West Indies*.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 6-8] The recognition that the presence of the Indian in the New World did pose a problem begins to emerge in the works of Pedro Martir de Angleria, who completed and published the first book of his *Decadas del Nuevo Mundo* in 1511. Two additional books followed in 1516, a fourth in 1521, and the rest of the work by 1530.

In the composition of his work Angleria relied heavily on firsthand reports from conquistadores. . . . Angleria's *Decadas* proved popular. The original editions were issued in Latin. The first "Decade" was translated into German (1534), English (1555), Dutch (1563), and Italian (1564). The second and third appeared in French (1532) and English (1555). The entire work appeared in English in abridged form in 1577, and in complete form in 1607. . . .

Angleria's history was largely narrative and chronological; but he occasionally offered opinions on contested matters. In at least two instances he referred to the supposition that Solomon's Ophir was located in the Indies: once in claiming that Columbus identified Espanola s Ophir and again in suggesting that Solomon sent his ships to Espanola. In neither case did Angleria indicate that he thought Solomon's crew might have left behind a nucleus of people who could have produced the American Indians.

Later, in reporting the discovery by Columbus of fair-skinned youths near the equator, Angleria attributed this fairness in latitudes normally inhabited by dark-skinned peoples to the curvature of the earth which placed the people nearer to heaven (i.e., higher in altitude) thus negating the effects of the sun. Later still Angleria attributed to Pinzon a comparison of some Indians to the Scythians--they were "nomads like the Scythians." Returning to Pinzon much later, Angleria recounted the story of a contact between Pinzon and some Indians of Paria in 1514. The Parians presented the Spanish with a barrel of **incense**, which led Pinzon to conclude that incense must grow in Paria since "the natives of Paria have no communication with the *Sabeos* (a people of southwestern Arabia), as they know absolutely nothing beyond their beaches."

[Note\* What kind of incense was this? It is interesting that Pinzon would know about the Frankincense trade.]

Only once did Angleria point out contacts of non-Americans with the Indians which might have left a permanent population. In discussing Balboa's encounter with some *Negroes* on the Atlantic coast of Panama, he attributed to Balboa the postulate that an *Ethiopian* raiding party was shipwrecked in Panama, thus accounting for the Negroes now there.

[Note\* Ethiopia is on the southeastern coast of Africa, which communicates to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. This falls in the area of Arab commerce and trade.]

Peter Martyr also reported the practice of circumcision in Yucatan which the Indians attributed to a former visitor. He did not, however, say he thought this might indicate a Jewish origin for the Yucatecan Indians.

Angleria did not consider the question how the natives got to America, or from whom they descended. The first complete edition of the *Decadas* appeared nine years after the return of the [1519-1521] Magellan voyage, and Angleria, who died in 1526 five years after the Pacific voyagers returned, should have been aware of the difficulties involved in an assumption that the Indians had come from Asia. Yet,



despite the great width of the Pacific, he does not appear to have grasped the seriousness of the difficulties.

[Note\* If Magellan returned in 1521-22, and Angleria died in 1526, perhaps he did not want to try to re-arrange his manuscript at such a late date. If the first "complete edition" appeared in 1530, then four years could have passed since Angleria's death without anybody having authority to change any of the previous manuscript.]

### **Huddleston now interjects his view on Angleria's perspective and those who followed him:**

[pp. 9-10] The problem was one which would readily occur to men of the early sixteenth century. So long as America was thought to be a part of Asia, or at least near it, it appears that Europeans automatically assumed that the inhabitants of the New World were of Asiatic derivation. But, when the growing evidence, capped by the Magellan expedition, proved that the known parts of America were farther from Asia than from Europe this neat explanation of the presence of men in America was no longer tenable. It was almost universally believed in Europe in the early sixteenth century that all men were derived primarily from Adam and Eve, and secondarily from Noah and the other survivors of the Flood. Animals as well as men could be traced to Noah's Ark; and all men and animals in the world, despite their present locations, *must* be traced to the Ark.

Tradition had it that Eden, the original home of man, was somewhere in the Near East. There was some dispute over its precise location, but the consensus was definitely in favor of Mesopotamia. . . . What was most important to the early commentators on the subject of the Indian origins was the location of the landing place of the Ark. Here again, tradition favored the Near East--Armenia; and since only eight humans survived the Flood, all modern peoples had to be traced to those eight and to Armenia.

It was not difficult to understand how the children of the Ark could multiply and spread over the continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe, inasmuch as these continents were all part of one great land mass. It was also easy to comprehend that the islands adjacent to the continents could likewise be filled with men, since Noah no doubt passed the art of navigation along to his children and grandchildren. Renaissance man likewise readily understood that animals could spread over the Afro-Eurasian land mass with little trouble. They thought also that the nearby islands could be inhabited by animals who swam there, or were carried there by men for their own purposes.

But how did men get to America? When did they go? From what part of the Old world had they departed? And from what known people were they descended? . . . These questions, addressed originally to the problem posed by man's presence in a genuine New World, must eventually be applied to the animals also; for they, no less than men, were children of the Ark. These considerations became current in the literature on America in the 1530's. Few books printed after that date were able to avoid a review of these problems. Many of them include at least a few pages offering solutions to the question. But few writers accepted without modification the views of others.

[Note\* In the beginning of his writings, Huddleston infers that the time period extended to 1550. What is correct?]

[Note\* Angleria also mentions the account of Motecuzoma, who related that they had descended from people who came to this land by ship and stayed while the prince (Votan?) that brought them returned to his own land.]

David Calderwood writes:

[pp. 45-46] Peter Martyr writes that during an exploratory excursion in early 1522, Gil Gonzalez and a group of Catholic priests baptized thousands in an area known as Nicoragua, named after King Nicoragua, who was also baptized. King Nicoragua asked Gil Gonzalez whether the king of Spain had any information concerning an ancient catastrophe in which the people and the animals were drowned in a great flood. Gil Gonzalez confirmed that they believed in such a flood as well. (Martyr, 481)

The following is taken from Peter Martyr D'Anghera, *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr D'Anghera*. Translated from the Latin with Notes and Introduction by Francis Augustus MacNutt. Two Volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1912.

## VOLUME ONE

[Introduction: pp. 1- Pietro Martire d'Anghera first saw the light, in the year 1457. . . . On the twenty-ninth of August [1487] the Spanish ambassador, after taking leave of [Pope] Innocent VIII., set out from Rome on his return journey to [the court of] Spain, and with him went Peter Martyr. . . .

[pp. 43-48] Peter Martyr was perhaps the first man in Spain to realise the importance of the discovery made by Columbus. Where others beheld but a novel and exciting incident in the history of navigation, he, with all but prophetic forecast, divined an event of unique and far-reaching importance. He promptly assumed the functions of historian of the new epoch whose dawn he presaged, and in the month of October, 1494, he began the series of letters to be known as the Ocean Decades, continuing his labours, with interruptions, until 1526, the year of his death. **The value of his manuscripts obtained immediate recognition; they were the only source of authentic information concerning the new World, accessible to men of letters and politicians outside Spain.**

His material was new and original; every arriving caravel brought him fresh news; ship-captains, cosmographers, conquerors of fabulous realms in the mysterious west, all reported to him; even the common sailors and camp-followers poured their tales into his discriminating ears. Las Casas averred that Peter Martyr was more worthy of credence than any other Latin writer.

No sooner had Columbus returned from his first voyage than Martyr hastened to announce his success to his friends, Count Tendilla and Archbishop Talavera. . . . He was present in Barcelona and witnessed the reception accorded the successful discoverer by the Catholic sovereigns. . . .

An alien amidst the most exclusive and jealous of occidental peoples, Martyr's abilities and fidelity won a recognition from the successive monarchs he served, that was only equalled by the voluntary tributes of respect and affection paid him by the generation of Spanish nobles whose characters he was so influential in forming. Of all the Italians who invaded Spain in search of fortune and glory, he was the most beloved because he was the most trusted. . . . after he was appointed to a seat in the India Council, he had official cognisance of all correspondence relating to American affairs. . . . It was characteristic of the epoch of the Renaissance that a man of culture should embrace all branches of learning, thus Martyr's observation extended over the broadest field of human knowledge. Diligent, discriminating, and conscientious, he was keen, clever, and tactful, not without touches of dry humour, . . . Scientific questions, the variations of the magnetic pole, calculations of latitude and longitude, the newly discovered Gulf Stream . . . and the whereabouts of a possible strait uniting the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean occupied his speculations. . . . Pages of his writings are devoted to the inhabitants of the islands and of the mainland, their customs and superstitions, their religions and forms of government. . . .

The decades were compiled from verbal and written reports from sources the writer was warranted in trusting. . . . The arrival of his letters in Italy was eagerly awaited and constituted a literary event of the first magnitude. Popes sent him messages urging him to continue, the King of Naples borrowed copies from Cardinal Sforza, and the contents of these romantic chronicles furnished the most welcome staple of

conversation in palaces and universities. Leo X. had them read aloud during supper, in the presence of his sister and a chosen group of cardinals. . . .

Observation is the foundation of history, and Martyr was pre-eminently a keen and discriminating observer, a diligent and conscientious chronicler of the events he observed, hence are the laurels of the historian equitably his. . . .

**After a period of partial oblivion, Alexander von Humboldt, in the early years of the nineteenth century, rediscovered the neglected merits of our author and, by his enlightened criticism and commentaries, restored to his writings the consideration they had originally enjoyed. . . .\***

*[Note\* Humboldt's writings were published about 1815.]*

Ratified by Prescott, Humboldt's judgment has been confirmed by all subsequent historians.

No further claim is made for this present translation of the Decades than fidelity and lucidity. Its purpose is to render more easily accessible to English readers, unfamiliar with the original Latin, the earliest historical work on the New World.

[Book 1 - pp. 57- ] Attend now to what is told concerning the recently discovered islands in the Western ocean. Since you have expressed in your letters a desire for information I will, to avoid doing injustice to any one, recount the events from their beginnings.

A certain Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, proposed to the Catholic King and Queen, Ferdinand and Isabella, to discover the islands which touch the Indies, by sailing from the western extremity of this country. He asked for ships and whatever was necessary to navigation, promising not only to propagate the Christian religion, but also certainly to bring back pearls, spices and gold beyond anything ever imagined.

[p. 61] **Laying his course eastwards, he held towards an island which he believed to be the island of Ophir;** examination of the maps, however, shows that it was the Antilles and neighbouring islands. He named this island Hispaniola. . . . It was at this place that the Spaniards, on landing, first beheld the islanders. . . . At sunset, the hour of the Angelus, the Spaniards knelt according to Christian custom, and their example was immediately followed by the natives. The latter likewise adored the Cross as they saw the Christians doing.\*

Translator's Note\* The first report Columbus made to the Catholic sovereigns was most flattering to the American aborigines. *Certifico a vuestras altezas que en el mundo creo que no hay mejor gente ni mejor tierra: ellos aman a sus proximos como a si mismo.* Like most generalisations, these were found, upon closer acquaintance with native character and customs, to be too comprehensive as well as inaccurate.

[p. 67] Although these people adore the heavens and the stars, their religion is not yet sufficiently understood; as for their other customs, the brief time the Spaniards stopped there and the want of interpreters did not allow full information to be obtained.

[p. 65] . . . one recalls what Aristotle, at the end of his treatise *De Caelo et Mundo*, and Seneca, and other learned cosmographers have always affirmed, that India was only separated from the west coast of Spain by a very small expanse of sea. . . . Happy at having discovered this unknown land, and to have found indications of a hitherto unknown continent, Columbus resolved to take advantage of favouring winds and the approach of spring to return to Europe.

[p. 66] You are now acquainted with such details concerning this first voyage as it has seemed expedient to me to record. The King and Queen, who, above everything and even in their sleep, thought about the propagation of the Christian faith, hoping that these numerous and gentle peoples might be easily converted to our religion, experienced the liveliest emotions upon hearing these news.

[p. 74 ] . . . the cannibals of Montserrat frequently set out on hunts to take captives for food, and in so doing go a distance of more than a thousand miles from their coasts.

[p. 86-87] **According to Columbus, Hispaniola is the island of Ophir mentioned in the third book of Kings.\***

Translator's Note\* **Ortelius, in his *Geographia Sacra*, gives the name of Ophir to Hayti; and it was a commonly held opinion that Solomon's mines of Ophir were situated in America. Columbus shared this belief, and he later wrote of Veagua, when he discovered the coasts of Darien, that he was positive the gold mines there were those of Ophir.**

[p. 114] Let us now return to [the native] Caunaboa. When it was sought to take them to the sovereigns of Spain, both he and his brother died of grief on the voyage. The destruction of his ships detained the Admiral at Hispaniola; but, as he had at his disposal the necessary artisans, **he ordered two caravels to be built immediately.**

While these orders were being carried out, he despatched his brother, Bartholomew Columbus,-- Adelantado, the Spaniards call him, of the island,--with a number of miners and a group of soldiers, to the gold mines, which had been discovered by the assistance of the natives sixty leagues from Isabella in the direction of Cipangu. **As some very ancient pits were found there, the Admiral believed that he had rediscovered in those mines the ancient treasures which, it is stated in the Old Testament, King Solomon of Jerusalem had found in the Persian Gulf. Whether this be true or false is not for me to decide.** These mines cover an area of six miles.

[p. 137] **The natives of both sexes have bodies as white as ours**, save those perhaps who pass their time in the sun. They were amiable, hospitable, and wore no clothes, save waist-cloths of various coloured cotton stuffs.

[ p. 159] They are in contradiction with the ancient poets, philosophers, and cosmographers over the question whether that portion of the world on the equinoctial line is or is not an inaccessible desert. The Spaniards affirm that it is inhabited by numerous people,\* while the ancient writers maintain that it is uninhabitable because of the perpendicular rays of the sun. I must admit, however, that even amongst ancient authorities some have been found who sought to maintain that that part of the world was habitable.\*

Translator's Note\* The sub-equatorial regions of Africa had already been visited by numerous navigators since the time of Prince Henry of Portugal, and the fact that they were inhabited was well known to the Spaniards

Translator's Note\*\* Plato, Cicero, Aristotle, Anaxagoras, Mela, and others were amongst those who believed in the existence of the Antipodes.

[p. 172] When the Spaniards asked who ever had infected them with this mass of ridiculous beliefs, the natives replied that they received them from their ancestors, and that they have been preserved from time immemorial in poems which only the sons of chiefs are allowed to learn. These poems are learnt by heart, for they have no writing; and on feast days the sons of chiefs sing them to the people in the form of sacred chants.

[p. 184] Let us now return to the new countries, from which we have wandered. These countries are very numerous, diversified, and fertile; neither Saturn nor Hercules nor any hero of antiquity who set out for the discovery or conquest of unknown lands, excelled the exploits of our contemporary Spaniards. Behold, how posterity will see the Christian religion extended!

## The Second Decade

[p. 189- ] For these new nations are as a *tabula rasa*; they easily accept the beliefs of our religion and discard their barbarous and primitive rusticity after contact with our compatriots. . . .

The discovery of these lands I have mentioned, by the Genoese, Christopher Columbus, was related in my Ocean Decade, which was printed [in 1511] without my permission and circulated throughout Christendom.

[p. 244] . . . in one day one hundred and thirty men of the Comendador's enemies were baptised and became his firm friends and allies.

[p. 257] The King of Portugal claimed that he alone possessed navigation rights on the ocean, because the Portuguese had been the first since ancient times to put out on the great sea. The Castilians asserted that everything existing on the earth since God created the world is the common property of mankind, and that it is, therefore, permissible to take possession of any country not already inhabited by Christians.

[p. 285] The natives worship no other god than the sun, who is the master and alone worthy of honour. Nevertheless, they accepted instruction and they will rapidly adopt our religion when zealous teachers come to instruct them.

[pp. 286-288] The Spaniards found negro slaves in this province. . . . It is thought that negro pirates of Ethiopia established themselves after the wreck of their ships in these mountains. The natives of Quarequa carry on incessant war with these negroes. Massacre or slavery is the alternate fortune of the two peoples. . . .

On the seventh day of the calends of October, a Quarequa guide showed him [Vasco Nunez de Balboa] a peak from the summit of which the southern ocean is visible. . . .

Dismissing the people of Quarequa with some gifts, the Spaniards, under the guidance of the people of Chiapes and accompanied by the cacique himself, made the descent from the mountain-ridge to the shores of the much-desired ocean in four days. Great was their joy; and in the presence of the natives, they took possession, in the name of the King of Castile, of all that sea and the countries bordering on it.

[p. 316] Columbus sailed from Cadiz with a squadron of four vessels of from fifty to sixty tons burthen, manned by one hundred and seventy men. Five days of favourable weather brought him to the Canaries; seventeen days' sailing brought him to the island of Domingo, the home of the Caribs, and from thence he reached Hispaniola in five days more, so that the entire crossing from Spain to Hispaniola occupied twenty-six days, thanks to favourable winds and currents, which set from the east towards the west.

[Note\* The time period for this voyage (5 + 17 = 22 days) makes a case for pre-Columbian trans-Atlantic contact.]

[pp. 330-331] The Admiral believes that on the left and west, this continent joins on to the India of the Ganges, and that towards the right it extends northwards to the glacial sea and the north pole, lying beyond the lands of the Hyperboreans; the ocean, would thus join one another at the angles of this continent. . . . We have already stated that the distance separating the South Sea from the Atlantic Ocean is a very small one; for this fact was demonstrated during the expedition of Vasco Nunez [de Valboa] and his companions.

[pp. 360-362] Let us now return to the people at Matanino. Hispaniola was first called by its early inhabitants Quizqueia, and afterwards Haiti. These names were not chosen at random, but were derived from natural features, for Quizqueia in their language means "something large" or larger than anything, and is a synonym for universality . . . The islanders really believed that the islands, being so great, comprised the entire universe, and that the sun warmed no other land than theirs and the neighbouring islands. Thus they decided to call it Quizqueia. The name Haiti in their language means *altitude*, and because it describes a part, was given to the entire island. The country rises in many places into lofty mountain-ranges, is covered with dense forests, or broken into profound valleys which, because of the height of the mountains, are gloomy, everywhere else it is very agreeable.

Permit at this point, Most Holy Father, a digression. Your Beatitude will no doubt ask with astonishment how it comes that such uncivilised men, destitute of any knowledge of letters, have preserved for such a long time the tradition of their origin. This has been possible because from the earliest times, and chiefly in the houses of the caciques; the bovites, that is to say the wise men have trained the sons of the caciques, teaching them their past history by heart. . . . treating of the notable deeds accomplished in time of peace or time of war by their fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and all their ancestors. Each one of these exploits is commemorated in poems written in their language. These poems are called *arreytos*. As with us the guitar player, so with them the drummers accompany these arreytos and lead singing choirs. . . . **Some of the arreytos composed by their ancestors predicted our arrival, and these poems resembling elegies lament their ruin. "Magnacochios [clothed men] shall disembark in the island, armed with swords and with one stroke cut a man in two, and our descendants shall bend beneath their yoke."**

**I really am not very much astonished that their ancestors predicted the slavery of their descendants, if everything told concerning their familiar relations with devils is true.** I discussed this subject at length in the ninth book of my First Decade, when treating of the *zemes*, that is to say the idols they worship. Since their zemes have been taken away the natives admit they no longer see spectres; and our compatriots believe this is due to the sign of the cross, with which they are all armed when washed in the waters of baptism.

[Note\* The above could be equated with Nephi's future predictions for his posterity in 1 Nephi ]

[p. 400] There is another fact I think I should not omit. A learned lawyer called Corales, who is a judge at Darien, reported that he encountered a fugitive from the interior provinces of the west, who sought refuge with the cacique. This man, seeing the judge reading, started with surprise, and asked through interpreters who knew the cacique's language, "**You also have books?** You also understand the signs by which you communicate with the absent?" He asked at the same time to look at the open book, hoping to see the same characters used among his people; but he saw the letters were not the same. **He said that in his country the towns were walled and the citizens wore clothing and were governed by laws.** I have not learned the nature of their religion, but it is known from examining his fugitive, and from his speech, that they are circumcised.

*[Note\* The above are cultural characteristics found in the Book of Mormon among the Nephites]*

## VOLUME TWO

[p. 5] In my first Decades, which the printing press has distributed to the public, was a story of how some fugitives, landed in the neighbourhood of Darien, were astonished upon beholding our books. They related that they had formerly inhabited a country where the people, living in a state of society under organised laws, used similar things. They had palaces, magnificent temples built of stone, public squares, and streets properly laid out for commercial purposes. . . .

[p. 6-7] **When they [the Spaniards] demanded [of the natives] by signs and gestures what was the name of the country, the latter replied *Yucatan*, a word which means in their own language, "I do not understand you." The Spaniards imagined that this was the name of the country; and because of that unforeseen circumstance the country will always be called *Yucatan*.** . . . The Spaniards discovered a fortified town on the bank, of such importance that they named it Cairo, after the capital of Egypt. It possesses houses with towers, magnificent temples, regular streets, squares and market-places.

*Note\* See the derivation of the word "Yucatan" by de Landa" Also others*

[p. 7-8] The natives visit the temples, to which paved streets lead, starting from the residence of the principal people of the community. They worship idols, and some of them, but not all, are circumcised. They have laws, and are extremely honest in trading, which they carry on without money. Crosses have been seen amongst them; and when they were asked, through interpreters, the meaning of that emblem, some of them answered that a very beautiful man had once lived amongst them, who had left them this symbol as a remembrance of him; others said that a man more radiant than the sun had died upon that cross.

[p. 95] Near to Cortes another similarly decorated chair was placed, on which Mutezuma took his seat and, calling about him the great lords of his kingdom, he delivered the following address which was taken down by the interpreters who understood Geronimo de Aguilar [who translated for Mutezuma]:

O ye men, illustrious for your courage and your clemency to suppliants, I wish and hope that your arrival within our walls may be beneficial for all. You are welcome in this country.

Turning then towards the great lords he continued:

**We have known from the traditions of our ancestors that we are strangers in this country. At a time beyond the recollection of any living man, a great prince, mounted on a ship, brought our ancestors to this land. It is not known whether he came voluntarily or was driven hither by a tempest. Leaving his companions here he returned to his own country.** When he was about to depart, he wished to take with him those whom he had brought hither; but his men had built houses, had married native women by whom they had children, and were happy in prosperous and peaceful homes. Our ancestors refused to return or to any longer obey his orders. They had chosen amongst themselves a council and chiefs for the people, under whose authority they lived. It is reported also that this prince left them with threatening words. Up to this time no one has come to claim the rights of this first prince. Thus I beg and counsel you, O chiefs of my kingdom to yield to the general of this powerful sovereign the same obedience as to myself, and to pay to him, as he shall demand, the tributes you owe to me.

*[Note\* This legend implies the foreign settlers (1) came by sea (2) came to "this land" (Mexico?); (3) found natives with whom the foreign settlers intermarried; (4) the prince or leader of the group returned to this own country while his men stayed. These ideas were compatible with early concepts of the Book of Mormon for the Lehites. Hagoth might be a possibility for the fourth, however he went to the North countries].*

Turning then to Cortes he [Mutezcuma] added these words:

From what I have just said, it appears that the sovereign who has sent you here descends from that prince; come then amongst us with all confidence; rest from your fatigues, which I know have been considerable since you have been in this country, and restore your exhausted strength. Everything we possess belongs to you. . . .

[p. 107] In a translator's note on page 107 we find the following:

The religion, laws, manners, and customs of the Mexicans prior to the Conquest, as well as their architecture and the aspects of their cities, have been carefully studied and variously described by a number of learned authors. We owe the first description to Cortes [and the second to Martyr] Bernal, Diaz, Sahagun, Torquemada, Motolinia, Herrera, Oviedo, Gomara--these were the earliest students of the strange civilization revealed by the conquest of Cortes, whose works have come down to us. Authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were Acosta, Duran, Vetancourt, Clavigero, Lorenzana, and Solis. Besides these, Spaniards all, save Clavigero who was an Italian, there were several native Mexican writers of whom Ixtlilxochitl, Tozozomoc, and Camargo are the best known. Nineteenth century writers sifted and classified according to modern methods of historical criticism the masses of material, often confused and bewildering of the earlier chroniclers. . . . Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* [is a standard work] . . . In our own times, Mexico has produced historians of the highest order,--Orozco y Berra, Garcia Icazbalceta, and A. Chavero--whose labours have enriched the historical literature of their country and won for themselves imperishable fame.

## **1512    Pope Officially Declares the American Indians True Descendants of Adam and Eve**

According to Jeffrey Goodman,



In 1512, Pope Giuliana della Rovere, Julius II, officially declared that the New World's Indians were true descendants of Adam and Eve and thus must have come from the Old World's Garden of Eden. Pope Julius was reassured in his declaration by the fact that the Indians believed in the immortality of the soul.

The Spanish called the Indians "gente colorada," which means "colored people" as opposed to "white" Europeans. But since *colorado* also means "red" in Spanish, the dubious term "redskin" came into being. The Indians, of course, actually have a wide range of skin color. (*American Genesis: The American Indian and the Origins of Modern Man*, New York: Summit Books, 1981, p. 24)

**1519    Hernan Cortes        *Cartas de la Relacion***, written between 1519 and 1526. (Edition of Mario Hernandez Sanchez-Barba, Professor of Contemporary history at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid., Printed by NILO, Industria Grafica, Madrid, 1985. See also H. Cortes, *Letters from Mexico* (1520-26). Trans. A. Pagden. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.

David Calderwood writes:

[pp. 22-23] The lure of fame and fortune beckoned the vast majority of Spaniards and Portuguese to the Americas. The opportunity to proselytize and convert millions of "God's children" was another drawing point. Within a few days after Columbus sighted land, he wrote in his diary that he believed that the Indians could all be converted to the Church. When Columbus returned to Spain after his first trip, he urged Fernando and Isabella, the Catholic monarchs, to prepare other exploratory expeditions and one of his selling points was the opportunity to teach the gospel to the Indians.

Hernan Cortes was another conquistador who saw the opportunity to teach religion to the inhabitants of the New World. In his *Cartas de la Relacion* (Letters of the Account), Cortes stated that he set out to explore, Christianize, and to colonize. The Spanish conquistadores always took Catholic priests with them. Although not considered as a chronicler per se, no study of the New World would be complete without considering the five letters sent by the conquistador and colonizer Hernan Cortes to King Charles V describing Cortes's overthrow of the Aztec empire. These were much more than just letters from a soldier back to his king, but were an official account of the actions taken by Cortes during the most dramatic period of the expansion of Spain into the New World. He included in each letter sufficient narrative of the events to attempt to persuade Charles V that Cortes had acted prudently and that he had the sole interest of Spain and the crown in mind.

Charles C. Mann writes:

[p. 142] Motecuhzoma, according to many scholarly texts, believed that Cortes was the god-hero Quetzalcoatl returning home, in fulfillment of a prophecy. . . . But the Anthropologist Matthew Restall has noted that none of the conquistadors' writings mention this supposed apotheosis, not even Cortes's lengthy memos to the Spanish king, which go into detail about every other wonderful thing he did. Instead the Quetzalcoatl story first appears decades later. [see the ??? notation] True, the Mexica apparently did call the Spaniards *teteoh*, a term referring both to gods and to powerful, privileged people. . . . Similarly, groups like the Wampanoag, Narragansett, and Haudenosaunee in eastern North America also thought at first that Europeans might have supernatural qualities. But this was because . . . In their view of the world, certain men and women, given the right circumstances, could wield more-than-human powers.

Paul Cheesman notes that Cortez recorded the following in his *Five Letters 1519-1526*, p. 91:

Montezuma replied that they were not natives of the land but had come to it a long time since--and were well prepared to believe that they erred somewhat from the true faith during the long time since they had left their native land.

**1519**      **The Magellan Expedition**

In 1519 a Portuguese navigator set sail from Seville, Spain with the intention of reaching the East Indies by a westerly route. He sailed south to the tip of South America, then through the channel between South America and Tierra del Fuego, later named after the navigator. He then crossed an ocean (the Pacific), and in 1521 reached the Philippines, where he was killed in a conflict with the natives. His crew made it back to Seville in 1522.

???      **Vaz de Caminha of Cabral's expedition**

**1520**      **John Rastell**      **"A new Interlude and a mery, of the nature of the iiij Elements, declarynge**

many proper poyntes of Phylosophy Naturall, and Divers Straunge Landys,  
and of Dyvers Straunge Effectes and Causis."

Republished as *Interlude of the Four Elements: An Early Moral*

*Play*. J. O. Holliwell (ed.) in *Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular*

*Literature of the Middle Ages*. Vol. XXII. London: The Percy Society, 1848.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston notes this one exception to what he has said concerning Angleria and others before 1530 who failed to address the Indian origin question:

[p. 110] Strangely enough, John Rastell, an Englishman, apparently phrased the question [of Indian origins] in print for the first time in his *Interlude of the Four Elements* of 1520:

But in the Southe parte of that contrey,  
The people there go nakyd alway,  
The lande is of so great hete!  
And in the North parte all the clothes  
That they were is but bestes skynnes,

They have no nother fete;  
**But howe the people furst began**  
**In that contrey, or whens they cam,**  
**For clerkes it is a questyon**

**1526 Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes *Sumario de la Natural historia de las Indias*.** Toledo,

Spain, 1526. See *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias*. Jose' Miranda (ed.). Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica., 1950.

See the 1535 Oviedo notation.

In 1952 Lewis Hanke would write:

[pp. 14-16] This first history of America to be printed in Spain [*Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias*] was doubtless shipped at once across the sea for the delight and edification of Spaniards making history there, and a copy may very well have found its way into the hands of Las Casas (see the notation which follows). . . . [The royal official Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes] had a low opinion of the capacity of the Indians, and had expressed it freely. (An unpublished opinion of about 1526 by Oviedo on the Indians' bad habits and slight capacity may be found in the Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General 1624, pp. 826-831)

**[1534] Pedro Sancho *An Account of the Conquest of Peru*.** P. A. Means (ed. and trans.).  
New

York: The Cortes Society, 1917. **Written in 1534**

According to Lee Eldridge Huddleston

[p. 16] although men such as Pedro Sancho, Francisco de Xerez, Cortes, and Miguel Estete wrote firsthand accounts of early sixteenth-century America, they were wholly concerned with military and political developments and provided little ethnological value in regards to the Indians. In a typical passage, Pedro Sancho states, "the people of this province, as well men as women, are very filthy, and they have large hands, and the province is very large." .

**1535-50 Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez *Historia general y natural de las indias islas y Tierra-***

***Firme del Mar Oceano*** 4 vols. Madrid, 1851-1855.

First published 1535-1550. Incomplete

According to Lee Eldridge Huddleston, with Fernandez de Oviedo, commentary on the Americas changed from military & political to more historical in nature.

[pp. 16-19] Columbus and Vespucci concerned themselves with description. Angleria produced a chronological narrative. The other commentators wrote largely for political and apologetical reasons. Oviedo brought good credentials to his task. He had traveled in the Caribbean region of America extensively and could therefore write with considerable firsthand knowledge. Furthermore, he had the writings of all other commentators on the American continent. Oviedo had already written a brief *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias* in 1526. His *Historia general* was the result then of both personal experience and long acquaintance with the literature on America.

The complete *Historia general* was approximately twenty times the size of the *Sumario*. Only the first part was published in Oviedo's lifetime. The entire work finally appeared in 1851-1855. (4v., Madrid). The most recent edition (Asuncion de Paraguay, 1944-1945) contains fourteen volumes. Since Oviedo proposed a synthesis of all available material on the New World and a consideration of all its problems, he had to consider the questions of who the first settlers were, and where they came from. The material on these points, which appeared in the volume published in 1535, constituted the first literary discussion of the subject.

Oviedo offered two opinions about the place of origin of the Indians. On the one hand he hinted that Carthage might be their ancestral home; on the other, he thought it most likely that the earliest inhabitants of the New World descended from the ancient Spaniards. Oviedo's Carthaginian story introduced into the origin literature the most persistent of all the trans-Atlantic origin theories. The story revolves around a statement attributed to Aristotle by one Theophilus de Ferrariis in his *Admirandis in natura auditis*. The work by Aristotle from which this story was taken, *Mirabilibus aut secultationibus*, was not available to the men of the Renaissance except by way of Theophilus. Fernando Colon [see the 1539 notation], who apparently knew the story from Greek as well as Latin sources, included a Spanish translation of his own in his biography of his father. Since the story recurred so frequently, a translation from Fernando follows:

It is said that some Carthaginian merchants in ancient times found in the Atlantic beyond the Pillars of Hercules a certain islands which had never been inhabited except by savage beasts. It was all forested, with many navigable rivers, and abounded in all things that nature produced. But it was many days sailing from the mainland. On arriving there, the Carthaginian merchants, seeing that the land was good because of its fertility and its temperate climate, settled down. But the Carthaginian Senate, angered by this, publicly decreed that no one could go to the islands under pain of death. Those who had first gone were condemned to death in order that news of the island not reach other nations, and some stronger empire take possession of it and thus make it contrary to and inimical to the liberties of Carthage.

Oviedo's version of the story differed only slightly and in unimportant ways. According to him the merchants went through the "Estrecho de Gibraltar," the island was *large*, and it had never been "discovered" before. He referred to "wild and other" beasts; spoke of "large" trees and "marvellous" rivers; elaborated on "the things that nature produced": located the island with respect to Africa; elaborated on the settlement of the island; and referred to the potential "inconvenience" to the Carthaginians and to their liberties. Only in locating the island with respect to known continental areas did Oviedo introduce an element which could not readily be inferred from the version of Fernando.

Oviedo stated that he thought Aristotle's story pictured conditions in Cuba or Espanola so well that he must have meant to describe them. He concluded that the Carthaginians had discovered the Indies long before Columbus arrived. Oviedo quoted Aristotle as saying "that those who had gone to the island they killed." Consequently, it is uncertain whether he thought some of the original settlers might have escaped to form a nucleus of the Indian population. Considering his later acceptance of an earlier discovery, that seems unlikely.

**Oviedo offered the Carthaginian story as a clue to the possible first discovery of America. But immediately thereafter he offered what he considered a far better theory.** "I take these Indies to be those famous Islas Hesperides, so called after the twelfth king of Spain, Hespero" Oviedo derived his knowledge of the early kings of Spain from Berosus, a chronicler of questionable veracity. The gist of his argument was that during the reign of King Hespero (which began about 1658 B.C.) Spaniards discovered, peopled, and ruled the Indies. They named the Indies for their king--Islas Hesperides. These were the same islands as those of later Greek mythology. Sometime after the days of Hespero contact with the islands was broken, and they were forgotten except by the Greek mythmakers. The author claimed, then, that the Indies were discovered by Spaniards over three thousand years before Columbus. Through the agency of Columbus, God had returned the Indies to their rightful owner--the Spanish crown.

Oviedo's primary purpose in the chapter devoted to the first settlers was to reveal who had found America first. Settlement was incidental. Though he did not return to the question of Indian origins in the part published in 1535, there are, however, several references of interest to the discussion of origins in the material he did not publish. **He specifically rejected the idea that America might be connected by land to some part of Europe or Asia in the unexplored north.** By implication, then, Oviedo eliminated a land bridge as a means of getting the first settlers to the New World.

The impression with which the reader is left is that Oviedo intended to derive total population of the New World from the "Hesperian" settlers. The Carthaginians may have added to the population at a later date.

According to Huddleston, [p. 20] Oviedo's Spanish origin argument for the first settlers of the New World received little support, however the Carthaginian story was promoted by a subsequent author [see the 1540 Vanegas notation] and achieved great popularity.

### **1537    Papal Proclamation ("Bull") of 1537 Declares That the Indians "Are Truly Men"**

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 15] The belief that the Indians were inferior to Europeans no doubt predominated . . . Yet, many writers specifically affirmed their belief that the Indians were descendants of Noah and as such must be capable of reason, though this fact might be obscured by their idolatrous practices. Most writers believed the Indians could become Christians. Such a belief was also implicit in the missionizing activities of the Church, and in the decree of Clement VII in 1530 authorizing the use of force in converting the natives. Paul III made it explicit in his bull *Sublimus Deus* of 1537 which states "that the Indians are truly men and are not only capable of understanding the catholic faith but . . . desire exceedingly to receive it.

Certain factors appear to lend credence to the assumption that there was a belief in the nonhuman character of the Indians. For one, the assertion in a papal bull that the Indians "are truly men" would appear to indicate that the point was in dispute. That implication, however, should not be greatly emphasized. The primary purpose of *Sublimus Deus*, other than the missionary objective, was to confirm the right of the Indians to possess property, thus preventing wholesale confiscation by the Spanish settlers. Paul affirmed that the Indians were "truly men" as part of his rationale for confirming their property rights.

This interpretation is supported--though not definitively of course--by the absence of any literary exposition of the idea that the Indians were animals or creatures of the Devil rather than men. The writers appear not to have noticed such a possibility; few even questioned the ability of the Indians to reason. Therefore, although some men may have believed the Indians to be of nonhuman stock, the idea does not seem to have been seriously proposed.

[1539] **Fernando Colon** **Historia del Almirante Don Cristobal Colon.** Madrid: T. Minuesa, 1892.

**Completed 1539, published 1571.** See also *Historia del Almirante Don Cristobal Colon.* Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1947.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 19-20] Some Spaniards did not receive Oviedo's *Historia general y natural* favorably . . . One of the first literary consequences of the work was to spur Christopher Columbus' son Fernando to write a biography of his father--*Vida del Almirante Don Cristobal Colon*--written largely to correct certain real and presumed errors respecting Christopher. The son particularly incensed by Oviedo's attempt to rob his father of the glory of being the first discoverer of the new world. He completed the biography before 1539, but unfortunately he did not publish it. The book appeared first in Italian translation in 1571. His arguments are, however, germane, and they illustrate the availability and types of information which could be turned against the Oviedo position.

Fernando stated his critique of Oviedo's Carthaginian and Hesperian theories by calling them fantasies, void of reason or foundation. He then made a detailed analysis of each story. Fernando charged that much of Oviedo's trouble stemmed from the fact that he did not know Latin and had to rely on someone else's bad translation. He quoted the tale of Aristotle from a Greek version, and berated Oviedo for his errors. Fernando also pointed out that Aristotle himself had cast doubt on the validity of the story by beginning it with a word meaning "it is told," rather than claiming he had it on authority.

The younger Columbus doubted the validity of the tale from internal evidence also. It did not seem reasonable to him that a land could not be fertile if men were not around to cultivate it. Nor could he imagine the Carthaginian Senate disliking the discovery of so wonderful a place. If they wanted to prevent someone else from taking it over and making it a threat to Carthage, would it not have been more reasonable to settle it themselves rather than to attempt to suppress the discovery? After all, others might make the same discovery by accident as the Carthaginian merchants had. Even if the "fable" could be credited, the description did not fit either Cuba or Espanola, since neither had fierce beasts.

Fernando turned immediately from the first theory to the second. He accused Oviedo of misrepresenting his sources [although this was shown to be unfair.]. . . . Anyway, said Fernando, Oviedo could not with reason argue on the one hand that the ancient Spaniards settled the Indies, and then on the other accept the Carthaginian story that the island was undiscovered before the merchants arrived.

Note\* See the 1571 notation

**1540** **Alejo Vanegas de Bustos** ***Primera Parte de las diferencias de libros q [ue] [h]ay en el***

*universo.* First published Toledo, 1540. Selections on America reprinted in Medina, 1898-1907:1, 162-165.

According to Lee Eldridge Huddleston, [p. 20-21] although Oviedo introduced the Carthaginian story in regards to Indian origins, "he apparently did not accept it" and did not develop it very far. The popularity and expansion of the Carthaginian theory rightly belongs to Alejo Vanegas de Bustos. Nevertheless, although his book went through four editions it is now exceedingly rare. Fortunately the pages relating to America were republished by Jose Toribio Medina in his *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana* in 1898.

Vanegas clearly argued that the first inhabitants of America descended from Carthaginian settlers. He did not quote [all of] Aristotle's story. He stated merely that "it is obvious that the islands which Don Cristobal Colon and Vespucio Amerigo [sic] discovered had already been found more than two thousand years ago," and that the Carthaginian settlers in the islands spread to the mainland and populated it. Nor, said he, should we wonder at that, for "if Adam and Eve populated the three parts of the world, why marvel that the Phoenicians and Carthaginians could populate America which was a neighbor to the islands of Espanola and Cuba?"

Vanegas argued that since Indians descended from Adam & Eve (and Noah) and since they were already in the Americas when Columbus arrived, therefore the Indies must have been discovered before Columbus. Since the stories of Aristotle were common to the educated people of Spain at this time, Vanegas, an observer to the great trans-Atlantic migrations of his time, used Aristotle's story as a solution to that early discovery and settlement of America. However, in promoting this theory, Vanegas ignored or was ignorant of the fact that in Aristotle's story, he said that the men who went to the "island" were condemned to death (and presumably killed) and that the knowledge of that discovery had been intentionally suppressed. It is also uncertain whether Vanegas ever read Oviedo's works as he does not refer to them.

Note\* For the details of Aristotle's story, see the [ ] notation.

[1550] **Bartolome de las Casas** *Apologetica historia sumaria quanto a las cualidades, disposition,*

(Israelitish?) *descripcion, cielo y suelo de estas tierras, y condiciones naturales, policias, republicas, maneras de vivir y costumbres de las gentes de estas Indias occidentales y meridionales, cuyo imperio soberano pertenece a los Reyes de Castilla.* M. Serrano y Snaz (ed.). Madrid: Bailly Bailliere e hijos, 1909. **Written by 1550.** First published in 1909.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 22] The most famous of the Spanish humanitarians, Bartolome de Las Casas, wrote on the origins of the Indians in two works not published in his lifetime. the *Apologetica historia*, completed by 1550, and his *Historia de las Indias*, completed by 1559. . . . Two reasons favor their inclusion: [1] they are illustrative of the thinking of one of the men intimately involved with the condition of the Indian, and [2] they indicate that Las Casas **did not hold an opinion commonly attributed to him--that the Indians descended from the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel.**

In his *Apologetica historia* Las Casas stated that he believed that the Indians of the Western Indies descended from those of the East Indies because the "West Indies are part of the East Indies." He based

this conclusion on a comparison of "the multitude of peoples and nations and diverse languages" which were characteristic of the West Indies and also, according to Herodotus and Diodorus, of East India.

Las Casas spent most of his time in the *Apologetic History* proving the worth and religiosity of the Indians. He did, however, return to the origin question near the end of the volume to make an extended criticism of the use of language comparisons as evidence of origin. He referred to some anonymous "Doctor" (probably a misunderstanding of Angleria) who connected the practice of circumcision and the presence of a few words resembling Hebrew in Yucatan to postulate a Judaic origin for the Yucatecan Indians. Las Casas laughingly pointed out that such comparisons could also prove that the Indians came from Italy, from the village of Batea in Cataluna, from Baeza in Castilla, from Greece or Spain in general, or from any of the Arab lands. Most American languages, he noted, have certain words which resemble one or more Old World tongues. This seems to refute those who attribute a Jewish origin theory to Las Casas.

**Note\* Arguments on Indian Origins-1550-1580.** According to Lee Eldridge Huddleston :

[p. 22] After 1550 the interest in the inhabitants of the New World and a mushrooming interest in America in general let loose a torrent of books on the new-found lands. A substantial number of these works included a consideration of the possible sources of the American population. The majority, however, ignored such problems and concentrated on telling a good story.

*San Bartolome de las Casas* was born at Seville, Spain in 1474. He came to America in 1502. Las Casas was the first priest to be ordained in the Americas, being ordained in 1512 in Puerto Rico. This celebrated Spanish Dominican was to become a defender of the Indians against their Spanish oppressors. He returned to Spain in 1515 to intercede for the Indians, with King Ferdinand; he returned to Spanish America, in 1516, and twice afterwards, returned to Spain, in his efforts to obtain justice for the natives. He first set foot on Guatemala soil in 1537. From 1544 to 1547, he was bishop of Chiapa, in Mexico. Las Casas published works extolling the virtues of the natives. The idea that the native Indians were mere animals was dispelled in the many and excellent works of Las Casas. His history of the Indians was not published until 1875, but was well known before, through manuscript copies. He died at Madrid in 1566.

In 1952 Lewis Hanke would write:

The spark which set [Bartolome de] Las Casas afire with the determination to record what he felt to be the true history may have been the publication at Toledo in 1526, of a *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias* by the royal official Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes. This first history of America to be printed in Spain was doubtless shipped at once across the sea for the delight and edification of Spaniards making history there, and a copy may very well have found its way into the hands of Las Casas. It is known, at least, that Las Casas came to look upon Oviedo as one of his principal opponents and one of the most dangerous men in the Indies . . . But what must have alarmed Las Casas was the reference in the *Sumario* to a much larger general history of the Indies which Oviedo reported he had left in manuscript form at home in Hispaniola. If this callous administrator, more concerned for profit than for the welfare of the Indians, should print his version of the history of Spain in America, the whole world would be led astray, in the opinion of Las Casas. For did not Oviedo consider the Indians as idolatrous savages who must inevitably die? This harsh attitude by an officer representing the crown was the very negation of everything Las Casas stood for and would make impossible the achievement of his dream of a Christian commonwealth in America, in which the Indians would play a leading and responsible part as full citizens.



Source: Lewis Hanke, *Bartolome de Las Casas: Historian. An Essay in Spanish Historiography*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1952, pp. 14-16.

George Weiner writes:

In the New World, from the very moment of its discovery, Spanish explorers and priests began to see an affinity between the Indians and the Jews. . . . However, identification of the Indians as Jews was very disconcerting to the Spanish government which, through the Inquisition, was doing everything in its power to expunge Judaism from the face of the Earth. Those writers who espoused the Jewish-Indian theory were persecuted and even imprisoned, and their works were confiscated and suppressed. One such was Bartolome' de Las Casas, a Dominican missionary who, "**firmly persuaded that the Indians were descended from the Hebrews.**" [SOURCE?] spent thirty-two years writing a monumental history of the New World that was suppressed and kept from publication for more than 300 years.

Of Don Bartholomew de Las Casas, Barbara Simon would write the following in 1836:

[pp. 3-5] Bartolome Las Casas, a famous Dominican Spaniard, first bishop of Chiapa, and highly worthy of memorial among the Indians. The bitter memorials presented by this excellent prelate to King Charles V., and Philip II., in favour of the Indians against the Spaniards, printed in Seville, and afterwards translated and reprinted in odium to the Spaniards, into several European languages, contains some particulars of the ancient history of the Mexicans. He wrote other works, one a General History of America, in 3 vols. folio. Two volumes are in the celebrated Archives Simancas, which have been the sepulchre of many precious manuscripts on America. (Clavegero Disser. The remonstrance of Las Casas, see Appendix.)

That Las Casas was firmly persuaded that the Indians were descended from the Hebrews, is evident from his own words, "Loquela tua manifestum te fecit," (your speech betrays you) as recorded by Torquemada. If the work of that illustrious prelate, (who was intimately acquainted with Columbus, whose life he wrote, and who was one of the first Spaniards who proceeded to the continent of America, where he must have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the traditions, &c.) had ever been published, we should have known his reasons for coming to that conclusion . . .

The observation which we have made above, that the ecclesiastics were not encouraged to communicate what they knew from intercourse with the natives and the perfect knowledge which they had acquired of the Mexican language, and of the religion and antiquities of the American natives is as strange as that the American Chronicle of Las Casas and the Universal History of New Spain by Sahagun, should never have been published. The former of these works must have been of enormous magnitude, if we may judge of the size of the whole, from only having seen that part of it which is preserved in the British Museum, which includes the preface to the first books. Las Casas explains in the preface, which is very long, the reasons which induced him to undertake the work, which were primarily of a religious nature, although it would appear that he was also desirous of opposing a true history to the many false relations and misrepresentations which he complains that writers on the affairs of America had unblushingly published. It is extraordinary, considering the ability of the Author, and the many years which he devoted to the composition of his History, and the consequently well-known fact of the existence of such a work, that it should have been carefully preserved from every eye.

Nicholas Antonio and Pinelo both name it; but it does not appear that the former saw any of it, or the latter more than a part. That portion of the work, containing an account of the religion, manners, and customs of the new world, was termed apologetical, because he must have endeavoured to palliate in it some manners and customs which were used as a plea, by the greedy proprietors of *encomiendas*, to press the crown to deprive the Indians of all civil rights and to reduce them to the condition of absolute slavery. And how could that learned prelate have set up a stronger defence for the Indians, than by shewing that their institutions were derived from the hebrews; however, time, through the perversion of traditions, might have corrupted them?

That the Apologetical History treated of the religion of the Indians is evident, since Torquemeda says that Las Casas asserted in his Apology, in M.S. that "Quetzalcoatl went from Tula to Yutican," &c. A Spanish writer giving a sketch of the life of Las Casas, says, speaking of his history, "Las Casas himself, in the year 1556, added a note to it, with his own hand, saying that he bequeathed his History in confidence, to the College of the order of Friars, Preachers of St. Gregory, in Valladolid, requesting the prelates not to allow any layman, nor the collegiates to read it during the period of forty years; at the expiration of which it might be printed, if it was for the advantage of the Indians."

This work [the Apologetical History] consisted of six decades, each of which comprised the history of ten years, except the first, which, beginning with the events of 1492, ended in 1500. The learned prelate declared that he had employed thirty-two years in the composition of this work, which comprised the History of the W.I. Islands and Continent, the American Chronicle of Peru and Yutican, as well as of Nicaragua, Chiapa, Guatamala, Mexico, and the other kingdoms of New Spain; we need not feel surprised that it should have extended to six folio volumes; but that no portion of a work so interesting should ever have been published, either by the Order to which he bequeathed it, or by public authority, or by private individuals, cannot be ascribed to accidental causes. Torquemeda remarks, "Las Casas had many powerful enemies because he spoke great truths."--p. 265.

Note\* In his *Narrative and Critical History of America*, published in 1889, the eminent historian Justin Winsor includes a chapter written by William H. Tillinghast, Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. The first 32 pages of this Chapter One relate "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients Considered in Relation to the Discovery of America." Next is a five-page "Critical Essay on the Sources of Information." This is followed by 21 pages of "Notes" and "Illustrations"

[p. 41] [Notes] *D. Atlantis* The story of Atlantis rests solely upon the authority of Plato . . . Proclus reports that Crantor, the first commentator upon Plato (*circa B.C. 300*) asserted that the Egyptian priests said that the story was written on pillars which were still preserved.

[p. 43] Las Casas in his history of the Indies devoted an entire chapter to Atlantis, quoting the arguments of Proclus, in his commentary on Plato, in favor of the story, though he is himself more doubtful. He also cites confirmative passages from Philo and St. Anselm, etc. He considers the question of the Atlantic isles and cites authorities for great and sudden changes in the earth's surface.

## **[1550s]      Quiche Maya                      *Popol Vuh***

*Elder Ted E. Brewerton has a copy recorded in Quiche--Maya 1550, by natives. English, Spanish and Quiche'-Maya dialect*

The Quiche Indians live in the Country of Guatemala and are a branch of the Maya race. The *Popol Vuh* was apparently written by one or more of the nobles of the Quiches from oral traditions. It appears to have been written originally in the Quiche tongue by using Latin letters. It was discovered by Father Francisco Ximenez in the Santo Tomas Church at Chichicastenango early in the 18th Century. Father Ximenez transcribed the record and translated it into Spanish.

The *Popol Vuh* was first published **in English in 1950**. It was published from a **Spanish version that was published in Spanish in 1947**. Bancroft was aware of this record when he published his history on the native races.

**[1550s ?]                    *El Libro de los Chilam Balam***

There are 8 texts. Elder Ted E. Brewerton has one summary text. These texts give the summary of the Maya 150 A.D. to 1611 A.D.

*The Books of Chilam Balam:* These manuscripts were written by native priests of the Yucatan who, having mastered Spanish and Latin languages, attempted to record their ancient histories. Some of the documents were even written in a distorted type of ancient Maya hieroglyphic form. They were named after Chilam Balam, who was a Maya prophet/priest who lived during the Spanish Conquest.

**1552    Francisco Lopez de Gomara                    *La historia general de las Indias: con todos los descubriminetos, y cosas notables que han acaescido en ellas, desde que ganaron hasta agora.*** Initially written in 1552 in the city of Zaragoza. See also *Historia general de las Indias*. 2 vols. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1941.

George Reynolds writes:

Francisco Lopez de Gomarra (1510-1559) was a Spanish historian. He was born at Seville, Spain in 1510, and died sometime after the year 1559. He was a priest and the chaplain of Cortez. After the death of Cortez, Gomarra had retained that position in the household of Cortez's son Don Martin. It does not appear that he was ever in America. Amongst his other works, he wrote one concerning the conquest of Mexico.

George Weiner writes on page 58:

In the New World, from the very moment of its discovery, Spanish explorers and priests began to see an affinity between the Indians and the Jews. Francisco Lopez de Gomara, one of the earliest historians of new Spain, wrote: "They [the Indians] are all very like Jews, in appearance and voice, for they have large noses and speak through the throat."

Robert Wauchope writes:

Bartolome de las Casas, the Spanish priest who so stoutly championed Indian rights in an era when exploitation of the natives was accepted procedure, was said by Father Torquemada to have been the first to suggest the [Lost Tribes] theory over four hundred years ago . . . According to a great authority on Hebrew history, Allen H. Godbey, one of the earliest Lost Tribes backers was another Spaniard of the early sixteenth century, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, as were a French Calvinist De Lecy, Genebrard, and Andrew Thevel of roughly the same period. J. Imbelloni adds to these the name of Diego Gonzalo Fernandez Oviedo (1535).

Source: ^Robert Wauchope, *Lost Tribes & Sunken Continents*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, p. 53.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 24-26] One of Las Casas' greatest enemies in his battle for humanitarian treatment for the Indians, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, the secretary and biographer of Hernando Cortes, contributed to the debate. In 1552 Lopez de Gomara published his *Historia general de las Indias* at Zaragoza. The book consisted of two parts: a "General History" and a "Chronicle of New Spain," which was essentially a biography of Cortes. Six editions of the book appeared before 1554, but it ran into considerable difficulty. The author despised the Indians and filled his volume with outrageous characterizations of them. He stated that their principal god was the devil; that they engaged in public sexual intercourse like animals, and were "the greatest sodomists"; that they were liars, ingrates, and the source of syphilis. He further contended that many were cannibals and knew nothing of justice; that they went shamelessly nude; that they "are like stupid, wild, insensate asses," prone to "novelties," drunkenness, vice, and fickleness; that, in short, they were the worst people God ever made. Lopez de Gomara wrote his book in part "to persuade [the Council of the Indies] that they do not deserve liberty" and, consequently, decided they should be enslaved.

Las Casas bitterly resented these slanders on the Indians' character and strongly opposed the book, saying its author had never even visited America but merely wrote what Cortes told him to write. Las Casas' influence was sufficient to convince Prince Philip to suppress the book in late 1553.

Lopez de Gomara made a considerable contribution to the literature on origins. Not only did he stimulate thinking and response by his treatment of the Indians, but he also stirred up controversies by claiming a pre-Columbian discovery of America by an "anonymous pilot" who, Gomara claimed, told Columbus about his find. The chronicler deprecated also the role of everyone but Cortes in the conquest of Mexico. **He appears, moreover, to have been the first author to suggest Atlantis as a possible source for the aborigines of the Indies.** His reasoning was that the Mexican Indians used the word "atl" for water and that they derived this word from memories of their ancient homeland, Atlantis, now sunk beneath the waters of the ocean.

Lopez de Gomara did not insist that Atlantis was the sole origin of the Indians. **He conceded that ancients other than Plato knew of America and that their knowledge might indicate a migration to America other than the Atlantean.** He suggested that Seneca might have meant America when he wrote in his tragedy *Medea*,

An age shall come, ere ages ende,  
Blessedly strange and strangely blest,  
When our Sea farre and neare or' prest  
His shoare shall yet extend.

**Descryed then shall a large Land be,  
By this profound Seas navigation,  
An other World, an other nation,  
All Men shall then discovered see.**

Thule accounted heretofore  
The worldes extreme, the Northern bound,  
Shall be when Southwest parts be found,  
A neerer Isle, a neighbor shoare.

. . . Lopez de Gomara thought that the Carthaginian Hanno might have visited Cuba or Espanola. He cited one theory which he did not think valid. According to this theory, some Spaniards left Spain to settle the Indies after the defeat of the Gothic armies by the Muslims in 711 A.D.

In *The Conquest of the Weast India* by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, published in Ann Arbor by the University Microfilms, Inc., (1966) we find the following:

[Foreword] *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India*, now called new Spayne was written by Francisco Lopez de Gomara and originally published in Spanish in 1552. It provided the first detailed history of Cortes' conquest of Mexico for Spain. The many editions of the history, both in Spanish and in translation, including this English translation of 1578, attest to the enormous popularity of Gomara's book in the 16th century Europe. . . .

Gomara never visited Mexico. All of his information came second and third hand. However, as chaplain to Cortes after the conqueror's return to Spain in 1540, he was in an enviable position to write his history. Indeed, Gomara did not so much write a history as he did a biography in glorification of Cortes.

[p. 377] The Indians beleevd that five ages were past, which they called Sunnes.

The Indians of Culhua did beleevd that the Gods had made the world, but they knew not how, yet they beleevd that since the creation of the world four Sunnes were past, and that the fifth and last is the Sunne that now giveth light to the world.

The helde opinion that the first Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all living creatures perished likewise.

The Second Sunne (say they) fell from the heavens, with whose fall all living creatures were slayne, and then (said they) were manye Gigantes in that Countrey, and certayne monstrous bones, which our men found in opening of graves, by proposition whereof, some shoulde seem to be men of twenty spannes high.

The third Sunne was consumed by fire, whiche burned day and night, so that then all living creatures were burned.

The fourth Sunne finished by tempest of ayre or winde, which blew down houses, trees, yea and the mountaynes and ?ackes were blowen asunder, but the lignage of mankinde perished not, saving that they were converted into Apes. And touching the fift Sunne, which now raigneth, they know not how it shall consume. But they say that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the worlde fell into darkenesse, and so remained for the space of five and twenty yeares continually, and at the fifteenth yeare of that fearefull darkenesse, the Gods did forme one man and a woman, who brought forth children, and at the end of the other tenne yeares, appeared the Sunne whiche was newly borne upon the figure of the Conny ?ay, and therefore they began their account of yeares at the day, reckoning from the yeare of oure Lorde

1552, their age or Sunne is 858. so that it appeareth that they have b?se? many yeares their writing in figures: and they had not onely this ?se from Cetochtli, whiche is the beginning of their yeare, moneth, and day of their fifth Sunne, but also they hadde the same order and use in the other foure Sunnes which were past: but they let many things slippe out of memorie, saying that with the newe Sunne, all other things should be likewise new. They held also opinion, that three dayes after this last Sunne appeared, all the Gods did dye, and that in processe of time the Gods which nowe they have, and worshippe, were borne. And through these false opinions, our Divines did soone convert them to the knowledge of the true lawes of God.

[p. 398] How the Divell appeared to the Indians.

The Divell did many times talke with the priestes, and with other rulers and particular persons, but not with all sorts of men. And unto him to whom the Divel had appeared, was offered and presented great gifts. The wicked spirit appeared unto them in a thousand shapes, and fashions, and finally he was conversant and familiar among them very often. And the fooles thought it a greate wonder that Gods would be so familiar with mortal men. Yea, they now knowing that they were Divels, and hearing of them many things before the bad hapned, gave great credite and beliefs to their illusions and deceites. And because he commanded them, they sacrificed suche an infinite number of creatures. Likewise, he, unto whom he had apeared, carried about him painted, the likeness wherein he shewed himself the first time. And they painted his image upon their dores, benches, and every corner of the house. . . .

[p. 378] The nation of the Indians called Chichimecas.

In the lande nowe called newe Spayne, are dyvers and sundry generations of people: but they holde opinion, that the stocke of most antquitie, is the people nowe called Chichimecas, whiche proceeded out of the house of Aculhuacan, which standeth beyond Xalixco, about the yeare of our Lorde, 720. Many of this Generation did inhabite aboute the lake of Tenuchtitlan, but their name ended by mixture in marriage with other people. At that time they hadde no king, noor yet did builde eyther house or Towne. Their only dwellings was in caves in the Mountaynes. They went naked, they sowed no kind of graine, nor used bread of any sorte. They did mainteyne themselves with rootes, hearbes, and silvester fruites: and beeing a people cunning in shooting with the bowe, they kyled beare, hares, connyes, and other beastes and foule, which they eate also, not so??den or rosted, but rawe, and dried in the Sunne. They eate also Snakes, Lizards, and other filthy beastes, yea and at this day there are some of this generation that use the same dyet. But although they lived suche a bestiall life, and being a people so barbarous, yet in their divelish religion they wer verve devout. They worshipped the Sunne, unto whome they used to offer Snakes, Lizards, and such other beastes. They likewise offered unto their God all kinde of foule, from the degree of an Eagle, to a little Butterflie. They used not sacrifice of manslaughter, nor had any Idolles, no not so muche as thos the Sunne, whome they helde for the sole and only god. They married but with one woman, and in no degree of kindred. They were a stoute and a warlike people, by reason whereof, they were Lordes of the land.

**1553**     **Pedro Cieza de Leon**     ***Parte Primera de la Chronica del Peru.*** Anvers: Iuan Steelsio, 1554

First edition, Sevilla, 1553. Also *Parte Primera de la Chronica del Peru*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1941. See also *La Cronica del Peru*, published in Spain in 1553 (Reprinted by Promocion Editorial Inca S.A. 1973).

David Calderwood writes:

[p. 27] The conquest of Peru also produced a rich assortment of chroniclers. The renowned nineteenth century Spanish historian, Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, referred to Pedro de Cieza de Leon as the Prince of Chroniclers." Cieza de Leon was born in Llerena, Spain, in 1520. At the remarkably young age of 13, he began taking notes of the things that he saw from the time he arrived. He had a great thirst for knowledge and his writings provide the first excellent descriptions of central Colombia and the extensive Inca Empire which stretched from Pasto, Colombia, to the Maule River, south of Santiago, Chile [a distance of over 3,250 miles], as well as extraordinary insights into the pre-Inca world. He began writing in 1541 while living in Colombia and finished writing when he left Peru to return to Seville, Spain, in 1550. In all, he gathered sufficient material to write eight books. His first book, *La Cronica del Peru* (*The Chronicles of Peru*), was **published in 1553**. (*Cronica del Peru*, 1973) His second volume, *El Senorio de los Incas* (*The Lordship of the Incas*) and **his other books were not published for more than three hundred years**. (see note\* below)

Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen combined into one volume the first two books of Cieza de Leon-*La Cronica del Peru* and *El Senorio de los Incas* and wrote an introduction in a book which was **published in 1959 in English** under the title *The Incas*. Von Hagen noted with amazement that Cieza de Leon took notes of everything he saw and heard and instead of killing time, he made time "to turn aside, to observe, and to record." (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1959, xxxix)

Cieza de Leon recorded that "Everywhere I turned aside to see what I could of the regions in order to learn and set down what they contained." What made him decide to write? He provided his own answer in the following comments:

As I saw the strange and wonderful things that exist in this New World of the Indies, there came to me a great desire to write certain of them, those which I had seen with my own eyes, and also what I had heard from highly trustworthy persons. But when I considered my small learning, I cast this desire from me, holding it vain, because it has been the province of great and learned minds to write histories, and for the unlearned, even to think of such a thing was folly. For that reason, time elapsed without my drawing on my scant powers until God, favoring me with grace, aroused in me once more what I had forgotten. And taking heart, with mounting confidence, I determined to devote a part of my life to writing history. And I was moved to this by the following reasons: The first, because I had taken notice wherever I went that nobody concerned himself with writing aught of what was happening. And time so destroys the memory of things that only by clues and inference can the future ages know what really took place. The second, because considering that we and these Indians all have our origin in our common parents, it is just that the world should know how so great a multitude as these Indians were brought into the lap of the Church by the efforts of the Spaniards, an undertaking so great that no other nation of all the universe could have accomplished it." (Von Hagen in *The Incas*, 3)

Cieza de Leon stated that "the things that I deal with in this history I have observed with great care and diligence." (*The Incas*, xlii) The scarcity of paper and ink in the New World only added to his problems. He mentioned that a sheet of paper cost him 30 pesos in Cali, Colombia. The eight books written by Cieza de Leon required nearly 8,000 sheets of foolscap. He bought paper when he could have been buying a horse! He carried books and manuscripts when he could have been carrying gold!

Most of the conquistador writings have accounts of a universal flood, however, considering the millennia that had passed since the traditionally accepted date of Noah's flood, it is not surprising that concrete details were lacking. Cieza de Leon wrote:

**Many of these Indians tell that they heard from their forebears that in remote times a great flood occurred as I have already written.** . . . And they imply that the antiquity of their origins is very great and that in this connection they relate so many tales and fables, if they are that, that I shall not waste time setting them down. (Cieza de Leon, 272-273)

Ntoe\* Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 27] Pedro Cieza de Leon announced in the *Primera parte de la cronica del Peru* (Sevilla, 1553) that he intended to discuss the Deluge and the origins of the Indians in Chapter III of the second part. When part two did appear in 1873, the promised discussion existed only as an uninformative fragment.

Note\* Calderwood writes the following on pages 34-35 :

Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen was born in 1908 in St. Louis, Missouri. He became a world-famous explorer. Von Hagen gave one explanation for the disappearance of these early manuscripts in the introduction to his book *The Incas*. Von Hagen commented that prior to and during the time of the conquest any manuscript presented for publication in Spain had to be reviewed and approved by three separate councils; the King's Council; the Holy Office of the Inquisition; and the Council of the Indies. Cieza de Leon's first book, *La Cronica del Peru*, initially published in 1553, received the direct approval of Prince Phillip.

In this book as well as in his second manuscript, Cieza de Leon occasionally upbraided the Spaniards for their treatment of the Indians. To a certain degree he defended the unpopular position of the infamous Fray Bartolome de Las Casas, the Bishop of Chiapas, who at that time was berating the Spaniards for their efforts to enslave and exploit the Indians. Unfortunately, Cieza de Leon's other manuscripts as well as many manuscripts by other chroniclers in the 1550's were caught up in the power struggles between Spain, England, and France.

Source: David G. Calderwood, *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, Austin, Texas: Historical Publications, Inc., 2005, pp. 27-29, 34-35, 43

In *The Incas*, published in 1959 we find the following attributed to Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616):

Before leaving this region, we should mention a very remarkable story which the natives have received as tradition handed down by their ancestors for many centuries. It refers to some giants who they say arrived in their country from over the sea and landed at the point now called Santa Elena, a name given to it because it was first seen by Spaniards on this saint's day. As Pedro de Cieza de Leon is the Spanish historian who speaks of these giants at greatest length, having received his version in the very province which the giants visited, it seemed best that I should follow his account word for word, for although padre Jose' de Acosta and the accountant general Agustin de Zarate say the same, their version is very brief. Pedro de Cieza's fuller account in his ch. lii is as follows:

**As there is in Peru a story of some giants who landed on the coast at the point of Santa Elena,** in the vicinity of the city of Puerto Viejo, I have resolved to mention what I was told about them, as I understood it, without taking into account the opinions of the common people and their various anecdotes, for they usually magnify events larger than life. The natives, repeating a story received from their forefathers from very remote times, say that there arrived from across the sea on reed rafts that were as large as big ships some men who were so big that an ordinary man of good size scarcely reached up to their knees: their members were in proportion to the size of their bodies, and it was a monstrous thing to see their enormous heads and their hair hanging down about their shoulders. Their eyes were as large as small plates. They say that they had no beards and that some of them were clad in the skins of animals and others only in the dress nature gave them. There were no women with them. On reaching this point, they set up their camp like a village (and even in these times there is memory of the site of their houses). As they found no supply of water they remedied the lack by making some very deep wells, a



labor certainly worthy of record, being undertaken by such strong men as these must have been, to judge by their size. They dug these wells in the living rock until they came to water, and afterwards they built the wells in stone from the water line upwards so that they would last for ages. In these wells the water is excellent and it is always so cold that it is very pleasant to drink.

When these great men or giants had thus made their settlement and dug these wells or cisterns, they destroyed and ate all the supplies they could find in the neighborhood. It is said that one of them ate more than fifty of the natives of the land; and as the supply of food was not sufficient for them to maintain themselves, they caught much fish with nets and gear that they had. They lived in continuous hostility with the natives, because they slew the latter's women in order to have them, and they also slew the men for other reasons. But the Indians were not numerous enough to kill these newcomers who had occupied their land and lorded it over them; and although they held great discussions about this, they never dared attack them.

After some years the giants were still in this region, and as they had no women of their own and the Indian women of the neighborhood were too small for them, or else because the vice was habitual to them and inspired by the demon, they practiced the unspeakable and horrible sin of sodomy, committing it openly and in public without fear of God or personal shame. The natives say that our Lord God, unwilling to conceal so wicked a sin, sent them a punishment suited to the beastliness of the crime, and when all the giants were together engaged in this accursed practice there came a fearful fire from heaven to the accompaniment of a great noise, in the midst of which a shining angel appeared holding a sharp, bright sword with which he slew them all at a single stroke, and the fire consumed them leaving only a few bones and skulls, which God allowed to remain unconsumed as a token of the punishment. This is the account they give of the giants, and we believe that it happened, for it is said that very large bones have been found and still are found thereabouts and I have heard Spaniards say they have seen pieces of teeth which they thought must have weighed half a pound when whole, and who had also seen a piece of a shin-bone of wonderful size, all of which bears witness to the truth of the incident. In addition to this one can see the places where the sites of their villages were, and also the wells or cisterns they made. I cannot state whence or how these giants came there.

In the present year of 1550 when in the city of Lima, I heard that when his excellency Don Antonio de Mendoza was viceroy and governor of New Spain, certain bones of men as big as these giants, and even bigger, were found there. I have heard too that in an ancient sepulcher in the city of Mexico or somewhere else in that kingdom certain bones of giants have been found. Since so many people saw them and attest having done so, it can therefore be credited that such giants did exist and indeed they may all have been of the same race.

At this point of Santa Elena, which is as I have said on the coast of Peru and in the district of the city of Puerto Viejo, there is a remarkable p[h]enomenon: the existence of certain wells or seams of pitch of such excellent quality that it would be possible to tar all the ships one wished with it, since it flows from the earth. This pitch must be from some seam passing through that place: it comes out very hot, . . .

**[1554]      Quiche' Maya                      Title of the Lords of Totonicapan**

Elder Ted E. Brewerton has a copy recorded in Quiche' Maya 1554 by natives. English, Spanish (1834) and portions in Quiche'-Maya dialect.

*The Title of the Lords of Totonicapan:* This native document was **probably written in 1854** by the natives of the town of Totonicapan in the Quiche language using Latin letters. It was translated from the Quiche text into Spanish by Dionisio Jose Chonay. It was translated into **English** in **1953** by Delia Goetz and published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

**1554 Florian de Ocampo Los cinco primeros libros de la Coronica general de Espana . .**

(Mediterranean) **Alcala [1553].** First edition 1544. 1553 expanded.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 27] In 1553 Florian de Ocampo published his *Los cinco primeros libros de la Coronica general de Espana* at Alcala. In that volume Ocampo hinted that Hanno the Carthaginian might have visited Espanola, presumably leaving some settlers there.

**[1855] Cakchiquels The Annals of the Cakchiquels (Memoirs of Solola)**

*The Annals of the Cakchiquels (Memoirs of Solola):* This is a document that was written by the Cakchiquel Indians of Guatemala, and who lived in a province called Solola. It contains some statements regarding their origin, however the greatest value is that the document presents the native story of the Spanish Conquest. Brasseur de Bourbourg translated the Cakchiquel document into **French** around **1855**. This translation was subsequently used for the Spanish translation. American scholar, Dr. Daniel G. Brinton translated the works into **English** in **1885**.

**1555 Richard Eden (trans.) The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India.** Pedro Martir de

Angleria, in Arber, 1885. **Original translation, 1555.**

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 27] The year 1555 marked the entry of non-Spaniards into the discussion of Indian origins for the first time since John Rastell had asked the question about "whens they cam" [abt. 1520]. In that year the Englishman Richard Eden issued at London a translation of the first four books of Pedro Martir de Angleria's *Decadas* and sections of Oviedo's *Historia general y natural*. A second edition of Eden's translation, with the last four books of the *Decades* translated by Richard Willes, appeared in abridge form in 1577. In his introduction to the English reader Eden made the rather puzzling assertion "**that since the creation of the world untill the yeare before named, there hath byn no passage from our known partes of the world to these newe landes.**" Eden alluded also to the Indians having lived under "Sathan tyrannie," and asserted that they had souls. It would appear that Eden rejected the possibility of a trans-Atlantic migration into America; but he gave no indication whence the Indians may have come.

**1555 Antonio Galvao *The Discoveries of the world, from their first Original Unto the Year of our***

(Chinese) **Lord, 1555.** Admiral Bethune (ed. and trans.). London: The Hakluyt Society, Ser. I, Vol. 30, 1862. **First published in Portuguese, 1555.**

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 27] Galvao spent several years in the Orient as governor of the Portuguese island of Ternate in the Moluccas. While there he heard of a Chinese tradition claiming that voyagers from China had populated the New World. Galvao considered this very plausible, because both Chinese and Indians had similar-but unspecified-"fashions and customs" and because their "small eies, flat noses," and other physical characteristics were similar. Galvao also knew of Oviedo's work, and he recounted the tale of the Carthaginian discovery. He sarcastically pointed out that those who once postulated a pre-Columbian discovery of the Antilles were now doing the same thing for New Spain.

**1555 Agustin de Zarate *Historia de la provincia de San Antonio del Nuevo Reino de Granada.***

(Atlantis) 4 vols. Bogota: Biblioteca Popular de Cultura Colombina, n. d. **First published in 1701.**

According to Lee Eldridge Huddleston, [p. 28] this Spaniard's book proved amazingly popular. A number of editions in other languages followed, including one in English in 1581. Zarate proposed only one theory- a more detailed theory of Atlantis than that of Gomara. Zarate thought that the customs of the people of Atlantis as described by Plato were still to be observed in Peru. He thus concluded that the Atlanteans had migrated to America before their island sank into the ocean.

**[1557] Juan de Betanzos *Suma y Narracion de los Incas, original manuscript completed in 1557, but***

**not published until 1880.** (Prologue, transcription, and notes by Maria del Carmen Martin Rubio; preliminary studies by Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, Demetrio Ramos and Maria del Carmen Martin Rubio). Madrid, 1987.

David Calderwood writes:

[pp. 125-126] There were few Spaniards who had an opportunity to get closer to the Inca nobility than Juan de Betanzos, who married into the royal line of Lord Inca Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. Betanzos took

advantage of his Inca contacts to provide a history of the Incas from a quasi insiders point of view. Betanzos wrote his oft quoted *Suma y Narracion de los Incas* (Narrative of the Incas) **in 1557, but it was not published until 1880.**

There is very little information concerning Betanzos's background available to historians. Betanzos dedicated himself to learning Quechua and apparently was considered the best linguist in Peru at that time. Betanzos demonstrated such a gift for learning Quechua that he was quickly drawn to the attention of Francisco Pizarro with whom he established a close personal relationship. Taking advantage of Betanzos's command of the language, Pizarro took Betanzos with him in the capacity of "official interpreter" during his numerous trips. Even after Pizarro's death in 1541, Betanzos continued in his capacity as the Spanish colonial government's official translator.

Betanzos began his manuscript by referring to ancient legends of a time when the land and the provinces of Peru were dark and neither firelight nor daylight existed, and Peru was peopled by individuals whose name had long been forgotten. (Betanzos, 1) The fact that Betanzos started his account with this legend is indicative of the importance the natives placed on this event of total darkness. Unlike [three other] . . . accounts . . . in which the loss of sun light was reported, Betanzos emphasized that there was no light from any source. Betanzos then relates that during this time of total darkness, the people were visited by a lord whose name was Contiti Viracocha [Ticci Viracocha], who went to the area known at Tiahuanaco. (Betanzos, 7)

Betanzos wrote that he was informed that Contiti Viracocha had also emerged another time before and, on that first occasion he created the sky and the earth. The Indians said that he was called Contiti Viracocha Pacha-Yachachic, which in their language means "God, maker of the world."

[p. 132] Betanzos's opening paragraph in his book, *Narrative of the Incas* states that there was a time "when the land and the provinces of Peru were dark and neither light nor daylight existed." (Betanzos, 1)

[p. 180] According to Juan de Betanzos, the Incas had a belief that "When this world comes to an end, we will all rise up with life and with this flesh as we are now." Betanzos wrote that someone made them understand this; they know it very well; consequently, the Inca military leaders always attempted to return all of the dead soldiers to Cask or their home. (Betanzos, 94.)

Source: ^David G. Calderwood, *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, Austin, Texas: Historical Publications, Inc., 2005.

**1557 Andre Thevet *Singularidades da Franca Antartica a que outros chaman da America.***  
Estevao Pinto (trans.). Sao Paulo: Bibliotheca Pedagogica Brasileiro, 1944.  
First published 1557, in French.

**1559 Vicente Palatino de Curzola "Tratado del derecho y justicia de la guerra que tienen los reyes de Espana contra las naciones de la India occidental,"** Manuscript,

1559. Published in 1943.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 28-29] Vicente Palatino de Curzola, in his manuscript of 1559 (published in 1943), adopted the view that the Carthaginians (Phoenicians) Aristotle had mentioned were responsible for the first (or at least a ) settlement. He believed this because of the ruins of buildings with unfamiliar (but probably Carthaginian) writings on them, and because the Indians told him some bearded white visitors had constructed the buildings. Apparently Curzola's real reason . . . was legalistic. The Carthaginian claim to the Indies had devolved upon Rome after the Third Punic War. The Pope, as heir to the Roman Emperors, had come into possession of the Indies, and he had given it to Spain. Thus Spain had a solidly based historical right to the New World.

Curzola did not like the Indians, whom he accused of observing neither "divine law, natural law, nor the laws of men, nor even observing the law of the ferocious beasts . . ." Therefore it was just for Spain to wage war against the Indians to return them to their rightful ruler and to make Christians of them.

According to Huddleston, at times the Spaniards were overly zealous in their opposition to native beliefs and customs of the Indians.

**[1559] Bartolome de las Casas *Historia de las Indias*, Agustin Millares Carlo (ed.). Mexico: Fondo de**

Cultura Economica, 1951. **Written by 1559.** See also *Historia de las Indias*. Juan Perez de Tudela and Emilio Lopez Oto (eds.). 2 vols. Madrid: Real Academia Espanola., 1957-1961.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 22-24] The most famous of the Spanish humanitarians, Bartolome de Las Casas, wrote on the origins of the Indians in two works not published in his lifetime. The *Apologetica historia*, completed by 1550, and his *Historia de las Indias*, completed by 1559. . .

Las Casas returned to the question of Indian origins in his *Historia de las Indias*. **He carefully evaluated the traditions and legends of land in the Western Ocean and their influence on Columbus. Most of them he classified as fables.** He did, however, accept the prior existence of Atlantis; but he did not postulate it as a possible source of the natives of America. He examined the Carthaginian story as told by Aristotle and rejected it as of dubious value. Las Casas then turned his attention to Oviedo and his theory of a Spanish origin for the earliest Americans. Borrowing heavily from Fernando Colon's manuscript biography of the Admiral [Columbus], Las Casas disputed with Oviedo at length, then rejected it as improbable, fictitious, and frivolous. He likewise rejected the identification of Espanola or any other American area with the biblical Ophir; Ophir he argued, was in East Asia.

On the whole Las Casas was noncommittal about who the Indians were or where or how they had come to the New World. The *Historia de las Indias* contains no affirmation of the East Indian origin he had presumed in the *Apologetica historia* of 1550. It was as if Las Casas on reflection had decided that the problem was genuinely beyond solution because the Indians had come to America so long ago their route could not be traced. Las Casas recorded a curious story in the *Historia* which tends to support this conclusion:

I have seen in these mines of Cibao, a stadia or two deep in the virgin earth, in the plains at the foot of some hills, burned wood and ashes as if a few days ago a fire was made there. And for the same reason we have to conclude that in other times the river came near there, and in that place they made a fire, and afterwards the river went away. The soil brought from the hills by the rains covered it [the fire site]. And because this could not happen except by the passage of many years and most ancient time, there is a great argument that the people of these islands and continent are very ancient.

Las Casas did not pursue this line of thought. But the implications of even so brief a statement are staggering. Two hundred years would pass before such distinctively archaeological thinking would reenter the search for clues to the antiquity and origins of the American Indians. Steno's exposition on index fossils in geology did not appear until 1669. It is tantalizing to speculate on the possible results had Las Casas recognized the scientific potential of his observation and elaborated upon it; or the possible consequences had he published it in 1559.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 33-34] Many of the early writers have been credited with a belief in the Judaic origin of the Indians. Mrs. Simon, in common with Lord Kingsborough's other disciples, claimed that virtually all the early Spanish writers believed this theory. Many modern authorities, such as Imbelloni and Wauchope, accept the attribution of such a belief to Las Casas, Oviedo, Garcia, Juan de Torquemada, Diego Duran, and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Of these six men, all writing before 1613, only one--Diego Duran--clearly committed himself to the Hebrew origin theory.

Juan de Torquemada was apparently the first to credit Las Casas with being a "partidario del origen hebreo." In his *Monarchia indiana* of 1613 he stated that he had found a long rationale of the theory, "in a paper where were written some phrases of the Testament of Don Frai Bartolome de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapas; and because of this, he used in all his writings, it seems to me that it is his opinion."

Yet in his *Apologetica historia* Las Casas berated the "doctor" who had postulated a Jewish origin on the basis of a few words and the practice of circumcision. He also rejected the possibility of Jewish contact with America in the time of Solomon in his *Historia*. Furthermore, although Las Casas referred to Esdras, which was later used as the basis of the Lost Tribes theory, he did not use it in such a context.

**abt. 1560**    **Toribio Motolinia**            *History of the Indians of New Spain, translated and annotated  
with a bibliographical study of the author by Francis Borgia  
Steck, Washington, 1951.*

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**[1560s]**    **Fray Bernardino de Sahagun**    **A History of Ancient Mexico, The Religion and the  
(ISRAELITISH)                            Ceremonies of the Aztec Indians**, translated by Fanny R.  
Bandelier from the 1840 Spanish Version of Carlos Maria de  
Bustamante. (The Rio Grande Press, Inc., Gorieta, New

Mexico, 1976. See also *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva Espana*. Angel M. Garibay (ed.). 4 vols. Mexico: Prrua, 1956.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 31-32] Sahagun wrote this work in Nahuatl between 1547 and 1569. He translated it into Spanish in the 1570's, and in that form it was used by such writers as Herrera and Torquemada at the beginning of the seventeenth century. **It did not appear in published form until 1840.** Sahagun's chief purpose in writing his *Historia* was to collect the vast Nahuatl folk literature before it was irreparably lost. Consequently, though he recorded the Indian origin myths at length, he paid little attention to the ultimate origin of the natives. He did, however, make a point of insisting that the Indians "are all our brothers, descendants of the stock of Adam". Lord Kingsborough claimed that Sahagun, whose manuscripts had at one time been confiscated, got them back with the injunction "to write nothing to prove that the Hebrews had colonized the new world." This seems hardly credible since, as will be shown in the following section of this essay, other Spaniards contemporary with Sahagun were attempting to prove a Hebrew origin for the Indians. However, it is true that Sahagun did not write that the Hebrews had colonized America.

*(Supposedly the first proponent of the Lost Tribes)*

David Calderwood writes:

Another important early chronicler on the religion of the natives of highland Mexico was Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, the Catholic Priest who spent over 30 years from 1547 to 1577 working with Aztec religious leaders compiling information on the rites, ceremonies and teachings of the ancient highland Mexican Indians. He wrote his findings in twelve volumes entitled, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva Espana* (Published in English with the title *A History of Ancient Mexico, The Religion and the Ceremonies of the Aztec Indians, 1547-1577*). Sahagun's books are probably the most oft-cited works on ancient Mexico.

Fray Bernardino spent over a quarter century gathering the materials for the *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva Espana*. While he was teaching Spanish and Latin to the Indians, he was also learning from them and continued studying their history, customs, and language. He eventually assembled twelve Indians who were well versed in their native lore. These informants were highly qualified to aid Sahagun since they had previously been recorders of pre-Conquest history and several were trilingual in Spanish, Latin and Nahuatl.

Once his team was assembled, Sahagun introduced a method of research never utilized anywhere previously. He realized that the ancient Mexican history was contained in hieroglyphic signs, many of which had been destroyed by the Spaniards. The Indians recreated the glyphs, while the Spanish speaking Indians of his advisory board explained the glyphs to him. There was little doubt in the mind of Sahagun that the material was authentic because it was composed by the Indians, who had drawn the pictures and had translated the meaning into Spanish and Nahuatl.

**The Mexican historian, Carlos Maria de Bustamante, made the first publication of Sahagun's twelve-volume manuscript in Mexico in 1840.** Bustamante claimed that the *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva Espana* by Sahagun is one of the most complete sources of information concerning the ancient Mexican Indians and that Fray Bernardino was one of the most learned figures of Spanish American history.

Source: David G. Calderwood, *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, Austin, Texas: Historical Publications, Inc., 2005, pp. 25-26.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun was born in Spain in about 1499. He was a Franciscan missionary and historian. From 1529, he lived in Mexico, where he held various offices. He was without a doubt one of the outstanding scholars representative of the Spanish priests of the 16th Century in the Valley of Mexico. He spent a large part of his adult life in and around Mexico City. He utilized the services of his trilingual students to extract the oral history and traditions from the communities in the Mexico Valley. From 1558 to 1566, Sahagun spent his time compiling and writing his ***Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva Espana***. His account of the Conquest is an Aztec version, and because of this, and other things in the record, his work was halted and almost destroyed. He was later forced to change parts of his accounts regarding the Conquest. The works of Sahagun are also referred to as the *Florentine Codex*. His historical works, published in modern times, were freely used in manuscript by the old historians.

George Weiner writes [p. 58]:

In the New World, from the very moment of its discovery, Spanish explorers and priests began to see an affinity between the Indians and the Jews. . . . However, identification of the Indians as Jews was very disconcerting to the Spanish government which, through the Inquisition, was doing everything in its power to expunge Judaism from the face of the Earth. Those writers who espoused the Jewish-Indian theory were persecuted and even imprisoned, and their works were confiscated and suppressed. One such was Bernardino de Sahagun, a Franciscan missionary who spent sixty years among the Mexican Indians. His voluminous history of New Spain, confiscated while in progress with the admonition "to write nothing to prove that the Hebrews had colonized the new world," [SOURCE?] **was not to see print for nearly 250 years.** [WHAT YEAR WAS IT PUBLISHED?????]

Barbara Simon would write the following on Bernard de Sahagun:

[pp. 5-8] Bernard de Sahagun, a laborious Franciscan Spaniard, having been sixty years among the Indians, made great proficiency in the knowledge of their language and history. Besides other works, he composed, in twelve large vols. a Universal Dictionary of the Mexican Language, containing what related to the geography, **religion**, political and natural history of the Mexicans. This work of immense erudition and labour was sent to the royal historiographer of America, resident at Madrid . . . **He wrote also the General History of New Spain, in four vols.** (Clavegero Dissert.)

**Sahagun says that he found it to be a universally received tradition amongst the nations, confirmed by the testimony of their historical paintings, that a colony had arrived long before the Christian era, on the coast of America, from a region situated to the north-east, called Chicomoztoc, first touching on the shores of Florida. . . .**

Sahagun, in the prologue to the **Universal History of New Spain**, expressly says that he was impeded in the progress of his work, by the great discouragement he met with from those who ought to have forwarded it. He states in his second book, that amidst the commendation bestowed upon it, in the Chapter of his Order, which was held in 1569, it appeared to some of the *Definitors*, that it was contrary to their vow of poverty to expend money on writing such histories; and that they therefore obliged the author to discharge his amanuensis, (as he was more than seventy years old, he could not, on account of the trembling of his hand, write at all) and his writings remained for more than five years, without any thing further being done to them. In the mean time, the Provincial deprived the said author of them all, and scattered them over the province. After the lapse of some years, brother Miguel Narvarro, came as commissioner to those parts, and recovered, by ecclesiastical censures, the said works at the request of the author. Grateful for the assistance which he had received from the commissioner, Rodrigo de Segura,



Sahagun dedicated it to him, overwhelming him with eulogies for having redeemed it!--"rescuing it" as he declares, from beneath the earth, and even from under the ashes.(265)

Sahagun complains that he was forcibly deprived of a very valuable painting, representing the great Temple, with the court by which it was surrounded, which he says was sent to Spain. It is very evident that every thing in Mexico, calculated to draw attention to the ancient history of the country, more especially if connected with religious recollections, was carefully removed from notice, immediately after the conquest. Pieces of sculpture were mutilated or buried,--paintings were burned,--temples and edifices, which, from their size, it was impossible to destroy, were suffered to fall into oblivion . . .

**Sahagun, when engaged in the compilation of his history, after it had been taken away from him and again restored, received three cautions:--First, to write nothing to prove that the Hebrews had colonized the new world; Secondly, to be guarded in what he said of the Devil's having imitated God, in taking to himself a chosen people in the new world, and counterfeiting the rites and ceremonies of the Jews; and, Thirdly, not to advance the hypothesis that Christianity had ever been proclaimed to the Indians, or to treat too largely on the history of Quetzalcoatl. . . .**

Garcia's History of the Peruvian Monarchy is . . . unknown. . . . many other interesting works are said to have perished, or been lost in a similar manner. It has been remarked before, that the office of royal historiographer of the Indies does not appear to have been instituted solely for the purpose of promoting the cause of truth, and the increase of knowledge: and it may be further observed that the council of the Indies, which took cognizance of all writers treating of America, requiring that they should be, previously to publication, submitted to a strict censorship, with the power of recalling or prohibiting, even after the publication, any work the thought fit, proceeded in a diametrically opposite spirit.--Mex. Antiq. vol. vi.

Source: Mrs. [Barbara] Simon, *The Ten Tribes of Israel: Historically identified with the Aborigines of The Western Hemisphere*. London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1836.

The following is taken from *Conquest of New Spain 1585 Revision* by Bernardino de Sahagun. Reproductions of Boston Public Library Manuscript and Carlos Maria de Bustamante 1840 Edition. translated by Howard F. Cline, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1989:

[p. 25] Account of the Conquest of This New Spain, As the Indian Soldiers Who were Present Told It, Translated into Spanish, Plain and Intelligible, in the year 1585.

To the Reader

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun

When in this town of Tlatelolco I wrote the twelve books of the history of this New Spain, requested by our lord, King Philip, who has them there, the ninth book dealt with the conquest of this land. When this manuscript was written (which is now over thirty years ago) everything was written in the Mexican language and was afterwards put into Spanish. Those who helped me write it were prominent elders, well versed in all matters, relating not only to idolatry but to government and its offices, who were present in the war when this city was conquered. . . .

[p. 27-28]

Prologue\*

[Note\* The prologue is completely original to the 1585 revision.]

When these lands below the Torrid Zone and the Equinoctial line were discovered, many previously hidden truths were revealed. One of them was that once everyone believed that all land below the Torrid Zone to the Antarctic pole was not habitable. Now through our own eyes we see that all the above is densely populated. Likewise it was affirmed that the Southern Cross would never be visible, yet now the North Star serves navigators as far as the equator and the Southern Cross guides from there on those who sail in its direction.

In the same fashion it used to be affirmed that the Ocean Sea (which stretches our westward in respect to Spain) had not limit or end; now we see that sailing from San Lucar to the Canaries one commutes a wide stretch of open sea which reaches all the way to the islands of Santo Domingo. From this New Spain one embarks in the port of Acapulco, where there is another stretch of open sea as large as the one before, across which one sails to the Philippines. Those who sail them steer the first half of this route by the North Star and the second half by the Southern Cross.

If one sails directly toward the Southern Cross, there is another sea with many islands. According to what I have heard, there is fresh news of this down there in Peru and Charcas.

It has also become known for certain that the population of the world began near those parts where the great old Babylonia is located. From thence the world has been populated, as far as all these parts which are called the New World. In truth, it is the half of the globe which was created from the beginning. It also seems a certain thing that the Earthly Paradise is between the Torrid Zone and the North Star, in which our father Adam and our mother Eve dwelled. I do not know how many days. From those two descended all the people of the world. Of those who lived in these parts before the Flood, there were Giants. Bones and whole enormous skeletons of their greatness have appeared here in New Spain and also in surrounding provinces and kingdoms.

In like fashion it was considered certain that no expedition or fleet had reached these regions of this New Spain or Peru before this century, that will complete a thousand and six hundred years from the Incarnation of Christ, our Redeemer. Now it is held to be certain that the fleet of King Solomon reached Peru, and also at the islands of Santo Domingo, to gather gold for the building of the temple. This has been determined by the argument in the Third Book of Kings, where Solomon's fleet, that came to these parts for gold, is mentioned.

It has also been determined that our Lord God purposely kept secret this hidden portion of the world until these times, and that by His divine commandment has seen fit to reveal it to the Roman Catholic Church, not with the objective that its inhabitants be destroyed and oppressed; but rather that they be brought out of the darkness of idolatry in which they have lived, and be brought into the Catholic Church and instructed in the Christian religion, in order to reach the kingdom of Heaven by dying in the Faith of true Christians.\*

For this very great and very important enterprise, our Lord God considered it proper that the most valiant Captian, don Hernando Cortes, open the way and demolish the wall with which this heatheness was surrounded and immured. In his presence and by his means our Lord God performed many miracles in the conquest of this land, where the door was opened so that preachers of the Holy Gospel might enter to preach the Catholic Faith to this very miserable people, who for so many years were subject to the servitude of so innumerable idolatrous rites. . . .

*[Note\* The above idea is similar to that found expressed in 2 Nephi 1:6-11:*

6. Wherefore, I, Lehi, prophesy according to the workings of the Spirit which is in me, that there shall none come into this land save they shall be brought by the hand of the Lord.

7. Wherefore, this land is consecrated unto him whom he shall bring. And if it so be that they shall serve him according to the commandments which he hath given, it shall be a land of liberty unto them;

wherefore, they shall never be brought down into captivity; if so, it shall be because of iniquity; for if iniquity shall abound cursed shall be the land for their sakes, but unto the righteous it shall be blessed forever.

8. And behold, it is wisdom that this land should be kept as yet from the knowledge of other nations; for behold, many nations would overrun the land, that there would be no place for an inheritance.

9. Wherefore, I, Lehi, have obtained a promise, that inasmuch as those whom the Lord God shall bring out of the land of Jerusalem shall keep his commandments, they shall prosper upon the face of this land; and they shall be kept from all other nations, that they may possess this land unto themselves. And if it so be that they shall keep his commandments, they shall be blessed upon the face of this land, and there shall be none to molest them, nor to take away the land of their inheritance; and they shall dwell safely forever.

10. But behold when the time cometh that they shall dwindle in unbelief, after they have received so great blessings from the hand of the Lord--having a knowledge of the creation of the earth, and all men, knowing the great and marvellous works of the Lord from the creations of the world; having power given them to do all things by faith; having all the commandments from the beginning, and having been brought by his infinite goodness to this precious land of promise--behold, I say, if the day shall come that they will reject the Holy One of Israel, the true Messiah, their Redeemer and their God, behold the judgments of him that is just shall rest upon them.

11. Yea, he will bring other nations unto them, and he will give unto them power, and he will take away from them the lands of their possessions, and he will cause them to be scattered and smitten.]

**[1566] Father Diego de Landa**      *Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan*, originally written in 1566.  
First

published in 1864. (Eighth Edition, translated and edited with notes  
by Alfred M. Tozzer. Published by the Peabody Museum of  
American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1941.)

*Bishop Diego de Landa* (1524-1579): Diego de Landa served the Catholic church in the Yucatan, where he gained the information for his writings on the Maya people and compiled the culture and oral traditions of the natives. Landa wrote *Relacion de las Cosas de Nueva Espana*.

[See *Exploring the Lands of the Book of Mormon*]

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 29] Sometimes the Spaniards were too zealous in their opposition to native beliefs and customs of the Indians and found it necessary to explain their conduct. One such was Diego de Landa, who, in 1566, completed his *Relacion de las cosas de yucatan* to justify his actions toward the Indians of that province. Like so many other early works on America, it was not published in his lifetime. That first publication was an incomplete French translation in 1864. The complete version, in Spanish, appeared at Madrid in 1881. In this case the lack of publication was not critical since Landa made only two brief references to the origins of the American Indians. **After relating an Indian legend of people coming from the East through twelve paths opened through the sea, Landa observed that if this were true they would be Jews.**

It should be noted that Landa did not offer a theory of Jewish ancestry for the Indians. he may have thought that; but, if he did, he did not express the thought. Landa did make one rather unusual observation. **He disagreed with those who thought the civilization of Yucatan was imported: "These buildings have not been constructed by other nations than the Indians," he concluded.** Landa's argument gained no great support until the nineteenth century.

The following comes from Tozzer's 1941 English translation:

[Introduction] Alfred Tozzer writes:

The importance of the *Relation* of Landa can be seen by the fact that this is the eighth edition of the manuscript which was discovered by the Abbe Brasseur de Bourbourg in the Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia de Madrid (Signatura B. 68) and **first published in 1864**. The source material presented by Landa includes practically every phase of the social anthropology of the ancient Mayas, together with the history of the Spanish discovery, the conquest and the ecclesiastical and native history together with the first accurate knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing. It is especially complete on Maya religion and rituals and, with the exception of Sahagun, there is no other manuscript of new Spain which covers adequately a similar range of subjects. The present copy of Landa is only a part of the original manuscript which is lost.  
. . .

**Landa probably wrote his original *Relacion* while in Spain somewhere about 1566.** He presumably took the manuscript with him on his return to Yucatan in 1573, and, after his death six years later, his work was kept in the Franciscan convent in Merida. . . . Copies of the work were undoubtedly sent back to Spain. . . .

Most of these papers are now in the Archivo Nacional, Madrid, having been seized by the government in the 18380's when ecclesiastical property was secularized. . . .

*Sources of the Material in the Manuscript:* Landa tells us of his intimacy with the native, Juan (Nachi) Cocom, who "told him many facts concerning the antiquities." He does not mention Gaspar Chi who most certainly must have given him data on native customs. . . . While in Spain, he must have availed himself of the material in Oviedo's *Historia* published in 1550, Gomara's *Historia General* which appeared in 1552, and some of the writings of Las Casas. . . .

*Early Writers Using the Manuscript:* That many of the early writers on Yucatan availed themselves of the Landa manuscript seems certain. . . . Practically every modern writer on the life of the Mayas has drawn heavily on the Landa material contained in this copy, starting with Bancroft.

[pp. 16-17]

Some of the old people of Yucatan say that they have heard from their ancestors that this land was occupied by a race of people, who came from the East,\* and whom God had delivered by opening twelve paths through the sea. If this were true, it necessarily follows that all the inhabitants of the Indies are descendants of the jews; since having once passed the Straits of Magellan, they must have extended over more than two thousand leagues of land which now Spain governs.

\*Tozzer notes from a 1941 perspective:

This may refer to the early inhabitants of Yucatan coming from the east in contrast to the western approach. The following quotation from Lizana (Pt. 1, III), followed by Cogolludo (4, III) and other early writers, has been given in many places: "They (the priests) know that the inhabitants came in part from

the west, in part from the east and thus they call in their own language the east different from what it is now called. At the present time they call the east *likin* which means "where the sun rises above us." And the west they call *chikin*, that is "the fall or end of the sun" or "where it hides itself from us." But in the olden times they called the east *cenial* (dze-emal), "The little descent" and the west *Nohenial* (*noh-emal*), "the great descent." And it is a fact that they say that from the east there came to this land but few people and from the west a good many . . . whoever they may have been."

In the Chronicles of Yucatan, called the Books of Chilam Balm, there are numerous references to historical events in Yucatan. Some of these accounts are mythological and those dealing with history are often confusing and contradictory. . . .

There is some reason for considering "The Little Descent" from the east as being reflected in the early dates along the eastern part of the peninsula of Yucatan at Tulum (9.6.10.0.0, 304: 564), at Ichpaatun on Chetumal Bay (9.8.0.0.0, 333: 593), and at Coba (9.9.0.0.0-9.12.10.0.0, 353-422: 613-682). Thompson (in Thompson, Pollock, Charlott or Thompson et al., 193-201) who discusses this question at length considers the evidence of "The Great Descent" from the west as more difficult to identify but he points to an early influence from Chiapas and the Usumacinta seen in the northwestern part of the peninsula of Yucatan. . . .

[pp. 171-172]

And as this country, although it is a good land, is not at present such as it appears to have been in the prosperous time, when so many and such remarkable building were built, without their having any kind of metal with which to build them, I will here give the reasons which I have heard advanced by those who have seen them. These reasons are that this nation must have been subject to certain lords, who were desirous of giving them constant occupation and that they occupied them in this work; or that, as they were such worshippers of their idols, they distinguished themselves by joining together in building temples for them . . . or again, it may be that the great abundance of stone and lime and of a white earth, excellent for building, which there is in this country, has given them an opportunity of erecting so many buildings, that except to those who have seen them, it will seem to be jesting to tell about them.\*\* Or else this country hides some secret, which up to this time has not been discovered, nor have the natives of this day discovered it either, for to say that other nations, having subjected the Indians, have built these buildings, is not so, because of the indications that exist that the buildings were erected by a race of Indians and naked, as is seen, on one of the buildings, which is large numbers and of great size are found there on the walls of the bastions of which still remain representations of nude men, having their loins covered with long girdles which they call in their language *ex* and with other decorations which the Indians of these times still wear, all made of an extremely hard cement. And while I lived there, there was found in a building, which we tore down, a large urn with three handles, and painted on the outside with silver colored flames, within which there were the ashes of a burned body, and among them we found three good beads of stone and made like those which the Indians now today use for money; all of which shows that it was Indians (who were the constructors of these buildings).\*\*\* It may well be that, if they were (Indians), they were people superior to those of the present time and of very much greater size and strength, and this may be seen even more (plainly) here at Izamal than elsewhere, in the sculptures in half relief, which I say are standing this very day, made of cement on the bastions, and which represent large men, lofty, and the extremities of the arms and legs of the man, whose ashes were in the urn which we found in the building, which were wonderfully preserved from being burned and were very large.

\*\*Tozzer notes from a 1941 perspective:

BB (324) gives the following interesting note. "These lines, written with an ignorance so naive, are sufficient to give an idea of the innumerable quantity of cities and ruined temples which cover the soil of Yucatan. What vaster field could there be for the explorations of the archaeologists? Stephens (1843, 2:

XXIV), who visited these lands three hundred years after Landa had written these lines, agrees entirely with him in regard to the number of ruined cities and upon the identity of their founders."

\*\*\*Tozzer notes from a 1941 perspective:

Landa deserves more than passing credit for the stand he took regarding the autochthonous origin of the Maya civilization. The fantastic theory of Atlantis and the peopling of the New World dates back to the time of Oviedo and Gomara. Las Casas seems to have been the first to suggest that the origin of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel may be located in the New World.

**1567 Joannes Fredericus Lumnius** *De Extremo Dei Iudicio et Indorum vocatione*. Venice:  
Apud

Dominicum de Farris. First published 1567.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes: [pp. 33-34] "Many of the early writers have been credited with a belief in the Judaic origin of the Indians. Mrs. Simon, in common with Lord Kingsborough's other disciples, claimed that virtually all the early Spanish writers believed this theory." However, according to Huddleston,

this writer was unable to locate any early explorers and historians who expressed that idea in writing. There are, however, hints scattered throughout the early literature which indicate that the opinion that the Indians were descendants of the Hebrews was current and discussed, even if no author did accept it. . . .

Many modern authorities, such as Imbelloni and Wauchope accept the attribution of such a belief to Las Casas, Oviedo, Garcia, Juan de Torquemada, Diego Duran, and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Of these six men, all writing before 1613, only one--Diego Duran [1580]--clearly committed himself to the Hebrew origin theory.

[p. 35] **The theory that the Indians of America descended from the Hebrews, or more particularly the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, apparently originated in published form with Joannes Fredericus Lumnius' *De Extremo Dei Iudicio et Indorum vocatione* issued at Antwerp in 1567.** . . . The book is very rare and apparently was rather obscure in its own time, for none of the Spanish authors cite it, though Solorzano referred to the author, and Leon Pinelo knew of Lumnius from Solorzano. In addition Barcia included "Federico Lumnio" in the list of authors he appended to the 1729 edition of Garcia's *Origen*.

Lumnius' *De Extremo Dei Iudicio* is largely concerned with abstruse theological points; this, together with his slim geographical knowledge, makes for a confusing book. For example, his references to India leave it unclear whether he means East or West India. . . .

**Lumnius introduced most of the theological arguments which were later advanced to indicate a Hebrew origin for the Indians.** The basis for his story of how the Jews got to America was the fourth book of Esdras whose authority Lumnius accepted despite its apocryphal standing. The authority of IV Kings and the prophet Isaiah supported the Esdras account. A detailed discussion of these passages and of the development of the biblical arguments for Indian origins will be given below [see the 1580 Juan Suarez de Peralta notation]; briefly Lumnius' argument was that the ten tribes of Hebrews exiled to various parts of the Assyrian Empire by Shalmaneser had escaped to Arsareth which Lumnius identified as India (America).

**1567**    **Gilbert Genebrard**        ***Chronographia in duos libros distincta. Prior est de rebus veteris populi (G. G. auctore); posterior, recentes historias . . . coplectitur (A. Pontaco . . . auctore).*** 2 pts., Paris, 1567.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 35] Spanish writers who adopted or commented upon the Hebrew origin theory generally did not cite other contemporary authors as sources for their opinions. When they did, the most frequently cited work was the *Chronographia* of Gilbert Genebrard, French cosmographer and clergyman. The book appeared at Paris in 1567, and was widely used in Europe (Prince, 1915:79). But even before Genebrard broadcast the Jewish origin theory, several Spanish friars working in Mexico had arrived at the same conclusions. Two of them, Juan Suarez de Peralta and Diego Duran, had completed their manuscripts around 1580. A third, Juan de Tovar worked with Duran and supplied both his own and Duran's work to Joseph de Acosta for use in his *Historia natural y moral*.

**1568-72**    **Bernal Diaz del Castillo (1492-1584?)**

*Bernal Diaz del Castillo* was a 21-year old soldier in the army of Cortez in 1519 when Cortez began his conquest of Mexico. He had come twice to the New World previous to the expedition of Cortes. Eventually, Bernal Diaz retired to Guatemala City, where he wrote his most informative book entitled *The Discovery and Conquest of New Spain*. This 478-page book was **written between the years 1568-1572. It was first published in 1632**, long after his death. It was translated from the original Spanish into English by Maurice Keatinge, the first English **edition being published in London, 1800**. This book is a classic, as it provides a first-hand Spanish account of the Conquest of Mexico (1519-1521) This history, though rough in its literary style, has remained a standard historical authority on the conquest of Mexico. Diaz died in Nicaragua, about 1593.

The following are passages in *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico: Written in the Year 1568* by Captain Bernal Diaz Del Castillo, One of the Conquerors, and translated from the Original Spanish by Maurice Keatinge, esq. With an Introduction by Arthus D. Howden Smith. First Edition, London, 1800. Reprinted, New York, October, 1927:

[Introduction: pp. v-vi] Stout, old Bernal Diaz del Castillo may have been a good soldier--he very ingenuously says that he was; he certainly was an excellent chronicler. Without his "Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana" we should know nothing of the more intimate aspects of one of the world's most dramatic episodes. . . . We should have to rest our conception of the destruction of the Aztec Empire upon the three surviving letters of the four which Cortes wrote to Charles V. . . .

Cortes, like all conquerors, was a confirmed egotist. His reports were designed to emphasize his value to his sovereign, and he was careful not to put forward his lieutenants lest one of them be selected to supplant him. What he deemed unfavorable to his own interests he suppressed; points which he considered advantageous he elaborated. Then, a few years after his death, appeared the formal history of the Conquest written by Gomara, who had been his chaplain and retained that posit in the household of his son Don Martin. Valuable as this work undoubtedly is, based on the statements and vanished papers of the first Marquis of the Valley, and probably checked by the oral traditions of other members of the family, it is marred by a sycophancy and untruthfulness which extort from Bernal Diaz the comment: "Where he has written eighty thousand, we should read one thousand."

Gomara's history evidently was the last straw to Bernal Diaz, who had nursed for years a very human resentment against the prevailing idea that the Conquest was the work of Cortes alone, the product of a

superman's genius, although, apart from this, he retained for his old general an unblemished affection and admiration. So he sat himself down in the royal audencia of the city of Guatemala, in the year 1568--that is, some fifty years after the events of the Conquest--and addressed himself to the novel task of inscribing his recollections . . .

[vii]

[xi] A marvelous story! And Bernal Diaz conveys it to you adequately because he is so artlessly sincere as to trench upon the preserves of art. . . . the impression he conveys of the character of the extraordinary woman, who was for a time Cortes' mistress and wrought more for the conqueror than either of the colorless wives he found in Cuba and Old Spain. Consider, too, the conclusion of his description of the invaders' first arrival on the outskirts of the Aztec capital: "When I beheld the scenes that were around me, I thought within myself that this was the garden of the world! But all is destroyed, and that which was a lake is now a tract of fields of Indian corn, and so entirely altered that the natives themselves could hardly know it."

[xiii] As to the question of his memory, it should be recalled that he was a very old man when he wrote his history. He says that he left his birthplace, Medina del Campo of Old Castile, in 1514, when he probably was not more than eighteen. This would make him seventy-two at the commencement of his chronicle, and seventy-six at its conclusion "on this twenty sixth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and seventy two."

[xiv] Having passed the scrutiny of the Council of the Indies and the clerical authorities, **it was first published in 1632**, long, long after our Conquistador had been interred in some forgotten cemetery of Guatamala City

While Bernal Diaz focused quite darkly on the idolatry and human sacrifices of the natives, he nevertheless communicated in his narrative a healthy respect for their civilization. He writes:

[pp. 76-77] On the ensuing day we were visited by many chiefs of the neighboring districts, who brought with them presents of gold wrought into various forms, some resembling the human faces, others of animals, birds, and beasts, such as lizards, dogs, and ducks. . . . They also brought some mantles of very large size, but that part of the present which we held in the highest estimation was twenty women, among whom was the excellent Donna Marina, for so she was called after her baptism. Cortes thanked the chiefs for their visit, but caused it to be intimated to them, that the certain indication of peace was, the return of the inhabitants to their town . . . "which" was accordingly complied with in the time prescribed. They also being called on to renounce their idolatrous worship, declared a ready assent upon that point. Cortes explained to them the mysteries of our true faith, and those parts of it which are represented in the crucifix, and the image of our Holy Virgin. To this the caciques replied that they admired the "Tecleciguate," which in their language signifies a great princess. . . .

On the ensuing day, an altar being built and the crucifix erected, the town of Tabasco changed its name for that of Santa Maria de la Vitoria. The twenty Indian women who had been brought to us, were upon this occasion baptized, the Rev. Father Bartholome de Olmedo preaching to them many good things touching our holy faith. Donna Marina, the principal of them, was a woman of high rank, which indeed she shewed in her appearance; and these were the first christian women in New Spain; Cortes gave one to each of his captains . . .

[p. 79] The young native who was baptized by the name of Donna marina, and who rendered such essential series in the sequel, was the daughter of the chief or Prince of Painala, a powerful lord who had several districts subject to him, eight leagues from Guacacualco. He dying while this lady was an infant, his widow married another chief, a young man, by whom she had a son whom they determined to place in succession after them. They therefore gave this girl to certain Indians of Xicalango to carry off secretly, and caused it to be rumoured that she was dead; which report they corroborated by taking the advantage of the death of a child about her age, the daughter of a slave. The people of Xicalango gave her to those of Tabasco, and the latter to Cortes, by whom who was presented to a cavalier named Alonzo Hernandez



Puertocarrero: when he went to Old Castille, Cortes took her to himself, and had by her a son who was named Don Martin Cortes, and who was a commander of the order of St. Jago. She afterwards on our expedition to Higuera married a cavalier named Juan Xaramillo.

Donna Marina had by her birth an universal influence and consequence through these countries; she was of a fine figure, frank manners, prompt genius, and intrepid spirit; an excellent linguist, and of most essential service to Cortes whom she always accompanied. . . .

Diaz also mentions the following incident relative to the ancestors of the Indians:

[p. 143] The Flascalan chiefs then produced for our inspection large cloths of nequen, whereon were painted representations of their various battles. The discourse afterwards turned upon themselves and their nation. They said that their ancestors had told them, that in former times the country was inhabited by men and women of great stature, and wicked manners, whom their ancestors had at length extirpated; and in order that we might judge of the bulk of these people, they brought us a bone which had belonged to one of them, so large, that when placed upright it was as high as a middling sized man; it was the bone between the knee and the hip; I stood by it, and it was of my height, though I am as tall as the generality of men. I They brought also pieces of other bones of great size, but much consumed by time; but the one I have mentioned was entire; we were astonished at these remains, and thought that they certainly demonstrated the former existence of giants. This bone we sent to Castille for his Majesty's inspection, by the first persons who went on our affairs from hence. The chiefs also told us how their idols had predicted, that men should come from distant parts where the sun rises, to subjugate the country, and that they believed us to be those of whom their gods had spoken.

On page 557 Diaz states:

When I had written out fairly this my history, two licentiates requested me to lend it to them for their perusal, in order that they might know in detail the occurrences which happened in the conquest of New Spain, and also that they might see what difference existed between my account, and those of Gomara and the Doctor Illescas, relative to the heroic actions of the Marquis Del Valle.

**[1570] Francisco Cervantes de Salazar *Cronica de la Nueva Espana*. M. Magallon (ed.). Madrid:**

(Atlantis) Hispanic Society of America, 1914. **Completed c. 1570.**

According to Lee Eldridge Huddleston [p. 28] the Atlantis theory was recorded by a number of writers following the time of Zarate (1555), but without any new ideas. Francisco Cervantes de Salazar also accepted Zarate's ideas on Atlantis. Interestingly, although his book was not published until 1914, his manuscript was used by Antonio de Herrera in the early seventeenth century and by Andres Barcia in 1729.

**[1570s] Juan de Tovar *Relacion del origen de los indios que habitan esta Nueva Espana***

(Israelitish) ***segun sus historias***, Manuel Orozca y Berra (ed.). Mexico: Editorial Leyenda, 1944. Manuscript lost-- found again in 1856. Known as *Codice Ramirez*: only since the 1940s has Tovar been

accepted as its author.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 35-36] Spanish writers who adopted or commented upon the Hebrew origin theory generally did not cite other contemporary authors as sources for their opinions. When they did, the most frequently cited work was the *Chronographia* of Gilbert Genebrard, French cosmographer and clergyman. The book appeared at Paris in 1567, and was widely used in Europe. But even before Genebrard broadcast the Jewish origin theory, several Spanish friars working in Mexico had arrived at the same conclusions. Two of them, Juan Suarez de Peralta and Diego Duran, had completed their manuscripts around 1580. A third, Juan de Tovar worked with Duran and supplied both his own and Duran's work to Joseph de Acosta for use in his *Historia natural y moral* (1589-1590). . . . Juan de Tovar, a relative of Duran, wrote his manuscript in the 1570s. The manuscript was lost and not found again until 1856.

Note\* See the 1580 Duran notation.

**[1572] Pedro Pizarro**                    ***Relacion del Descubrimiento y Conquista de Los Reinos del Peru.*** Original

manuscript presented in Arequipa, Peru on 28 March 1572. **First printed in the late 1870's.** (Current edition with notes and preliminary considerations by Guillermo Lohmann Villena and Pierre Duviols by Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru, 1986)

David Calderwood writes:

[p. 29] Another chronicler who experienced first hand the conquest of Peru was Pedro Pizarro, a first cousin of Francisco Pizarro and Francisco's three brothers, Juan, Hernando, and Gonzalo. In January 1530, as a fifteen year old, Pedro Pizarro joined the expedition of Francisco Pizarro, initially as a page and subsequently as a soldier. he was a n eye-witness and participant of the conquest of Peru and the post-conquest colonization period. He wrote his *Relacion del Descubrimiento y Conquista de Los Reinos del Peru.* (Account of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru) in 1571 while living in Arequipa, Peru, where he served as mayor for a time. **This manuscript was not published until at least 1844** in Martin Fernandez de Navarrete's *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de Espana*, Volume V, pages 201-388, Madrid 1844). Translated into English and annotated by Philip Ainsworth Means, The Cortes Society, New York, 1921.

[p. 320-321] Pedro Pizarro, who participated in the conquest of Peru, claimed that the people of the Inca Indians, at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, were white or light-skinned. Pizarro described the Indians: "The people of this kingdom of Peru were white, a light brown color, and among the lords and ladies, they were even more white, like the Spaniards." (Pizarro, Spanish Edition: 241) It would appear that he was referring only to the Inca nobility and not to all of the Indians in Peru. Pizarro further described them:

There were some tall women, not among the daughters of the kings, but among those of the Orejones, their kinsmen. These women were very clean and dainty, and they wore their black hair long over their shoulders. They considered themselves beautiful, and almost all of the daughters of the Lords and Orejones were so. The Indian women of the Guancas, Chachapoyas, and Canares were normally the

most beautiful and refined. The rest of the women of Peru were thick, neither beautiful nor ugly. (Ibid. 242)

Source: David G. Calderwood, *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, Austin, Texas: Historical Publications, Inc., 2005.

**[1572] Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa** *Historia de los Incas*. Edition and Introduction by Angel (Atlantis + Greece) Rosenblat. Manuscript finished in 1572. (**First Spanish edition printed in 1942** by EMECE, S.A., Buenos Aires)  
First published in 1906?

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 30] Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's book, *Historia de los Incas* (first published in 1906) contained **the fullest statement to date of a particular origin theory**.

As a starting point, Sarmiento accepted the old Platonic legend of Atlantis. From that he **postulated a pan-Atlantic continent reaching from Cadiz across the central Atlantic to include the Antilles and the American continent** Atlantis was settled in regular order by the descendants of Noah by way of Spain and North Africa. These settlers produced a great empire which expanded even into those parts now known as Espanola and Cuba. When Atlantis sank beneath the sea, about 1320 B.C., the Indies, the Canaries, and Cadiz were left. Those inhabitants who remained in the westernmost parts of the old empire produced the American Indians. Sarmiento thought the presence of flood legends among the Incas reflected their memory of the drowning of Atlantis.

Sarmiento felt, however, that there were certain characteristics of the Indians of Yucatan and New Spain which could not be explained by the Atlantis theory. He postulated that, after the fall of Troy, Ulysses sailed westward across the Atlantic and reached Yucatan.

**For those of that land have the Grecian bearing and Grecian dress** of the nation of Ulysses. They have many Greek words and use Greek letters. I myself have seen many signs and proofs of this. They call God "Teos" which is Greek. In passing through there, I heard that these people used to preserve a ship's anchor as a venerated idol. They surely are of Greek origin . . . And from there they could have populated all those provinces of Mexico. In this way it can be seen that New Spain and its provinces were Atlanteans.

David Calderwood writes:

[pp. 326-327] Tribes of white people also apparently inhabited the New World at different times and the natives reported to Spanish writers that many of them had disappeared. For example, Cieza de Leon wrote . . . about bearded white Indians neard the old Inca city of Huamanga (currently Ayacucho, Peru). . . Cieza de Leon was informed by the Indians about another group that anciently inhabited an island in Lake Titicaca [before the rule of the Incas] . . .

Concerning the origin of the Inca kings who reigned over the great Inca empire when the Spaniards arrived, all indications suggest that they were probably remnants of the Tiwanakan society who eventually migrated to Cuzco sometime after Tiwanaku fell approximately 600 A.D. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa is

one of the chroniclers who suggested that the Incas arrived at Cuzco in approximately 600 A.D., close to the time that archaeologists, studying Tiwanaku, have suggested that Tiwanaku collapsed.

The assemblage of reports from various sources provided a substantial base to believe that the Inca royalty were "white" people with a strong technical culture. . . .

From the description of the Andean Indians, those . . . ancient buildings at Huamanga (Ayacucho, Peru) not far from Cuzco were constructed by bearded white men who predated the Incas' reign in Cuzco. Huamanga was likely part of the Tiwanakan empire. The Incas worshiped the same deity that was worshiped by the Tiwanakans, Ticci Viracocha, whose statue was erected in the main plaza at Tiwanaku, near modern La Paz, Bolivia, hundreds of years before the Inca kings settled at Cuzco. They likely took a knowledge of Ticci Viracocha, their creator god, with them to Cuzco.

[p. 373] The chronicler Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa . . . wrote that, while Tupa Inca Yupanqui [late 1400's] was conquering the coast of Peru and Ecuador, some strangers arrived on the coast near Tumbes by large sail-powered rafts. They reportedly told the Lord Inca that they came from some islands called *Auachumbi* and *Ninachumbe*.

The natives reported that Tupa Inca Yupanqui built a large number of rafts and sailed towards the west with a 20,000 man army. Tupa Inca Yupanqui found the two Islands and he returned bringing with him a few people from those islands who were described as black. He also brought back considerable gold, a large brass chair, and the hide and jawbone of a horse. According to Sarmiento, these trophies were kept at the fort in Cask until the Spaniards arrived. Sarmiento added that the skin and the jawbone subsequently were entrusted to an Inca nobleman by the name of Urco Guaranga, who was still living in Cask at the time Sarmiento wrote his manuscript and from whom Sarmiento learned the details of the account. (Sarmiento 217) Sarmineto did not claim to have personally seen the jawbone and horse hide.

Source: David G. Calderwood, *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, Austin, Texas: Historical Publications, Inc., 2005.

1572 Benito Arias Montano "Phaleg, sive de gentium sedibus primis, oribisque terrae situ," in

*Biblia Sacra* ("Polyglot Bible of Antwerp"). Antwerp, 1569-1572.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 40-42] **The first clear statement of the Ophirian theory, which traced the Indians to a great-great-grandson of Noah named Ophir, appeared about 1572 in the *apparatus criticus* written for the famous Polyglot Bible of Antwerp (1569-1572) by the editor, Benito Arias Montano**, chaplain to Philip II. The comments on the Ophirian origin of the Indians occur in the portion of the *apparatus* dealing with Genesis 10:25 ("And unto Eber were born two sons; the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided; and his brother's name was Joktan.") Arias Montano called this section "Phaleg, sive de gentium sedibus primis, oribisque terrae situ," and, as a consequence, writers who knew of his arguments referred to his *Phaleg*. . . .

Just as those more familiar with New Spain than with Peru tended to accept some form of the Lost Tribe theory, those who were most familiar with Peru tended toward the Ophirian theory. Some confusion over what the Ophirian theory is has resulted from the fact that **those who first mentioned the story did not make clear what they meant**, did they mean to say that the Indians descended from people who

went to Ophir in the time of Solomon? In that case the Indians would be Jews. Some writers have taken this as the meaning without realizing that there was an alternative. It seems most likely that the writers who referred to Ophir meant to show that in the time of Solomon the land of Ophir was already settled and named. The settlement came long before Solomon, and it was a non-Jewish people who settled it.

[Note\* Huddleston considers any family lineage of the Old Testament other than that of the tribe of Judah to be "non-Jewish"]

The passages relating to Ophir are I Kings 9:26-28; 10:11; and II Chronicles 8:18; 9:10 (RSV):

King Solomon built a fleet of ships at Ezion-geber, which is near Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent with thee fleet his servants, seamen who were familiar with the sea, together with the servants of Solomon; and they went to Ophir, and brought from there gold, to the amount of four hundred and twenty talents; and they brought it to King Solomon.

Moreover the fleet of Hiram, which brought gold from Ophir, brought from Ophir a great amount of almug wood and precious stones (I Kings 9:26-28, 10:11).

This story is repeated almost verbatim in II Chron. 8:18, 9:10--the only difference being that "almug wood" is "algum wood" in the Chronicles version. Most writers of the period included II Chron. 9:21 ("For the king's ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram; once every three years the ships of Tarshish used to come bringing gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks.") as part of the Ophir story, although they understood that the voyage lasted three years.

**1575 Jeronimo Roman y Zamora *Republicas de Indias, idolatrias y governo en Mexico y Peru antes de***

***la conquista.*** 2 vols. Madrid: J. Garcia. "Coleccion de libros raros o curiosos que tratan de America." Vols. 14 and 15., 1897. First published 1575.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 30-31] Augustinian friar Jeronimo Roman y Zamora served many years in the New World before he wrote his *Republicas de Indias, idolatrias y governo en Mexico y Peru antes de la conquista*. Nevertheless, he could not decide where the Indians had come from. **He thought they had certainly experienced some pre-Columbian contact with Christians** because some of the Yucatecan tribes knew of the cross and the Trinity, and some of those in Cholula celebrated an idolatrous version of Easter.

But what was their original source? Roman y Zamora did not think that they descended from Hebrews. True, the Indians of Yucatan practiced circumcision in connection with religion; but that practice was not peculiar to the Jews. Nor did he think word similarities such as Yucatan and Ictan (a great-great grandson of Noah) could be considered decisive, because the Indians had words that sounded like Latin, Tuscan, French, Spanish, and even Greek. Fray Jeronimo simply dismissed the theory that the Indians descended from ancient Spaniards as "another mistake".

The only certainty, said Roman y Zamora, is that the Indians "are descended from Adam." Also all men and animals except those on the Ark perished in the Flood; and those men now in the world descended from Noah's sons. But whether the line of Japheth, Shem, or Ham populated the New World or any other particular area must remain unknown, because only the Hebrews know their full genealogy.

**[1576] Diego Garcia de Palacio "Carta dirigida al Rey" in Documents concerning the Discovery and**

**Conquest of America**, Ephraim G. Squier, 1860.

Diego Garcia de Palacio was a Spanish soldier who came to Guatemala from Spain. As auditor of Guatemala in 1576, he made a report to King Philip II of Spain. In this letter he mentions the ancient site of Copan and that the characters on the monuments reminded him of monks and bishops. This was the first-ever mention of the ruins of Copan. This report was published in 1860 by Ephraim G. Squier in his "Documents concerning the Discovery and Conquest of America" under the title of "Carta dirigida al Rey." In 1580 he became auditor to Mexico.

Note\* It was not until 1699 that a second mention of this ancient site of Copan appears on record, in an account written by Antonio de Fuentes y Guzman who, nevertheless, probably never visited Copan in person and based his account on somebody else's version of it.

In 1834, as a result of his first official commission by the Government of Central America, Juan Galindo prepared the first illustrated report of Copan, including a rough map, als well as cross-sections and plans of several buildings and even drawingsd of some of the monuments. To Galilindo must also go the credit for conducting the first excavation at the site, when he dug and recorded a tomb in the Eastern Court.

In 1839, John Lloyd Stephens and Frederick Catherwood spent several weeks in Copan, clearing the vegetation and carrying out detailed drawings and a map. The publication of their work, in the famous two-volume chronicle of their trip, put Copan in the world limelight for the first time.

Source:

<http://www.mesoweb.com/copan/tour/history.html> ; <http://famousamericans.net/diegogarciadepalacio/>

Note\* See the 1842 comments on geography.

**[1576] Pero de Magalhaes      *The Histories of Brasil.* John B. Stetson (trans). 2 vols. New York: (Chinese)      The Cortes Society, 1922. **Written in the 1570's.****

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 31] Galvao's Chinese theory [see the 1555 notation] received a boost from a fellow-Portuguese, Pero de Magalhaes, in 1576. In his *Historia de provincia Sancta Cruz* . . . Magalhaes noted the flatted face of the Brazilian Indians and suggested that they strongly resembled the Chines. This did not constitute an endorsement of the Chinese theory, but the hint was there.

**1577 Richard Eden**      ***The History of Travel in the West and East Indies.*** London, 1577.

Dan Vogel writes:

Eden discusses Indian origins and the cause of their skin color (4-5).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

**1578 William Bourne**      ***Booke Called a Treasure for Travellers.*** London: Thomas Woodcocke, 1578.

See also *A Regiment for the Sea and other Writings on Navigation*. E. G. R.

Taylor (ed.). Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, 1963.

Justin Winsor writes, "Among the earlier English discussions [concerning American Indian origins] is that of Wm. Bourne in his *Booke called the Treasure for Travellers* (Lodnon, 1578), where a section is given to 'The Peopling of America.' "

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 369.

**[1580] Juan Suarez de Peralta**      ***Tratado del descubrimiento de las Indias y su conquista*** . .  
. Justo

(Israelitish + mixed)      Zaragoza (ed.). Madrid, 1878. Written ca. 1580. See also *Noticias*

*historicas de Nueva Espana*. Justo Zaragoza (ed.). Mexico:

Secretaria de Educacion Publica, 1949. Reprint of 1878 edition.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 35-38] Spanish writers who adopted or commented upon the Hebrew origin theory generally did not cite other contemporary authors as sources for their opinions. When they did, the most frequently cited work was the *Chronographia* of Gilbert Genebrard, French cosmographer and clergyman. The book appeared at Paris in 1567, and was widely used in Europe. But even before Genebrard broadcast the Jewish origin theory, several Spanish friars working in Mexico had arrived at the same conclusions. Two of them, Juan Suarez de Peralta and Diego Duran, had completed their manuscripts around 1580. . . .

Juan Suarez de Peralta's *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Indias* (1580) remained unpublished until 1878. . . . Peralta was the earliest identifiable Spaniard to endorse the Lost Tribes of Israel theory, and even his acceptance was qualified. He based his opinion "in the authority of Chapter xiii of the fourth book of *Esdras*". The passages to which Suarez de Peralta referred read:

These are the ten tribes which were led away captive out of their own land in the days of Josiah the king, which (tribes) Shalmanassar the king of the Assyrians led away captive; he carried them across the river; and (thus) they were transported into another land. But they took council among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep their statutes which they had not kept in their own land. And they entered by the narrow passages of the river Euphrates. For the Most High then wrought wonders for them and stayed the springs of the River until they were passed over. And through that country there was a great way to go, (a journey) of a year and a half; and that region was called Arzareth. There they have dwelt until the last times; and now when they are about to come again, the Most High will again stay the springs of the River, that they may be able to pass over (IV *Esdras* 13:40-47)

Suarez de Peralta interpreted this to mean that the Ten Tribes taken captive by Shalmaneser had escaped to a land called Arzareth. This Arzareth was obviously near America and some of the Jews had migrated to it. He supported this conclusion by citing the similarity of certain Aztec words to Hebrew words, and by claiming both peoples had similar idolatries. He did not, however, claim the Lost Tribes as the exclusive populators of the New World. In fact, he thought that the first settlers probably came before the Flood. His authority for this belief was Genesis 6:4, which said that there were "giants on the Earth" in the days before the Flood. Since bones of giants had been reported in Mexico and Peru, obviously America had been peopled by giants who had drowned in the Flood.

Suarez de Peralta found it difficult to believe that all the Indians descended from the same people or from the same colony. He did not think that the natives of Labrador and Florida came from the same stock as those near the Strait of Magellan. Consequently, he accepted the Carthaginian theory to explain the population of the Islands. He further proposed an Ethiopian or Egyptian origin for certain Indians of new Spain because they shared with the Egyptians and Ethiopians the custom of allowing women to enter business and public affairs, and "the men stay at home to weave and labor; and the women urinate standing and the men while seated," and both men and women carry out the necessities of nature in public.

Suarez de Peralta also introduced the question whether the Indians descended from Canaan, the son of Ham cursed by Noah for his father's sin. His opinion on this point was somewhat unclear. Since the Indies were peopled from various sources, the opinion that they descended from "the accursed Canaan, can thus be true in part and not in whole." But the descendants of Ham (Canaan) were widely dispersed and all the people who came to America were either his descendants or were influenced by them for "realmente los indios proceden del maldito Chanaan".

The Canaanite theory of Indian origins (or as it is frequently called by those who confuse the object of the curse, the theory that the Indians descended from Ham) was not a [strictly] *Jewish* origin theory. To qualify as a Jewish origin the progenitors must be members of one of the twelve tribes of Hebrews. The designation of all Hebrews as Jews, though technically incorrect, is an ancient device. . . . Most of the Hebrew tribes disappeared after the "captivity" and those left were predominantly of the tribe of Judah. [However] the custom grew of calling all Hebrews Jews. . . .

The Canaanites were not Hebrews, even under the loosest interpretations. The modern tendency to think of most peoples mentioned in the Old Testament as Jews confuses the issue. Suarez evidently did not distinguish these peoples very clearly. Nonetheless, the Canaanite origin theory is a separate tradition in itself as later writers would indicate with greater clarity. No doubt it was current throughout the sixteenth century. It seems unlikely that those who supported Indian slavery would have ignored the "curse of Ham/Canaan." **It does appear, however, that Suarez de Peralta first expressed it.**



[1581]^ **Diego Duran** *Historia de las Indias de Nueva Espana y Islas de Tierra Firme.* Jose F.

(1537-1588) Ramirez and Alfredo Chavero (eds.). 3 vols. Mexico: Editoria Nacional, 1951. **Written by 1580.** See also *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, Translated, Annotated, and with an Introduction by Doris Heyden, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1994

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 33-34] Many of the early writers have been credited with a belief in the Judaic origin of the Indians. Mrs. Simon, in common with Lord Kingsborough's other disciples, claimed that virtually all the early Spanish writers believed this theory." Many modern authorities, such as Imbelloni and Wauchope accept the attribution of such a belief to Las Casas [1559], Oviedo [1551], Garcia [1607], Juan de Torquemada [1613], Diego Duran [1580], and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala [1613]. Of these six men, all writing before 1613, only one--Diego Duran--clearly committed himself to the Hebrew origin theory.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 40] The friars of Mexico, working as they did with the Aztec legends of vast migrations, came more readily to the Lost Tribes theory than those working in other areas. The legendary wanderings of the Aztecs found a responsive chord in the Christian steeped in the traditions of the Jewish Exodus. By the last quarter of the sixteenth century the work of such men as Motolinia, Sahagun, Duran, Tovar, and Suarez de Peralta had made the Aztecs' oral history available. It was not until the Aztecs' own views about their history became widely known that the obvious though superficial, parallels with Jewish traditions could be made. Furthermore, it was not until these comparisons had been made that writers began to make extensive use of biblical and related traditions to explain and support their theories. Most writers on Indian origins before 1580 did not use the Bible in constructing their theories. Many relied exclusively on nonbiblical literary sources. Most went no further into the Scripture than to insist that all men descended from Adam through Noah. It will be noted that the basis for the Lost Tribes theory lies primarily in the Apocrypha, not in the Bible. The Apocrypha were widely known to the educated classes of Europe through the numerous commentaries on the Bible. It is uncertain how much of this knowledge filtered down to the commoners.

Once begun, the practice of basing origin theories in Scripture mushroomed. But at no time was this method used to the exclusion of others. Biblical exegesis was useless without information about the Indians usable for comparative purposes. Nor did biblical exegesis ever dominate the search for known quantities with which to compare the Indians. At any given time there were probably more men working from nonscriptural sources for their comparative material.

Just as those more familiar with New Spain than with Peru tended to accept some form of the Lost Tribe theory, those who were most familiar with Peru tended toward the Ophirian theory.

In the "Translator's Introduction," Doris Heyden writes the following:

Three mendicant Orders sent missions soon after the conquest, the Franciscans arriving in 1524, the Dominicans in 1526, and the Augustinians in 1533. Diego Duran, author of the present *History*, did not, however come with the first group ;of twelve Dominicans. He arrived a little later as a small child, having been born in Seville. . . . It was in Tezcoco that he learned Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs. When Diego was still young his family moved to nearby Mexico City. . . .In 1556, in his late teens, [he] entered the Dominican Order as a novice. He resided for a time in Huaxtepec, where he was influenced by "a most honest priest, a man who was jealous of the glory of God and of his doctrines," who, we believe, was Fray Francisco de Aguilar. Aguilar had been a soldier under Cortes before entering the Dominican Order and had much to tell Duran about the conquest. . . . One of the important characteristics of his research is that he ventured into rural areas, questioning the old and the young in their own language, observing their customs, and always searching for ancient documents, which he thought might include lost Holy Scripture written in Hebrew. He suspected, as did many in his day, that the people of Mexico were one of the lost tribes of Israel and that Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl, the hero-god of native history, was the apostle Saint-Thomas. In his search for evidence in support of this idea and in concert with his missionary work among the native people, he discovered pictorial manuscripts that he incorporated into his *History*, which unfortunately have not been preserved. . . .

Duran produced three works: the *Book of the Gods and Rites*, written between 1574 and 1576 . . . ; the *Ancient Calendar*, finished in 1579; and the present *History* . . . in 1581. . . . By speaking the language of the people and by participating actively in the same colonial milieu, Duran had access to many customs and beliefs that might otherwise have escaped him, and much of this information found its way into his writings. . . . He served as translator from Nahuatl to Spanish for the Inquisition. His death came in 1588.

Duran's works were known by some of his contemporaries. . . . Jesuit Juan de Tovar wrote a *Segunda relacion* basing much of his material on Duran's work. . . . In 1590 Acosta published his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, in which he stated that his principal source for works on Mexico was Juan de Tovar. . . .

While Duran was carrying out his missionary work . . . to finish his first two books, the spiritual climate in Mexico had been changing. The inquisition had been installed in New Spain . . . the mendicant Orders were being replaced by the secular clergy, and as early as 1570 financial support for scribes was withdrawn throughout Mexico. From the very beginning, the intention of the mendicant friars had been to understand the native cultures, especially their religion, in order to carry out the evangelization. . . .

The early friars . . . had millennialist ideas, which eventually led the crown to fear a separatist movement and possible loss of the colony. . . . In 1575 the council adopted restrictive policies and condemned works written in native languages that were considered to be subversive. . . . In the specific case of Duran's manuscript, entitled *Historia de las Yndias de la Tierra Firme*, it eventually was deposited in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. . . . Here it remained forgotten until the 1850s. . . .

[Note\* Chapter 1 is important because it demonstrates the reasoning of Duran in regards to Indian origins. Because Duran's writings were influential to others of his time I have chosen to put his comments here in 1581 rather than at the actual publication date of 1867.]

[pp. 3-11] Chapter 1

Which treats of the possible place of origin of the Indians of these Indies,  
the Islands, and Mainland of this New Spain.

In order to provide a truthful and reliable account of the origin of these Indian nations, an origin so doubtful and obscure, we would need some divine revelation or assistance, to reveal this origin to us and

help us understand it. However, lacking that revelation we can only speculate and conjecture about these beginnings, basing ourselves on the evidence provided by these people, whose strange ways, conduct, and lowly actions are so like those of the Hebrews. Thus we can almost positively affirm that they are Jews and Hebrews, and I would not commit a great error if I were to state this as fact, considering their way of life, their ceremonies, their rites and superstitions, their omens and hypocrisies, so akin to and characteristic of those of the Jews; in no way do they seem to differ. The Holy Scriptures bear witness to this, and from them we draw proofs and reasons for holding this opinion to be true.

As proof thereof, we know that this newly arrived nation, latecomers from strange and remote regions, made a long and tedious journey, searching and finally taking possession of this land. They spent many months and years in coming to this place. The truth of this matter can be found by drawing on their traditions and paintings and by talking to their elders, some of whom are very old.

There are some people who tell fables about this subject. To wit, some say that the Indians were born of pools and springs; others that they were born of caves; still others, that they descended from the gods. All of this is clearly fabulous and shows that the natives themselves are ignorant of their origin and beginnings, inasmuch as they always profess to have come from strange lands. And I have found these things depicted in their painted manuscripts, where they portray great periods of hunger, thirst, and nakedness, with innumerable other afflictions that they suffered until they reached this land and settled it.

All of these things confirm my suspicions that these natives are part of the ten tribes of Israel that Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrians, captured and took to Assyria in the time of Hoshea, king of Israel, and in the time of Ezekias, king of Jerusalem, as can be read in the fourth Book of Kings, chapter XVII. Here it is stated that Israel was taken from its own land to Assyria. And Ezra, in book four, chapter XIII, says about these people that they went to live in a remote and distant country that had never before been inhabited. There was a long and wearisome journey of a year and a half to reach the region of the Islands and the Mainland, to the west and beyond the seas, where today these people are found.

Other evidence found in the Holy Writ that can be cited to prove this idea is that God, in Hoshea, chapters I and II, and II up to XII, is said to have promised to multiply ten tribes of Israel, making them as numerous as sands of the sea. And the fact that they have taken possession of a large part of the world clearly and manifestly shows how great was this increase. But leaving [the biblical text] and coming to what the Spaniards saw in this country, one thing that amazed them was the large number of people they found here. This was remarked by [the Spaniards] who came early to this country, before the great plague of thirty-three years ago, when so many people died that not even a third of the Indians who lived here before the plague survived. And this does not include the innumerable men, women, and children killed by the Spaniards during the conquest a few years earlier.

The curious reader can find many other proofs in the Scriptures: in Deuteronomy, chapters IV and XXVIII and XXXII; in Isaiah, chapters XX, XXVIII, XLII; Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, and Zephaniah, which tell of the rigorous punishment that God predicted would befall these ten tribes because of their wickedness and evil doings and infamous idolatries, which made them stray from belief in the true God, from whom they had received so many benefits. In the pages I have mentioned it is told that, in return for such ingratitude, God promised a scourge and severe punishment. And it must be noted that it was prophesied that these people would lose their lands, homes, and treasures, their jewels and precious stones, their wives and children; and they would be taken to foreign lands and be sold there, while others were to take possession of their estate.

It seems to me that even without other explanation we have here sufficient proof that these Indians descend from the Hebrews. On their migration, during the long years of their journey, they were few in number, yet we have seen that they have multiplied like the sands of the sea.

And after they had populated this vast world, God tired of tolerating their abominations and evil doings and idolatries, so He brought alien people. Like an eagle that comes from the end of the earth, and without mercy He destroyed them. They were kept in hunger, in thirst, in nudity, and in perpetual exhaustion, until they were humbled, cowed, defeated. . . .

Having resolved the question whether these people are hebrews and from the Jewish nation with the aid of authorities who have come to this country, I wish to prove the same idea with other reasons, such as those based on the authority of the Sacred Scriptures.

Among the narrations of these people that tell of their coming to possess and inhabit this territory, I often find great differences among the old people who tell these tales regarding the events, toils, and afflictions that took place during their journey. yet, when they narrate this story, some one way and some another, their different accounts seem to describe that long, tedious road traveled by the children of Israel who went from Egypt to the promised land, told so vividly that I could cite passages from Exodus or Leviticus to show the resemblance--but I do not want to be prolix. I do not intend to follow the order of these narrations. I only wish, in order to make my point, to relate some of the difficulties and misfortunes, famines, and pestilences, that they claim they suffered during their migration. We shall see that in fact this is nothing other than the story told in the Sacred Scriptures, handed down by their ancestors.

These people have traditions regarding a great man. They told me that after he had suffered many afflictions and persecutions from his countrymen he gathered the multitude of his followers and persuaded them to flee from that persecution to a land where they could live in peace. Having made himself leader of those people, he went to the seashore and moved the waters with a rod that he carried in his hand. then the sea opened up and he and his followers went through. And his enemies, seeing this opening made, pursued him, but the waters returned to their place and the pursuers were never heard of again.

What clearer proof do we need that these people were Jews than their own reference to the flight from Egypt, wherein Moses moved the waters with his rod, the sea opened up, a path appeared, and after Pharaoh followed with his army God caused the sea to return to its place, with the result that all their enemies drowned in the deep? And if this account is not convincing enough, I should like to tell about another event that the Aztecs claim happened on their long migration.

While they were camped by some high hills, a great, frightful earthquake occurred. This earth opened up and swallowed certain evil men who were among them, an occurrence that filled the other people with dread. having seen the painting of this event, I was reminded of the Book of Numbers, chapter XVI, where it is told how the earth opened up and swallowed Korah and Dathan and Abiram.

To provide another strong and clear proof of what I have been saying, I wish to relate that the same painting showed how sand or very fine hail rained on the people. When I inquired what this meant, I was told that sand from the sky rained on their forefathers continually during the journey they made to reach this land. If I am not deceived, this must be the same manna with which God sustained the Jews in the desert, as chapter XVI of Exodus relates.

That I may leave nothing untold, I wish to cite the Holy Writ in defense of my opinion. I take my theme from the first chapter of Genesis, which states: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Just so an aged man from Cholula, about one hundred years old, began to describe their origins to me. This man, who because of his great age walked bent over toward the earth, was quite learned in their ancient traditions. When I begged him to enlighten me about some details I wished to put into this history, he asked me what I wanted him to tell. I realized I had found an old and learned person, so I answered, all that he knew about the history of his Indian nation from the beginning of the world. he responded: "Take pen and paper, because you will not be able to remember all that I shall tell you." And began thus:

In the beginning, before light or sun had been created, this world lay in darkness and shadows and was void of every living thing. It was all flat, without a hill or ravine, surrounded on all sides by water, without even a tree or any other created thing. And then, when the light and sun were born in the east, men of monstrous stature appeared and took possession of this country. These giants, desirous of seeing the birth of the sun and its setting, decided to go seek [dawn and dusk], and they separated into two groups. One band walked toward the west and the other toward the east. The latter walked until the sea cut off their route; from here they decided to return to the place from which they had set out, called Iztac Zolin Inemian.

Not having found a way to reach the sun but enamored of its light and beauty, they decided to build a tower so high that its summit would reach unto heaven. And gathering materials for this building, the

giants found clay for bricks and an excellent mortar with which they began to build the tower very swiftly. When they had raised it as high as they could--and it seemed to reach to heaven--the Lord of the Heights became angry and said to the inhabitants of the heavens, "have you seen that the men of the earth have built a proud and lofty tower in order to come up here, enamored as they are of the light of the sun and of its beauty? Come, let us confound them, for it is not right that these earthlings, made of flesh, mingle with us." Then swift as lightning those who dwell in the heavens came out from the four regions of the world and tore down the tower that had been constructed. And the giants, bewildered and filled with terror, separated and fled in all directions.

That is how an Indian relates the creation of the world, and I do not believe it necessary to call attention to the resemblance of this account to chapters I and II of Genesis. [The sixth and eleventh chapters] of that book deal with giants and the tower of Babel and how men, ambitious to reach heaven, moved only by the desire to praise their own name, built the tower and because of this were confounded by God. Therefore I am convinced and wish to convince others that those who tell this account heard it from their ancestors; and these natives belong, in my opinion, to the lineage of the chosen people of God for whom He worked great marvels. And so the knowledge of the paintings of the things told in the bible and its mysteries have passed from hand to hand, from father to son. The people assign those events to this land, believing that they took place here, for they are ignorant of their own origins.

It cannot be denied, nor do I deny, that there have been giants in this country. I can affirm this because I have seen them, I have met men of monstrous stature here. I believe there are some in the city of Mexico who will remember, as I do, a gigantic Indian who appeared in a procession of the feast of Corpus Christi. He was dressed in yellow silk with a halberd at his shoulder and a helmet on his head. And he was all of a *vara* taller than the others.

I also believe that during such a long and tedious journey as that which these people pursued to come to this land they experienced great hardships. They tell of famines, plagues, thirst, tempests, wars, locusts that tormented them; of hailstorms that destroyed the fields they had sown along the way; and a thousand other obstacles and troubles that I find described in their chronicles. They undoubtedly brought chieftains and priests to guide them and instruct them in their ceremonies, although I doubt that these things were taken from the biblical account. Seeing that their stories are so like those found in the Holy Scriptures I cannot help but believe that [these Indians are the children of Israel]. . . .

What most forces me to believe that these Indians are of Hebrew descent is their strange insistence in clinging to their idolatries and superstitions, for they pay them much heed, just as their ancestors did. As David states, in Psalm 106, when the people were afflicted by God, they pleaded that He forgive them in His mercy; but then they forgot and returned to idolatry:

And they served their idols; which were a snare unto them. Ye, they sacrificed their sons and daughters unto devils. And shed innocent blood, event he blood of their sons and their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan: and the land was polluted with blood.

The only knowledge I have of the origins of these people, and the Indians know more than they relate, tells of the Seven Caves where their ancestors dwelt for such a long time, and which they abandoned in order to seek this land, some coming first and others later, until those caves were deserted. The caves are in Teocolhuacan, also called Aztlan, which we are told is found toward the north and near the region of La Florida.

Therefore, I shall now give the true account of these nations and their migration from the place of the caverns [according to the native accounts], although my own opinion of their origin seems more correct. But in everything I submit myself to the correction of the Holy Catholic Church. Thus, seven tribes of people went out from those seven caves called Chicomoztoc, where they lived, in search of this land. As they have no information relating to previous times and since they do not know their true origin, they claim that their ancestors were born of these caves.

[1586] Miguel Cabello Valboa *Miscelanea Antartica: Una Historia del Peru Antiguo.*  
Written in

manuscript form in 1586. (Introduction and Notes by Luis E. Valcarcel. Published by the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Facultad de letras, Instituto de Enologia, Lima 1951. See also *Obras*, Jacinto Jijon y Caamano (ed.). Vol. I, Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1945.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 42-45] One of the men who read Arias Montano's [1572] *Phaleg* had already worked out a similar thesis independently. Miguel Cabello Valboa completed his *Miscelanea Anthartica* around 1582. After reading *Phaleg* and discovering that its author agreed with him, he arranged his *Miscelanea* for publication. He completed the reorganization of his materials about 1586, but was not able to publish it. A French translation of a small part of the manuscript appeared in 1840, and a copy of the manuscript was published at Quito in 1945 and at Lima in 1951 with notes on the original. So far as this writer was able to determine, the *Miscelanea* was the first book devoted primarily to the question of the origins of the American Indians (Lumnus devoted only a dozen pages to the question), but Garcia's *Origen* was the first published book exclusively on the subject.

Cabello Valboa set a very difficult task for himself; indeed it was an impossible one. He planned to trace "the origin of these Indian nations from the beginning of the world." This necessitated discovering when the first settlers came to America, how they got there from which part of the Old World they departed for the New World, and by which genealogy they were connected to recognized biblical lines. Actually he proposed to write what must amount to little less than a history of human migrations. His sources of information consisted of the Bible, the commentators on the Bible, related texts, such as the Apocrypha, ancient authors, modern comments on America; and his own experience as a missionary in South America. His method was exegetical and comparative.

The author solved his greatest problem by deciding, on the basis of the similarities of the names *Peru* and *Ophir*, that the Indians descended from Ophir. Another proof lay in the similarity of the name *Yucatan* with *Iectan*, the name of Ophir's father. **Cabello Valboa now knew where to start his search for the way the Indians got to America. He had first to determine when Ophir and Iectan or their descendants left Mesopotamia. That proved easy. Given the diversity of languages in America, they must have left after Babel. After the confusion of tongues, Ophir moved to the Far East where he became the ancestor of the seafaring peoples of that area. From there the descendants of Ophir went to America where they settled in Peru and New Spain.**

Cabello Valboa again supported his contention by pointing up the derivation of *Peru* from *Ophir*, *Peru* having been named in honor of the racial ancestor of the natives. In addition, he said, the story of the voyage to Ophir in Solomon's day utilized the word "Parbaim," meaning "the two Perus." The second "Peru" was Yucatan, named in honor of Ophir's father. To those who argued that the word "Peru" was not current in that country when the Spanish arrived, Cabello Valboa responded that such was true. The natives had forgotten the name. However, it was preserved in the names of geographical features where the Spaniards found it and revived it.

Cabello Valboa did not rely wholly on biblical allusions. He spent several pages comparing the Indians of America with those of the East Indies. He argued that both used cotton for clothing and that their clothing styles were similar. Furthermore, both sat on the ground rather than use chairs or benches, and neither used tables. But what of the difference in skin color of the Indians and their progenitors? Skin

color, he said, changed because of "the influence of the Sky, and the force of the Stars, and the aridity of the winds which over a long period of time, turned the whiteness of their faces into that more or less black color."

From time to time Cabello Valboa interrupted his elaboration of his own story to take issue with a rival theory. He disagreed with Alijo Vanegas and the Carthaginian theory because in his opinion Hanno went to the Canary Islands and thence to the Red Sea. He did not go to the Indies. Cabello Valboa argued that Carthaginian cultural traits, religion, and writing were absent from the New World; therefore, the Carthaginians surely had not come to America.

[pp. 44-45] The *Miscelanea* appears to be little more than a collection of several papers Cabello Valboa prepared at different times on the subject of Ophir in the Indies. His reorganization for publication was not wholly successful. The book is filled with long digressions and virtually incomprehensible exegetical ramblings. The arguments are generally consistent, but continuity is frequently lost.

Since both Las Casas and Cabello Valboa derived the Indians from the East Indies, why did they differ so much? Las Casas, though he did propose an East Indian origin in his *Apologetica historia*, never firmly committed himself to any origin theory. He specifically denied that Solomon visited the New World; that point, however, was incidental to Cabello Valboa's argument. Las Casas, and those who later postulated an East Indian origin, differed from the Ophirites in a very basic fashion. True, both groups brought the Indians from the same place. But those who held to the Ophirian theory were not content to settle for a geographic derivation: they had to trace the *East* Indians to *their* origins. The Ophirian and Lost Tribes origin theories differed from most other theories in that they traced the Americans to their ultimate origin by connecting them with the biblical genealogies.

David Calderwood writes:

[pp. 48-49] Because many of the native American kingdoms believed in some kind of flood, many trace their origins to a post-diluvial period. One of the most interesting of the early chroniclers who supported the theory of a post-diluvial migration was a Catholic priest, Miguel Cabello Valboa, a great nephew of Vasco Nunez de Balboa. In his book *Miscelanea Antartica: Una Historia del Peru Antiguo*, **initially written in 1586, but not published until 1951**, Cabello Valboa wrote that he came to the Americas with the "obsession of discovering the origin of the Americans." (Cabello Valboa, xxxv.)

Cabello Valboa believed that the fathers of these Indians separated themselves from the grandchildren and great grandchildren of Noah at the time of the Tower of Babel when God punished the tower-builders by confounding their language. Cabello Valboa not only identified the time of this migration to America, but claimed that Ophir, the son of Joktan and grandson of Heber, and a great, great grandson of Shem, who was the son of Noah, was the leader of the group. (Ibid., 5-6) In formulating his theory, Cabello Valboa cited writings from Josephus, Ptolemy, and I Kings 10:11, which record that King Solomon sent Hiram, King of Tyre, to Ophir to obtain gold. He also cited the writing of Saint Jerome, who upon discussing the whereabouts of the sons of Joktan, wrote that he had no further information about them as they disappeared at the time of the confounding of tongues.

Cabello Valboa contended that Ophir and his group traveled east from Babylon (located on the Euphrates River in what is now present day Iraq) towards India and the islands of South East Asia where they spent considerable time until they lost their fear of the sea and acquired knowledge of boat making and navigation. Subsequently, they sailed east until they arrived in "our Indies." (Cabello Valboa, 6.) According to Cabello Valboa, Ophir and his followers were led to the Americas by God, who gave them commandments, directed them to build temples, and taught them about agriculture. (Ibid. 74) He argued that these descendants of Heber kept the commandments of God, continued to worship Him, and did not have their language confounded. (Ibid., 78)

He also identified numerous words employed by the Indians that appear to be a form of Hebrew. He believed the name Peru to be a derivation of the name Ophir in which Ophir became Ophir, then Piru and eventually Peru. He also believed the name of the Yucatan Peninsula in Mesoamerica was named after Father Juktan.

[p. 374] Cabello Valboa related the legend of the arrival on the north coast of Peru of numerous boats or rafts many years before the reign of the Incas. According to this legend, these rafts landed near Lambayeque in northern Peru. The foreigners were led by a man named Naymlap, who along with his family lived many years in Peru.

Source: David G. Calderwood, *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, Austin, Texas: Historical Publications, Inc., 2005, pp. 48-49, 374.

**1589**     **Juan de Castellanos**     *Elegias de varones ilustres de Indias* 4 vols. Bogota: Editorial A B C.

1955. First published 1589 ("Part I" only).

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 46-47] Juan de Castellanos, in his *Elegias de varones ilustres de Indias* of 1589, wrote of the reaction of Columbus' men when they first encountered Indians:

Si son satiros estos, o silvanos,  
Y ellas aquellas ninfas de Aristeo:  
O son faunos, lascivos y lozanos,  
O las nereides, hijas de Nereo,  
O driades que llaman, o nayades,  
De quen trataban las antiquedades . . .

*[Of whom the ancient writings speak]*

Pues no son en estado de inocencia  
*[But they are not in a state of innocence]*

Que hijos son de Adan y descendientes.  
*[What sons they are of Adam and descendents]*

**[1589]**     **Richard Hakluyt**     *The Principal Navigation, Voyages, Trafficks, & Discoveries of the English*

*Nation* . . . 12 vols. Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1903. See also *The Discoveries of the World, from their first Original Unto the Year of Our Lord*



1555, published in 1601.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 57] Two writers of the period [late sixteenth century] Mendieta and Hakluyt, contributed new theories of Indian origins. . . . Hakluyt's contribution to the origin literature consisted of publishing a section from a manuscript by the Welshman David Powell relating to the pre-Columbian discovery of America by the Welsh Prince Madoc (ca. 1170). Hakluyt thought the story a true one. In brief, it told of the flight of Madoc to escape the civil wars of Wales. He and his followers sailed to the west where they settled, presumably in America. Hakluyt did not think this was the earliest settlement of America, but men from the British Isles did contribute themselves, their culture, and their language to the population of parts of America.

**1590^**     **JOSEPH de ACOSTA**     *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Sevilla: En Casa de Juan de Leon,

1590. See also *The Naturall and Morall Histories of the East and West Indies*, Translated by Edward Grimston, London, 1604. (Spanish edition -Madrid, 1590.) See also *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Edward Grimston (English trans.). C. R. Markham (ed.). Reprint ed., 2 vols. New York: Burt Franklin, 1963.

George Reynolds writes:

Jose de Acosta (1540-1600) was a Spanish Jesuit historian and archaeologist. He was born in Old Castille, Spain in 1540. He went to Peru in 1571. He wrote a work entitled, "Natural and Moral History of the Indians," which has been translated into many languages. He was appointed to many important positions after his return to Spain in 1587. He died at Salamanca in 1600.

Dan Vogel writes:

[Acosta's book] was the first to deal with problems regarding men and animals in the New World. He does not commit himself on Indian origins, except to say that he is sure they came from Adam (50-51), and is skeptical of contemporary speculations that the Indians came from Atlantis or were descendants of the ten tribes (71-77). He also rejects the notion that the Indians migrated by sea, whether intentionally or because of storms (56-71). Rather Acosta suggests that both men and animals entered the new World through a northern passage where the Old World and the New touched or were in close proximity (64-68).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

In 1836 Mrs. Simon would write:

[pp. 22-23] It is surprising that Acosta, who has traced no less strong a resemblance between the ritual observance of the Jews and Mexicans, than Garcia has discovered in their moral code, and who even ventures to express himself as follows in the eleventh chapter of the fifth book of his history of the Indians--"Sic quicquid dictant alii a Domino et Servatore nostro Jesu Christ, pope nihil uspiam in evangelio suo constitum et ordinatum est, quod Sathanas variis modis aemulari et in superstitiones Gentiles convertere, non annisus sit: id quod ex diinceps dicendorum attentione clarius et manifestius elucebit" should still reject the rational conclusion of Las Casas that the Jews had colonized America."

Was it, we may ask, in consequence of Acosta's having been so much later an historian than Las Casas; and having visited America nearly fifty years later than that illustrious prelate, when the active exertions of the early missionaries and Spanish clergy, had already rooted out many of the primitive superstitions of the Indians, that he did not become sensible of what had so forcibly struck Las Casas? Or was it that he dared not avow an opinion, which would not have been tolerated in the age in which he lived, and was consequently compelled to advance an absurd hypothesis? Or finally, had Las Casas access to any means of information of which Acosta was deprived, such as original Hebrew documents--a copy of the Teo-Moxtli or Divine Book of the Toltecas: the history of Votan, or books in any other language which might have been discovered, among the Indians? for where all has been misrepresentation or concealment, proof cannot be said to exist of alphabetic writing having been wholly unknown in America, or that it might not have been a secret like the . . . sacred characters of the Egyptians, which were only known to the priests, who might have thought with that famous nation of antiquity, that exoteric doctrines were best calculated to keep them ignorant and superstitious.--p. 332. . .

We cannot refrain from inserting in this place, a passage from the 42 page of the 5th volume of the present work, because the expression *outcasts*, (*desechados*) as applied by the Mexicans to themselves, is there so singularly introduced . . . *Although our ancestors were powerful and great, have they bequeathed unto us their power and greatness? NO truly, cast thine eyes upon thy relations and kindred who are outcasts. Wherefore, although thou thyself art noble and illustrious, and of famous lineage; it become thee to have ever present before thine eyes how thou oughtest to live.--p. 385.*

Source: Mrs. [Barbara] Simon, *The Ten Tribes of Israel: Historically identified with the Aborigines of The Western Hemisphere*. London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1836.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

After a major review of early Indian Origin literature, Lee Eldridge Huddleston would write:

[Preface: viii] My original intention was to investigate the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to discover what were the opinions of Europeans of that period, how those opinions were derived, and how they changed. In the light of this investigation I have distinguished two rival, but not mutually exclusive, traditions in the origin literature. The Acostan Tradition, characterized by a moderate skepticism with respect to the comparative and exegetical methodology of the day, by an adherence to geographical and faunal considerations in theorizing, and by a reluctance to produce finished origin theories, is named for Joseph de Acosta, who gave the tradition its earliest extended example in the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* in 1589/90. The Garcian Tradition, named for the author of the *Origen de los indios* (1607/1729), is marked by an uncritical acceptance of the comparative ethnological technique of determining origins and a tendency to accept trans-Atlantic migrations.

[pp. 48-54] Europeans made surprisingly little headway before 1589 in their attempts to discover the origins of the American Indians. The usual method for tracing origins consisted of noting certain cultural affinities--dress, speech, manner, religion--between the Americans and some Old World people of antiquity, and then inventing a mode of transporting that people to America. . . . One the whole, the

writers presumed a large measure of cultural stability; that is, implicit in their works was the belief that cultures of antiquity had not changed much in the intervening millennia. Joseph de Acosta changed that pattern. . . .

Acosta maintained that experience was more reliable than philosophy, and that it could reveal more than any "reason or philosophic demonstration." It was lack of experience which led the ancients to deny the existence of the Antipodes. Modern experience had proved that there were Antipodes, that they could be reached, and that the Tropics were habitable.

Since experience had proved men did indeed live in America; and since all men must have descended from Adam, they must of necessity have come from Europe, Africa, or Asia. Rather than jump into cultural comparisons to find the Old World counterpart of the Indians, Acosta decided that he should first examine the situation of America with respect to the Old World, both geographically and historically, to discover how men *could* have got to the New World. Only then could he determine which *men* had actually come. Acosta had already expressed his disdain for those who argued that the name "Peru" derived from "Ophir," or "Yucatan" from "Yectan"; or the Inca names "Tito" or "Paulo" from "Titus" or "Paul." Word comparisons, he maintained, were "too weak as arguments to sustain such grand conclusions."

How could the first men have come to America? It seemed unlikely to Acosta that there was a second Ark to carry them [and pairs of animals], nor could he credit an angel with that work. Furthermore, he said,

I am convinced that the first Indians came to this New World as a result of purposeful navigation, nor do I wish to concede that the ancients had developed the art of navigation whereby men of this day pass from place to place on the Ocean with certainty, nor do I find evidence of so notable a voyage in all antiquity.

So far as Acosta could determine, the ancients had no lodestone or compass, and could not, therefore, have made the voyage across the Atlantic.

What of accidental discovery by being blown off course and to the Indies? "It seems to me quite likely that in times past men came to the Indies driven unwillingly by the wind," Acosta answered; but he did not think this an adequate explanation of the American population:

The reason which forces me to say that the first men of these Indies came from Europe; or Asia is so as not to contradict the Holy Scripture which clearly teaches that all men descended from Adam, and thus we can give no other origin to man in the Indies.

By the same token the beasts of the New World as well as its men must be derived from the Old World; for does not the bible say that only those in the Ark were saved? Was it reasonable to think the settlers who came to America either intentionally or because of storm though they might have women with them, would also have wolves, tigers, and other ravenous beasts on the ship? "It was more than enough for men to escape with their lives, driven against their will by the tempest without carrying foxes and wolves and feeding them at sea."

Since the beasts could not have swum the broad ocean, and since they probably did not come in ships with men (not even for sport), and since a separate ark or angelic aid were implausible, how did they get to America? And would not a passage usable by beasts be usable by man also? Acosta was forced by these considerations to conjecture "that the new world we call the Indies is not completely divided and separated from the other World," and in the undiscovered North, or South, the two worlds had a land connection. At worst, he concluded, they were separated by only a narrow strait, such as that of Magellan, which could be crossed by man and beast easily.

Acosta now had his ground rules, but he still did not have his Indians. Before giving his own opinion, he commented on those theories he had already heard. He contemptuously dismissed the Atlantis origin theory saying that "only children and old women" could believe what Plato wrote of that island. Acosta was equally disdainful of the supposed Jewish origin of the Indians. True, both Indians and Jews were

"fearful, submissive, ceremonious . . . and deceitful," but the Hebrews possessed writing and the Indians did not. . . . Furthermore, the Jews jealously preserved their heritage wherever they went and Esdras specifically stated they went to Arsareth to keep their laws. But, if the Indians were Jewish they had forgotten their lineage, their law, their ceremonies, their messiahs, and their entire Judaism.

It was difficult to discover the origins of the Americans because they had no written traditions. Acosta thought, however, that the Indians came to the New World little by little and that they came by land or across a narrow strait. The major cause of their coming was the nearness of the continents in some undiscovered area. The first to have come a few thousand years ago would have been savage hunters driven by hunger or loss of homeland or overpopulation. These people settled down and retained little of their former culture. They developed their own civil institutions which were not beastly or "sin rason," but worthy of respect. That was as far as Acosta could go, for it would be "rash and presumptuous" to attempt to determine the precise origins of the Indians. . . .

Acosta's arguments had a far-reaching importance. He was the first writer to attempt a careful analysis of the conditions which must be met before *any* origin for the Indians could be determined. He was not the first to postulate a land bridge connecting the two worlds; that was integral to Sarmiento de Gamboa's [unpublished 1572] Atlantis theory. But he was the first to propose a land connection--or near connection--which did not derive from some European legend. Acosta thought such a thing necessary to explain how such masses of animals and men could get to America. Sarmiento utilized a disappearing land bridge which was itself the homeland of the Indians and whose inundation hid the Indians from Europe. Acosta postulated a continuing "connection" which induced men to come to America because it was there. The geographical remoteness of the bridge and the low cultural level of the migrants were responsible for Europe's lack of knowledge of the New World.

Acosta implied that America was settled as a natural consequence of its existence and the gradual expansion of primitive peoples. The only areas where such a connection could exist lay in the far south or the far north. Tierra del Fuego might connect with the East Indies by the southern continent. In the north, Greenland might connect with America; or northeast Asia and America might be joined in the region of Anian, a kingdom and strait presumed to lie in the Alaska-Siberia region.

Acosta's arguments constitute a denial of the utility of sixteenth century methodology. If, as he claimed, the first inhabitants were primitive hunters who settled in America, became an agricultural people, and then developed their *own* civil customs, then it would be impossible to trace the original Indians by the traditional method of comparing cultural traits. The cultural characteristics present in modern Indian civilizations would not be the ones they brought with them. Similarities between Old and New World peoples and civilizations would not be indicative of origin. Presumably the Indian cultures could be influenced by later arrivals. Even Acosta admitted the probability that the migration into America continued over a long period, and that there may have been some trans-Atlantic contact . . . .

Acosta's great attempt to establish "ground rules" for an intellectual dispute was of lasting importance. Few writers after 1590 were unaware of his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*.

[p. 60] The geographical and faunal considerations introduced into the debate by Acosta, and the skepticism which he expressed concerning the value of the cultural comparison technique had such a great impact on later writers who considered the origins of the American Indians that this writer has distinguished an **Acostan Tradition**. . . . Acosta was not the first of the "restrained" commentators. Las Casas [1550-1556], Landa [1566], Roman y Zamora, and Sahagun [1558-1566] were similarly reluctant to commit themselves to the point of Indian origins. But **Acosta was the first to put all the elements producing restraint into a well-thought-out argument which objectively exposed all the considerations necessary to a solution to the problem of American origins**. For that reason it seemed appropriate that the "scientific" theme bear his name.

The following is from Joseph de Acosta, *The Natural & Moral History of the Indies*, Reprinted from the English translated edition of Edward Grimston, 1604. Edited with Notes and an Introduction by Clements R. Markham, London, 1880:

[Introduction]

The *Natural and Moral History of the Western Indies* by Acosta, which has been selected to form two volumes of the Hakluyt Society's series, is a valuable work for two reasons. It contains an exposition of the ideas of learned men of the sixteenth century on physical geography, and it is one of the leading authorities on the ancient civilisations of Peru and Mexico.

Our chief knowledge of the author is derived from his published works, only a few facts being forthcoming from other sources. His parents lived at the town of Medina del Camp, the city of the plain, about twenty four miles from Valladolid, in Old Castille. . . . Joseph de Acosta was born in the year 1540, and he was devoted to the Society [of Jesus] before he had completed his fourteenth year. . . . The Acostas were fellow townsmen of that charming old soldier Bernal Diaz, who told the story of the conquest of Mexico, but they were many years his juniors.

Joseph de Acosta became a Jesuit in 1553, and for the next eighteen years he must have devoted himself to the study of sacred and classical authors, for he was a man of very great learning, when, at the age of thirty-two, he sailed for the New World, in company with several brethren of the same Society [of Jesus].

Acosta left Spain in the year 1570 . . . He landed at Carthagena, and finally at Nombre de Dios, whence he journeyed through eighteen leagues of tropical forest to Panama. . . . From Panama the Jesuit, in pursuance of his missionary work, embarked for Peru, looking forward with curiosity, and some dread, to the passage across the equinoctial. For he was steeped in all the lore of the ancient philosophers concerning the unbearable heat of the burning zone. He crossed the line in March, and, to his surprise, it was so cold that he was obliged to go into the sun to get warm, where he laughed at Aristotle and his philosophy. . . .

On his arrival at Lima, he was ordered to cross the Andes . . . Acosta describes the sufferings which he had on the three other occasions that he had occasion to cross the cordillera, by Soras and Lucanas, by Collahuas, and by Cavanas. . . .

The principal seat of the Jesuits was, at that time, in the little town of Juli, near the western shores of Lake Titicaca. Here a college was formed, the languages of the natives were studied, and eventually a printing-press was established. Acosta probably resided much at Juli during his stay in Peru. . . . Here, too, he devoted much of his time to the preparation of several learned works, which he took home with him in manuscript, including the first two books of the *Natural History of the Indies*. . . .

In 1582 a Provincial Council was called to meet at Lima . . . Father Acosta was very busily employed during the session of the third Council of Lima, and he was its historian. . . . Shortly after the close of the last session of the Council, Acosta embarked, with all his valuable manuscripts, representing the literary labours of about fifteen years, and commenced his voyage to Mexico. . . . Acosta landed, after a long voyage, at the port of Guatulco, at the western end of the Gulf of Tehuantepec, in the Oaxaca province, whence he journeyed by land to Mexico, where he resided in 1586. . . . Acosta went home to Spain in the fleet of 1587 . . . The first object of Acosta, after his return to Europe, appears to have been to make arrangements for the publication of his manuscripts. . . . His complete work on the *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* was published at Seville in 1590. . . . The first four books are devoted to the natural history, the last three to the moral history, of the Indies. In the former, the learned Jesuit touches upon all points of interest relating to physical geography as it was then understood, comparing the knowledge of his time with the opinions and beliefs of ancient philosophers and Fathers of the Church. In this spirit he discusses the form of the earth and of the heavens, the distribution of land and sea, the habitability of the tropics, and the way in which America may have been peopled. In the first two books the discussion is more general, while the next two treat especially of the new World and its productions. . . .

Grimston's translation of Acosta [1604] is, on the whole, creditable and trustworthy. There are some omissions, and occasional blunders, especially as regards proper names and native words, which have been carefully corrected in the present edition.

*The Natural History* of Acosta has been much used by subsequent writers on Peru and Mexico. It is quoted twenty-seven times in the *Royal Commentaries of the Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega*, and sometimes these quotations consist of long passages. . . . The work is much relied upon as an authority by Robertson, and by Prescott in his histories of the conquests of Peru and Mexico.

Acosta was head of the Jesuits' College at Valladolid.

Note\* For the information of the reader, the following is a summary of the first few chapters:

*Chapter 1--Of the opinions of some authors which supposed that the heavens did not extend to the new found land. [pp. 1-3]*

*Chapter 2.--That the Heaven is round, on all parts moving in his course of itself. [pp. 4-7]*

*Chapter 3.--How the Holy Scripture teacheth us that the earth is in the midst of the world. [pp. 8-11]*

*Chapter 4.--Containing an answer to that which is objected out of the Holy Scripture against the roundness of the earth. [pp. 12-13]*

*Chapter 5.--Of the fashion and forme of heaven at the new found land. [pp. 14-15]*

*Chapter 6. That there is Land and Sea under the two Poles. [pp. 15-18]*

*Chapter 7.--To confute the opinion of Lactantius, who holdes there be no Antipodes. [pp. 19-21]*

*Chapter 8.--The reason why St. Augustine denied the Antipodes [pp. 22-24]*

*Chapter 9.--Of Aristotle's opinion touching the new Worlde, and what abused him to make him deny it. [pp. 29-30]*

*Chapter 10.--That Plinie and the auncients held the same opinion with Aristotle. [pp. 29-30]*

What follows is a discussion by de Acosta that is rich in the ideas and reasoning of the time. It provides invaluable insights and for that reason I am including here much in its entirety:

[p. 31]

*Chap. XI.--That in ancient Bookes we finde some knowledge of this newe world.*

Let us returne to that which hath beene formerly spoken. Wee must necessarily conclude that the Ancients did beleeeve that . . . there werre no men beyond the Tropicke of Cancer . . .

[pp. 32]

. . . Moreover, Plinie, who hath been so curious a searcher out of strange things, reportes in his naturall Historie, that Hannon, a Captaine of the Carthaginians, sayled through the Ocean, from the [p. 33] Straight of Gibraltar, coasting alongst the land, even unto the confines of Arabia, and that hee left this his Navigation in writing. If it bee as Plinie writes, it followes that Hannon sayled as farre as the Portugals do at this day, passing twice under the Equinoctiall, whcih is a fearefull thing. And the same Plinie reports of Cornelius Nepos a very grave Authour, who saith, that the same course hath beene sayled by an other man, called Eudoxus, but by contrary wayes, for this Eudoxus, flying from the King of Lathyros, passed by the redde sea into the Ocean; and turning backe, came to the Straight of Gibraltar, the which Cornelius Nepos affirmes to have happened in his time. And also other grave Authors do write, that a ship of Carthage driven by force of winde into the Ocean, came to a Land which untill then was unknowne; and returning to Carthage, kindled a great dессire in the Citizens to discover and people this land; the which the Senate perceyving, did forbid this navigation by a rigorous decree, fearing that with the desire of new lands they shoiuld leave to love their owne Countrie. By all this wee may gather that the Ancients had some knowledge of the new world, yet shall you hardly finde in the bookes of Ancient writers any thing written of our America and all the West Indies; but of the East Indies, I say, there is sufficient testimonie, not only of that on the other side, but also of that on this side, which then was farthest off, going thither by a contrary way to that at this day. Is it not easie to find Malaca in ancient bookes, which they called the golden Chersonese; the Cape of Comorin, which was called the Promontories of Cori, and that great and famous Iland of Sumatra, so well knowne by the ancient name of Taprobana. What shall wee say of the two Ethiopias, the Brachmanes, and that great Land of the Chinas? Who doubttes, but there was often mention made thereof in ancient bookes; But of the West Indies, we find not in Plinie, that in this navigation [p. 34] they passed the Ilands of the Canaries, which he calleth Fortunate; the principal whereof is sayd to be called Canarie, for the multitude of dogs which are in it. But there is scarce any mention in ancient books of the voyages which are made at this day beyond the Canaries, by the Gulph which with reason they call great. Yet many hold opinion that Seneca the Tragedian did prohecie of the West Indies, in his Tragedie of Medea, which translated saith thus:

"An age shall come, ere ages ende,  
Blessedly strange asnd strangely blest,  
When our Sea farre and neere or'prest,  
His shoare shall farther yet extend.

'Descryed then shall a large Land be,  
By this profound Seas navigation  
An other World, an other nation,  
All Imen shall lthen discovered see.

"Thule accounted heretofore  
The worldes extreme, the Northerne bound,

Shall be when Southwest parts be found,  
A neerer Isle, a nieghbour shoare."

This, Seneca reports in these verses; and we cannot wel deny, but (understanding it litterally) it is very true; for if we reckon the many yeeres he speakes of, beginning from the time of the Tragedian, it is above a thousnad and foure hundred yeeeres past; and if it were from the time of Medea, it is above two thousand yeeres, the which we see plainly now accomplished; seeing the passage of the Ocean so long time hidden, hath beene found out, and that they have discovered a great land and a new world inhabited, more spatious then all the Continent of Europe and Asia. But therein may a questionw ith reason be made, whether Seneca spake this by diviniation, or poetically and by chance. And to speeke my opinion, I beleeve hee did divine, after the manner of wise men and well advised; for that in his time they undertooke nenwe voyages and navigations by sea, [p. 35]

he knew well, like a philosopher, that there was n other land contrary and opposite unto us, which they call Antichthon. And by this ground he mgight convceyve that the industrie and courage of man might int he endne passe the Ocean, and discover new lands and another world, for that in Senecas time they had knowledge of the Voyage which Plinie speaketh of, whereby they apssed thee great Ocean. The which seemes to bee the motive of Seneceas prophecie, as he giveth us to undertstand by these former verses, after the which having described the carefull life of the Ancients, free from malice, he followeth thus:

"Now is it not as earst it was,  
For whether the Ocean will or nill,  
He traverst is by hardy will:  
Which pastime makes time so to passe."

And a little after he saith thus:

"Now everfy boate dares swimme, and sport  
On surging Seas, fearing no wracke;  
Passengers seeking what they lacke,  
So long a voyage thinke but shsort.

"Nothing is nowe more to discover,  
No place is now left to surprise,  
Townes now that for defence devise,  
With new fortifications cover.

"All in the world turn'd round about,  
No thing is palce as 'twas enured,  
Nothing unseene, nothing assured  
This Circle universe throughout.

"The Indian, whom at home heate fries,



Drinckes of Araxis waters cold:  
The Persian, rich in gems and gold,  
Wash in the Rhine and Elbe likewise."

Seneca did conjecture this by the great courage of men, as that which shall happen last, saying, It shall fall out in the latter age, etc., as hath bin before mentioned.

[p. 36]

*Chap. XII.--Of the opinion which Plato held of the West Indies.*

If any one hath treated more particularly of the west Indies, the honor belongs to Plato, who in his Timaeus saith thus: "In those dayes they could not sayle this Gulph" (meaning the Atlantike Sea, which is the Ocean whcih meetes at the Straight of Gibraltar) "for that the passage was stopped at the mouth of the pillars of Hercules" (which is the same Straight of Gibraltar) "and this Iland was in those dayes joyoned to the foresaid mouth, and was of the bignesse as it exceeded all Asia and Affricke together; and then was there a passage to goe from these Ilands to others, and from those other Ilandes, they went to the firme Land, the which was neere invironed with the very Sea". This is reported by Critias in Plato. And such as beleeve that this narration of Plato is a true Histoire, delivered in these termes, say that this great Atlanticke Iland, the which did exceed both Affricke and Asia in greatnesse, did then comprehend the greatest part of the Ocean called Atlantike, which the Spaniards nowe sayle in; and that those other Ilands, which, he sayde, were neere unto this great one, are those which wee now call the Ilands of Barlovento; that is, Cuba, Hispaniola, S. John de Port ricco, Jamaica, and other Ilands of that Countrie; and that the maine Land whereof he maketh mention, is the same wee now call Tierra Firme, that is, Peru and America; and that Sea, which he sayth is adjoining to the Tierra Firme, is the South Sea, the which he calleth the very Sea, for that in comparison of her greatnesse, all other Seas, both Mediterranean, yea and the Atlantike Sea, are small in regard thereof. Hereby in trueth they give a cunning and wittie interpretation to these words of Plato. But whether this interpretation should be held for true or not, I am resolved to declare in another place.

[p. 37]

*Chap. XIII.--That some have held opinion that in palces of holy Scripture, whereas they speake of Ophir, is to be understood of our Peru.*

Some hold opinion that mention is made of the West Indies in the holy scripture, taking the region of Peru for that Ophir which they make so famous. Roberto Stefano, or to say more truely Francisco Batablo, a man well seene in the Hebrew tong (as I have heard our master report, who was his disciple) saith in his annotations upon the 9 chapter of the 3 booke of Kings, that the Iland of Hispaniola which Christopher Colombus found out, was that of Ophir, from whence Solomon caused to bee brought foure hundred and twentie or foure hundred and 50 talents of most fine and pure golde, for that the golde of Cibao which our men bring from Hispaniola, is the same fashion and qualities. And there are may others which affirme that our Peru is Ophir, deriving one name from another, who beleeve that when as the booke of Paralipomenon was written, they called it Peru, grounding it upon that which the holy scripture saith, that they brought from Ophir pure gold, precious stones, and wood which was rare and goodly-- which things abound in Peru, as they say. **But in my opinion it is farre from the truth, that Peru should be Ophir so famous in the Bible.** For although in this Peru there be good store of gold, yet is there not yet such abundance as it may be equalled with the fame of the riches that was in auncient time at the East Indies. I finde not that in Peru there are such precious stones, or such exquisite woods, as the

like have not been seene at Jerusalem. For although there be exquisite Emeralds, and some hard trees of Aromaticall wood, yet do I not finde any thing of so great commendation as the scripture giveth unto Ophir. Moreover it seemes not [p. 38] likely that Solomon would leave the East Indies, most rich and pleintifull, to send his fleetes to this farther land, whether if they had come so often, as it is weritten, we had surely found more signes and testimonies thereof. Moreover the Etimologie of the name of Ophir, and the change or reduction thereof to Peru, seemes to me of small consideration, being most certaine that the name of Peru is not very auncient, nor common to all that countrie. It hath been usuall in the discoverie of the new world, to give names to lands and portes of the sea according to the occasions presented at their arivall; and I beleeve that the name of peru hath bene so found out and put in practice; for we find heere that the name hath bene given to all the countrie of peru, by reason of a river so called by the inhabitants of the countrei, where the Spaniards arrived upon their first discoveries. Whereby we maintaine that the Indians themselves bee ignorant, and do not use this name and appellation to signifie their land. It seemeth moreover, the same Authours will say, that Sefer [Dhofar] spoken of in the scripture, is that which we now call Andes, which are most high mountaines in Peru. But this resemblance of names and appellations is no suffieient prooffe. If that were of force, we might as well say that Yucatan is Jectan mentioned in the holy scripture. Neither may we say that the names of Titus and Paul, which the Kings Inguas of Peru do use, come from the Romans or Christians, seeing it is too weake an arugment to draw a conclusion of great matters. We see plainely that it is contrarie to the intention of the holy scriptures, which some have written, that Tharsis and Ophir were one Province or were reached in the same voyage, conferring the 22 chapter of the 4 booke of the Kings, with the [p. 39] 20 chapter of the second booke of Paralipomenon [Chronicles], for that in the booke of the Kings, it is said that Iosaphat prepared a fleete of shippes in Asiongaber to fetch golde at Ophir; and in Paralipomenon, it is written, that the same fleete was furnished to go unto Tharsis. Whereby it may be supposed that in these fore-said bookes, where the scripture speakes of Tharsis and Ophir, that it meanes one thing. Some one may demaund what region or Province that Ophir was, whether Solomons fleete went with the Mariners of Hiram King of Tyre and Sidon to fetch gold. And whether King Iosaphats fleete, pretending to go, did suffer shipwracke and perish in Asiongaber, as the holy scripture doth testifie. In this I do willingly agree with the opinion of Josephus, in his books of Antiquities, where he saith that it is a Province of the East Indies, the which was found by that Ophir the sonne of Iectan [Joktan], whereof mention is made in the 10 of Genesis; and that Province did abound with most fine gold. Therof it comes, they did so much extol the gold of Ophir or of Ophas, or as some wil say, this word of obrise, is the same with Opohrise, for finding there seven sortes or kindes of gold, as S. Jerome reportes, that of Ophir was held for the most fine, as heere we esteeme the gold of Valdivia and Caravaya. **The chiefest reason which moves me to thinke that Ophir is at the East Indies and not in the West, is, for that Solomons fleete could not come hither without passing the East Indies, all China, and a great part of the sea; being unlikely they would passe all over the world to come thither for gold, that continent especially lying in that sort, as they could not come to the knowledge thereof by any voiage by land. And hereafter we wil shew that the Ancients had never knowledge in the arte of Navigation, without the which they could not runne so farre into the sea.** Finally, in these matters (when as there appeares no certaine proofes, but onely light conjectures) we are not bound to beleeve but what we shall thinke good.

[p. 40]

*Chap. XIV.--What Tharsis and Ophir signifie in the holy Scripture.*

If every mans conjecture and opinion may be allowed, for my part I hold that in the holy scripture these words of Tharsis and Ophir most commonly do not signifie any certaine place; but it is a word and signification generall to the Hebrewes, as in our vulgar tongue this word of Indies is generall unto us in our usuall maner of speech; for wee meane by the Indies those rich countries which are farre off, and strange unto us. So we Spaniards do indifferently call Indies, the countries of Peru, Mexico, China, Malaca, and Bresil; and from what parts soever of these any letters come, wee say they bee from the Indies, which countries be farre distant and different one from another. Yet we cannot denie but that name of Indies is properly to be understood of the East Indies. . . . [p. 42]

. . . From this Ophir and this Tharsis they brought to Salomon gold, silver, Elephants teeth, Monkeys, Indian Cocks, and their voyage was of three yeeres; all which without doubt ought to be understood of the East Indies, which is fruitfull and abundant of all these things as Plinie testifieth, and our owne experience doth witness. From our Peru doubtlesse they could not bring any Elephants teeth, those beastes being unknowne there; but they might well bring gold, silver, and pleasant monkeys. Finally, the holy Scripture, in my opinion, doth commonly understand by this word of Tharsis, either the great Sea, or farre and strange Regions. So as he supposeth that the prophecies which speake of Tharsis (seeing the spirit of Prophecie may comprehend all things) may often be applied to things of our new world.

*Chap. XV.--Of the Prophecie of Abdias, which some doe interpret to be the Indies.*

. . .

[p. 45]

*Chap. XVI.--By what meanes the first men might come to the Indies, the which was not willingly, nor of set purpose.*

Now it is time to make answer to such as say there are no Antipodes, and that this region where we live cannot be inhabited. The huge greatness of the Ocean did so amaze S. Augustine as he could not conceive how mankind could passe to this new-found world. But seeing on the one side we know for certaine that many yeeres agoe there were men inhabiting in these parts, so likewise we cannot deny but the scripture doth teach us cleerely that all men are come from the first man, without doubt we shall be forced to beleve and confesse that men have passed hither from Europe, Asia, or Affricke, yet must we discover by what meanes they could passe. It is not likely that there was an other Noes Arke by the which men might be transported into the Indies, and much lesse any Angell to carie the first man to this new world, holding him by the haire of the head, like to the Prophet Abacuc; for we intreat not of the mightie power of God, but only of that which is conformable unto reason, and the order and disposition of humane things. Wherefore these two things ought to be held for wonderfull and worthie of admiracion, yea, to be numbered among the secrets of God. The one is, how man could passe so huge a passage by Sea and Lande; the other is, that there being such multitudes of people they have yet beene unknowne so many ages. For this cause I demaund, by what resolution, force or industrie, the Indians could passe so large a Sea, and who might be the Inventaer of so strange a passage? Truly I have often times considered thereof with my selfe, as many others have done, but never could I finde any thing to satisfie mee. Yet will I say what I have conceived, and what comes presently into my minde, seeing that testimonies faile mee whom I might follow, [p. 46] suffering my selfe to be guided by the rule of reason, although it be very subtill. It is most certaine that the first men came to this land of Peru by one of these two meanes, either by land or by sea. If they came by sea, it was casually, and by chance, or willingly, and of purpose. I understand by chance being cast by force of some storme or tempest, as it happens in tempestuous times. I meane done of purpose, when they prepared flectes to discover new lands. Besides these two meanes I see it is not possible to find out any other, if we will follow the course of humane things and not devise fabulous and poetically fictions; . . . But laying aside these imaginations and fopperies, let us examine these two meanes, the which will be both pleasant and profitable. First, in my judgement, it were not farre from reason to say that the first and auncient people of these Indies have discovered and peopled after the same sort as we do at this day, that is, by the Arte of Navigation and aide of Pilots, the which guide themselves by the heighth and knowledge of the heavens, and by their industrie in handling and changing of their sailes according to the season. Why might not this well be? Must we beleve that

we alone, and in this our age, have onely the Arte and knowledge to saile through the Ocean? Wee see even now that they cut through the Ocean to discover new lands, as not long since Alvaro Mendana and his companions did, who parting from the Port of Lima came alongst the West to discvover the land which lieth Eastward from Peru; and at the end of three moneths they discovered the llands which they call the llands of [p. 47] Salomon, which are many and very great, and by all likelehood they lie adioyning to New Guinne, or else are very neere to some other firme land. And even now by commandement from the King and his Counsell they are resolved to prepare a new fleete for these llands. Seeing it is thus, why may we not suppose that the Ancients had the courage and resolution to travell by sea, with the same intent to discover the land, which they call Anticthon, opposite to theirs, and that, according to the discourse of their Philosophie, it should be with an intent not to rest untill they came in view of the landes they sought? Surely there is no repugnancie or contrarietie in that which wee see happen at this day, and that of former ages, seeing that the holy scripture doth witness that Solomon tooke Masters and Pilots from Tyre and Sidon, men very expert in Navigation, who by their industry performed this voiage in three yeeres. To what end thinke you doth it note the Arte of Mariners and their knowledge, with their long voiage of three yeeres, but to give us to understand that Solomons fleete sailed through the great Ocean? Many are of this opinion, which thinke that S. Augustine had small reason to wonder at the greatness of the Ocean, who might well conjecture that it was not so difficult to saile through, considering what hath been spoken of Solomons Navigation. But to say the truth, **I am of a contrary opinion, neither can I perswade my selfe that the first Indians came to this new world of purpose, by a determind voiage; neither will I yeeld, that the Ancients had knowledge in the Art of Navigation, whereby men at this day passe the Ocean, from one part to another, where they please, the which they performe with an incredible swiftnes and resolution; neither do I finde in all Antiquities any markes or testimonies of so notable a thing and of so great importance.** Besides, [p. 48] I finde not that in ancient bookes there is any mention made of the use of the lman or Loadstone, nor of the Compasse to saile by; yea, I beleeve they had no knowledge thereof. And if we take away the knowledge of the compasse to saile by, we shall easily iudge how impossible it was for them to passe the great Ocean. Such as have any knowledge of the sea understand me well; for that it is as easie to beleeve that a Mariner in full sea can direct his course where hee please without a compasse, as for a blinde man to shew with his finger any thing, be it neere or farre off. And it is strange that the Ancients have been so long ingnorant of this excellent propertie of the load stone; for Plinie, who was so curious in naturall causes, writing of this load stone, speakes nothing of that vertue and propertie it hath, alwaies to turne the iron which it toucheth towards the North, the which is the most admirable vertue it hath. Aristotle, Thedophrastus, Discorides, Lucretius, nor any other Writers or naturall Philosophers that I have seene, make any mention thereof, although they treat of the load stone. Saint Augustine, writing many and sundry properties and excellencies of the load stone in his bookes of the Citie of God, speakes nothing thereof. And without doubt all the excellencies spokekn of this stone are nothing in respect of this strange propertie, looking alwaies towards the North, which is a great wonder of nature. There is yet another argument, for Plinie, treating of the first inventers of Navigation, and naming all the instruments, yet he speakes nothing of the compasse to saile by, nor of the load stone. I say onely, that the art to know the starres was invented by the Phoenicians. And there is no doubt but whatsoever the Ancients knew of the Art of navigation was onely in regard of the starres, and observing the Shoares, Capes, and differences of landes. [p. 49] And if they had once lost the sight of land, they knew not which way to direct their course, but by the Stars, Sunne, and Moone, and that failing (as it doth often in a darke and cloudie season) they did governe themselves by the qualitie of the winds, and by conjecture of the waies which they had passed. Finally, they went as they were guided by their owne motions. As at the Indies, the Indians saile a long way by sea, guided onely by their owne industrie and natural instinct. And it serves greatly to purpose that which Plinie writes of the llanders of Taprobana (which at this day we call Sumatra), speaking in this sort, when as he treates of the art and industrie they use in sailing. "Those of Taprobana see not the North to saile by, which defect they supply with certaine small birdes they carrie with them, the which they often let flie, and as those birdes by a naturall instinct flie alwaies towards the land, so the Mariners direct their course after them." Who doubteth then if they had had any knowledge of the compassed they would not have used these little birdes for their guides to discover the Land. To conclude, this sufficeth to shew that the Ancients had no knowledge of the secrets of the Loadstone, seeing that for so notable a thing there is no proper word in Latine, Greeke, or Hebrew, for a thing of such importance could not have wanted a name in these tongues if they had knowne it. Whereupon the Pilots at this day, to direct him his course that holds the helme, sit aloft in the poepe of the Shippe, the better to observe the compasse; whereas in olde

time they sat in the prow of the Shippe to marke the differences of lands and seas, from which place they commanded the Helme as they use at this day at the entrie or going out of any Port or haven, and therefore the Greekes called Pilots Proritas, for that they remained still in the prow.

[p. 50]

*Chap. XVII.--Of the properties and admirable vertue of the Adamant stone for Navigation, whereof the Ancients had no knowledge.*

. . . The high Creator of all things having imparted this vertue unto it, that by the touch of iron it hath alwaies his motion and aspect towards the North, in what part of the world soever you be. Some search what should be the cause of this wonderfull propertie, and imagine I know not what simpathie. But for my part I take more pleasure and content in the consideration of these wonders to praise the powere and greatnes of the Almightye, and rejoyce in the contemplation of his admirable workes, and to say with Solomon, speaking upon this subject, "O [p. 51] father whose providence governes and maintaines a peece of wood, giving it an assured way upon the sea, and in the midst of the swelling waves, to shew that in the like sort thou canst save and deliver man from all perill and shipwacke; yea, although he were in the midst of the sea without shippe. But for that they works are full of wisdom, men hazard their lives in a small peece of wood, and passe through the sea in a shippe and are saved." And upon the same subject the Psalmist saith, "They which go to the sea in shippes and trafficke by the great waters, have seene the workes of the Lord and his wonders in the depth of the sea." And in truth it is not one of the least wonders of God that the force of so small a stone should command the sea and force the infinite depth thereof to obey him and follow his commandement. But for that it is an usuall thing and seemes easie men do not admire it nor take any great regard thereof, and for that his bountie is such the ignorant make lesse account thereof. [\*\*\* see note below] Notwithstanding, such as will duly consider it, are led by reason to blesse the wisdom of God, and to give him thanks for so great a benefite. Being then decreed in heaven that these nations of the Indies which have lyen so long hidden should bee knowne and discovered, and that this rowt should be frequented to the end so many soules should come to the knowledge of Jesus Christ and winne eternall life. There was an assured guide provided for such as travell that way, that is, the Compasse to saile by, and the vertue of the Adamant stone. Wee doe not certainly know at what time this Art of sailing was brought to light. **But for my part I hold for certaine that it is not verie ancient**, for besides the reasons alleadged in the former chapter, I have not read in any ancient Author, treating of dialles, any mention made of the Adamant. And yet, undoubtedly, the principall and most necessarie instrument for sunne dialls which we use at this [p. 52] day is the needle of iron touched with the Adamant stone. Some approved Authors write in the Historie of the East Indies that the first which began to discover this secret was upon the sea was Vasco da Gama, who, in the heighth of Mosambique, met with certaine Mariners Moores which used this compasse or needle to saile by, and by the meanes thereof he sailed through those seas; yet they write not from whom they learned this Art. And some amongst them are of our opinion, that the Ancients were ignorant of this secret. . . .

[p. 53] . . . For my part I would gladly know, of such as presume to knowe all thinges, what should bee the cause of this effect, and for what reason a little yron touched with the Adamant stone receyves such vertue as to looke alwayes towards the North . . . And seeing wee cannot well discover the causes and reasons of these thinges which wee see dayly, without doubt they were very hard to beleeve if they were not apparent. **Herein we discover our follie and vanitie, to make ourselves judges and to subject divine and high things to our reason and discourse.** It is therefore better, as S. Gregorie the divine sayth, to subject reason unto faith, for that in her owne mansion she hath no government. But this shall suffice. **Let us returne to our purpose, and conclude that the use of the needle to sayle by was unknowne to the Ancients, whereby we may resolve that it was impossible to make a determined voyage, parting from the other world, to come to this by the Ocean.**

[Note\*\*\* The above idea is very similar to that expressed in Alma 37:38-41:

38. *And now, my son, I have somewhat to say concerning the thing which our fathers call a ball, or director--or our fathers called it Liahona, which is being interpreted, a compass; and the Lord prepared it.*

39. *And behold, there cannot any man work after the manner of so curious a workmanship. And behold, it was prepared to show unto our fathers the course which they should travel in the wilderness.*

40. *And it did work for them according to their faith in God; therefore, if they had faith to believe that God could cause that those spindles should point the way they should go, behold, it was done; therefore they had this miracle, and also many other miracles wrought by the power of God, day by day.*

41. *Nevertheless, because those miracles were worked by small means it did show unto them marvelous works. They were slothful, and forgot to exercise their faith and diligence and then those marvelous works ceased, and they did not progress in their journey;*]

*Chap. XVIII.--Wherein an answer is made to them that say that in times passed they have sayled through the Ocean as at this day.*

That which is alleaged to the contrary of that which hath beene spoken, that Salomans Fleet sayled in three yeeres, is no sufficient prooffe, seeing the holy Scripture doth not directly affirme, that this voyage continued three yeeres, but that it was made once in three yeeres. And although wee graunt that the voyage lasted three yeeres, it might bee, as it is likely, that this Fleet sayling towards the East Indies was stayed in their course by the diversitie of [p. 54] Ports and Regions, which they discovered; as at this day, in all the South Sea, they sayle from Chile to newe Spaine, the which voyage, although it bee more certaine, yet is it longer by reason of the turnings they are forced to make upon the Coast, and they stay in divers Portes. And in trueth I doe not find in ancient bookes that they have lanced farre into the Ocean, neyther can I beleeve that this their sayling was otherwise then they use at this day in the Mediterranean Sea; which makes learned men to conjecture that in old time they did not sayle without owers, for that they went alwayes coasting along the shoare; and it seems the holy Scripture doth testifie as much, speaking of that famous voyage of the prophet Jonas, where it sayes that the Marriners being forced by the weather, rowed to land.

*Chap. XIX.--That we may conjecture how the first inhabitants of the Indies came thither by force of weather, and not willingly.*

Having shewed that there is no reason to beleeve that the first Inhabitants of the Indies came thither purposely, it followeth then, that if they came by Sea, it was by chance or by force of weather, the which is not incredible, notwithstanding the vastnesse of the Ocean, seeing the like hath happened in our time, when **as that Marriner, whose name we are yet ignoant of, to the end so great a worke, and of such importance, should not be attributed to any other Author then to God, having, through tempest, discovered this new world, left for payment of his lodging, where he had received it, to Christopher Columbus, the knowledge of so great a secret.** Even so it might chance that some of [p. 55] Europe or Affricke in times past, have bin driven by foule weather, and cast upon unknowne lands beyond the Ocean. Who knoweth not that most, or the greatest part of the Regions in this newe world, were discovered by this meanes, the which we must rather attribute to the violence of the weather then to the spirit and industrie of those which have discovered. And to the end we may know that it is not in our time onely that they have undertaken such voiages, through the greatnesse of our shippes, and the valour and courage of our men, we may reade in Plinie that many of the Ancients have made the like voyages, he writes in this manner : "It is reported that Caius Caesar, sonne to Augustus Caesar, having charge upon the Arabian Sea, did there see and finde certaine pieces and remainders of Spanish shippes that had perished." And after he saith: "Nepos reportes of the Northerne circuite, that they brought to Quintus Metellus Caeler, companion in the Consulship to Caius Affranus (the same Metellus being then

Proconsull in Gaule) certaine Indians which had been presented by the King of Suevia; the which Indians, sailing from India, for their trafficke, were cast upon Germanie by force of tempest." Doubtles, if Plinie speaketh truth, the Portugales in these daies, saile no further then they did in those two shipwrackes, the one from Spaine to the Red Sea, the other from the East Indies to Germanie. The same Author writes in another place that a servant of Annius Plocanius, who farmed the customes of the Red Sea, sailing the course of Arabia, there came so furious a Northerne wind, that in fifteene daies he passed Caramania and discovered Hippuros, a port in Taprobane, which at this day we call Sumatra. And they report of a shippe of Carthage, which was driven out of the Mediterranean Sea by a Northerne wind, to the view of this new world. The which is no strange thing to such as have any knowledge of the sea, to know that sometimes a storme continues long [p. 56] and furious, without any intermission. I my selfe going to the Indies, parting from the Canaries, have in fifteene daies discovered the first land peopled by the Spaniards. And without doubt this voiage had been shorter, if the Mariners had set up all their sailes to the Northerne winds that blew. It seemes therefore likely to me that, in times past, men came to the Indies against their wills, driven by the furie of the winds. In Peru, they make great mention of certaine Giants, which have been in those parts, whose bones are yet seene at Manta and Puerto Viejo, of a huge greatnes, and by their proportion they should be thrice as big as the Indians. At this day they report that the Giants came by sea, to make warre with those of the Countrie, and that they made goodly buildings, whereof at this day they shew a well, built with stones of great price. . . . In like sort, the Indians of Yca and Arica report, that in old time they were wont to saile farre to the llands of the West, and made their voiaiges in Seales skinned blowne up. So as there wants no witnesses to prove that they sailed in the South sea before the Spaniards came thither. Thus we may well conjecture that the new world began to be inhabited by men that have been cast upon that coast by the violence of the Northerne winds, as wee have seene in our age. So it is, being a matter verie considerable, that the workes of nature of greatest importance for the most part have been found out accidentally, and not by the industrie and diligence of man. . . .

[p. 57] . . . to the end wee may know that the glorie and praise of such wonders should be attributed to the providence of the Creator, and not to mans undnerstanding; for that which we thinke to happen accidentally proceedes alwaies from the ordinance and disposition of God, who does all things with reason.

*Chap. XX.--Notwithstanding all that hath bene said, it is more likely that the first inhabitants of the Indies came by land.*

**I conclude then, that it is likely the first that came to the Indies was by shipwracke** and tempest of wether, but heereupon groweth a difficultie which troubleth me much. For, suppose wee grant that the first men came from farre Countries, and that the nations which we now see are issued from them and multiplied, yet can I not conjecture by what meanes brute beastes, whereof there is great abundance, could come there, not being likely they should have bin imbarcked and carried by sea. The reason that inforceth us to yeeld that the first men of the Indies ared come from Europe or Asia, is the testimonie of the holy scripture, which teacheth us plainly that all men came from Adam. We can therefore give no other beginning to those at the Indies, seeing the holy scripture saieth, that all beastes and creatures of the earth perished but such as were reserved in the Arke of Noe, for the multiplication and maintenance of their kinde; so as we must necessarily referre the multiplication of all beastes to those which came out of the Arke of Noe, on the mountaines of Ararat, where it staid. And by this meanes we must seeke out both for men and beastes the way whereby they might passe from the old world to this new. Saint Augustine, treating upon this question, by what reason you shall finde in some llandes [p. 58] Wolves, Tigers, and other ravenous beastes, which breede no profit to men, seeing there is no doubt but Elephants, Horses, Oxen, Dogges, and other beastes which serve man to use, have been expresly carried in shippes, as we see at this day brought from the East into Europe, and transported from Europe to Peru, although the voiaiges be verie long. And by what meanes these beastes which yeeld no profit, but are very hurtfull (as Wolves and others of that wilde nature), should passe to the Indies, supposing, as it is certaine, that the deluge drowned all the earth. In which Treatise this learned and holy man laboures to free himselfe of these difficulties, saying that they might swim unto these llandes, or that some have carried them thither for their delight in hunting; or that, by the will of God, they had been newly created of

the earth, after the same manner of the first creation, when God said, "Let the earth bring forth everie living thing according to his kinde, Cattle, and creeping Wormes, and the beastes of the field, every one in his kinde." But if we shall apply this solution to our purpose the matter will remaine more doubtfull, for, beginning at the last point, it is not likely, according to the order of Nature, nor conformable to the order of government established by God, that perfect creatures, as Lions, Tigers, and Wolves, should be engendered of the earth, as we see that Rattes, Frogges, Bees, and other imperfect creatures are commonly engendered. Moreover, to what purpose is that which the scripture saith, and doth so often repeate, "Thou shalt take of all the beastes and birdes of the aire, seven and seven, male and female, to maintaine generation upon earth"; if such beastes after the deluge should be created againe after a new kind of creation without conjunction of male and female. . . . [p. 59] . . . On the other part, I will not hold it for a thing incredible that they have carried some of these beastes for the pleasure of hunting, for that we often see Princes and great men keepe and nourish in their cages (onely for their pleasure and greatnesse) both Lyons, Beares, and other savage beastes, especially when they are brought from farre Countries; but to speake that of Woolves, Foxes, and other beasts which yeeld no profite, and have nothing rare and excellent in them but to hurt the cattell; and to say also that they have carried them by sea for hunting, truely it is a thing that hath no sense. . . . Who would likewise say that they have carried Tygers and Lyons? Truely it were a thing worthy the laughing at to thinke so. It was sufficient, yea, very much, for men, driven against their willes by tempest, in so long and unknowne a voyage, to escape the danger of the Sea with theyr owne lives without busying themselves to carrie Woolves and Foxes, and to nourish them at Sea. If these beasts then came by Sea, wee must beleewe it was by swimming, which may happen in some Ilands not farre distant from others, or from the mayne Land, the which wee cannot denie, seeing the experience wee have, and that wee see these beasts, beeing prest to swimme day and night without wearinesse, and so to escape. But this is to be understood in small Straights and passages, for in our Ocean they would mocke at such swimmers, when as birds faile in their flight, yea, those of the greatest wing, upon the passage of so great a Gulph. And although we finde small birdes, which flie above one hundred leagues, as [p. 60] we have often seene in our travel, yet it is a matter impossible, at the least very difficult, for birdes to passe all the Ocean. All this beeing true which wee have spoken, what way shall wee make for beastes and birdes to goe to the Indies? and how can I say they passed from one worlde to an other? I conjecture then, by the discourse I have made, that the new world, which we call Indies, is not altogether severed and disjoyned from the other world; and to speake my opinion, I have long beleewed that the one and the other world are joyned and continued one with another in some part, or at the least are very neere. And yet to this day there is no certaine knowledge of the contrary. For towards the Articke or Northerne Pole all the longitude of the earth is not discovered, and many hold that above Florida the Land runnes out very large towards the North, and as they say joynes with the Scithike or German Sea. Others affirme that a Ship sayling in that Sea reported to have seene the coast of Bacalaos which stretcheth almost to the confines of Europe. Moreover, no man knowes how farre the land runnes beyond the Cape of Mendozino in the South sea, but that they affirme it is a great Continent which runnes an infinite length; and returning to the Southerne Pole no man knowes the lands on the other part of the Straight of Magellan. A ship belonging to the Bishoppe of Plasencia, which passed the Straight, reports to have sayled alwayes within sight of land; the like Hernando Lamero a Pilot doth affirme, who, forced by foule weather, passed two or three degrees above the sayd Straight. **So as there is no reason or experience that doth contradict my conceit and opinion, which is, that the whole earth is united and joyned in some part, or at the least the one approacheth neere unto the other. If this be true, as in effect there is some likelihood, the answer is easie to the doubt we have propounded, how the first Inhabitants could passe to the Indies.** [p. 61] For that wee must beleewe they could not so conveniently come thither by Sea as travelling by Land, which might be done without consideration in changing by little and little their lands and habitations. Some peopling the landes they found, and others seeking for newe, in time they came to inhabite and people the Indies, with so many nations, people, and tongues as we see.



*parte*. Digo de Aguiar (trans.). Valladolid: por los herederos de Diego Fernandez de Cordova, 1599.

**1591**    **Juan de Cardenas**            ***Primera parte de los problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias***

2d ed. Mexico: Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Historia y Etnologia.  
1913. First published Mexico, 1591.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 55-56] Both published and unpublished materials from this period [the end of the sixteenth century] evidenced a continued and rowing disillusionment with classical authority. . . . Generally speaking, spaniards were not so critical as Albinus. Acosta was doubtless atypical. The most prevalent critique was exemplified by the *Primera parte de los problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias* published by the Mexican *medico* Juan de Cardenas, in 1591.

Cardenas was not content to say the ancients had erred; he wanted to know why they had erred. The ancients had thought the Burning Zone uninhabitable, and in strictest philosophy it should be. Why were the Tropics habitable? Cardenas found the answer int he cooling effect of the great variety of altitudes, the summer rains, and the equal lengths of the days and nights. Although the Tropics (and America) were habitable, Cardenas thought the honor of the ancients was partly saved by virtue of the fact that the climate of the Indies had a degenerative effect on man; that people born int he New world did not live as long as Europeans; and that even Spaniards born int he Indies were more delicate than those born in Spain.

**1592**    **Juan de Mariana**            ***Historia general de Espana***. 15th impression. 2 vols. Madrid:  
Andres Ramirez, 1780. First published 1592.

**1592**    **Thomas Nash[e]**            ***Pierce Penilesse his Suplication to the Divell***. London, 1592.

Dan Vogel writes:

Nashe criticizes the atheistic notion that men existed before Adam.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(123)

**1593**    **Tho[mas] Nashe**            ***Christs Teares over Jerusalem***. London, 1593

Dan Vogel writes:

Nashe mentions the atheistic theory that the American Indians are pre-Adamites.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(123)

**1595**    **Bernardo de Vargas Machuca**    *Milicia y descripcion de las Indias*. 2 vols. Madrid: V. Suarez,

"Coleccion de libros raros o curiosos que tratan de America," Vols. 8 and 9., 1892. First published 1599. See also *Apologias y discursos de las conquistas occidentales*. Paris and Buenos Aires, 1913.

**[1596]**    **Geronimo de Mendieta**    *Historia eclesiastica indiana*. Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta (ed.).

Mexico: Antigua-Libreria, 1870. Written ca. 1596.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 54] The seventeen years between Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* and the publication of Gregorio Garcia's *Origen de los indios* in 1607 was marked by the appearance of an enormous amount of material on the New World. Most writers did not discuss the origin of the natives of America, but their testimony about the customs and nature of the Indians was widely used by those who were interested in the question. Many of the more important descriptive works were available only in manuscript. . . . The *Historia eclesiastica indiana* (1596) of the Franciscan Geronimo de Mendieta was **not published until 1870**, but it was used extensively by Juan de Torquemada in the early seventeenth century.

[p. 57] Two writers of the period [late sixteenth century] Mendieta and Hakluyt, contributed new theories of Indian origins. . . . Mendieta, who worked in Mexico, wrote only briefly about the origins of the Indians. He referred to the practice of circumcision among certain Indians of Mexico, but he did not commit himself to a Jewish connection. Actually, he attributed the theories he did explain to other men. To Father Olmos he attributed the opinion that the Indians came from one of three places at one of three times: from Babylonia when the division of tongues occurred; or later from the land of "Sichen" in the time of Jacob, when some fled that land; or when the Israelites displaced the Canaanites, Amorites, and Jebusites. To some unspecified "others" he attributed theories of Indians origins based on the stories of the captivity and dispersion of the Jews, and in the flight of the Jews when Rome destroyed Jerusalem in the time of Vespasian. But as for himself, "because there is no reason or foundation for any of these opinions which could affirm one more than the other, it is better to leave it undecided and let each take the one which best suits him".

1596 Agustin Davila Padilla *Historia de la fundacion y discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de*

*Mexico, de la Orden de Predicadores.* Brussels, 1625. First published Madrid, 1596. See also *Historia de la fundacion . . .* Agustin Millarres Carlo (ed.). Mexico: Academia Literaria, 1955.

1599\* Peter Albinus *A Treatise on Foreign Languages and Unknown Islands.* Edmund Goldsmid (trans. and ed.). Edinburgh: Unwin Bros. of London, printer, 1884.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 55] Both published and unpublished materials from this period [the end of the sixteenth century] evidenced a continued and growing disillusionment with classical authority. One of the bitterest criticisms was Peter Albinus' **pamphlet**, *A Treatise on Foreign Languages and Unknown Islands*, which **appeared near the end of the sixteenth century in Latin**. Albinus denounced the ancients: "What, pray can be found more ridiculous than such men? What, in the name of heaven, moved them, when they had explored almost no portion of the world in which they were placed, to dream that there were other worlds where they could not penetrate?" After pondering that for a few passages, Albinus concluded that "Experience, the mistress of everything, has refuted the false assertions of all of them".

1601^ Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas*

*y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano.* Antonio Ballesteros-Bareta (ed.). 17 vols. Madrid: Atlas, 1934-1957. First published 1601-1613. See also *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America, Commonly call'd, The West-Indies, from the First Discovery Thereof: With the best Accounts the People could give of their Antiquities. Collected from the Original Relations sent to the Kings of Spain.* Translated to English by Capt. John Stevens, Vol. 1, London, 1740.

George Reynolds writes:

Antonio Herrera was born at Cuellar, Spain in 1549. A Spanish historian, Phillip II (King of Spain) made him chief chronicler of America. **Herrera published many historical works, the most important being those that related to America.** He died at Madrid in 1625.

In the Preface we find the following:

The Author of this Work has met with so universal an Approbation among all those that understand and read Spanish Histories, that his Name alone is a sufficient Recommendation to them, and he is esteem'd and valu'd by all Nations, this being the most perfect and authentick Account that ever was Publish'd of that Part of the World, wrongfully nam'd America from Americus Vesputius, who we shall see had no Right to that Honour, as not being the first Discoverer. Antonio de Herrera was Historiographer to His Catholick Majesty, by whose Command he compil'd this Work, and as such was furnish'd with all the best Memorials that Crown could procure, either Printed or Manuscript. He himself informs us, that he has follow'd the Original Papers of the Royal Chamber, and Archives, and the Books, Registers, Relations, and other Papers of the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, omitting several things deliver'd by others in Print which had no Authority, or Reputation, as not to be verify'd by any authentick Writings. However he further acquaints us, that he had consulted the following printed Books, and taken as much from them as could be verify'd to avoid imposing any Thing upon his Readers. The Authors he says he made use of are as follows [information rearranged]:

Peter Martyr of Angleria, - was one of the first that Published any Thing of these Parts, and of the Discovery in General, but very imperfect, and not to be depended on.

Diego de la Tobilla, -

Motolina

Don Hernando Colon, - Colon, or Columbus, Son to the Admiral, his Relations are Authentick as being such as he receiv'd from his Father; but they are short as became an Admiral.

Alonso de Ojeda,

Alonso de Mata,

Enciso,

Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo, - writ the *Natural and Genral History of the Indies*, but neither so copious, nor so much to be rely'd on as this we have in Hand.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara, - took very much upon Trust which has been often refuted by others,

Andres de San Martin,

Pedro de Zieza, - deserves Credit, but has only an imperfect Account of some Part of the History of Peru.

Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, - treats mostly of his own Misfortunes, and gives some Account of Florida.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, - is the best that ever writ of the Conquest of Mexico, as having been an Eye-witness to all the principal Actions there, and has the Air of Sincerity, writing in a plain Style, and sparing none where he could see any Fault.

The Bishop of Chiapa, - otherwise call'd de las Casas, is the famous Spaniard, that exclaim'd so much against his Countrymen, charging them with Cruelty to the Indians.

The Dean Cervantes

Francisco de Xeres

Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada,

Garibay

Pedro Pizarro

Cortes's Relations, - Cortes's Letters cannot be contradicted, he having been the chief Agent in the Conquest of Mexico, but he being more taken up with Acting than Writing, could not give them all their Perfection.

Nuno de Guzman

Diego Fernandez de Palencia,

Augustin the Zarate,

the Pontifical History,

Don Alonso de Ercilla,

Geronimo Benzon

Theodore de Brye

Jusepe de Acosta

Father Augustin Davila

Garcilasso Inga,

Gabriel Lasso de la Vega

Don Antonio de Saavedra.

[Note\*] It would take up too much time to give Characters of them all, but the rest were such as only treated of some particular Places, or who writ of this Affair, only as an Incident belonging to the Histories they had in hand, . . .

To return to our Author Antonio de Herrera, it is most certain that all the others above-mention'd set together are much inferior to him, he comprising them all, and strictly adhering to the Truth, without ever deviating from it for Fear or Affection; for he has no where spar'd to expose the Faults of the Spaniards, nor has he cry'd them up in an Hyperbolical Manner, being moderate in his Commendations, and nowhere defective in his Censures. But that the Translator may not be imagin'd only to deliver his own Thoughts, there being no Books Printed in Spain without being first examin'd by Persons of Known Learning, we will here, with the utmost Brevity give the Opinions of some of those Censors. To pass by their Forms, and other Particulars, which do not make to our Purpose, Dr. John Beltran de Guevara says, No one of all those who have writ upon this Subject has perform'd it with so much Exactness as Antonio de Herrera. F. James Davila delivers himself thus: This History is very useful for all Sorts of People, because the Author's Method is very good, being at the same Time brief and intelligible, joining profound Knowledge and undoubted truth, and undeceiving us as to many Errors into which other Authors have led us concerning this History. . . . The Licenciado Francis de Anuncibay gives his Opinion in this manner: Though several have treated of this Subject by Piece-meal, none hitherto has done it to the purpose, and entirely, I find Things are taken in it from their Original, and very certain; . . . In short our Author is safely to be rely'd on in all Particulars, as a Person of Veracity, Judicious, and wanting no Helps that might render his Work perfect,. . .

A compleat Catalogue of the Authors that have writ of these Parts, will be added, with some Remarks on them, and a general Index to this History at the end of it . . .

My note\* I will now proceed to the text. In Chapter One I find that Herrera seems to paraphrasing the ideas and arguments that Jose de Acosta covered so well (see the notation for 1604). Nevertheless I will quote Herrera's writings in full so that the reader might compare:

Decad. I. Book. I.

[pp. 1-4]

Chap. I

*Of the Motives which induc'd the Antients to believe, that there was another World*

The Generality of Mankind were so far from imagining that there could be any such Regions as the *West-Indies*, that it was look'd upon as an extravagant Notion to think of any such Thing; for it was believ'd that the Land terminated at the *Canary-Islands*, and that all beyond them to the Westward, was Sea and yet some of the Antients gave Hints that there were such Countries. *Seneca* at the End of his Tragedy of *Medea*, says, a Time would come when the Ocean should be sail'd on, a great Continent discover'd, and a new World found. St. Gregory on the Epistle of St. Clement, says, that beyond the Ocean, there is another World, or rather Worlds; and others tell us, that a Carthaginian Merchant Ship accidentally discover'd in the Ocean an Island incredibly fertile, abounding in navigable Rivers, remote from the Continent many Days sail, not inhabited by Men, but by wild Beasts; for which Reason they would willingly have stay'd in it, and that having given Notice thereof to the Senate of Carthage, they would not permit any to sail to it, and the better to prevent it, caus'd those to be put to Death who had discover'd it: But this makes not for our Purpose, because we have no authentick Testimony of this Voyage, and if any one happens to mention it, he gives no Cosmographical Reason that the Admiral Do Christopher Colon, or Columbus, as we call him, who was the first Discoverer of the West-Indies, could make use of: Nor were there any wild Beasts in any of the Windwards, or Leeward Islands, which were those he discover'd, and therefore those who will not allow him the Honour he deserves alledge Plato in *Timeo*, where he says, there was no sailing over that Gulph, because the Passage was shut up at Hercules's Pillars, and that there was once in it an Island so large, that it exceeded all Europe, Asia, and Africk, and that there was a Passage from this Island to other Islands, for such as desired to go to them, and that from those Islands they pass'd to all the Continent, which was opposite to them near the true Sea. These People expounding the said Words after their own Manner, with more Ingenuity than Truth, say, that the Passage shut up is the Streight of Gibraltar, and the great Gulph is the Ocean, and that the great Island from which they went to the others was call'd Atlantis, and that the other Islands are the Windward and Leeward Islands, the Continent Peru and the South-Sea the true Sea, by reason of its great Extent. However it is certain that no Man had any clear Knowledge of it, and what there was, could be no other than Notions and Fancies interpreted after the Discovery; for the Greatness of the Ocean caus'd the Antients to believe, that no human Power was sufficient to sail over it; and yet they will pretend to back their Opinion, by alledging, that Antiquity had much Knowledge of the torrid Zone, making it out by Hanno, the Carthaginian's having coasted Africk, from the Mouth of the Streights to the Red Sea, and Eudoxius from the Sea to the Mouth of the Streights, and that they cut the Equinoctial, crossing the Torrid Zone; and they add, that Ovid and Pliny mention the Island Trapobana, now call'd Sumarra, which is under the Equinoctial.

Nothing of what has been above said is to be regarded, for Seneca's Notion was quite contrary, he fancying the Discovery would be made to the Northward, and it was to the Westward; and the coasting of Africk has no Relation to the crossing of the vast Ocean, as was done by Don Christopher Columbus, and the Castilians who have since continu'd it. If what has been above said may be regarded, the true Reflection will be on what we read in the 28th Chapter of Job, by which it seems to appear that our Lord kept this new World conceal'd from Men, till in his divine and hidden Judgment he vouchsafed to bestow it to the Spanish Nation.\* Nor is any Account to be made of the Interpretation of some others, that the holy Scripture by Ophir meant Peru, conceiting that when the Book of Chronicles was writ, it was call'd Peru as it is at this Time, for neither is the Name of Peru so antient, nor so universal for that Country, because it was a general Custom among Discoverer to give Names to the Lands and Ports, as Occasion offer'd and

so they nam'd all that Kingdom Peru, from a River the Castilians at the first came into, or from a Cazique of that Country, as will appear hereafter; and there is no relying on the Resemblance of Words, which is too slight a Foundation in Matters of such Consequence. The best Authors affirm, that Ophir is in the East-Indies, because Solomon's Fleet was of necessity to pass beyond it all and the Kingdom of China and a great Part of the Ocean, to come to the West-Indies, which could not be, because it was most certain that they went out by the Arabian Gulph, and the Antients were not acquainted with the Art of Navigation as now us'd, without which they could not venture so far out to Sea; nor could ther be any Knowledge of it attained by Land; besides that from Ophir they carry'd Solomon Peacocks and Ivory, which were never found in the West-Indies; and therefore it is believ'd that it was from the great Island of Trapobana, that those precious Things were carry'd to Jerusalem. Therefore they call'd all this new Discovery, The New World, because being as much Land as was before known, there was no other Way to express its Greatness, than by naming it so, as also because its Product was so different from ours, tho' the Elements were the same, besides that in this Name they follow'd Seneca and St. Jerome.

[Note\* This idea is very similar to that found in 2 Nephi 1:6-11.]

[pp. 20-23 ] Chap. VI.

*From Whence the West-Indies were first peopled, and why call'd Indies.*

Many have desir'd to know from whence the first Inhabitants of the other Hemisphere went over to it, which it is most certain must have been from ours, since there was but one Noah's Ark, and the Indians went not to Peru in the regular Way of Navigation, and designedly; the Antients having been unskill'd in the Art of Sailing, and not knowing the Use of the Load-Stone, and without the Compass there is no navigating on the Ocean. The Needle or Compass was first found out by Flavius, a Native of the Coast of Amalfi, in the Kingdom of Naples. The Natives of the Vale of Xauxa, in the Kingdom of Peru, say, they were inform'd by their Ancestors, that they were descended from a Man and a Woman that came out of the Spring of Guaribalia. Those of the Vale of Andbayla say, they came out of the Lake of Socdococa; those of Cuzco out of the Lake Titicaca. Others say, that after a Flood, six Persons, who came out of a Cave, restor'd human Race. Leaving these and other ignorant Stories they tell, since we are all descended from Adam and Eve, it is a clear Case, that they are descended from us; and that which gives us the more Light in this Particular is the nearness of the Lands; but we are so little acquainted with the Extremity of the Land, that nothing farther can be affirm'd.

There are some who assert, that in the North, Groerland and Estotiland are one continu'd Continent, and if so, it is likely, that the People of Asia and Norway, still propagating, and continuing to extend themselves, by Degrees proceed to those new Countires, of which we have some Demonstration in the Customs that are common to the People of Japan, Estotiland, Norway, and Bacallaos, for they all live in Forests, and the Caves, and in hollow Trees, clothing themselves in the Skins of Beasts, and Creatures breeding in the Sea, and feeding on Fish, and wild Fruit the Earth produces; besides, that they differ little in Colour.

Many believe that the new World is not quite divided from ours, and that the two Lands meet somewhere. As to the Artick Pole, the Extent of the Earth towards it is not fully discover'd, tho' they say it stretches out immensely above Florida to the Northward, and extends as far as the German Ocean. Others say, a Ship sailing that Way, the Sailors affirm'd that the Coast of Bacallaos runs almost as far as the Bounds of Europe; and beyond Cabo Mendozino in the South Sea, it is not known how far the Land reaches. Othere there are, who pretend, that as the Commander Ferdinand de Magallaens found the Streight of his Name to the Southward, so there must be another in the North, which they will have to be above the Land adjoining to Florida, and to prove this, they alledge, that it is agreeable to the Order of nature, that as there is a Passage between the two Seas towards the Antarctick Pole, so there should be one towards the Artick, which is the chief of them. But to return to the other Pole, many are of Opinion,

that there is a Continent beyond the Streights of Magellan, and if so, that Way the People went who first inhabited that Country, because of the Easiness of the Passage, which is narrow in some Places; the English who have pass'd that Way into the South Sea, are of another Opinion. The Men of the Ship belonging to Don Gutierre de Vargas, Bishop of Plasencia, which pass'd the Streight of Magellan after the Commander Don Garcia de Loaysa, said they saw Land all the Way. Many others who have gone far beyond the Streight, affirm the same, so that it is likely the Land there either meets, or is very close together, and therefore it may be believ'd, that the first Inhabitants pass'd over by Land; because there were never any Tokens of great Ships, and therefore the Indians were astonish'd when they first saw them with their Sails spread abroad, because they had none but Piraguas, Floats, and Canoes, like Trays, to row a small Way, and especially having no Compass. Nothing more likely than what ha been said appears concerning the Eastern and Western Extremities, only it is known that the People of the New World are in Colour like the Eastern, and there is not the least Appearance of any having pas'd thither from the politer Parts of Europe, before the Spaniards. To imagine that the New World began to be peopled by Persons drove thither by Stress of Weather, is unreasonable, as it is to regard any Antiquities of the Indians relating to it; for they deliver nothing certain, and worth crediting, having for a long Time had no King, nor any orderly Life, but they rang'd about as those of Florida now do. The Cheriguanaes, the Chichimecas, the Brasilians, and other nations liv'd without any King, or Sovereign, choosing their Leaders as Occasion offer'd either for War, or Peace; and some having surpass'd the rest in Policy, or Power, they began to subdue the others and by Degrees establish'd the Kingdoms of Mexico and Peru, and tho' they also were barbarous, they far excell'd the rest of the Indians; and thus **it is more likely to conclude that the Race, or Progeny of the Indians, descended from Men that pass'd into the West-Indies by the Nearness of the Land, and so extended themselves by little and little.**

**1604** Edward Grimston (Joseph de Acosta) *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 78] Edward Grimston made Joseph de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* available to the English reading public in 1604, on the eve of the mushrooming of English interest in the New World and in the origins of the Indians. The Acostan Tradition entered the English literature on the origins of the American Indians at the inception of English interest in the subject.

**1605** Inca Garcilasso de la Vega *The Florida of the Inca*, initial manuscript finished in 1599 and, subsequently, published in 1605 in Portugal under title ***La Florida del Ynca. Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, Governador y capitan general del Reyno de la Florida, y de otros heroicos cavalleros Espanoles e Indios.*** (Translated and Edited by John Grier Varner and Jeannette Johnson Varner from the 1723 Spanish edition published by Andres Gonzalez Barcia Carballido, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1996.



[See the 1609 Garcilasso de la Vega notation]

**1606 Enrico Martin**      ***Reportorio de los tiempos & Historia natural de Nueva Espana,***  
Mexico:

Emprenta del mismo autor, 1606.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 59] The engineer Enrico Martin is probably best known for his work in draining the Valley of Mexico. He added a new element to the debate on Indian origins in his *Reportorio de los tiempos & Historia natural de Nueva Espana*, (Mexico, 1606). Martin did not refer to Acosta by name, but his book reveals an adherence to the type of approach expounded by the old Jesuit. The Old World, he said, was easily filled up because it was all geographically contiguous. The New World posed a problem primarily because it seemed to be surrounded by broad oceans. Nevertheless, Martin thought the first settlers must surely have come to the Indies by land. The lack of the art of navigation in ancient times, and the inability of men and animals to come by air forced that conclusion on him.

Martin suggested that a likely route for the earliest immigration would cross from Asia to America in the region of Anian--a place variously located in extreme northeastern Siberia and northwestern America. Martin did not think the supposed Strait of Anian, which many thought separated northeastern Asia from America, would be wide enough to impede either man or beast. In his younger days Enrico Martin had traveled briefly in Courland (modern Estonia), and he testified that the inhabitants of Courland were people of the same "raza, color, condicion, y brio" as the Indians of New Spain. He noted, however, that the courlanders were more corpulent from their neighbors in both language and color. And, he concluded, the Courlanders and Indians seemed to him to be the same people.

Martin did not argue that the Indians were from Courland, but that they were the same type of people as the Courlanders. He may have thought that the Indians migrated to America from Courland by way of the Strait of Anian, but if so he did not make it clear. By the same token, he may have had some concept of a common origin for the Indians and the Courlanders, perhaps in Siberia. His statement concerning the racial and linguistic isolation of the Courlanders indicates that he probably did have such an idea in mind. Martin, however, did not make the idea explicit.

The geographical and faunal considerations introduced into the debate by Acosta, and the skepticism which he expressed concerning the value of the cultural comparison technique had a great impact on later writers who considered the origins of the American Indians . . . The Acostan influence . . . was also apparent in Martin's *Reportorio*

**1607 GREGORIO GARCIA**      ***Origen de los indios de el nuevo mundo, e Indias***  
***occidentales . . .***

Andres Gonzales de Barcia Carballido y Zuniga (ed.). Madrid:

Francisco Martinez Abad, 1729. **First published 1607** (Multivolume,  
Valencia).

Garcia's "Origin de los Indios" was published at Valencia in 1607. In this work he reviewed all current theories and listed over 1700 authors on the subject of the American Indians.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 60- 63] In order to discover as best he could what the origins of the Indians were, Garcia evaluated what he read, what he was told by both Spaniards and Indians and what he had seen. He did not quote very often, for his purpose in the *Origen* did not require it. He was primarily interested in identifying all possible sources for man in America and stating each of the arguments based on those sources as strongly as possible. Thus, for each opinion, Garcia posed all the objections he knew, and refuted them in turn. [Thus presenting the most positive approach possible for each theory] . . .

Before discussing the various opinions on origins, Garcia explained the conditions which governed the development of his treatise. First **it was necessary to accept three things as fundamentals on which to base the structure and the argument of the book.**

[1] The first dealt with the Catholic faith: That all "men and women had, and have, since the Beginning of the World, proceeded, and taken their beginning and origin from our first parents Adam and Eve; and subsequently from Noah and his sons, who were all who remained alive after the General Deluge" (1729:1); and that Noah divided the world giving Asia to Shem, Egypt and Africa to Ham, and Europe to Japheth.

[2] The second fundamental was:

that people now in the Indies, whom we call Indians, went to them from one of the three parts of the known world . . . The reasons for this is that if the fourth part called America were inhabited at the beginning of the world, or before the Flood, in the time of Noah and his sons or grandsons, there would have been notice of it and the ancient Historians and Cosmographers would have mentioned it as they did the three said parts. But in old times they considered them uninhabited because they were below the Burning Zone. Thus we are forced to concede that the Indians went to the Indies from one of the aforementioned parts. (1729:8)

And to those who remarked that it would be unreasonable to expect the ancients to know of such remote places, "I say that as Ptolemy knew of China," he would also have known of New Spain, which was near China and Greater Tatory. (1729:8)

[3] Fundamental number three concerned the ways of knowing. "All philosophers and theologians, Christian and Gentile alike, agree that all knowledge comes by one of four ways or methods": *Ciencia* [Science], *Opinion* [Opinion], *Fe Divina* [Divine Faith], and *Fe Humana* [Human Faith] (1729:9). . . .

In order to determine which to use, Fray Gregorio resorted to what "the Dialecticians call "*Induction*." Science he thought of no use because there was no reason or demonstration which could "engender in our Understanding, true, certain, and obvious knowledge of whence the Indians came." Nor was *Fe Divina* of any great help, because, though the Scripture taught the origin of all men from Adam and Eve, and Noah and his sons, it did not reveal which people went to the Indies. (1729:9).

*Fe Humana* was likewise useless, because before Columbus discovered the Indies no one "made mention of them and gave us certain and true reports of them." This absence of comment in the Old World was not alleviated by American sources, because the Indians had only "fabulous" memories of their origins. (1729:9-11). The only way not already excluded was *Opinion* and that was of dubious value,

because one of its characteristics was that it could not provide undeniable proof. Consequently, one could choose whatever opinion seemed most true to him. (1729:11-12). . . .

[pp. 64] Garcia and his contemporaries believed in the independence of *Opinion* and *Fe Humana* as judges of proof and truth. Their understanding of *Opinion* seemed roughly this: Things which were probable, or which could be made to appear probable, were matters of *Opinion*. Acceptance or rejection depended upon whether *you* thought them probable. Things which were merely said to be so or to exist, with no attempt to substantiate the assertion, were matters of *Fe Humana*, and were to be believed or not depending on the reputation of the person making the claim. . . .

Garcia identified some eleven major opinions regarding the origins of the American Indians. Some of these were actually collections of related opinions, and some dealt with ways of getting to the Indies. . . .

[p. 76] So well did Garcia illustrate the uncritical use of the comparative technique in connection with the search for the origins of the American Indians, that he justly deserves to have named for him that tradition characterized by credulity in its treatment of materials, uncritical acceptance of possible origins, a tendency to favor trans-Atlantic migrations, and a general inability to judge the value of various opinions with skepticism. He did not invent the attitude; but he was its greatest exemplar. That is the **Garcian Tradition**.

George Reynolds writes:

Gregorio Garcia (1560-1627) was born in Cozar about 1560. He was a Spanish Dominican author. He traveled for twelve years in Spanish America, part of the time as a missionary among the Indians. **A portion of his historical works have never yet been published and are probably lost.** He died in Beaza in 1627

George Weiner writes:

In the New World, from the very moment of its discovery, Spanish explorers and priests began to see an affinity between the Indians and the Jews. . . . Gregorio Garcia, a Dominican missionary who spent twelve years among the Indians, summed up the views of at least a dozen historians who preceded him: "Many have supposed, and the Spaniards who reside in the Indies believe, that the Indians proceed from the Ten Tribes. . . . This opinion is grounded on the disposition, nature and customs of the Indians, which they found very similar to those of the Hebrews; and although some learned men are uninclined to assent to such a belief, I nevertheless have bestowed great diligence upon the verification of this Truth."

Justin Winsor writes:

The most famous of the early discussions of the various theories [concerning American Indian origins] was that of Gregorio Garcia, a missionary for twenty years in South America, who reviewed the question in his *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo* (Valencia, 1607).\* He goes over the supposed navigations

of the Phoenicians, the identity of Peru with Solomon's Ophir, and the chances of African, Roman, and Jewish migration,--only to reject them all, and to favor a coming of Tartars and Chinese.

Winsor also notes\*:

The book is a rare one. Field, No. 586. Savin, vii. p. 157. Quaritch in 1885 had not known of a copy being for sale in twenty years. He then had two (Nos. 28, 355-56). There is one in Harvard College Library. Garcia drew somewhat from a manuscript of Juan de Vetanzos, a companion of Pizarro, and he gives the native accounts of their origin. There was a second edition, with Barcia's Annotations, Madrid, 1729 (Carter-Brown, iii, 432).

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 369.

Mrs. Simon writes:

[pp. 12-13] Garcia, in his famous treatise on the Origin of the Indians, says in the 232nd page, introduction to the third book, Many have supposed, and the Spaniards generally who reside in the Indies believe, that the Indians proceed from the Ten Tribes who were lost in the time of Salmanassar, king of Assyria, of whom Rabbi Schimon Sugati, who is named Sincha by Bartolucia, says, "nothing is certain, nor is it known where they dwell." This opinion is grounded on the disposition, nature, and customs of the Indians, which they found very similar to those of the Hebrews; and although some learned men are uninclined to assent to such a belief, I nevertheless have bestowed great diligence upon the verification of this Truth. I can affirm that I have laboured in this more than in any other part of my work, and from what I have found thereto relating, I shall lay such foundations for the edifice and structure of this hypothesis, as will be able to contain its weight. The entire of **Garcia's third book of the Origin of the Indians**, treats accordingly of the likeness which in their laws, their customs, their moral qualities and habits, their ceremonies, sacrifices and inclinations to idolatry, and even in their early History, the two nations bore to each other. In the first chapter he criticizes the passage of the Apocryphal book of Esdras, which induced the Jews themselves to think that they had colonized America, and others to treat with grave attention that singular history. The manner in which they had crossed from one continent to another was also a subject of discussion. In the sixth chapter, which is the most curious of all, he institutes a comparison between the Jewish moral and ceremonial laws, and those of the Mexicans, and shows how nearly they agreed.\*

**Note\* It must be recollected that the Spaniards intentionally consigned the arts, history, religion, and ancient monuments of America to oblivion, and that they denied to the Mexicans and peruvians the knowledge of many arts which were arrived at even a flourishing state of perfection among them. "Garcia declares that in Paraguay, iron money resembling in shape the shell of a tortoise, was used, which animal is represented on the oldest Greek coins, those of Thebes."--P. 68.**

Note\* A curious parallel of the Hebrews' and Indians' Moral Law may be found in the third book of Garcia's Origin of the Indians, which he has entitled "Como los Indios guardaron los Preceptos del Decalogo." How the Indians obeyed the Ten Commands in the Decalogue."--Antiq. Mex. vol. vi. p. 381.

In the seventh he [Garcia] compares the Hebrew language with that of the Indian idioms, and in the eighth he replies to some objections of Acosta. \* (see above)

**Garcia's History of the Peruvian Monarchy is . . . unknown. . . many other interesting works are said to have perished, or been lost in a similar manner.** It has been remarked before, that the office of royal historiographer of the Indies does not appear to have been instituted solely for the purpose of promoting the cause of truth, and the increase of knowledge: and it may be further observed that the council of the Indies, which took cognizance of all writers treating of America, requiring that they should be, previously to publication, submitted to a strict censorship, with the power of recalling or prohibiting, even after the publication, any work the thought fit, proceeded in a diametrically opposite spirit.--Mex. Antiq. vol. vi.

Source: Mrs. [Barbara] Simon, *The Ten Tribes of Israel: Historically identified with the Aborigines of The Western Hemisphere*. London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1836.

The following is quoted from *Origen de los Indios*, p. 248. (from Bancroft, H. H. Works, Vol. V: *the Native Races*, San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1883):

We would like not even to remember the unworthy opinions of certain veritable blasphemers, more barbarous than the Indians, which do not even deserve the name of opinions, but rather of follies; namely, that, perhaps, the first Indians might have been generated from the earth, or from its putrefaction, sided by the sun's heat, as (Avicena allowing this production to be easy in men) Andres Cisalpino attempted to make credible, giving them less perfection than Empedocles, who said that men had been born like the wild amaranth, if we believe Marcus Varron . . . . Of the formation of man, though of straw and mud, the people of Yucatan, had light; which nonsense is not inferior to the attempts of those who made men by means of chemistry, or magic (described by Solorcano) giving it to be understood that there may be others besides the descendants of Adam, contrary to the teachings of scripture: for which reason Taurelo feels indignant against Cisalpino, whose attempt would be reprehensible even as a paradox. Not less scandalous was the error of the ignorant Paracelso, according to Reusnero and Kirchero, who left to posterity an account of the creation of two Adams, one in Asia, and another in the West Indies; an excusable folly in one who had (though corruptly) information of the Catholic doctrine. Not less erroneous is the opinion of Isaac de la Peyrere, who placed people on the earth before Adam was created, from whom, he said, descended the heathen; from Adam, the Hebrews; which folly was punished with eternal contempt by Felipe Priorio, Juan Bautista Morino, Juan Helperto, and others, Danhaverio giving it the finishing stroke by an epitaph, as Dicterico relates; although some of the parties named state that La Peyrere became repentant and acknowledged his error, and did penance, which the Orientals, from whom he took that absurdity, have not done. These, and others of the same nature may not be held as opinions, but as evidences of blindness published by men of doubtful faith, wise, in their esteem, and deceivers of the world, who, with lies and fraud, oppose the divine word, as St. Clemens Alexandrinus says, "closing their ears to truth and blindfolding themselves with their vices, for whom contempt is the best reward."

The following is quoted from *Origen de los Indios*, p. 105. (from Bancroft, H. H. Works, Vol. V: *the Native Races*, p. 82, San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1883):

To show Garcia's style and logic, which are, indeed, but little different from the style and reasoning of all these ancient writers, I translate literally, and without embellishment of any kind, his attempts to prove

that whatever differences exist at the present day between the Jew and the American, are due to the special act of God:

It was divinely ordained that men should be scattered throughout all countries, and be so different from one another in disposition and temperament, in order that by their variety men should become possessed of a different and distinct genius; of a difference in the color of the face and in the form of the body; just as animals are various, and various the things produced by the earth, various the trees, various the plants and grasses, various the birds; and finally various the fish of the sea and of the rivers; in order that men should see in this how great is the wisdom of HIm that created them. And although the variety and specific difference existing in these irrational and senseless beings causes in them a specific distinction, and that in men is only individual, or accidental and common; the Most High desired that this variety and common difference should exist in the human species, as there could be none specific and essential, so that there should be a resemblance in this between man and the other created beings: of which the Creator himself wished that the natural cause should be the arrangement of the earth, the region of the air, influence of the sky, waters, and edibles. By which the reader will not fail to be convinced that it was possible for the Indians to obtain and acquire a difference of mental faculties, and of color of face and of features, such as the Jews had not."

Source: H. Alvah Fitzgerald, "Progressive Opinion of the Origin and Antiquity of the American Indian: A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Department of Religious Education," (In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science), Brigham Young University, 1930, pp. 18-20.

**1608 Francisco de Avila "Tratado y relacion de los errores, falsos dioses y otras supersticiones**

*. . . de las provincias de Huarochiri," First published in Lima, 1608.*

See also *De Priscorum Huaruachiriensium Origine et Institutis*.

Hyppolyte Galante (ed.). Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernandez de

Oviedo, 1942.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 79] The first few studies of America after Garcia consisted of attempt to complete the history of the Indians as told by themselves. The period 1608-1613 saw four major efforts in this direction. Francisco de Avila published his *Tratado y relacion de los errores, falsos dioses y otras supersticiones . . . de Huarochiri* (a province of Peru) at Lima in 1608. At about the same time the Mexican Indian, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, began his history of the Toltecs and Chichimecs, but he did not publish it. Another Indian, the Inca Juan Santa Cruz Pachacuti, completed his likewise unpublished *Relacion de antiguedades deste reyno del Peru* in 1613. In the meantime a third Indian, the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, wrote and published his *Commentarios reales*.

The works of the Indian authors are distinguished chiefly by their individuality. . . . Avila went a little further than the other Indian writers. He insisted that Adam was the father of all the Indians and denied the settlement of the New World before the Flood.

The influence of these works lay largely in their use by other writers.

[1608] **Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl** *Obras historicas*. Alfredo Chavero and J. Ignacio Davila Garibi (eds.). 2 vols. Mexico: Editoria nacional, 1952. Materials date from 1608

-1616.

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The works of the Indian authors are distinguished chiefly by their individuality. . . . The Mexican Ixtlilxochitl concerned himself only with the Toltec creation myth. . . .

The influence of these works lay largely in their use by other writers.

Hunter and Ferguson write:

[p. 15] Ixtlilxochitl ". . . was born about 1568: he was a student at the College of Santa Cruz in Tlateloco [Mexico]; . . . he was an interpreter in the court of justice of the Indians; and he died in 1648 at the age of eighty." (Alfredo Chavero, prefaced to *Obras Historicas de Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl* (1891 edition), vol. 1, p. 6.) His first work was written about 1600 and the second about 1608 (ibid. pp. 6-i7) He spent his entire life in Mexico. Hubert Howe Bancroft comments: "Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl was a grandson of the last king of Texcuco, from whom he inherited all that were saved of the records in the public archives. His works are more extensive than those of any other native writer . . ." Bancroft further indicates that Ixtlilxochitl ". . . writes honestly, compiling from authentic documents in his possession." (*Native Races*, 1876, vol. 5, p. 147)

*Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl* (1578-1650): Ixtlilxochitl was born of both Spanish and Mexican royalty. He grew up in the native environment of Texcoco near Mexico City. The writings on the history of Mexico, according to Ixtlilxochitl, consisted of many manuscripts that were first circulated in the year 1600 AD. His works, *Sumaria Relacion de la Historia General*, were completed about **1625 AD**. Regarding the sources for his history of Mexico, Ixtlilxochitl affirms that it was based on the native painted records of the Mexicans:

. . . of a truth I have the ancient histories in my hand, and I know the language of the natives, because I was raised with them, and I know all of the old men and the principals of this land. . . . It has cost me hard study and work, always seeking the truth on everything I have written. . . . (Chavero 62)

Although Ixtlilxochitl wrote in the 1600's, his work was not circulated widely until Lord Kingsborough of England published nine volumes of work entitled *Antiquities of Mexico*. Kingsborough included the writings of Ixtlilxochitl in **Spanish**, having obtained those writings from the National Library of Madrid. Kingsborough's works were published between **1832-1848** [see notation], but because of the extensive cost, his *Antiquities of Mexico* were never widely circulated.

Under the mandate of Mexican President Porfirio Diaz, Alfredo Chavero edited and footnoted a compilation of Ixtlilxochitl by Jose Fernando Ramirez. This edition (*Secretaria de Fomento*) was published in **1892** [see notation] to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the New World by Columbus.

**1609 Inca Garcilaso de la Vega *Primera parte de los comentarios reales, que tratan del origen de***

***los Yncas*** . . . Angel Rosenblat (ed.). 2 vols. Buenos Aires:  
Emece, 1945. First published 1609.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 79] The first few studies of America after Garcia consisted of attempt to complete the history of the Indians as told by themselves. The period 1608-1613 saw four major efforts in this direction. Francisco de Avila published his *Tratado y relacion de los errores, falsos dioses y otras supersticiones . . . de Huarochiri* (a province of Peru) at Lima in 1608. At about the same time the Mexican Indian, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, began his history of the Toltecs and Chichimecs, but he did not publish it. Another Indian, the Inca Juan Santa Cruz Pachacuti, completed his likewise unpublished *Relacion de antiguedades deste reyno del Peru* in 1613. In the meantime a third Indian, the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, wrote and published his *Comentarios reales*.

The works of the Indian authors are distinguished chiefly by their individuality. Garcilaso de la Vega wrote his history primarily from Spanish sources, since his personal contact with his homeland ceased in his teens. . . . Garcilaso satisfied himself with a denial that the word "Peru" even existed in the Quechua language. . . .

The influence of these works lay largely in their use by other writers.

**1609 Mark Lescarbot *Nova Francia: Or the Description of that Part of New France which is***

(POST FLOOD) ***One Continent with Virginia***. Translated by Pierre Erondelle, London, 1609.

See also *The History of New France* . . . 3 vols. Toronto: Champlain Society  
Publications, Vols. I (1907), 7 (1911), and 11 (1914).

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 111-112] Spanish writers dominated the development of ideas concerning the origins of the Indians of America until the beginning of the seventeenth century. After 1600 the peoples of northern Europe began to take a more active interest--especially the English and the Dutch. . . . Northern scholars knew many of the Spanish authorities. Peter Martyr, Acosta, and a few others were known in English translations by 1604; they were also available in French. The first volume of Hakluyt, printed in 1589 and again in 1598-1600, contained many excerpts from Spanish authors . . .

[p. 112-113] None of the Northerners of this period seemed to care much about the Atlantis origin theory. . . . Lescarbot, writing in 1609, thought it a myth. The theories of a Phoenician origin and the various Spanish origin theories found no adherents in Northern literature. Only Lescarbot (1907:I, 43) seemed to have known of the Spanish theories, and he merely referred to them in passing. . . .

Northern scholars hardly noticed Ophir . . .



The Ten Lost Tribes of Israel theory had surprisingly little influence on the early Northern scholars. The Frenchman Marc Lescarbot mentioned it in passing in his *History of New France*, published in French editions in 1609, 1611, and 1618. . . .

Lescarbot, in approaching the problem of Indian origins , noted that

some have made use of certain prophecies and revelations of Holy Scripture dragged in by the hair to prove, some that the Spaniards, others that the Jews should inhabit this new world. Others have thought that the inhabitants were a race of Ham, carried thither by the punishment of God when Joshua began his entry into the land of Canaan.

He thought this seemed confirmed by the fact that the Canaanites were cannibals, as were many Indians. Lescarbot cited many other similarities, but he did not definitely commit himself to this Ham-Canaan theory. . . . Strachey thought he had discovered sufficient similarities to substantiate his [Ham-Canaan--"Cham"] opinion, but one question worried him:

But how the vagabond race of Cham might descend into this new world, without furniture (as may be questioned) of shipping and means to tempt the Seas, together how this great Continent (divided from the other three) should become stowed with beasts, and some Fowle, of one and the same kynd with the other parts . . .

He could not answer.

This same question had bothered Lescarbot. Shipwrecks might have furnished some people, provided there were women aboard ship. Lescarbot argued that women may well have gone on expeditions in ancient times. The reason they no longer went was that luxury had sapped the hardihood of both sexes. And, since he knew by experience that civilized men could resort to savagery if stranded, the trans-Atlantic route was possible. On the other hand, Lescarbot thought, Noah may have constructed a second Ark to bring settlers to America; he felt certain too that the ancients had visited the New World.

Still, he did not know how America had "become stowed with beasts." He borrowed, then, from Acosta and argued that all the continents either joined or came near to each other at such straits as Anian or Magellan. The animals could have come that way. . . .

[p. 116] Lescarbot, Strachey, Brerewood, and Purchas relied heavily on Acosta. The first did so to explain the knotty problem of animals in America; the others used Acosta's geographical and faunal consideration to support their own theories. The Frenchman, despite Acosta, accepted a trans-Atlantic "probability," while the English writers rejected it in favor of the Anian route.

Dan Vogel writes:

Lescarbot entertains the idea that the Indians descended from and inherited the curse of Canaan but because of his primitivist view of the Indians doubts the theory. His translator, however, believes the Canaanite theory and is consequently more harsh in his description of the Indians' character (vi, 215, 264).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(119)

**1609** **Garcilaso de la Vega** *Commentarios Reales*, vols. I, II, and III. Printed in Lisbon, Portugal, 1609.

See also *Royal Commentaries of Peru*. London, 1688.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes: FINISH ]

Dan Vogel writes:

Vega mentions a Peruvian tradition that a race of giants built some of the great ancient buildings and that God swept them off the earth for their wickedness. Vega, a scholar, noted that horses and wheat were brought to the New World by the Spanish.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

In Chapter IX [pp. 561-563] we find the following:

The giants of those parts and how they met their deaths

Before leaving this region, we should mention a very remarkable story which the natives have received as tradition handed down by their ancestors for many centuries. It refers to some giants who they say arrived in their country from over the sea and landed at the point now called Santa Elena, a name given to it because it was first seen by Spaniards on this saint's day. Pedro de Cieza de Leon is the Spanish historian who speaks of these giants at greatest length, having received his version in the very province which the giants visited, it seemed best that I should follow his account word for word, for although padre Jose' de Acosta and the accountant general Agustin de Zarate say the same, their version is very brief. Pedro de Cieza's fuller account in his ch. lii is as follows:

*[The reader is referred to the Pedro de Cieza notation of 1550]*

David Calderwood writes:

A contemporary and distant relative of Poma de Ayala, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega also brought a unique native perspective to his accounts of Inca and pre-Inca society, culture and religion. He spent his first 20 years living in an Inca household in Cuzco where he learned from his mother and her illustrious family of Inca nobles about Inca heritage. Garcilaso de la Vega was born in Cuzco on 12 April 1539. He was the illegitimate son of the Spanish captain Sebastian Garcilaso de la Vega Vargas and an Inca

princess. Although Inca Garcilaso de la Vega was an illegitimate son, he was recognized by his father and received an inheritance from his father so that he could continue his studies in Spain.

Concerning his massive work *Commentarios Reales* (*Royal Commentaries*), Garcilaso de la Vega began to write his book, or at least gather material for it, as early as 1586. In a letter which he sent to King Phillip II, he mentioned that he was putting together a book about the history, rites, customs, and habits of the people living in Peru. He said he would give priority to the social culture of the Inca civilization. He subsequently sent the manuscript of *Commentarios Reales* to Lisbon where it was published in 1609. In *Commentarios reales*, Garcilaso de la Vega included a five hundred year (1000 AD to 1532 AD) history of the reign of the Incas.

Concerning the flood, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega wrote the following:

The common people in Peru relate another fable about the origin of their Inca Kings. . . . They say that after the flood--of which they are not able to provide more information other than to say it happened. They do not understand whether it was the one that took place at the time of Noah, or at some other time; therefore, we will not pursue what they say about it or other similar things. They appear to be more like dreams or poorly organized fables than historical events--and after the waters ceased, a man appeared in Tiahuanaco [also spelled Tiwanaku] who was so powerful that he divided the world into four parts and turned these parts over to four men whom he called kings; the first was called Manco Capac, the second Colla, the third Tocay and the fourth Pinahua.

Source: David G. Calderwood, *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, Austin, Texas: Historical Publications, Inc., 2005, pp. 30-31, 43-44.

**[1611] Father Martin de Murua *Historia General del Peru de los Origenes al Ultimo Inca.* (General**

*History of Peru of the Origins of the Last Inca*), Originally written in 1611. (Published by Informacion y Revistas, S.A., Hermanos Garcia Noblejas, 41 - 28037 Madrid. Historia 16, 1986. See also *Origen de los reyes del gran Reino del Peru*. 2 vols. Lima: Sanmarti, 1922-1925. "Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru," Ser. 2, Vols. 4 and 5. **First published 1911.**

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 54] The seventeen years between Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* and the publication of Gregorio Garcia's *Origen de los indios* in 1607 was marked by the appearance of an enormous amount of material on the New World. Most writers did not discuss the origin of the natives of America, but their testimony about the customs and nature of the Indians was widely used by those who were interested in the question. Many of the more important descriptive works were available only in manuscript. Martin de Morua's *Origen de los reyes del gran Reino del Peru* was published in 1911; the same author's *Relacion geografico-estadistica del Peru* (1577-1600) appeared first in 1925.

David Calderwood writes:

[p. 44] A Mercedarian friar, Father Martin de Murua, who finished his manuscript, entitled *Historia General del Peru (General History of Peru)*, about 1611, lived in Peru for more than fifty years. He spent many years in the environs of Lake Titicaca and apparently learned both Quechua and Aymara. He observed that the Indians related numerous diverse tales and fables about the origin of the Incas. He said that the most common account is that the first Inca was named Manco Capac. Murua said that all the Indians that he encountered tied the beginning of the Incas to a time of a flood.

The Indians state that when the people were killed off by the flood, four brothers came out of the window of a cave some five leagues from Pacaritambo. From these four brothers came the Incas. The oldest brother was Manco Capac, and after him came Ayarcache, Ayarauca and Ayarhuchu. They also brought four sisters . . . The old Indians state that the brothers saw a rainbow in the sky. Manco Capac told his brothers that the rainbow was a good sign and the world would not be destroyed again by water. (Murua, 49-50)

[pp. 371-372] In Peru, Martin de Murua wrote that in the late 1400's, the Lord Inca Tupa Inca Yupanqui [also spelled Topa Inca Yupanqui], father of Inca Huayna Capac, finished the great fortress at Sacsahuaman near Cuzco, which his father Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui had begun many years earlier. After this project was finished, according to several elderly Indians who served as informants for Murua, Tupa Inca Yupanqui went north overland to the mouth of the Guayas River [the modern city of Gyayaquil, Ecuador, is located at the mouth of the Guayas River] and embarked by raft or barge and sailed into the Pacific Ocean for more than one year. Murua did not describe the vessel, but it must have been similar in size and shape as the one encountered by Ruyz.

According to Murua's informants, Tupa Inca Yupanqui claimed to have reached some islands which he called *Hahua Chumpi* and *Nina Chump*. (Murua, 92) Tupa Inca Yupanqui reportedly brought back with him a few people described as being black, a large amount of gold and silver, a brass chair, and what Murua described as horse hides, horse heads, and bones. (See note\* below) According to Murua, years later during the civil war between Huayna Capac's sons, Huascar and Atahualpa, Atahualpa's military commanders destroyed the trophies that Tupa Inca Yupanqui brought back so that these things would not fall into the hands of the Spaniards.

Note\* Manuel Ballesteros, who edited Murua's book in 1987, pointed out that there were no horses on any islands of the Pacific east of the Philippines. Since the Inca would not have called them horses either, it is unclear what kind of hides they may have been. Murua did not claim that he personally saw the hides, heads and bones so it is unclear how he arrived at that conclusion.

[p. 374] Murua was also told that anciently, dark-skinned people arrived on the coast of Peru in large canoes or rafts. He was told that these dark-skinned people came from certain islands and they arrived at different sites along the Peruvian coast seeking gold, pearls and large snails. They were described as being very wealthy and were dressed in cotton clothing.

Source: David G. Calderwood, *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, Austin, Texas: Historical Publications, Inc., 2005

**1612 William Strachey**      *The History of Travell into Virginia Britania*. R. H. Major (ed.).

London: The Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2, Vol. 103. Written 1612

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 113- ] The Canaanite theory received the support of William Strachey . . . In his *History of Travell into Virginia Britania*, written about 1612 but not published until 1849, Strachey fully accepted that "it is very probable likewise that both in the travels and Idolatry of the family of Cham, this portion of the World (west-ward from Africa upon the Atlantic Sea) became both peopled, and instructed in the forme of prophane worshippe". Strachey. thought he had discovered sufficient similarities to substantiate his [Ham-Canaan--"Cham"] opinion, but one question worried him:

But how the vagabond race of Cham might descend into this new world, without furniture (as may be questioned) of shipping and means to tempt the Seas, together how this great Continent (divided from the other three) should become stoared with beasts, and some Fowle, of one and the same kynd with the other parts . . .

[p. 116] Lescarbot, Strachey, Brerewood, and Purchas relied heavily on Acosta. The first did so to explain the knotty problem of animals in America; the others used Acosta's geographical and faunal consideration to support their own theories. The Frenchman, despite Acosta, accepted a trans-Atlantic "probability," while the English writers rejected it in favor of the Anian route.

**1613 Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui**      "*Relacion de antiguedades deste reyno del Peru.*"

Lima:Sanmarti. "Coleccion de libros y documentos referencetes a la historia del Peru." 2d ser., Vol. 9, 1927, pp. 125-235 . Written in 1613. See also "An account of the Antiquities of Peru," in Clements R. Markham (ed.) *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas*. London: The Hakluyt Society, Ser. I, Vol. 48, 1873, pp. 67-122.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 79] The first few studies of America after Garcia consisted of attempt to complete the history of the Indians as told by themselves. The period 1608-1613 saw four major efforts in this direction. Francisco de Avila published his *Tratado y relacion de los errores, falsos dioses y otras supersticiones . . . de Huarochiri* (a province of Peru) at Lima in 1608. At about the same time the Mexican Indian, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, began his history of the Toltecs and Chichimecs, but he did not publish it. Another

Indian, the Inca Juan Santa Cruz Pachacuti, completed his likewise unpublished *Relacion de antiguedades deste reyno del Peru* in 1613. In the meantime a third Indian, the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, wrote and published his *Commentarios reales*.

The works of the Indian authors are distinguished chiefly by their individuality. . . . Santa Cruz Pachacuti merely affirmed the Trinity and the Adamic descent of the natives of Tahuantinsuyo. . . .

The influence of these works lay largely in their use by other writers.

**1613 Samuel Purchas *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed***

*in all ages and places discovered, from the Creation unto this Present.*

London: Wm. Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1613. See also *Purchas his*

*Pilgrimage* . . . 3rd ed. enlarged. London: Wm. Stansby for Henrie

Fetherstone, 1617.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 111-112] Spanish writers dominated the development of ideas concerning the origins of the Indians of America until the beginning of the seventeenth century. After 1600 the peoples of northern Europe began to take a more active interest--especially the English and the Dutch. . . . Northern scholars knew many of the Spanish authorities. Peter Martyr, Acosta, and a few others were known in English translations by 1604; they were also available in French. The first volume of Hakluyt, printed in 1589 and again in 1598-1600, contained many excerpts from Spanish authors. **In 1613 and 1626 Samuel Purchas gave a brief review of Spanish authorities on the subject in his *Pilgrimage* and his *Pilgrimes* and published extensive excerpts on America from the works of Herrera, Acosta, Oviedo, Lopez de Gomara, Schmidel, Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca, Xerez, Pedro Sancho, Cabeza de Vaca, De Soto, and Las Casas. Several Latin "Cosmographica" were also available.**

Until 1640 the northern European publications on the origins of the Indians were largely British. Most of the theories expounded in Spain found little acceptance in the North, and few Northerners showed any interest in a "Mediterranean" origin. . . . Samuel Purchas, who had read widely in Spanish literature, dismissed the Carthaginian theory and the use of Aristotle (if indeed Aristotle wrote the story, he observed) to show that America was "lately" inhabited: Purchas thought the ancients had no knowledge of the New World. the discovery of America, he said, was an "error . . . more fortunate than learned".

None of the Northerners of this period seemed to care much about the Atlantis origin theory. Purchas dismissed it as "allegorical" . . .

Northern scholars hardly noticed Ophir. Only Purchas gave it serious consideration. He knew of Arias Montanus' *Phaleg* and of his derivation of the name "Peru" from "Ophir," and "Yucatan" from "Ilectan." Purchas, however, thought Lopez de Gomara, Acosta, and Garcilaso de la Vega correctly attributed the word to a river, or to an Indian fisherman name "Beru" He continued:

Peru could not be Ophir if we conceive that Solomon brought thence Ivorie; and Peacockes. For Peacockes they read Parrots, and for Ivorie they are forced to take it up by the way in some place of Africa or India. . . . As for such . . . which think so huge and vast a tract of Land as that New World might be now empty of Elephants which then it had (for it is confessed by all Classike Authors, that America never saw Elephant) . . . why should not other kinds of Creatures be utterly destroyed aswel as those,

being more hurtful to the inhabitants . . . ? But I deserve blame to fight with Elephants in America, which is with less than a shadow, and to lay siege to Castles in the Aire.

The Ten Lost Tribes of Israel theory had surprisingly little influence on the early Northern scholars. . . . Purchas dismissed the theory largely by implication, since he thought America "latlier peopled than the Apostles dayes." The other writers of the period mostly ignored the theory.

[p. 114-115] The Acostan Tradition entered Northern scholarship [through Lescarbot] on the subject of the origins of the Indian. In 1614 Edward Brerewood gave the tradition its earliest extended expression in English, if one discounts Edward Grimston's 1604 translation of *The Natural and Moral Historie of the Indies*. Brerewood's *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions Through the Chief Parts of the World* was published at London in 1614. Purchas printed it in toto in his *Pilgrimes* twelve years later. . . . Samuel Purchas accepted Brerewood's arguments, and included the entire *Enquiries* in his *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625). Purchas also included most of the Grimston translation of Acosta's *historia natural y moral*. Purchas had written concerning the origins of the American Indians as early as 1613 when he published his *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all ages and places discovered, from the Creation unto this Present*. Neither the first edition nor the expanded third edition contained much information on this point although Purchas did reject the Carthaginians and Welsh as progenitors of the Indians. The third edition carried a brief summary of Brerewood's argument for a Tatar origin, but Purchas did not at that time accept it. By 1625, when *Purchas His Pilgrimes* appeared, Purchas had largely accepted Brerewood's thesis.

Purchas grounded his own version of the plantation of men in America in the works of Acosta, and of Brerewood. He evidently considered Brerewood's Tatar thesis a logical expansion of Acosta's arguments, and did not differ with Brerewood on the source of the Indians' ancestors. His attention focused on a rejection of older theories and an elaboration of the period in history when the first settlers went to the Indies. The sparse population of America indicated to Purchas that men went to the New World comparatively late in history. Unless men grew from stones or rained from clouds, Purchas could not understand "how wise and learned men . . . fill China and America with people in those days before Moses and Abraham, and find great commerce and knowledge of the New World, when the Old was but yesterday begun." He repeated these arguments much later, adding that America was lately peopled, and that the population came by stages.

If the Americans did indeed descend from the barbarous Tatars, how did they acquire such civilizations as Mexico and Peru? Purchas advanced a rather curious theory about the effects of climate on man and his culture-building. Northern climes made people "unquiet" of mind, bold, and forward; the "neere propinquity to the Sunne, Climates more temperate, richer Soyle, consent of elements and Aliments bred content to their minds and more prosperous concent of Fortunes, which softened their rigid dispositions, and by degrees disposed them to thinke on mechanically and politike Arts, further to humanize their society, and to polish their cohabitation with politie".

Lescarbot, Strachey, Brerewood, and Purchas relied heavily on Acosta. The first did so to explain the knotty problem of animals in; the others used Acosta's geographical and faunal consideration to support their own theories. . . .

In 1589 Acosta had hinted that the Indian civilizations might be native to America--that they might have developed after the original settlers arrived. Brerewood did not consider this point, but a certain degree of cultural autochthony seems implicit in his derivation of the Indians from the barbarous Tatars. **Purchas explicitly endorsed the independent development of the higher civilizations of America; but even he did not consider the question of autochthony as such.**

**The line of reasoning which led Brerewood and Purchas to choose Tatar as the source of the American population amply illustrates the strength of the type of argument this writer has labeled "Acostan."** (In this case the label is clearly warranted by their acknowledgements of Acosta). . . .

Perhaps the lack of a vast trans-Atlantic migration of the English, such as Spain had experienced in the sixteenth century, made it easier for Brerewood, Purchas, and Strachey to reject such migrations in pre-Columbian times. Even the Madoc legend mentioned by Hakluyt, Purchas, and later by John Smith found no support.

**1613** Juan de Torquemada *Primera (Segunda, Tercera) Parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i*

*monarchia indiana, con el origen y guerras de los Indios*

*Occidentales* . . . Andres Barcia (ed.). 3 vols. Madrid: N. Rodriguez

Franco, 1723. First published 1613.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 33-34] Many of the early writers have been credited with a belief in the Judaic origin of the Indians. Mrs. Simon, in common with Lord Kingsborough's other disciples, claimed that virtually all the early Spanish writers believed this theory. Many modern authorities, such as Imbelloni and Wauchope, accept the attribution of such a belief to Las Casas, Oviedo, Garcia, Juan de Torquemada, Diego Duran, and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Of these six men, all writing before 1613, only one--Diego Duran--clearly committed himself to the Hebrew origin theory.

Juan de Torquemada was apparently the first to credit Las Casas with being a "partidario del origen hebreo." In his *Monarchia indiana* of 1613 he stated that he had found a long rationale of the theory, "in a paper where were written some phrases of the Testament of Don Frai Bartolome de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapas; and because of this, he used in all his writings, it seems to me that it is his opinion"

Yet in his *Apologetica historia* Las Casas berated the "doctor" who had postulated a Jewish origin on the basis of a few words and the practice of circumcision. He also rejected the possibility of Jewish contact with America in the time of Solomon in his *Historia*. Furthermore, although Las Casas referred to Esdras, which was later used as the basis of the Lost Tribes theory, he did not use it in such a context.

The charge that Torquemada held to the Jewish theory is more readily disproved. Torquemada continued the statement quoted above in this manner: "and if it is, I say that despite his great authority and wisdom, I am not persuaded that these Indians are of those tribes." Torquemada followed this with several pages of reasons to prove, as the title of the chapter reads, "De como las Gentes de estas Indias Occidentales, no fueron Judios, com algunos han querido sentir de ellos, y se contradicen sus razones." It is difficult to understand how anyone who even looked at Torquemada's table of contents could credit him with a belief in the Hebrew-Indian theory.

[p. 80] In his *Monarchia indiana* of 1613, Juan de Torquemada rejected the probability of either a Carthaginian or Phoenician origin. He did not believe in the possibility of voyages of a magnitude sufficient to people all America; nor did he think the animals came by ship.

[p. 81] One reason that the Spanish scholars of the seventeenth century generally rejected the Atlantean, Carthaginian-Phoenician, and Roman origin theories was that they did not think that the ancients knew of the New World. Torquemada pointed out that the ancients could not have known of America because they knew of only three worlds--Asia, Africa, and Europe. America constituted a fourth world in an area the ancients thought did not exist.



[p. 84] Juan de Torquemada typified the consideration given to [the Lost Ten Tribes] theory by seventeenth-century Spanish commentators. After reciting the Esdras-based argument for the theory, he concluded, "I am not convinced that these Indians are those Tribes." IN the first place he observed, Esdras lacked authority. Despite the testimony of that apocryphal book, excellent evidence existed to indicate that the Ten Tribes never left the cities of the Medes. Even if one granted the truth of the Esdras story, it did not prove the identity of Arsareth and America. Then, paraphrasing Acosta, he asked why was it that "only in these Indies have the Jews forgotten their Language, their Law, their ceremonies, their Messiahs, and finally, all their Judaism?" Torquemada did not believe that the languages of the Indians showed any definite evidences of Hebraic influence. He also concluded that native customs revealed no Jewish characteristics.

Calancha, writing twenty-five years later, in 1638, faced in the same manner the problem of possible Indian descent from the lost Hebrew tribes, and reached a similar conclusion.

The Spanish priest, Juan de Torquemada was born at Valladolid, Spain about 1557. He went to Mexico in his youth; joined the Franciscan order there, and was a professor in the college of Tlatelolco. His historical works are amongst the best of the early histories of Mexico. He was one of the few chroniclers to see his history printed, a history which merits our attention because it mentions over water crossings by different groups of settlers. In his history of Mexico called *Monarquia Indiana*, he recorded the legends of the origins and migrations of the Mexican people.

David Palmer writes:

He also wrote about some of the legends of the white god, Quetzalcoatl. Torquemada's work was maligned because it presented the unpopular view of Indians as people of culture rather than as savages. Thus it was practically ignored until this century. **The first edition, published in 1615**, suffered an immediate scarcity when a ship carrying most of the copies sank. At the beginning of the eighteenth century only three copies could be found in Spain. Another copy has since been found in Mexico and I [David Palmer] have examined a first edition copy in the Newberry Library, Chicago. **There was a second edition published in Madrid in 1723 which also became a very rare book. The only reprintings have been in this century, and it has never been published in English.**

Torquemada died in Mexico after 1617 (1664?).

In 1836 Mrs. Simon would write:

[pp. 14-16] Torquemada, who does not allow that the Mexicans borrowed any of their analogous customs from the Jews, nevertheless, in treating in the thirty-seventh chapter of the tenth book of his Indian Monarchy, of their art of divination, expresses himself thus, "Segun doctrina falso de estos diabolicus Rabbinas," by which he clearly shews the channel of this thoughts.

Such was the reserve the Spanish historians imposed upon themselves in treating of Quetzalcoatl (the Mexican Messiah) that his name in fact would scarcely have been handed down to us but for the preservation of a chance copy of the first edition of the Indian Monarchy, by Torquemada. Again, it is evident that in Mexico, great pains were taken by the monks and clergy to root out the remembrance of him, and legendary tales relating to his life, were not allowed to be inserted in books published either in

that city or in Spain. The temple of Cholula was dedicated to Quetzalcoatl; Bernal Diaz in his history, declares that he had forgot the name of the idol, to whom it was dedicated, although he remembers the number of steps which led up to the temple! This was either out of compliance with the wishes, or in obedience to the command of others.--p. 169.

It is singular that Torquemeda, who was so well acquainted with the Mexican Mythology, should say so little of Totoc, occupying as he does, the next place to Quetzalcoatl, in the Mexican calendar. This silence on the part of Torquemeda, must either be attributed to the oblivion in which half a century had involved many of the religious traditions of the Mexicans, or to the MS. copy of the Indian Monarchy having been mutilated, previously to license being granted to publish it. Two writers have declared this to be the case. The editor of the second edition complains, that the first chapter of the second book, "Clave de la de esta obra" has been entirely omitted; nor did he think it expedient, as he himself says, to request license to print it, although he adds, "Reasons for secrecy seemed no longer to exist."--p. 179. . . .

Without stating his reasons for dissenting from Las Casas, he [Torquemeda] assumes it as an undoubted fact, that the Devil had taken unto himself a chosen people in the new world, and counterfeited in them the history of the children of Israel, and their pilgrimage from Egypt. He assumes this fact, but is very reserved in stating the reasons which induced him to do so, and very concise in his account of the Mexican migration; the same reserve actuating other Spanish historians who possessed equal means of obtaining information with Herrera, has nearly robbed the world of a secret which it is hoped may yet be brought to light.--Anitq. Mex. vol. vi. p. 263.

Source: Mrs. [Barbara] Simon, *The Ten Tribes of Israel: Historically identified with the Aborigines of The Western Hemisphere*. London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1836.

**1614 Edward Brerewood      *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions Through***

**(MONGOLOID)      *the Chief Parts of the World*. London: J. Bill, 1614, 1622, 1635, 1674.**

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 114-118] In 1614 Edward Brerewood gave the [Acostan] tradition its earliest extended expression in English, if one discounts Edward Grimston's 1604 translation of [Acosta's] *The Natural and Moral Historie of the Indies*. Brerewood's *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions Through the Chief Parts of the World* was published at London in 1614. . . . Brerewood was professor of astronomy at Gresham College, but his hobby was language analysis: his *Enquiries* was something of a landmark in the development of linguistics. he may have reached his conclusions independently as a result of his analyses, but he did know of Acosta's work and cited it near the beginning of his section on Indians.

Brerewood began his discussion of American natives with a long section on the Tatars. The Tatars, like many of the primitive peoples of the Earth, were frequently identified as the remnants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. The evidence used to substantiate this claim resembled that used to prove the Indians descended from the Tribes: The word "Tatary" was actually "Totari," meaning "remanent" in Hebrew; Tatars practiced circumcision, etc. Brerewood denied each of these evidences and the conclusions based on them; then he turned to America.

And what if the innumerable people of so many nations, as are known to inhabit and overspread the huge continent of America, be also of the same off-spring [as the Tatars]? Certainly, if I be not greatly deceived, they are no other. For first, that their originall must be derived from Asia is apparent, because . . . they have no relish nor resemblance at all, of the Arts, or learning, or civilitie of Europe; And their colour testifieth, they are not of the Africans progenie . . . .

This lack of "arts or industrie" resembling those of the known civilized areas of Europe and Asia, the Indians' "grosse ignorance of letters," their idolatry, "incivilitie, and many barbarous properties" led Brerewood to conclude that the Americans descended from the Tatars.

Brerewood did not argue solely on these grounds. The best argument of all, he thought, was geographical. The west coast of America, which lay nearest to Asia and the homeland of the Tatars, was also the most heavily populated sides. Furthermore, "it is certain that the North-East part of Asia possessed by the Tatars, is if not continent with the west side of America . . . is the least disjoynd by Sea." By such a route came the "ravenous and harmlesse beasts . . . which men as is likely would never to their owne harm transport".

Then Brerewood returned to the lost tribes theory of Indian-Tatar origins. He attempted to prove historically that such was impossible. Circumcision among the Tatars, he argued, was no older than their Mohammedanism; nor was circumcision peculiar to the Jews. Furthermore, he continued, Esdras was not authoritative: the Ten Tribes never left Assyria, and Arsareth was a myth. . . .

Lescarbot, Strachey, Brerewood, and Purchas relied heavily on Acosta. The first did so to explain the knotty problem of animals in; the others used Acosta's geographical and faunal consideration to support their own theories. . . .

In 1589 Acosta had hinted that the Indian civilizations might be native to America--that they might have developed after the original settlers arrived. Brerewood did not consider this point, but a certain degree of cultural autochthony seems implicit in his derivation of the Indians from the barbarous Tatars. . . . The line of reasoning which led Brerewood and Purchas to choose Tatar as the source of the American population amply illustrates the strength of the type of argument this writer has labeled "Acostan." (In this case the label is clearly warranted by their acknowledgements of Acosta). . . . Despite Brerewood's endorsement of certain similarities between Indians and Tatars, he considered that his secondary argument. His reasoning took the form of eliminating possibilities. Geography and skin color eliminated Africa. Geography and extreme differences in cultural levels eliminated Europe. Geography and related faunal considerations pointed to Asia as the likely source. The fact that the Tatars possessed the land nearest to America, and the fact that they resembled each other in general cultural level, suggested that the Indians were merely Tatars who had moved to America. Brerewood did not allow his great interest in languages to lead him into a comparison of Indian and Tatar languages.

Perhaps the lack of a vast trans-Atlantic migration of the English, such as Spain had experienced in the sixteenth century, made it easier for Brerewood, Purchas, and Strachey to reject such migrations in pre-Columbian times. Even the Madoc legend mentioned by Hakluyt, Purchas, and later by John Smith found no support.

The Acostan Tradition appeared stronger in England before the Lost Tribes furor of the 1640's and 1650's than in Spain itself. The Brerewood statement of 1614 appeared about the same time as Herrera (1601-1613) and Torquemada (1613) in Spain. But the Brerewood position was essentially stronger because it was unencumbered by the morass of the Garcian or trans-Atlantic traditions.

Dan Vogel writes:

Brerwood, an English philologist, believed the North American Indians to be a group of Tartar origin who came to America via the northern land bridge. He also states that animals came by the same route, for certainly no one would have transported wild and vicious beasts.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(108)

**[1615] Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala *Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno*.** Original manuscript finished in 1615, but not discovered until 1908 by Richard Pietschmann and published in 1936. Transcription, Prologue, Notes y Chronology by Franklin Pease. (This edition was printed in Venezuela by Biblioteca Ayacucho Caracas, Venezuela, 1978) See also *El Primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno* Paul Rivet (ed.). Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1936. Facimile of MS. Written ca. 1587-1615. See also *La nueva cronica y buen gobierno*. Luis Bustos Galvesz (interpreter). Vol. I. Lima: Editorial Cultura, 1956.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 45-46] The Ophirian and Lost Tribes origin theories differed from most other theories in that they traced the Americans to their ultimate origin by connecting them with the biblical genealogies. . . . *El Primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno* by Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (**written between 1587 and 1613 and published for the first time in 1936**) was an even more esoteric production. Poma de Ayala was "of pure Indian blood," and his language is only vaguely Spanish. Poma does appear to accept a greater antiquity for man in the New World than most other commentators of his day. . . . The most recent edition contains the original text and an "interpretation" for modern Spanish readers, which amounts to a translation. This modern translation is frequently inaccurate. . . . For example, Poma de Ayala wrote that ". . . se escribe q. sera desde la fundacion del mundo dos millon y seycientos y doze anos desde el comiensno hasta el acabo"; which clearly means that 2,000,612 years will pass between the beginning and the end of the world. yet the translator renders it "desde la creacion del mundo hasta la actualidad hand transcurrido 2,000,612 [sic] anos. . . ."

**Poma wrote of one of Noah's sons coming "god-brought" to the Indies. (1956:293), and he attributed orderly, civilized life to the Incas around the time of David. It seems as if he thought men came to America shortly after the Flood and developed independently there.** The bulk of his book concerned what was happening in America at the time of important events in the Old World.

David Calderwood writes:

Another chronicler who stipulated that the native Americans came to the New World shortly after the universal flood was Indian chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. He provided supporting information

to Cabello Valboa and Montesinos's theses, in his book, *Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno*. He believed that God brought one of the descendants of Noah to the "Indies," who initially kept the commandments of God. These early American inhabitants whom Poma de Ayala identified as Vari Viracocha Runa [Men of the god Viracocha] eventually lost their faith and hope in God, his writings, and commandments, but did retain a faint recollection of a creator of man and a creator of the world. They adored and worshiped a God known as Runacamac Viracocha. According to Poma de Ayala, they retained a vague knowledge of the flood and a belief that the flood was a punishment sent by their god. (Ibid. 40)

Poma de Ayala further explained that although the initial Indians were obedient and worshiped Pacha Camac, the creator of the world, later generations which he identified as "pacarimoc runa" were not as capable as the earlier inhabitants. Poma de Ayala implied that as the people drifted away from worshiping their deity, they also became more primitive in their standard of living. Montesinos also observed that the ancient people of Cuzco, mainly the *amautas* or wise men, knew how to read and write and they frequently wrote on dried banana leaves. He pointed out that centuries later the descendants of these people lost the ability to read and write and had to resort to the system of strings and knots known as the quipos. (Montesinos, 21)

It is interesting to note that Poma de Ayala and Montesinos viewed the earlier inhabitants as having a superior civilization and that it was later generations who lost contact and faith with God and showed inferior capabilities.

Poma de Ayala stated that his grandfather was an important Inca historian or quipocamayhoc (one who records history and administrative affairs on the *quipos* and can also read the *quipos*) Poma de Ayala obtained much of his information for his book from the quipos that still existed in his day. He stated:

I decided that I would write the history and tell about the descendants as well as the more notable activities of the first kings, lords, captains, and forefathers from the time of the first Indians who were called Vari Viracocha Runa, who lived in the days of Adam, and Vari Runa, who was a descendant of Noah. (Poma de Ayala, 8)

Source: David G. Calderwood, *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, Austin, Texas: Historical Publications, Inc., 2005, p, pp. 50-51, 30

**1625 Joannes de Laet      *L'Histoire de Nouveau Monde ou Description des Indes Occidentales***

. . . Leyden: Elseviers, 1640. First published 1625.

At present I have been unable to find the content of this first publication by Joannes de Laet. However, late in 1641 Hugo Grotius sent a manuscript to his brother with the request that he show it to his fellow-countryman, Joannes de Laet, whom he knew to be an expert on America. Apparently this expertise came, at least in part, from this 1625 publication. The reader is referred to the discussion of the Grotius-De Laet debate in the 1642 and 1643 notations.

**1627 Pedro Simon      *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias***

***Occidentales***. Cuenca: Domingo de la Iglesia, 1627.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 80] The Franciscan Simon, in his *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales*, accepted the truth of Aristotle's story. He varied from Aristotle's version to the extent of claiming that the Carthaginians did not forget about the island. On the contrary, they later returned with women to settle the place. This return voyage also included some *animales bravos* (such as tigers and wolves) which they brought for sporting purposes.

[pp. 86-87] Between 1607 and 1729 only one Spaniard, the author of the *Isagoge*, accepted the traditional version of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel theory. **A variant reading of the thesis advanced by Pedro Simon in 1627 enjoyed as much popularity and more notoriety. Simon accepted part of the Esdras story and argued that the Indians probably originated in Israel, but "only from the Tribe of Issachar."** He based this belief on the prophecy of Issachar's father, Jacob : "Issachar is a strong ass, crouching between the sheepfolds; he saw that a resting place was good, and that the land was pleasant; so he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a slave at forced labor" (RSV, Gen. 49:14). There is a significant difference between the modern version and the rendition by Simon and others who used the Issachar story. According to Simon, Issachar "ha de estar echado entre terminos." **Vazquez de Espinosa, who adopted the Issachar theory** in the portion of his *Compendio y descripcion de las Indias Occidentales* published in 1630, phrases it thusly: "Isachar, asno fuerte el que haze assiento entre terminos."

The critical difference between the seventeenth century readings and the modern version is the use of the term "sheepfold" in the Revised Standard Version, whereas the early Spaniards used the undefined "entre terminos"--within boundaries. Simon interpreted this prophecy to mean that Issachar would have to live "entre terminos" in a good and pleasant place, and work as a slave, and pay tribute. This prophecy accurately mirrored the condition of the Indians: their journey to America had been an arduous one, and their station in life doomed them to carry the burdens of their conquerors, the Spaniards. The statement also correctly reflected the stolidity of the American and his ability to live like a burro at a subsistence level. The "entre terminos" referred to the geographical position of America as an island surrounded by water and bounded by the Tropics--God's limits to the wanderings of the sun. Since the condition of the Indians of America corresponded to the prophesied status of Issachar's descendants, they must have descended "only from the Tribe of Issachar."

**Solorzano (1629), Calancha (1638) and Zamora (1701)** all analyzed the Issachar variation and **rejected it**. Solorzano attributed the theory to one Ruiz Bejaran, not knowing of Simon's work which was published two years earlier. (Cuenca, 1627). . . . Solorzano merely catalogued the theory, but did not openly reject it. He did implicitly reject it, however, by endorsing a Far Eastern non-Jewish origin. (1703):11). Calancha, with characteristic candor, referred to the Issachar story as "silly" because it would fit not only the Indians, but also Christians under Moslem control, and Negroes in Europe. (1638:39-40). Zamora similarly dismissed the idea, because the Indians had lived without masters for many generations before the Spanish conquest. (1945:I, 97). It should be noted in fairness to Simon, that neither Calancha nor Zamora considered all aspects of Simon's thesis. They concentrated their attention on the "condition of servitude" part of Simon's argument.

[p. 95] Most commentators contented themselves with attempting to discover the origins of the first Americans after the Deluge. Three--Simon (1627), Calancha (1638), and Agustin de Vatanacurt (16989)--made more or less detailed investigations into the possibility of antediluvian man in America. Simon thought that the fact that God made man rule over and people the Earth indicated that people had come to the New World before the Flood. He knew of some evidence pointing in that direction. for example, some Peruvians reported finding a ship high in the Andes, no doubt carried there by the Flood. He also had reports of elephant bones found in Mexico; since elephants did not now live in Mexico, they must have lived there before the Deluge. He had heard too of the discovery of the bones of giants in both Mexico and Peru; and all giants had drowned in the Flood.

Simon still had to explain how men and animals got to America even if they did come before the Flood. He suggested that perhaps the Old World had been geographically continuous with the New, before Noah. Even without such contiguity, Adam probably knew enough "science" to tell his descendants how to get to America by ship.

**1629 Juan de Solorzano y Pereyra *Disputationem de indiarum iure* . . . Madrid: F. Martinez., 1629. See**

also *Politica indiana*. 5 vols. Madrid and Buenos Aires: Compania ibero-americano, 1930. First Spanish version, 1648.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 80] Though Spain did not dominate the discussion of Indian origins after 1600, her scholars continued their long interest in the subject. Discussion of the question touched on all the old theories catalogued by Garcia, and on several that he had missed. Most of the theories found at least one supporter in the seventeenth century. Most of the commentators simply ignored the Atlantean theory of Indian origins, and none accept it. Juan de Solorzano y Pereyra, in his *Disputationem de indiarum* (Spanish expansion as *Politica indiana* 1647) of 1629 referred to Atlantis as an "incredible, in my opinion fabulous, narration."

**1630 Antonio Vasquez de Espinosa *Compendium and description of the West Indies*. Charles**

*Upton Clark (trans.). Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Misc. Coll., Vol. 102, 1942. Part on America published 1630.*

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 86] **Vazquez de Espinosa (1948:18), who adopted the Issachar theory** in the portion of his published in 1630, phrases it thusly: "Isachar, asno fuerte el que haze assiento entre terminos."

The critical difference between the seventeenth century readings and the modern version is the use of the term "sheepfold" in the Revised Standard Version, whereas the early Spaniards used the undefined "entre terminos"--within boundaries. Simon interpreted this prophecy to mean that Issachar would have to live "entre terminos" in a good and pleasant place, and work as a slave, and pay tribute. This prophecy accurately mirrored the condition of the Indians: their journey to America had been an arduous one, and their station in life doomed them to carry the burdens of their conquerors, the Spaniards. The statement also correctly reflected the stolidity of the American and his ability to live like a burro at a subsistence level. The "entre terminos" referred to the geographical position of America as an island surrounded by water and bounded by the Tropics--God's limits to the wanderings of the sun. Since the condition of the Indians of America corresponded to the prophesied status of Issachar's descendants, they must have descended "only from the Tribe of Issachar." . . .

[p. 87] The Issachar variant was also accepted by Antonio Vazquez de Espinosa in his *Compendio* (1630). Generally, Vazquez' argument concerning the possible ways the first settlers could have come to America paralleled Acosta's; but his conclusion owes nothing to Acosta: "I say . . . that the first settlers of the Indies descended from *la mejor gente* then existing in the world, that is, from

the ten Tribes of Israel, when King Salmanasar exiled them to uninhabited lands . . . and in particular from the Tribe of Isacar . . . "

[Note\*\*\* Vasquez uses the phrase "la mejor gente" referring to the lost ten tribes of Israel. I believe Columbus used the same or similar phrasing in describing the natives. CHECK!!!!]

Without quoting any source other than the Bible and the apocryphal Esdras, Vazquez (1948:18-19) developed the Issachar theory precisely as did Simon. Vasquez used the Lost Tribes theory to buttress his Issachar theory, with a degree of confusion resulting. Vasquez used the Esdras story of the migration of the Ten Lost Tribes to show how the descendants of Issachar, who were among the exiles, could have got to America--an event he dated at 739 B.C. Yet Vazquez continued with a discussion of the evidence of an Ophirian origin which might have brought men to the New World in 1943 B.C. He did not explain the connection of Issachar with the Ophirites, and seemed to be offering an alternative to the Issachar origin. Apparently he was not committed to Issachar, but merely thought it most probable.

Vazquez also admitted other possible sources for the Indians: Jews fleeing from Sennacherib about 700 B.C. through West Africa and thence to America; Carthaginians, Scandinavians, Tatars, Chinese. Nonetheless, he remained convinced that "the most reasonable theory seems to be that they are descended from the Ten Tribes"--especially the tribe of Issachar. (1948:23). This descent was indicated by many of the "customs, rites, and ceremonies" common to the ancient Hebrews and modern Indians. The examples which Vazquez introduced were typical: similarity in physique and temperament, circumcision, burial customs, language, et al. He did not place much faith in the presumed equivalence of "Peru" and "Ophir" nor did he think the easy metamorphosis of "Indio" into "Iudio" by inverting the "n" carried any significance. The multiplicity of languages, which Vazquez placed at fifty thousands, was a problem to any theory of a common origin for the Indians, but Vazquez passed the diversity off as a consequence of sin or diabolic intervention.

Despite the Jewish descent of the Indians, their remoteness from the Old World freed them from any guilt in the death of Christ, and their ready acceptance of Christianity from the Spaniards argued well for them. "Although they were once idolaters," Vazquez argued, "we must judge them as one of the noblest peoples on earth." This conclusion seems inconsistent with an adherence to the Issachar variant of the Lost Tribes theory, but Vazquez gave no evidence of concern over a possible inconsistency.

The only other writer this author found who accepted the Issachar variation of the Ten Lost Tribes theory was Balthassar de Medina in his *Chronica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de Mexico* of 1682.

**[1633] Bernardo de Lizana**      *Historia y conquista espiritual de Yucatan*. Mexico: Museo Nacional,

1892. Written by 1633.

**[1634] Alonso de Benavides**      *Fray Alonso de Venavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*. Cyprian J.

Lynch (ed.). Peter P. Forrestal (trans.). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945.



**1637 Thomas Morton**      ***New English Canaan; or New Canaan, Containing An Abstract in***  
(Trojans)                    ***Three Bookes.*** New York: Peter Smith, 1947. First published 1637,  
Amsterdam.

America was peopled by the "Scattered Trojans after such times as Brutus departed from Latium.

**1638 Antonio de la Calancha**      ***Coronica moralizada del orden de San Agustin en el Peru con***  
***sucesos egenplares en esta monarquia.*** Barcelona: Pedro  
Lacavalleria., 1638. See also *Cronica moralizada (Paginas*  
*selectas).* Gustavo Adolfo Otero (ed.). La Paz: Artistica., 1939.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 81] In 1638, Antonio de la Calancha devoted two chapters of his *Cronica moralizada del orden de San Agustin en el Peru con sucesos egenplares en esta monarquia* to the subject of American origins. Calancha simply dismissed the Carthaginian thesis.

[p. 85] Calancha, writing twenty-five years later [than Torquemada], in 1638, faced in the same manner the problem of possible Indian descent from the lost Hebrew tribes, and reached a similar conclusion. He did add a few wrinkles to the anti-Lost Tribes argument. For example, he contested the reliability of the vision of Esdras because he thought it improbable that King Shalmaneser of Assyria would allow the captive tribes to leave.

Neither Torquemada nor Calancha could accept the authenticity of the Ten Lost Tribes theory.

[p. 95] Most commentators contented themselves with attempting to discover the origins of the first Americans after the Deluge. Three--Simon (1627), Calancha (1638), and Agustin de Vatancurt (1698)--made more or less detailed investigations into the possibility of antediluvian man in America. Simon thought that the fact that God made man rule over and people the Earth indicated that people had come to the New World before the Flood. He knew of some evidence pointing in that direction. For example, some Peruvians reported finding a ship high in the Andes, no doubt carried there by the Flood. He also had reports of elephant bones found in Mexico; since elephants did not now live in Mexico, they must have lived there before the Deluge. He had heard too of the discovery of the bones of giants in both Mexico and Peru; and all giants had drowned in the Flood.

Simon still had to explain how men and animals got to America even if they did come before the Flood. He suggested that perhaps the Old World had been geographically continuous with the New, before Noah. Even without such contiguity, Adam probably knew enough "science" to tell his descendants how to get to America by ship. . . .

Calancha likewise followed Simon very closely. He did, however, write a much clearer statement. The location of paradise played a small part in the debate over Indian origins in the seventeenth century. No one claimed that the present Indians originated in the New World because the Garden of Eden was there. The common belief placed Paradise in Mesopotamia, and most people thought that the Ark had landed in Armenia. To locate Paradise in the New World would not solve the question of the origins of America's current inhabitants. But a few Europeans wondered if perhaps Adam and Eve might have lived in America. . . . The *Isagoge* . . . argued that America probably was the site of Paradise.

Note\* See the 1656 Antonio Leon Pinelo notation for further commentary on Eden in America.

[pp. 99-100] How then did men get to America? Torquemada and Solorzano felt that they must seek a land route, by virtue of the fact that America lay far from the centers of the ancient world and the ancients did not know of it; but they must also seek a land route because it alone could account for the *Animales bravos*. Calancha came to the same conclusion from largely geographical considerations. He knew from the *Relacion* of the voyage of the Noodal brothers, published in 1621, that recent exploration of the southern tip of South America indicated that South America did not approach any other land mass. Calancha proposed, then, that since it seemed unlikely the first settlers could have crossed the Atlantic or Pacific, they must have come by a land route; and that route must lie in the North. He thought that northwestern LAmerica was the most likely place for such a route.

**Calancha asserted that the first Americans probably descended from the Tatars, who in turn descended from the gentile Japheth.** The Tatars seemed the best candidates simply because they inhabited the region nearest the Strait of Anian. He also conceded the possibility that northeastern America joined, or came near, Europe. If so, some Lapps or Courlanders might have come to the New World by that route. But those peoples also descended from Tatars: "A am certain that when the Flood passed and the sea returned to its bed, and the water to its basements, it was all one continuous land without any Strait, from Tartary to Chile." This had to be the case or the animals could not have come to the Indies.

**1640 Sir Thomas Browne** *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*. Geoffrey Keynes (ed.). 4 vols. (Universal Flood?) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. "Religio Medici," 1964. First published 1636. "Hydriotaphia, Urne-Buriall." First published 1658.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 138-139] Sir Thomas Browne, in his popular *Religio Medici* of the 1640's, confessed "there are in Scripture stories that doe exceed the fables of Poets, and . . . my selfe could shew a catalogue of doubts, never yet imagined nor . . . resolved at first hearing." Nevertheless, he continued,

. . . tis ridiculous to put off, or drowne the generall Flood of Noah in that particular inundation of Deucalion: that there was a Deluge once, seemes not to mee so great a miracle, as that there is not one alwayes. . . . There is another secret, not contained in the Scripture, which is more hard to comprehend, and put the honest Father to a Miracle; and that is, not only how the distinct pieces of the world, and divided I[s]lands should be first planted by men, but inhabited by Tygers, Panthers and Bears. How *America* abounded with beasts of prey, and noxious animals, yet contained not in it that necessary creature, a Horse. By what passage those, not only Birds, but dangerous and unwelcome Beasts came over: How there bee creatures there, which are not found in this triple continent; all which must needs bee stranger unto us, that hold but one Arke, and that the creatures began their progresse from the mountain of Ararat. **Those who, to solve this, would make the Deluge particular, proceed upon a principle that I can in no way grant.**

This suspicion of those who could explain how "that great Antiquity America lay buried for Thousands of years" by postulating a particular rather than a general Flood was closely connected to the outright rejection of those who derived any men from a source other than Noah, and through him, Adam.

Paracelsus supposedly suggested the possibility that God might have made a second Adam for the New World, and many writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century believed this attribution, though the book in which it supposedly appeared was lost.

[Note\*-Paracelsus was the adopted name of Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493-1541). Swiss physician, alchemist, and scientist. His rejection of the ancients and insistence on the value of experimentation make him a leading figure in early science.]

The concept of a particular Flood which nonetheless destroyed all the inhabited world found wide acceptance in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The two-Adam theory, on the other hand, possessed few followers.

Note\* See the 1655 Peyrere notation.

**1642 Hugo Grotius** *De Origine Gentium Americanarum. Dissertatio.* Paris, 1642. Also in De (West Europe) Laet, 1643. See also *De Origine Gentium Americanarum. Dissertatio Altera adversus obtrectatorem, opaca quem bonum facit barba.* Paris. See also *On the Origin of the Native Races of America. A Dissertation.* Edmund Goldsmid (trans.). Edinburgh: Unwin Bros. of London, printers, 1884. See also Henry W. Haynes, 1888.

Justin Winsor writes:

The chief literary controversy over the question [of American Indian origins] began in 1642, when Hugo Grotius published his *De Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio* (Paris and Amsterdam, 1642).\* He argued that all North America except Yucatan (which had an Ethiopian stock) was peopled from the Scandinavian North; that the Peruvians were from China, and that the Moluccans peopled the regions below Peru. Grotius aroused an antagonist in Johannes de Laet, whose challenge appeared the next year.

Winsor notes\*:

There is an English translation in the *Bibliotheca Curiosa*. [Edited by Edmund Goldsmid] (Edinburgh, 1883-85.) No. 12. *On the origin of the native races of America. To which is added, A treatise on foreign languages and unknown islands. by Peter Albinus. Translated from the Latin.* The translation is unfortunate in its blunders. Cf. H. W. Haynes in *The Nation*, Mar. 15, 1888. Grotius was b. 1583; d. 1645.

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, pp. 369-370.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 118-121] The question of the origin of the natives of the New World seldom produced arguments of the polemical type. The entire Spanish literature on the subject reveals no such arguments. A theory might have to wait several years for a refutation, while the counter-refutation, usually not by the original author, would follow some years later, if at all. . . .

The first literary confrontation on the subject of Indian origins began in 1641. Because it involved Hugo Grotius, the "father of international law," it has become by far the best known incident in the early history of the search for Indian origins. The major figures in the controversy other than Grotius were a few-Dutchman, Joannes de Laet, and a German-turned-Dutchman, Georg Horn. Neither De Laet nor Horn enjoyed as much fame as Grotius, but they were important men in their own right. . . .

Late in 1641 Hugo Grotius, then serving as Swedish ambassador to Paris, completed a small pamphlet, *De Origine Gentium Americanarum*. Grotius sent the manuscript to his brother with the request that he show it to his fellow-countryman, Joannes de Laet, whom he knew to be an expert on America. Moreover, Grotius asked his brother not to reveal the identity of the author. The brother gave the manuscript to a relative of De Laet, who in turn took it to De Laet himself. De Laet read the pamphlet, wrote some notes on various points, and returned it to its author by the same route he had received it. With it he sent his notes, a Mexican vocabulary, and a copy of Acosta's *Historia* in Spanish. Grotius published his pamphlet in the spring of 1642 without altering the original text. At least two, and possibly four, editions of the *Origine* appeared before the end of the year. None showed any consideration of the material De Laet had sent to Grotius.

*De Origine Gentium Americanarum* contained fifteen small pages. Grotius began by erroneously stating that "no one from among so many learned men of our age has earnestly investigated whence those nations sprung which" inhabited America. Since he had read several of the Spanish, French, English, and Dutch writers who had been to America, he proposed to offer a solution. He invited other scholars who "may possess a greater knowledge of these events" to confirm or refute his arguments.

**Grotius proposed that the Indians north of the Isthmus of Panama (except for Yucatan) descended from Norwegians.** He based this conclusion largely on word comparisons. Iceland, Greenland, Frisland, Estotiland all ended with the German (Norse) suffix signifying "land." Then he pointed out various place-names in Mexico which possessed the same ending: Cimatlan, Cuatlan, Tenochitlan, Ocotlan, et al. In like manner he presented words such as "Teut" (God), "waiert" (lash) and "beke" (stream) which were common to the Germans (which included the Dutch) and the Indians of North America. He concluded his evidence for a Norse (German) origin with a catalogue of cultural similarities totally lacking in novelty.

**Yucatan was a special case. The practice of circumcision there proved to Grotius that the natives must have descended from some Old World people who used that practice. He rejected the Lost Tribes theory because Esdras was "full of vain dreams." He finally settled on Ethiopia as the source of the Yucatecan people because the Ethiopians, though a Christian people, had retained circumcision. This theory would account for that practice and also for the presence of "crosses" on Cozumel.**

**Grotius thought "the more highly refined minds of the Peruvians" as well as their other finer qualities indicated that they descended from the Chinese.** His major argument in support of this contention was that both Chinese and Peruvians wrote in characters and from the top down. Language differences resulted from mixtures and deterioration.

**In the process of creating his own theories, Grotius rejected all others--especially those calling for a land route:**

It is certain that before the arrival of the Spaniards there were no horses in all America. Now Scythia is a country always full of horses, and almost all Scythians are accustomed to ride horseback. . . . And if America and Tartary were united together, the horses . . . would long ago have forced their way from Tartary to America. . . . But if a continual strait intervened, as I rather believe, Tartary never had

navigators, and if she had them, never would they have crossed without horses, or been content to remain long without them.

All Grotius' settlers were rather later arrivals in America. He did not even consider the possibility that the Indians might have gone to the New World before the time of Christ, before the Norse got to Greenland, or before the Scythians-Tatars domesticated the horse. Indeed, his concept of Scythia was somewhat outdated. Europeans had long since telescoped Scythia (originally north and east of the Black Sea) and Tataria into one place. Scythia-Tataria presumably stretched from the vicinity of the Black Sea to the Straits of Anian (Bering), and most Europeans assumed that whatever held true for near-Tataria also held true for far-Tataria.

Note\* A discussion of this controversy is continued in the 1643 De Laet notation.

**1643 Joannes de Laet Notae ad Dissertationem hugonis Grotii "De Origine Gentium Americanarum,"**

***et Observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficillimae illus***

***Quaestionis.*** Amsterdam: Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1643. Also *Responsio ad Dissertationem Secundum Hugonis Grotii. De Gentium Americanarum, cum Indice ad utrumque libellum.* Amsterdam: Ludovicum Elsevirium.

Justin Winsor writes:

The chief literary controversy over the question [of American Indian origins] began in 1642, when Hugo Grotius published his *De Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio* (Paris and Amsterdam, 1642).\* He argued that all North America except Yucatan (which had an Ethiopian stock) was peopled from the Scandinavian North; that the Peruvians were from China, and that the Moluccans peopled the regions below Peru. Grotius aroused an antagonist in Johannes de Laet, whose challenge appeared the next year: *Joannis de Laet Antwerpiani notae ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de origine gentium Americanarum: et observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficillimae illus quaestionis* (Amsterdam, 1643).\* [Carter-Brown, ii 522, 523, 543] He combated his brother Dutchman at all points, and **contended that the Scythian race furnished the predominant population of America.** The Spaniards went to the Canaries, and thence some of their vessels drifted to Brazil. He is inclined to accept the story of Madoc's Welshmen, and think it not unlikely that the people of the Pacific islands may have floated to the western coast of South America, and that minor migrations may have come from other lands. He supports his views by comparisons of the Irish, Gallic, Icelandic, Huron, Iroquois, and Mexican tongues.

To all this Grotius replied in a second *Dissertatio*, and De Laet again renewed the attack: *Ioannis de Laet Antwerpiani responsio ad dissertationem secundam Hugonis Grotii, de origine gentium Americanarum, Cum indice ad utrumque libellum* (Amsterdam, 1644). This book is scarcer than the first (Brinley, iii, 5414-15). There is a letter addressed to De Laet, touching Grotius, in Claudius Morisotus's *Epistolarum Centuriae duae*, 1656.

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, pp. 369-370.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 118-123] Jan, or Joannes, de Laet was a man of considerable stature in Holland when the controversy began. For many years he had served as a director of the Dutch West India Company and naturally, as a consequence of that association, had a strong interest in any subject touching on America. He also reportedly had a daughter who had emigrated to New Amsterdam. But De laet's reputation rested not so much on his commercial connections as upon his literary activity.

By 1640 De Laet had already written a history of the Dutch West India Company and some popular geographical-travel books . . . He had published too a valuable history of the New World that appeared in Dutch (1625 and 1630) and Latin (1633), and in a French translation in 1640. De Laet's work with the West India Company, his association with the important publishing house of the Elzeviers in Leyden, and his wide interests brought him into contact with many of the more influential men in Holland. . . .

[Laet's Response to Grotius] Late in 1641 Hugo Grotius, then serving as Swedish ambassador to Paris, completed a small pamphlet, *De Origine Gentium Americanarum*. Grotius sent the manuscript to his brother with the request that he show it to his fellow-countryman, Joannes de Laet, whom he knew to be an expert on America. Moreover, Grotius asked his brother not to reveal the identity of the author. The brother gave the manuscript to a relative of De Laet, who in turn took it to De Laet himself. De Laet read the pamphlet, wrote some notes on various points, and returned it to its author by the same route he had received it. . . .

**The rejection of geographical considerations and the evidence of the animals were two of the points De Laet suggested Grotius reconsider [before publishing his manuscript]** . For that reason De Laet sent him a copy of Acosta's *Historia natural y moral*. Grotius' failure to use any of De Laet's notes and his failure to consider Acosta's arguments irritated De laet. He was also angered by the insult implicit in the fact that Grotius had solicited his advice and not made use of it.

**Joannes de Laet had long since accepted the arguments of Joseph de Acosta.** In the "Preface" to the French edition of his history of the New World (Paris, 1640), he states that "we will not speak of how or whence the savages and inhabitants are firstly come in those regions." He referred the interested reader to Acosta's *Historia natural y moral*.

De Laet elaborated his opinion much more fully in his *Notae ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii* published at Amsterdam in 1643. His approach involved printing Grotius' pamphlet in annotated form, considering and rejecting, or at least questioning, each idea or statement in turn. De Laet saw no reason to differentiate between Indians north and south of the Isthmus of Panama, pointing out that the Spanish, who knew most about the Indians, did not make such a distinction. Furthermore, he said, the Mexicans and Teutons did not use the endings "land" and "lan" in the same sense. Some of the other words Grotius compared were incorrect. "Waiert" meant "fan," not "lash"; and its American equivalent ("Guaira") was used only in Grotius' Chinese Peru. Grotius thought the Mexicans used the Dutch word "beke" (rivulet) in the form "peke." De Laet points out that the Mexican word for rivulet was actually *atlauhtli*. The annotator then inserted a long vocabulary showing a lack of correspondence between several European languages and such American languages as those of the Mexicans (Nahuatl) and Iroquois.

De Laet then turned his attention to the Chinese in Peru. Nowhere in Peru, he maintained, could not find artisans such as those in China so esteemed by the world. And why should the Chinese go only to Peru when China was much closer to New Spain? De Laet also knew something about Confucianism, and argued that the Chinese religion did not resemble the Peruvian. Finally, argued De Laet, are we to compare the Chinese language with its several types of characters, its eighty-thousand monosyllabic

words, and its dictionaries, to the language of a people who "know neither Pen, Paper, Ink" and who "reckon the antiquity of time by strung beads?"

De Laet used his *Notae* to express his own opinion and to show the fallacy of Grotius' thinking with regard to various origin theories, especially the Tatar-Scythian thesis. Grotius misstated the argument, he maintained,

For two questions must be considered here: "Who could have come to the New World?" and "How could they have come?" Both questions must have a satisfactory answer, if the puzzle is to be solved correctly. Those who hold that the Indians came from Scythia or Great Tartary do not necessarily mean that they were Scythians or of Scythian origin, for they may mean peoples disposed and driven out by the Scythians. . . . Consequently, the arguments which Grotius bases upon this hypothesis, arguments which are drawn from the genius and customs of the Scythian people, do not refute the opinion intended.

But, granting Grotius' supposition for the sake of argument, he went too far in basing his claim against the Scythian origin on the statement that there were no horses in America before the arrival of the Spaniards. . . . The fact that Scythia was then full of horses does not prove that such was always the case or that such was the case when the supposed transmigration occurred, which must have happened many centuries ago, because the vast multitudes of men in America differ so much in their geniuses, languages, customs, morals, and the propagation of such vast numbers must have taken many centuries. Consequently, the inference is easy that the transmigration took place long ago, and immediately after the dispersion in Asia, on account of the confusion of tongues.

Only the assumption of an ancient origin for the Indians could explain all the differences in languages.

**Although De laet thought the earliest settlers came from Scythia-Tatary, he did not rule out the possibility of later arrivals,** (Engel, 1767:I, 7-11; Wright, 1928: 221-222), but the late-comers were probably not Christian. Among the possibilities he admitted were the Madoc story, perhaps some Polynesians, and maybe some tempest-driven Spaniards from the Canaries. All these were minor additions (Wright, 1928:222) . . .

De Laet answered the *Dissertatio Altera* [of Grotius] in the same fashion as he had answered the first, in his *Responsio ad Dissertationem Secundum Hugonis Grotii* (Amsterdam, 1644). In this *Responsio*, De Laet revealed his reason for publishing his original *Notae*: i.e., the solicited but unused advice. He said also that despite what Grotius did in the future, he would make no additional reply. De laet repeated much of the argument from the *Notae*, but with considerably more evidence to disprove both the probability of an Ethiopian origin and other points made by Grotius. (Wright, 1928:226)

Note\* See the 1642 Grotius notation and the 1652 Horn notation.

[1644]^ **Fernando de Montesinos** *Ophir de Espana: Memorias antiguas historiales y politicas del Peru.*

Marcos Jimenez de la Espada (ed.). Madrid: Imprenta de M. Ginesta, 1882. **Written by 1644.** See also *Memorias antiguas* . . . P. A. Means (trans.) London: the Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2, Vol. 48, 1920. See also *Memorias antiguas* . . . Lima: Sanmarti. "Coleccion de libros y documentos referentses a las historia del Peru," Ser. 2, Vol. 6., 1930. See also *Memorias Antiguas Historiales y Politicas del*

*Peru. Cronica del Siglo XVII, Manuscript finished in 1642.* First published in 1909. Notes and reconciliation with other Chronicles of the Indies by Horacio H. Urteaga, written 6 March 1930, Lima. (Published by Libreria e Imprenta Gil in Lima, 1930.)

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 82-83] Fernando de Montesinos gave the Ophirian theory its first support after 1607 in his manuscript *Ophir de Espana: Memorias antiguas historiales y politicas del Peru*, completed around 1644. . . . Philip A. Means regarded his *Memorias antiguas* as "the mutilated form of the perfectly sound *Vocabulario historicao*" of Blas Valera.

Though Montesinos probably did use Blas Valera's work, he wrote the Ophirian sections himself. The author had many idiosyncracies, such as the puzzling and amusing insistence on referring to America as "Hamerica." Marcos Jimenez de la Espada said he did this because he thought the name "was not derived from Amerigo, but was a mysterious anagram for 'Hec Maria,' the Mother of Christ."

The first book, containing "Biblical and astrological matter of no value," presumably laid the basis for Book II. When the published version takes up, Ophir (a great-great-great grandson of Noah, identified by Montesinos as a grandson) had already settled the New World: "After settling Hamerica, Ophir instructed his sons and grandsons in the fear of God and observance of natural law" . Fortunately, Montesinos recapitulated much of his argument. He thought that the first people had arrive in "Hamerica" soon after the Flood. Population pressure in Armenia, where the Ark landed, forced Noah to send his descendants away. Some went to America; Noah may also have made the trip.

An excerpt from Book I, summarizing Montesinos' opinion on the first settlers of America, appeared in the 1882 edition of Book II.

Speaking with the modesty due when treating of a matter hidden in Holy Scripture and unknown for so long before our century: I say that Ophir, grandson of Noah, and his descendants populated Peru and the rest of Hamerica. They came from the east, establishing their settlements as far as Peru--the end of the world so far as the voyagers were concerned. Here seeing its great wealth of gold, silver, and precious stones, pearls, woods, animals, and beautiful birds, they fixed their name and founded their great cities. Events of later times brought various peoples there--Tyrians, Phoenicians, and diverse other nations who came in their fleets, and they populated almost all these extensive provinces.

This theory differed from previous Ophirian theses. Prior adherents had held that Ophir settled in the Far East and his descendants in America. Montesinos brought Ophir himself to the Indies; he also pushed back the date of original settlement by making Ophir a grandson, rather than a great-great-great grandson of Noah.

David Catherwood writes:

Another one of the more controversial of the early Conquistador writers was Fernando de Montesinos, who finished his manuscript for the book, *Memorias Antiguas Historiales y Politicas del Peru (Ancient Political and Historical Memories of Peru)*, in 1642. (NOTE 26) Montesinos manuscript was lost for several hundred years and was not published until 1909. Horacio H. Urteaga, who wrote the preamble to *Memorias*, stated that until recently Montesinos's book was considered to be one of the most artificial and ludicrous books written by the chroniclers of the old Peruvian empires, and Montesinos was expunged from any list of truthful, conscientious historians of his day. Urteaga observed that, in spite of the scathing attacks on Montesinos's pre-Columbian history, the patient labor of modern day



archaeologists and more impartial critics is beginning to lend more credibility to his works. (Montesinos, iv)

Cabello Valboa was not the only chronicler to provide considerable detail concerning a post-flood migration to the Americas. As mentioned previously, one of the more controversial of the early Conquistador writers was Fernando de Montesinos. By 1628, Montesinos had received the "sacred orders" within the Catholic Church and had transferred to the New World. After 1640, Montesinos was appointed the Bishop of Quito Ecuador. Apparently Montesinos finished his book *Memorias Antiguas Historiales y Politicas de Peru* in 1642, while living in Ecuador.

Source: David G. Calderwood, *Voices From the Dust: New Insights into Ancient America*, Austin, Texas: Historical Publications, Inc., 2005, pp. 31, 49-50.

**1644 Nortmanus Comtaeus De Origine Gentium Americanum**

(MEDITERRANEAN)

Phoenician origin favored.

**1645 Andres Perez de Ribas *Historia de los triumphos de nuestra santa fee entre gentes las mas***

*barbaras, y fieras del nuevo Orbe . . .* Madrid: Alosa de Paredes,

1645

**1646 Alonso de Ovalle *Historica relacion del Reyno de Chile, ye de las misiones, y ministerios que***

*exercita en el la Compania de Iesus.* Rome: Francisco Cavallo, 1646.

**1649 Pedro de Villagomes *Exortaciones e instruccion acerca de las idolatrias de los indios del***

*Arzobispado de Lima.* Lima, Peru: 1649: Sanmarti. "Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru." Vol. 12, 1919.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 84] **Expectedly, the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel theory received the most frequent comment.** It also developed some new phases. Many comments consisted merely of brief references. Pedro de Villagomes, Archbishop of Lima, wrote in his *Exortaciones e instruction acerca de las idolatrias de los indios del Arzobispado de Lima* (Lima, 1649) of the Indians "who are all gentiles, and they were thus before being discovered by the Spaniards." The phrase seems to impute a non-Hebraic origin to the Indians, but there is cause to doubt that interpretation. Spaniards commonly referred to non-Christians as "gentiles." Everyone, including unconverted Indians, who had no recognizable religion, fell into this "gentile" category. The Archbishop may have meant only that the Indians "are all non-Christian"; it seems unlikely that he would have called them "non-Christian" if he thought them Jews, but seventeenth century usage of the concept of "gentilidad" does not exclude such a possibility.

Alonso de Zamora stated his position just as briefly but more explicitly. he rejected the Ten Lost Tribes theory because he thought that the descendants of Japheth had peopled America before the "Captivity." **Most Spanish scholars of this period devoted considerable attention to the investigation of the Lost Tribes theory.**

**1650^ Menasseh Ben Israel      *The Hope of Israel*** Written by Menasseh Ben Israel, An Hebrew  
(ISRAELITISH)      Divine, and Philosopher. Newly extant, and Printed at Amsterdam,  
and Dedicated by the Author, to the High Court, the Parliament of  
England, and to the Council of State. The Second Edition corrected  
and amended. Printed by R. I. for Liwewell Chapman at the Crowne  
in Popes-Head Alley, 1652.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 130-131] When Manasseh's book appeared in 1650 it bore the Latin title *Spes Israelis* . . . By the end of the year two Spanish-language editions (rewritten in Spanish by Manasseh as *Esto es Esperanza de Israel*) and an English translation by Moses Wall (as *The Hope of Israel*) had also appeared. . . . The English edition reappeared in 1651, 1652, 1792, 1850, and 1901. . . .

Manasseh was the first Jew to write a study concerning the origins of the American Indians, and apparently one of the first Jews to accept the Jewish-origin theory. His arguments were largely a rehash of the older writings on the Lost Tribes theory. He admitted, as had previous commentators, that the problem of discovering origins posed many difficulties. Then he systematically rejected other theories--Carthage, Ophir, et al.--and concluded that those Spaniards who inhabited the Indies generally regarded the Indians as descendants of Jews, and that they were correct.

According to Manasseh's version of the Lost Tribes theory, the Israelites got to the New World first, but late-coming gentiles drove them into the mountains. . . . Next he proceeded with the Esdras story and the supporting similarities between the Indians and the Jews. he concluded with the reasons which compelled him to believe the discovery of the Lost Tribes in America signaled that the day of redemption for Israel was near.

Manasseh concluded:

(1) that the Indies were anciently inhabited by part of the Ten Tribes who came via the Straits of Anian and some of whom still lived hidden in unknown parts of America;

(2) that not all the Ten Tribes came to the New World, but that some dispersed to other parts of the world;

(3) that they did not return to the second Temple;

(4) that to this day the Lost Tribes kept the Jewish religion;

(5) that the prophecies of their return to their own land would be fulfilled;

(6) that they would return to Jerusalem; and

(7) that the Twelve Tribes would be united.

[pp. 131-133] At about the same time as Manasseh [ben Israel] published his *Spes Israelis* [The Hope of Israel] in Amsterdam, Thomas Thorowgood finally published in London his *Jewes in America*, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race, . . . He used much of his space to describe why he thought the Indians were Jews. . . . The millennialist element was also very pronounced in Thorowgood's writing.

This idea meshed well with Manasseh's own thinking. The "Hope of Israel"--the Messiah--could not come until the Jews were dispersed to the ends of the Earth. Since they had been found in America, and since the oppressions accompanying the "Coming" were apparent, it became more and more vital to return the Jews to England. In medieval Jewish tradition the word "England" meant "the end of the Earth"; therefore, it was especially necessary to return there to complete the dispersion. Manasseh may have begun his investigations of the Jewish Indians out of curiosity, but they had led him to a mystical position wherein the Indians became secondary to "the Hope of Israel."

*The Hope of Israel* proved useful to Manasseh's plans for securing the return of the Jews to England. The three English editions of 1650, 1651, and 1652 all carried his dedication "To the Parliament, the Supreme Court of England, and to the Right Honourable the Council of State," which hinted at the possibility of Jewish readmission. The last two editions contained some "Considerations upon the point of the Conversion of the Jews," consisting of correspondence on that subject between the translator, Moses Wall, and one Edward Spenser.

The subsequent development of the readmission controversy, Manasseh's journey to England in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade Cromwell to negotiate reentry, and the eventual readmission under Charles II, all well chronicled by Cecil Rother (1945) and Wolf (1901), lie beyond the scope of this essay.

Thomas Thorowgood's *Jewes in America* was not completely lost in the readmission crisis, though it did take second place to Manasseh's *Hope of Israel*.

Dan Vogel writes:

Israel includes the story of Antonio de Montezinos that a remnant of the ten tribes of Israel had been discovered in the wilderness of Peru, reports the discovery of Hebrew inscriptions and Jewish synagogues in South America, and notes the similarity between certain Jewish and Indian customs. According to Israel, the discovery of the ten tribes in America was a sign that the coming of the Messiah was near.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144. See also p. 22

According to George Weiner, the real excitement over Indian origins had its beginnings with a book by Menasseh ben Israel. He writes:

In 1644 a Jewish adventurer arrived in Amsterdam with news so startling that the furore he created quickly swept the Christian world and was not to subside for nearly three centuries.

"I have," Antonio de Montezinos told the synagogue elders, "discovered the Lost Tribes of Israel in Peru."

Since this discovery, if true, meant that the second coming of Christ was now at hand, almost every pious explorer of the New World began to see Semitic faces among the aborigines and hundreds of books found their way into European and American literature "proving" that the American Indians were Jews. . . . [p. 56]

Because many scriptural prophecies foretell the return of Israel to the Holy Land (e.g., Ezekiel 37), the whereabouts of the Lost Ten Tribes has always been a matter of grave concern to believers in the literal interpretation of the Bible. Obviously, if the Lost Tribes were extinct, literal fulfillment of the prophecies would be impossible. Therefore, it must follow that the Lost Tribes are living somewhere under another name.

With this assumption in mind, century after century has been countless attempts to penetrate the disguise of elusive Ten Tribes of Israel. The results have constituted some of the most remarkable curiosities of world literature.

At one time or another zealous Millennarians have uncovered the missing Hebrews among such exotic Jewish peoples as the Bene-Israel of India, the Falashas of Ethiopia, the Yemenites, the Karaites of Russia, and the Dagestan Jews of the Caucasus, as well as among such unlikely prospects as the Masai of East Africa, the Australian aborigines, and both the Nestorian Christians and the Yezidi devil-worshippers of Mesopotamia.

They have been discovered in China, in Japan, in the Sahara. It has been "proven" that the high-caste Hindus and all Buddhists are descendants of the Scythians, who were in turn the Lost Ten Tribes. And there are still those who hold that the English people are in reality the posterity of the lost Tribes and that the British throne is occupied by a lineal descendant of King David!

When the fierce Tatars swept down on central Europe during the thirteenth century, the belief became widespread that the Mongolian horsemen were actually the Ten Tribes of Israel and that the Jews of Europe were in league with them, secretly furnishing them with arms and information. And many maps of the fifteenth century show the dwelling-place of the Ten Tribes behind the mountains in the far northeast of Europe, next to the hordes of "Gog and Magog" with whom they were said to have been shut up there until the end of days when they would all break out to fight for "Antichrist" in his last desperate struggle. . . . [p. 57]

In the New World, from the very moment of its discovery, Spanish explorers and priests began to see an affinity between the Indians and the Jews. Francisco Lopez de Gomara, one of the earliest historians of new Spain, wrote: "They [the Indians] are all very like Jews, in appearance and voice, for they have large noses and speak through the throat." [1554, "*La historia general de las Indias: contodos los descubrimientos, y cosas notables que han acaescido enellas, dende que se ganaron hasta agora*" **FIND!!!**] And Gregorio Garcia, a Dominican missionary who spent twelve years among the Indians, summed up the views of at least a dozen historians who preceded him: "Many have supposed, and the Spaniards who reside in the Indies believe, that the Indians proceed from the Ten Tribes. . . . This opinion is grounded on the disposition, nature and customs of the Indians, which they found very similar

to those of the Hebrews; and although some learned men are uninclined to assent to such a belief, I nevertheless have bestowed great diligence upon the verification of this Truth."

However, identification of the Indians as Jews was very disconcerting to the Spanish government which, through the Inquisition, was doing everything in its power to expunge Judaism from the face of the Earth. Those writers who espoused the Jewish-Indian theory were persecuted and even imprisoned, and their works were confiscated and suppressed. One such was Bartolome' de Las Casas, a Dominican missionary who, "firmly persuaded that the Indians were descended from the Hebrews." [SOURCE?] spent thirty-two years writing a monumental history of the New World that was suppressed and kept from publication for more than 300 years. Another was Bernardino de Sahagun, a Franciscan missionary who spent sixty years among the Mexican Indians. His voluminous history of New Spain, confiscated while in progress with the admonition "to write nothing to prove that the Hebrews had colonized the new world," [SOURCE?] was not to see print for nearly 250 years. Still others, like the Italian antiquarian Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci [BOOK TITLE?], were ignominiously sent to Spain in chains for writing on this interdicted theme.

"It is very evident," wrote Mrs. Barbara Anne Simon in her *The Ten Tribes of Israel Historically Identified With the Aborigines of the Western Hemisphere*. London, 1836), "that everything in Mexico, calculated to draw attention to the ancient history of the country, more especially if connected with religious recollections, was carefully removed from notice, immediately after the conquest. Pieces of sculpture were mutilated or buried, -paintings were burned, -temples and edifices, which from their size, it was impossible to destroy, were suffered to fall into oblivion. . . ."

As we have seen, then, the idea that the Lost Ten Tribes were in America was not new with Antonio de Montezinos; Spanish scholars had been giving it serious consideration for nearly a century and a half. But whereas most of their written testimony had been kept from general currency by stringent censorship, Montezinos was perhaps the first to bring unexpurgated eye-witness testimony to the freer air of the non-Spanish world, thus giving the Lost Ten Tribes in America theory its first real impetus in Europe and consequently in North America. [p. 58]

Two and one-half years earlier while traveling in the province of Quito, so Montezinos had declared under oath, he befriended an Indian named Francis Cazicus. Sharing confidences, each man revealed to the other that he was a secret Jew-a fact that could mean certain death in a Spanish-dominated land. Then, deciding to let Montezinos in on an even greater secret, Francis led him on a clandestine wee-long trek into the Peruvian wilds. Finally, they came to a river where the Indian signaled. In a little while three white men and a woman set out in a boat from the opposite shore to meet them, warily spoke with Francis in a language that Montezinos did not understand, then hurried back to the other side.

The two men made camp and waited. Finally, several other white men crossed the river. Cautiously approaching Montezinos, they addressed him in Hebrew, giving voice to Judaism's most important prayer and affirmation of faith: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God: the Lord is One." Then, refusing to say much more or to permit Montezinos to cross the river with them, they left. For the next three days, they and others kept coming until the traveler had seen and talked to some 300 persons, all of whom continued to say little more in his presence than the "Hear, O Israel" prayer, leaving it up to the Indian Francis to explain their plight.

These white men and women, Francis told Montezinos, were the sons of Israel, brought to that place by the providence of God. At first the Indians had warred upon them, but now they lived at peace with one another. Moreover, the Indians now secretly practiced Judaism too, having learned it from the Hebrews.

Implausible as this story might seem to the present-day reader, it was believable enough by seventeenth century standards. Furthermore there was one even more important factor in making Montezinos's report credible-he had an audience that had much to gain by believing the story.

Menasseh ben Israel, Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam, had long been desirous of gaining the readmission of the Jews to the British Isles, from which they had been banished three and one-half centuries earlier. A scholar with an international reputation, Menasseh corresponded freely with the most prominent Jewish and gentile liberals and philosophers of western and northern Europe. In common with many Christian mystics, Menasseh subscribed to the belief that the Messiah would come only after the entire world was

inhabited by the descendants of Israel. The existence of the Lost Tribes in America, as testified to by Montezinos, meant that the Messianic era was that much closer. Since Menasseh now believed that there were Jews in every land on Earth, only England remained to be inhabited by Jews in order for the biblical prophecies of their scattering to the very ends of the earth to be fulfilled.

**With this end in view, his famous book *The Hope of Israel*, based on Montezinos's affidavit and dedicated to the English parliament, made its appearance in 1650.**

Oliver Cromwell, who was ruling over England at the time, had long been casting a covetous eye on the Dutch domination of the seas. Convinced that the Jewish merchants of Holland had played a key role in making that tiny country the commercial power of the world. Cromwell was more than eager to bring about their admission to England. Furthermore, Cromwell had his other eye on the Spanish empire in America. He knew that the Jews had trading connections in the West Indies that he felt could do much to stimulate English trade on the Spanish Main and aid in the economic and political penetration of the West Indies. Inveterate enemies of Spain and Portugal because of their persecution under the Inquisition, the Jews appeared to be logical allies of anyone who dreamed of annexing the Spanish-American domain. [p. 59]

With these views in mind, Cromwell took two steps toward cutting into the Dutch monopoly of the sea trade. First was the passing of the Navigation Act of 1651, requiring that trade with Asia, Africa, and America be conducted only in English ships and that European goods be imported into England only in English vessels whose crews were at least half English or else in vessels of the producing nation. Next, in 1652, he invited Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel to visit him for the purpose of discussing the possibility of Jewish resettlement in England—a country that heretofore had been far less hospitable to Jews than even Portugal and Spain. In all due fairness to Cromwell it is not unreasonable to assume that, aside from his economic aspirations, his overture to the Jews must have been no less motivated by his religious beliefs; for as a deeply devout Puritan, he too undoubtedly had a strong desire to see scriptural prophecy come true.

Menasseh, however, was not able to take advantage of this invitation from Cromwell until 1655, because in 1652 the bitter commercial rivalry between England and Holland flared into a naval war that was to last two years. But finally, with the differences between the two nations settled, the Rabbi crossed the channel armed with an English translation [published???] of his book and together with the Lord Protector went about the business of persuading the English people that it was essential to allow Jews to take up residence in England in order to bring about the coming of the Messiah.

While Menasseh ben Israel was still at work on his own book. Thomas Thorowgood, a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, had begun to compile a treatise based upon the conjectures of the early Spanish missionaries to the New World showing that the American Indians were the Lost Tribes. Deeply interested in the missionary efforts in Massachusetts of the famous "Apostle of the Indians," John Eliot, Thorowgood saw in the American-Ten Tribes theory an opportunity to get the public to provide funds for the support of the mission.

His friend and fellow Westminster Assemblyman, John Durie, had become interested in Thorowgood's manuscript and was trying to help him get it published. A few years earlier, while in Amsterdam, Durie had met Menasseh ben Israel and had heard the story of Montezinos. So in the fall of 1649 he wrote to the Rabbi requesting a copy of Montezinos's affidavit for incorporation into Thorowgood's forthcoming book. Despite his own more important plans for the story, the affable Rabbi quickly replied. The result was that both books, Menasseh's in Spanish and Thorowgood's *Jews in America* in English, gave to the world the story of Montezinos's revelation in the same year [1650??].

Source: ^George Weiner (non-LDS), "America's Jewish Braves," in *Mankind*. Vol. 4, Number 9 (October 1974). Published bi-monthly by Mankind Publishing Company, Los Angeles, California, pp. 56-65.

**The following comes from the actual text:**

*Menasseh Ben Israel, To the Courteous Reader*

There are as many minds as men, about the original of the people of America, and of the first Inhabitants of the new World, and of the West Indyes; for how many men soever they were or are, they came of these two, Adam, and Eve; and consequently of Noah, after the Flood, but that new World doth seem wholly separated from the old, therefore it must be that some did passe thither out of one (at least) of the three parts of the world sc. Europe, Asia, and Africa; but the doubt is, what people were those, and out of what place they went. Truly, the truth of that must be gathered, partly out of the ancient Hystories, and partly from conjectures; as their Habit, their Language, their Manners, which yet due vary according to mens dispositions; so that it is hard to finde out the certainty. Almost all who have viewed those Countryes, with great diligence, have been of different judgements: Some would have the praise of finding out America, to be due to the Cathaginians, others to the Phoenicians, or the Canaanites; others to the Indians or people of China; others to them of Norway, others to the Inhabitants of the Atlantick Islands, others to the Tartarians, others to the Ten Tribes. Indeed, every one grounds his opinion not upon probable arguments, but high conjectures, as will appeare farther by this Booke. But I having curiously examined what ever hath hitherto been writ upon this subject doe finde no opinion more probable, nor agreeable to reason, then that of our Montezinus, who saith, that the first inhabitants of America, were the ten Tribes of the Israelites, whom the Tartarians conquered, and drove away; who after that (as God would have it) hid themselves behind the Mountaines Cordillerae. I also shew, that as they were not driven out at once from their Country, so also they were scattered into divers Provinces, so into America, into Tartary, into China, into Media, to the Sabbaticall River, and into Aethiopia. I prove that the ten Tribes never returned to the second Temple, that they yet keepe the Law of Moses, and our Sacred Rites; and at last shall return into their Land, with the two Tribes, Judah, and Benjamin; and shall be governed by one Prince, who is Messiah the Son of David . . .

*The Translator to the Reader*

This discourse of a Jew coming to my hand, and having perused it, I thought it not inconvenient to make it speake English; for the benefit of my Country-men, who wait for the redemption of Israel, and at the same time of the Gentiles also. That the Author is a Jew, ought to be no scandall to us (though some of us Christian Gentiles are ignorant of, and scandalized at the notion of the conversion of the Jewes, as the Jewes of old were, concerning our being converted, and grafted into the true Stock, as in Acts 11.3.) for though God hath rejected them, yet not for ever: *Rom.* 11.25,26. And also the many prophesies both in the Old, and New Testament, which concern their being received againe to grace, gathered from their dispersion, and settled in their own Land; and their flourishing estate under, now our, and then their and our Prince, Jesus Christ the Messiah, who will then triumph gloriously, and all his people with him; these and many more Promises would want a fulfilling (which the God of Truth will never suffer) if there should not be the revolution of a time, in which they shall be converted and grace and peace be poured out upon Jewes and Gentiles; though first upon the Jew, then the Gentile. . . .

Do not think that I aime by this Translation, to propagat or commend Judaisme (which its no wonder if the Author doth so much favour, especially in his thirtieth Section) no, through Grace I have better learned the truth, as it is in Jesus, but to give some discovery of what apprehensions, and workings there are at this day in the hearts of the Jewes . . .

. . . the events of things to come, which God hath determined by his Spirit in his holy Prophets. . . .

Menasseth Ben Israel

[Ben Israel now lists 70 of "The Authors of other Nations, which are quoted in this Treatise." He follows that with 24 of "The Hebrew Bookes, and Authors." ]

Note\* Menasseh Ben Israel now includes a story which I am recording in its entirety for a number of reasons: (1) it has Indians actually declaring that they are of the House of Israel; (2) this story is later summarized and referred to by other people (see the 1828 Worsley notation) but with some slight differences, perhaps because of differences in translation; and (3) the book has very tiny print and, coupled with the fact that many of the spellings and letters are of a different mode, it is difficult to read.

[p. 1] *The Relation of Antony Montezinus*

In the 18th, of the Month of Eluh, the 5404 year from the Worlds creation, and according to common compute, in 1644, Aaron Levi, otherwise called Antonius Montezinus came into this City Amsterdam, and related to the Siur Menasseh ben Israel, and other cheifetains of the Portugal Nation, Inhabitants of the Same City, these things which follow.

That it was two years and a halfe, since that he going from the Port Honda in the West-Indies, to the Papien jurisdiction, he conducted some Mules of a certaine Indian, whose name was Franciscus Castellanus, into the Province of Quity, and that there was one in company with him and other Indians, whose name was Francis, who was called by all Cazicus. That it happened that as they went over the Mountaines Cordillerae, a great tempest arose, which threw the loaden Mules to the ground. The Indians being afflicted by the sore tempest, every one began to count his losses; yet confessing that all that and more grievous punishments were but just, in regard of their many sins. But Francis had them take it patiently, for that they should shortly enjoy rest: the others answered, that they were unworthy of it; yea that the notorious cruelty used by the Spaniards towards them, was sent of God, because they had so ill treated his holy people, who wer of al others the most innocent [o n p] then, they determined to stay all night upon the top of the Mountain. And Montezinus tooke out of a Box some Bread, and Cheese, and Jonkets, and gave them to Francis, upbraiding him, that he had spoken disgracefully of the Spaniards; who answered, that he had not told one halfe of the miseries and calamities inflicted by a [p. 2] cruell, and inhumane people; but the should not goe unrevenged, looking for helpe from an unknown people.

After this Conference, Montezinus went to Carthagenia, a City of the Indians, where he being examined, was put in Prison; and while he prayed to God, such words fell from him; Blessed be the name of the Lord, that hath not made me an Idolater, a Barbarian, a Black-a-Moore, or an Indian; but as he named Indian, he was angry with himselfe, and said, The Hebrewes are Indians; then he coming to himselfe againe, confessed that he doted, and added, Can the Hebrewes be Indians? which hee also repeated a second and a third time; and he thought that it was not by chance that he had so much mistaken himselfe.

He thinking farther, of what he had heard from the Indian, and hoping that he should find out the whole truth; therefore as soon as he was let out of Prison, he sought out Franciscus beleiving that hee would repeat to him againe what he had spoken; he therefore being set at liberty, through Gods mercy went to the Port Honda, and according to his desire, found him, who said; He remembered all that he had spoken, when he was upon the Mountaine; whom Montezinus asked, that he would take a journey with him, offering him all courtesies, giving him three peeces of eight, that he might buy himselfe necessaries.

Now when they were got out of the City, Montezinus confessed hiselfe to be an Hebrew, of the Tribe of Levi, and that the Lord was his God; and he told the Indian, that all other gods were but mockeries; the Indian being amazed, asked him the name of his Parents; who answered Abraham, Isaac, and jacob; but said he, have you no other Father? who answered, yes, his Fathers name was Ludovicus Montezinus; but he not being yet satisfied, I am glad (saith he) to heare you tell this, for I was in doubt to beleeve you, while you seemed ignorant of your Parents: Montezinus swearing, that he spoke the truth, the Indian asked him, if he werre not the Son of Israel, and thereupon began a long discourse; who when he knew that he was so, he desired him to prosecute what he had begun, and added, that he should more fully



explaine himselfe, for that formerly he had left things so doubtfull, that he did not seem at all assured of any thing. After that both had sate downe together, and refreshed themselves, the Indian then began: If you have a minde to follow me your Leader, you shall know what ever [ p. 3 ] you desire to know, only let me tell you this, whatsoever the journey is, you must foot it, and you must eate nothing but parched Mayz, and you must omit nothing that I tell you, Montezinus answered that he would doe all.

The next day being Munday, Casicus came againe, and bid him throw away what he had in his Knapsack to put on shooes made of linnen packthred, and to follow him, with his staffe; whereupon Montezinus leaving his Cloake, and his Sword, and other things which he had about him, they began the journey, the Indian carrying upon his back three measures of Mayz, two ropes, one of which was full of knots, to climbe up the Mountaine, with a hooked fork; the other was so loose, for to passe over Marshes, and Rivers, with a little Axe, and shooes made of linnen pack-thred. They being thus accoutred, travelled the whole weeke, unto the Sabbath Day; on which day they resting, the day after they went on, till Tuesday, on which day about eight a clock in the morning, they came to a River as bigge as Duerus; then the Indian said, Here you shall see your Brethren, and making a signe with the fine linnen of Xylus, which they had about them instead of a Girdle; thereupon on the other side of the River they saw a great smoke, and immediatly aftere, such another signe made as they had made before; a little after that, three men, with a woman, in a little Boat came to them, which being come neare, the woman went ashore, the rest staying in the Boat; who talkilng a good while with the Indian, in a Language which Montezinus understood not; she returned to the Boat, and told to the three men what she had learned of the Indian; who alwayes eyeing him, came presently out of the Boat; and embraced Montezinus, the soman after their example doing the like; after which one of them went back to the Boat, and when the Indian bowed downe to the feet of the other two, and of the woman, they embraced him courteously and talked a good while with him. After that, the Indian bid Montezinus to be of good courage, and not to looke that they should come a second time to him, till he had fully learned the things which were told him at the first time.

Then those two men comming on each side of Montezinus, they spoke in Hebrew, the 4th ver. of Deut. 6. Semah Israel, adonai Elohenu adonai ehad; that is, Heare O Israel, the Lord our God is one God.

Then the Indian Interpreter being asked, how it was in Spanish, they spoke what followes to Montezinus, making a short pause between every particular.

1 Our Fathers are Abraham, Isaac, jacob, and Israel, and they signified these foure by the three fingers lifted up; then they joyned Reuben, adding another finger to the former three.

2 We will bestow severall places on them who have a minde to live with us.

3 Joseph dwels in the midst of the Sea, they making a signe by two fingers put together, and then parted them.

4 They saith (speaking fast) shortly some of us will goe forth to see, and to tread under foot; at which word they winked, and stamped with their feet.

5 One day we shall all of us talke together, they saying, Ba, ba, ba; and we shall come forth as issuing out of our Mother the earth.

6 A certaine Messenger shall goe forth.

7 Franciscus shall tell you somewhat more of these things, they making a signe with their finger, that much must not be spoken.

8 Suffer us that we may prepare ourselves; and they turning their hands and faces every way, thus prayed to God, DO NOT STAY LONG.

9 Send twelve men, they making a signe, that they would have men that had beards, and who are skilfull in writing.

The Conference being ended, which lasted a whole day, the same men returned on Wednesday, and Thursday, and spoke the same things againe, without adding a word; at last Montezinus being weary that they did not answer what he asked them, nor would suffer him to goe over the river, he cast himselfe into their Boat; but he being forced out againe, fell into the River, and was in danger to be drowned, for he could not swim; but being got out of the water, the rest being angry, said to him; attempt not passe the River, nor to enquire after more then we tel you; which the Indian interpreted to him, the rest declaring the same things both by signe, and words.

You must observe, that all thoe three dayes the Boat stayed not in the same place, but when those foure who came went away, other foure came, who all as with one mouth, repeated all the fore-mentioned nine particulars, there came adn went about three hudnred. Those men are somewhat scorched by the Sun, some of them weare their haire long, downe to their knees, other of them shorter, and others of them much as we commonly cut it. They were comely of body, well accounted, having ornaments on their feet, and [ p. 5 ] leggs, and their heads were compassed bout with a linen cloath.

Montezinus saith, that when he was about to be gone, on Thursday evening, they shewed him very much courtesie and brought him whatever they thought fit for him in his journey, and they said, that themselves were well provided with all such things, (sc. meats, garments, flocks, and other things) which the Spaniards in India call their owne.

The same day, when when they came to the palce where they had rested, the night before they came to the River, Montezinus said to the Indian; You remember Francis, that my Brethren told me, that you should tell me something, therefore I entreat you, that you would not thinke much to relate it. The Indian answered, I will tell you what I know, only doe not trouble me, and you shall know the truth, as I have received it from my fore-fathers; but if you presse me too much, as you seeme to doe, you will make me tell you lyes; attend therefore I pray, to what I shall tell you:

Thy Brethren are the Sons of Israel, and brought thither by the providence of God, who for their sake wrought many Miracles, which you will not beleeve, if I should tell you what I have learned from my Fathers; we Indians made war upon them in that palce, and used them more hardly then we now are by the Spaniards; then by the instigation of our Magicians (whom we call Mohanes) we went armed to that place where you saw your Brethren, with an intent to destroy them; but not one of all those who went thither, came back, againe; whereupon we raised a great Army, and set upon them, but with the same successe, for againe none escaped; which hapened also the third time, so that India was almost bereft of all inhabitants, but old men, and women, the old men therefore; and the rest who survived, beleiving that the Magicians used false dealing, consulted to destroy them all, and many of them being killed, those who remained promised to discover somewhat that was not knowne; upon that they desisted from cruelty, and they declared such things as follow [ p. 6 ] them, as it was subject to them formerly; you shall be happy if you make a League with them.

Then five of the chiefe Indians (whom they call Casici who were my Ancestors, having undnerstood the Prophetie of the Magicians, which they had learned of the Wise men of the hebrewes, went thither, and after much entreaty, obtained their desire, having first made knowne their minde to that woman, whom you saw to be for an Interpreter, (for your Brethren will ahve no commerce with our Indians) and whosover of ours doth enter the Country of your Brethren, they presently kill him; and noen of your Brethren doe passe into our Country. Now by the help of that Woman we made this agreement with them.

1 That our five Cazici should come to them, and that alone at every seventy moneths end.

2 That he wto whom secrets should be imparted, should be above the age of three hundred Moones, or Months.

3 And that such things should be discovered to none in any place where people are, but only in a Desert, and in the presence of the Cazici; and so (said the Indian) we keep that secret among ourselves, because that we promise ourselves great favour from them, for the good offices which we have done to our Brethren, it is not lawfull for us to visite them, unlesse at the seventy months end: Or if there happens any thing new, and this fell out but thrice in my time; First, when the Spaniards came into this Land; also, when Ships came into the Southerne Sea; and thirdly, when you came, whom they long wished for, and

expected. They did much rejoyce for those three new things, because that they said, the Prophecies were fulfilled.

And Montezinus also said, that three other Cazici were sent to him by Franciscus, to Honda, yet not telling their names, till he had said, you may speake to them freely, they are my fellowes in my Function of whom I have toldyou, the fifth could not come for age, but those three did heartily embrace him; and Montezinus being asked of what Nation he was, he answered in Hebrew, of the Tribe of Levi, and that God was his God, &c. which when thy had heard, they embraced him againe, and said: Upon a time you shall see us, and shall not know us; We are all your Brethren, by Gods singular favour; and againe, they both of the bidding farewell, departed, every one saying, I goe about my busnesse; there- [ p. 7 ] fore none but Franciscus being left, who saluting Montezinus as a Brother, then bade him farewell, saying, farewell my Brother, I have other things to doe, and I goe to visite thy Brethren, with other Hebrew Cazici. As for the Country, be secure, for we rule all the Indians; after we have finished a busnesse which we have with the wicked Spaniards, we will bring you out of your bondage by Gods help; not doubting, but he who cannot lye will help us, according to his Word; endeavour you in the meane while that those men may come.

Menasseh ben Israel now writes in his "Hope of Israel" which cites multiple external evidences, writings, and scriptural verses as to why he believes Indian origins involve the House of Israel. He groups these arguments in 41 "Sections," (see the External Evidence section ). Some of the more pertinent comments are as follows:

[Sect. 1] It is hard to say what is certaine among the so many, and so uncertaine opinions concerning the originall of the Indians of the new World. If you aske, what is my opinion upon the relation of Montezinus, I must say, it is scarce possible to know it by any Art, since there is no demonstration, which can manifest the truth of it, much lesse can you gather it from Divine, or humane Writings; for the Scriptures doe not tell what people first inhabited those Countries; neither was there mention of them by any, til Christop. Columbus, Americus, Vespacius, Ferinandus, Cortez, the Marquesse Del Valle, and Franciscus Pizarrus went thither. . . .

I shall speake somewhat in this Discourse, of the divers opinions which have been, and shall declare in what Countries it is thought the ten Tribes are; and I shall close, after that I have brought them into their owne Country, which I shall prove by good reasons, following the Revelations of the holy Prophets . . .

[Sect. 2] You must know therefore, that Alexis Vanegas saith, that the first Colonies of the West-Indies were of the Carthaginians, who first of all inhabited New-Spaine . . . But this opinion doth not satisfie, because they anciently were white men, bearded, and civill in converse, but contrarily those of Panama, St. martha, and the Isles in Cuba and Barlovent, went naked. . . . The learned Arias Montanus thinkes, that the Indians of New-Spaine, and Peru, are the Off-spring of Ophir the sonne of Jokton, the nephew of Heber. And he backes his opinion, by the name Ophir, which by transposition of letters, is the same with Peru; and he adds, that the name Parvaim in the duall number, doth signifie the Isthmus between new-Spaine and Peru, which first was called Ophir, then Peru; and that these Countries are that Peru, from whence King Solomon brought Gold, precious Stones; &c. as in 1 King. chap. 9. v. 10 & 2 Chron. 9. 21. . . . this notation is somewhat farre fetcht, it crosses what Josephus Acosta affirmes in 1. Histor. of Ind. c. 13 who saith, that the name Peru was unknowne to the Indians themselves before those Spaniards gave that name.

[Sect. 3] The first ground of that opinion is taken from 2 Esdra. 13. v. 40. &c. (which we quote as ancient, though it be Apocryphall) where it's said, that the ten Tribes which Salmanasher carried captive in the reigne of Hoseas, beyond Euphrates, determined to goe into Countries farre remote, in which none dwelt, whereby they might the better observe their Law. . . .

[Sect. 4] [Gomarus] strengthens this opinion, that in the Isle St. Michael, which belongs to the Azores, the Spaniards found Sepulchres under ground, with very ancient Hebrew letters

[Sect. 5] . . . That in Tiahuanacu a Province of Colai, among other Antiquities, this is worthy of memory (being scituated at the Lake which the Spaniards call Chutuytu) That among the great buildings which are there, one was to be seene of a very great pile . . . I conjecture that building to be a Synagogoe. [move to EXt.]

[Sect. 16] The ten Tribes being conquered at severall times, we must thinke they were carried into severall places. As we beleeve they went to the West-Indies by the strait of Anian, so we thinke that out of Tartary they went to China, by that famous wall in the confines of both . . . And why might not some of them saile from China to New-Spaine, through the streight between China, and Anian, and Quivira, which doe border upon New-Spaine; and from thence they went to the isles of Panama, Peru, and those thereabouts. These in my judgement are those Chineses of whom Isaiah speakes, Chap. 49. vers. 12. (treating about Israelites from the North, and from the West, and these from the Land of Sinim. . . .

[Sect. 18] Part of the ten Tribes also live in Ethiopia, in the Habyssin Kingdome; as divers Habyssins reported at Rome. Boterus in his relations speakes the same thing, that two potent Nations does live neare Nilus, and that one of them is that of the Israelites, who are governed by a mighty King. . . .

[Sect. 19] And without doubt they also dwell in Medila; from thence they passed Euphrates, whither they were first brought, as in 2 King. 17. 24 and in the book of Tobit. Josephus also speakes of them in the Preface of his Book of the War of the Jewes, that the Jewes did think that their brethren, who dwelt beyond Euphrates, and farther, would rebell against the Romans. . . .

[Sect. 20] Lastly, all thinke, that part of the ten Tribes dwell beyond the river Sabbathian, or sabbaticall. Rabbi Johanan the Author of the Jerusalem Talmud, who lived 160. yeares after the destruction of the second Temple, saith in his treatise of the Sanhedrim, cap. 17. That the ten Tribes were carried into three plcaes, sc. to the Sabbaticall river, to Daphne the suburbs of Antioch, and thither where a cloud comes downe and covers them; And that they shall be redeemed from those three places; for so he opens that palce of Isa. Ch. 49.9. That they may say to the Captives, Goe fortht, (sc. to them who are at the Sabbaticall river) to them that are in darkneses shew your selves, (sc. to them who are compassed with the cloud) and to all, they shall be refreshed in the wayes, (sc. to them who live in Daphne of Antioch which is in Syria) . . .

[Sect. 23] Hitherto we have shewed that the ten Tribes are in divers palces, as in the West-Indies, in Sina; in the confines of Tartary, beyond the river Sabbathion, and Euphrates, in Media, in the Kingdome of the Habyssins; of all which the Prophet Isaiah is to be understood, in Isa. 11. 11. It shall come to passe in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria, from Egypt, from Pathros, from Ethiopia, from Elam, from Sinear, from Hamath, and from the Islands of the Sea. From whence you may gather, that it is meant of those places where the ten Tribes dwell. Syria and Aegypt shall be the two places of their generall meeting; as more fully hereafter.

Pathros, is not Pelusium, nor Petra, but Parthaia, neare to the Caspian Sea, where I thinke, with many others, the Sabbaticall river is. Although there is a Pathros in Aegypt, as the learned Samuel Bocharus saith in his holy Geography.

Ch[us?], according to comon opinion, is Aethiopia, as is proved out of Jer. 13. 23. and in this place of Jeremy are meant the Israelites, who live in the Country of the Abyssins.

Elam is a Province in Persia, as it appeares in Dan. 8. 2. where are desert places, in which, perhaps, the remanant of the ten Tribes is.

Sinar, is a Province about Babylone, as in Gen. 10. 10. where Babel is said to be in Shinar; and DAN 1. 2. it is said, that Nebuchadrezzar carryed the holy Vessels to the Land of Shiinar.

Hamath, there are many Hamaths mentioned in the Scripture, many understand it of Antioch; but because Geographers reckon up 12 places named Antioch, therefore we can affirme nothing for certain; but I thinke, that that is meant, which is placed in Sythia. The seventy Interpreters by Hamath, understand the Sun, from Hamath thinke it is no ill translation; for hereby all the Israelites who are in greater Asia, India, and Sina may be understood.

The islands of the Sea, so almost all translate it; but I thinke it is to be rendered The Islands of the West, for (iam) in holy Scripture signifies The West, as in Gen. 28.14. and in many other palces; and upon this account those Israelites are implied, who are Westward from the Holy Land, among whom the Americans are.

Note\* in Sections 24-29 the Author quotes multiple biblical prophecies concerning the gathering of Israel. Some of these are:

Isaiah 9:7; 11:11, 12, 13; 19:25; 27:12, 13; 43:5, 6; 49:7-the end; 56:8; 60:8; 63:4;

Jeremiah 23:7-8; 30; 31:15-16; 33:7, 16

Ezekiel 34:13; 37

Mica 2:12

Zech. 8:7; 10:6; 12:10

Amos 5:2; 9:14,15

Hosea 2 [?]; 11:11

Daniel 12: 4, 7, 9;

Deut. 32: 43; 33:29

Joel 3:19

Note\* See 1840, George Weiner, "America's Jewish Braves," *Mankind* 4 (n.d.): 56-64.

Note\* See the 1908 H. A. Stebbins notation. See the 1828 Worsley notation.

1650^ Thomas Thorowgood *Jewes in America, or, Probabilities That the Americans are of that*

(Israelitish)

*Race*. London, 1650.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 131-132] At about the same time as Manasseh [ben Israel] published his *Spes Israelis* [The Hope of Israel] in Amsterdam, Thomas Thorowgood finally published in London his *Jewes in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race*. Thorowgood's volume lay more nearly in the tradition of the dispute over Jewish Indians. He used much of his space to describe why he thought the Indians were Jews. He based his opinion on seven considerations:

- (1) native myths, which he thought indicated a Jewish origin;
- (2) similar common, or profane customs;
- (3) similar sacred rites;
- (4) speech;
- (5) the presence of cannibalism prophesied in the Bible;
- (6) Indians were the last to know Christ, as the Jews were supposed to be the last; and
- (7) the calamities and hardships of the Indians which the bible prophesied for the Jews

The millennialist element was also very pronounced in Thorowgood's writing:

From the Jews our faith began,  
To the Gentiles then it ran,  
To the Jews return it shall,  
Before the dreadful end of all.

After a brief "Part II," devoted to answering a few standard objections, Thorowgood wrote a long essay called "Earnest desires for effectual endeavours to make them Christians." Montesinos' *Relacion* appeared at the end of the volume in an English translation.

The desire of the millennialists to Christianize the Jews in order to hasten "the dreadful end of all," and Thorowgood's missionary zeal to convert the Indians by supporting the work of John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," served to draw considerable attention to the Jewish question and to subordinate the Indian origin question to it. There was in England a strong and growing opinion that the best way to convert the Jews was to allow them to reenter England whence they had been legally barred since 1290. . . .

Note\* In 1660 Thorowgood would published additional material on the subject--see notation.

George Weiner writes:

While Menasseh ben Israel was still at work on his own book. Thomas Thorowgood, a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, had begun to compile a treatise based upon the conjectures of the early Spanish missionaries to the New World showing that the American Indians were the Lost Tribes. Deeply interested in the missionary efforts in Massachusetts of the famous "Apostle of the Indians," John Eliot, Thorowgood saw in the American-Ten Tribes theory an opportunity to get the public to provide funds for the support of the mission.

His friend and fellow Westminster Assemblyman, John Durie, had become interested in Thorowgood's manuscript and was trying to help him get it published. A few years earlier, while in Amsterdam, Durie had met Menasseh ben Israel and had heard the story of Montezinos. So in the fall of 1649 he wrote to the Rabbi requesting a copy of Montezinos's affidavit for incorporation into Thorowgood's forthcoming book. Despite his own more important plans for the story, the affable Rabbi quickly replied. The result was that both books, Menasseh's in Spanish and Thorowgood's *Jews in America* in English, gave to the world the story of Montezinos's revelation in the same year [1650??].

John Eliot, the beneficiary of Thorowgood's efforts, was one of the first North Americans to embrace the theory of the American Indians being the Lost Tribes of Israel, and it served as a great source of inspiration to him in his evangelistic endeavors. Although he had come to America in 1631, it was not until 1646 that he first began his life work of preaching to the Indians. By 1649 his efforts had met with such success that the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New-England was formed in the mother country to support him in his work. With complete disregard for privation or exposure to the harsh New England climate, he trudged continually from place to place, preaching to the natives. At Natick, Massachusetts, he founded a self-governing community of "praying Indians," and by 1674 he had organized thirteen more of these Indian towns as well as having trained twenty-four Indian preachers to aid him in his work.

Source: ^George Weiner (non-LDS), "America's Jewish Braves," in *Mankind*. Vol. 4, Number 9 (October 1974). Published bi-monthly by Mankind Publishing Company, Los Angeles, California, p. 60.

In 1930, Allen Godbey would write:

The manuscript of Thomas Thorowgood, who was a member of The Assembly of Divines, attracted the attention of John Dury, who urged its publication, and communicated two remarkable stories which he heard in Holland; these were published with Thorowgood's book. The first was, that a messenger from the Ten Tribes had appeared in Holland to ask after the welfare of those who were not carried away. The second was the tale of Antonio Montesinos, who said that he was entertained several days by a community of Jews in Peru. This was sworn to before Manasseh ben-Israel, Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam, who certified the good character of Montesinos. Then Rabbi Manasseh wrote *The Hope of Israel*, to prove that Israelites first discovered America, crossing by Bering's Strait, then bridged with land. He claimed identical customs. He dedicated his book to the English Parliament. Mayhew, John Eliot, Roger Williams, and other American preachers were strongly impressed with these views.

Source: Allen H. Godbey, Ph.D, *The Lost Tribes A Myth: Suggestions Towards Rewriting Hebrew History*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1930, p. 3.

An Epistolical Discourse of Mr. John Dury, to Mr. Thorowgood.

Concerning his conjecture that the Americans are descended from the Israelites.

With the History of a Portugall Jew, Antonie Montnerinos, attested by Manasseh Ben Israel, to the same effect.

I am bound to thank you for the communication of your booke, which I have read with a great deale of delight and satisfaction; for the rarity of the subject, and the variety of your observations thereupon, which you have deduced with as much probability to make out your theme, as History can afford matter. . . .

. . . it is very evident to me, that you have sought after a matter, which to most men will seem incredible, ridiculous and extravagant; and to tell you the truth, before I had read your discourse and seriously weighed matters, when I thought upon your theme, that the Americans should be of the seed of Israel, it seemed to me somewhat strange and unlikely to have any truth in it; but afterward when I had weighed your deduction of the matter and lookt seriously upon Gods hand in bringing into those parts of the World where the Americans are, so many religious professors, zealous for the advancement of his glory, and who are possessed with a beliefe from the Scriptures, that all the Tribes of Israel shall be called to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, before the end of the world: and when I had recollected and laid together some other scattered and confused thoughts which at several times I have received, partly from the places of Scripture, which foretell the calling of the Jewes, and their restitution to their owne land, together with the bringing back of the ten Tribes from all the ends and corners of the earth, partly from some relations which I had heard a few yeeres ago concerning the ten Tribes, which the Jewes here in Euorpe had given out, and partly from the observations of Gods way, which he seemes to make by all these changes, and the dissolution of the States and Empires of the world, towards some great worke, and extraordinary revolution which may shortly come to passe: all which things when I had called to mind and represented unto my selfe, I was so far from derogating any thing from that which you have conjectured concerning the American Indians; that I beganne to stand amazed at the appearances of the probabilities which so many waies offered themselves to me, to make out and confirme the effect of that which you have said. . . .

First then I shall impart unto you some stories which I heard five or six yeeres ago, when I was in the Low Countries, concerning the ten Tribes; and then I shall adde some information concerning the state of the Jewes in our European and Asiatique worlds, which I have learned at other times by some providences which God hath offered unto mee; and upon the whole matter I shall leave you to your further conjectures, by that which I shall [ ] at.

The first story which I heard was at the Hague, a person of chief quality about the Queen of Bohemia, and one of her Counsell, and a discerning godly man, and my special friend told me, that the Jew (a Jeweller residing ordinarily at the Hague) whom I knew had been there at Court, and with great joy had told, that they of his Nation had received from Constantinople Letters, bringing to them glad tidings of two speciall matters fallen out there; the one was, that the Grand Seignior had remitted the great taxes which formerly had been laid upon the Jewes of those parts; so that now they were in a manner free from all burthens, paing but a small and inconsiderable matter to that Empire, the other was, that a messenger was come unto the Jewes who reside neere about the Holy Land, from the ten Tribes, to make enquiry concerning the state of the Land; and what was become of the two Tribes and the half which was left in it, when they were transported from thence by Salmanasser. This Messenger was described to be a greave man, having some attendance in good equipage about him. He told them that the people from which hee was sent were the Tribes of Israel, which in the dates of Hosea the King, were carried captives out of their owne Land by the King of Assyria, who transported them from Samaria into Assyria and the Cities of the Medes; but they being grieved for the transgression which caused God to be angry with them, they took a resolution to separate themselves from all Idolaters, and so went from the Heathen where they were placed by Salamassar, with a resolution to live by themselves, and believe the Commandments of God, which in their owne Land they had not observed: in prosecuting this resolution, after a long journey of a yeere and six months, they came to a countrey wholly destitute of inhabitants, where now they have increased into a great Nation, and are to come from thence into their owne Land by the direction of God; and to shew them that hee was a true Israelite, hee had brought with him a Scroule of the Law of Moses, written according to their custome.

The Gentleman who told me this story, as from the mouth of the Jew, said that it brought to his mind fully (by reasons of the agreement of circumstances almost in all things) the story which is recorded in the Second Booke of Esdras, which is called Apocrypha, Chap. 13. ver. 40. till 50. which will be found a truth if that Messenger came and made this Narrative. This was the first story; and not long after viz. Within the space of five or six moneths, a little before I came from the Low Countries, I was told of a Jew who came from America to Amsterdam, and brought to the Jewes residing there, newes concerning the ten Tribes; that hee had been with them upon the border of their Land, and had conversed with some of them for a short space, and seen and heard remarkable things whiles he stayed with them, whereof then I could not learn the truer particulars; but I heard that narrative was made in writing of that which he had



related, which before I went from Holland last, I had no time to seeke after, but since the reading of your Booke, and some discourse I have had with you about these matters, I have procured it from the Low Countries, and received a Copie thereof in French, attested under Mannasseh Ben Israel his hand, that it doth exactly agree with the originall, as it was sent me, the translation thereof I have truly made without adding or taking away anything; and because I was not satisfied in some things and desired to know how farre the whole matter was believed among the Jewes at Amsterdam, I wrote the Manasseh Ben Israel, their chiefe Rabbi, about it, and his answer I have gotten in two Letters, telling me that by the occasion of the Questions which I proposed unto him concerning this adjoynd Narrative of Mr. Antonie Monterinos, hee to give me satisfaction, had written instead of a Letter, a Treatise, which hee shortly would publish, and whereof I should receive to many Copies as I should desire: In his first Letter dated Novem, last, 25. he saies that in his treatise he handles of the first inhabitants of America, which he believes were of the ten Tribes; moreover, that they are scattered also in other Countries, which he names, and that they keepe their true Religion, as hoping to returne againe into the Holy land in due time.

In his second Letter, dated the twenty three of December, he saies more distinctly thus: I declare how that our Israelites were the first finders out of America; not regarding the opinions of other men, which I thought good to refute in few words onely; and I thinke that the ten Tribes live not onely there, but also in other lands scattered every where; these never did come backe to the second Temple, and they keep till this day still the Jewish Religion, seeing all the Prophecies which speake of their bringing backe unto their native Soile must be fulfilled: So then at their appointed time, all the Tribes shall meet from all the parts of the world into two provinces, namely Assyria and Egypt, nor shall their Kingdome be any more divided, but they shall have one prince the Messiah the Sonne of David. . . . I prove at large, that the day of the promised Messiah unto us doth draw neer, upon which occasion I explaine many Prophecies, &c.

By all which you see his full agreement with your conjecture, concerning the Americans, that they are descended of the Hebrewes: when his booke comes to my hand, you shall have it God willing.

In the meane time I shall adde some of my conjectures concerning the Jewes which live on this side of the world with us in Europe and Asia; . . .

St. James, this 27 Jan. 1649.            Your faithfull frind and fellow labourer in the Gospel of Christ  
J. Dury.

*Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are Jewes*

**1652<sup>^</sup>    Hamon I-Estrange            Americans No Jewes, or Improbabilities that the Americans are  
of that**

(BABEL-Shem)            **race**, London: Printed by W. W. for Henry Seile, 1652.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 133] A theologian, Ham I'Estrange, took sufficient notice of Thomas Thorowgood's book to denounce it (along with Manasseh's book) in his *Americans no Jewes, or, Improbabilities that the*

*Americans are of that Race*, probably published at London in 1651, though the date reads 1652. L'Estrange thought that the Indians, whom he argued were descendants of Shem, went to America long before the Ten Tribes became lost. His refutation of Thorowgood took the form of denying each of the supposed similarities point by point and showing that the characteristics compared were not peculiar to the Jews or to Indians.

L'Estrange drew freely from Brerewood [see the notation] in his argument against the Jewish Indians. Indeed, he said, if he decided to change his opinion, Brerewood's Tatarian origin seemed the next most reasonable.

In 1652 Hamon L'Estrange, an English theologian wrote a critical response to *Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are Jewes*. He offered another theory that the Indians were descendants of Noah's son Shem, who came to America at the dispersion from the tower of Babel. He writes:

To the Reader

Not long since a Book (entitled Jews in America or Probabilities that the Americans are of that race) was sent unto me by the Author thereof, a Divine, whom I do much esteem and reverence for his gravity and learning: I read the same with more diligence and delight for the Authors sake, but I failed through the discourse, I fell upon many Sands and Rocks and reluctance to me sense, and thereupon soon after I committed mine observations to writing and being free and Independent . . .

[pp. 2-3] After the Flood (which continued 180 daies) the Ark rested upon mount *Ararat*, . . . Noah went out of the Ark with his children in the land of *Armenia* which is in the Province of *Scythia*; . . . from Armenia where the Ark rested, is no very long way to Cathay . . .

[pp. 9-13] . . . what hinders to believe but that *Sem* and his children who were the true believers and children of God, and lived quietly and peaceably and were blessed with great increase and multiplication, and kept their Hebrew language, and were not engaged in the action of *Babel* Tower, and suffered no interruption by that confusion, but travelling to the East, amplified and grew very numerous? . . . they removed still more East, and soon after planted and peopled the nearest, and more parts of *America*, and so verified that in *Gene. 9. 19*. The three Sonns of *Noah* overspread all the Earth.

It is not my meaning to infer out of my quotation of *Diodorus* a like generall planting and populacy all the world over, but I suppose that mankind having then (as wee use to say) all the world before them, and room enough, spread, dilated, and extended into that same moderate and temperate clymate, Eastward, declining the hotter regions to the South, and colder to the North . . .

Now touching the Dispersion of the Jewes by the carriing away of the Ten tribes by *Salmanaser* King of *Asyria*, which is supposed by some to be the Fountain and origine of the people of *America*, although learned *Brerewood* (in his 13. Chap. of *Enquiries, &c.*) makes a solid confutation of the vaine and capriccious phancy (as he calls it) of the Tartars to be descended of the ten Tribes, as also the quotation out of *Esdras* touching *Asareth*, yet if wee should admit the wandring of the Jewes into *Tartarie* after the Captivity, neverthesse since that Captivity was about 1500 yeares after the Flood, wee cannot but suppose that those East parts of *Asia* were peopled long before that Captivity, and consequently *America* also.

And to induce it and confirm what I have before declared, I further offer, that *Jerome quest. Heb g. Lib. 6.* and he happily out of *Joseph; lib. 1. Antiq. cp. 7* both say that the Sonns of Sem (who was Noahs second Sonne, and came out of the Arke) travailed from *Sinaar* and possessed and Inhabited the part

of *Asia* from *Euphrate* to the Indian Sea or Ocean, and the East part then of *Asia* remaining entire with the Globe of the Earth; for the streight of *Anian* (pernavigated onely in words) is yet to me but a fable . . .

I am more persuaded that soon after the dispersion of Nations at the Confusion of tongues, *Noahs* Sonns and Offspring came and inhabited that part of the world, and . . . I am of opinion that we are not to think *America* to have bin peopled not above 500 or 1000 yeares since, but forth with after the Confusion of tongues; now the Flood was *Anno mundi* 1656. and the confusion of tongues about 140 years after, as I have laid down before. . . .

And if there were a Free or Streight betweixt the two Continents, though certainly very narrow, and yet a necessity of passing over by boate, ship, or other vessell, wee may assure our selves that at the time of the said Captivity of the ten Tribes, and long before, ships and shipping were well known and in use; . . .

And besides what I find argued by that learned and Iudicious *Brerewood*, that the Americans are the race of the Tartars, wherein (should I recede from my former argument and opinion, I should concur with his) he much presseth one reason from the known discover, that the West parts of *America* next to *Asia* (by a fit implication from the more generall, ancient, and constant confluence of the Tartars out of *Asia*) the most plentifully peopled of any part of *America*, where they have the best records of the series and succession of their Kings, and where are to be seen goodly buildings, and magnificent monuments of Antiquity, far exceeding and excelling all other parts of the West Indies, all which also rather proves and confirms than confutes my former arguments.

There was another Dispersion of the Jewes from the passion of our Saviour, but that was onely of the two tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin* who were harassed and canvassed by the Romans after the expugnation of *Jerusalem*, and wee gather from history that those Jewes were most scattered West, North, and South into *Europe* and *Afrique*, but from thence we cannot ground any plantation of *America*.

If the Jewes had gone over into *America*, by themselves, or with the Tartarians, then the commixture of Nations would have produced a diffusion of promiscuous and medly manners and customes, and the more Jewes the deeper die and influence of their rights and customes had also pierced and possessed those parts, & with it an inundation of the peoples rights, customes had also followed and overflowed, but we see they differ . . . as appeares by *Acosta*, *Maffeius*, *Pe. Mart. Je de Laei* and others.

Thus far have I offered my weak conceptions, first how *America* may be collected to have bin first planted, not denying the Jewes leave to goe into *America*, but not admitting them to be the chief or prime planters thereof; for I am of opinion, that the Americans originalls were before the Captivity of the Ten tribes, even from *Sems* near progeny (of which I have spoken enough already) besides that from the Confusion of Languages, to that Captivity, there is a distance of about 13 or 1400 yeares, which is time sufficient for the plantation of *America* out of *Asia* before the Captivity.

Now I come to enquired into the harmony and agreement together of the Jewes and Americans, in manners, customes, language and religion.

[He then discusses a number of conjectures in the pages that follow]

**1652**    **Georg Horn**        ***De Originibus Americanis Libri Quatuor.*** Hemipoli: Joannis Mudliri, 1669.

First published 1652

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 118-121] The first literary confrontation on the subject of Indian origins began in 1641. Because it involved Hugo Grotius, the "father of international law," it has become by far the best known incident in the early history of the search for Indian origins. The major figures in the controversy other than Grotius were a few-Dutchman, Joannes de Laet, and a German-turned-Dutchman, Georg Horn. Neither De Laet nor Horn enjoyed as much fame as Grotius, but they were important men in their own right. . . .

Georg Horn was a much younger man than either Grotius or De laet. he was only in his early twenties in 1641 (Grotius was 59, De laet 58), and he took no public part in the debate as it happened. But he did write a book on the subject at the instigation of De Laet. The death of Grotius in 1644 and other circumstances prevented the publication of Horn's volume until 1652. One of those circumstances was his work as a professor of history at Leyden, where he was employed after 1648.

Horn's reputation now is based mainly on his polemics; the most famous of which was his pamphlet war with Isaac Vos in 1659. The subject was the "True Age of the Earth." Vos argued for 2256 years before the Flood; Horn allowed only 1440. In all, Vos produced four pamphlets of "castigationes," and "defensiones"; Horn wrote three. . . .

Georg Horn published his own book in 1652. His position was essentially the same as De laet's. Engel, who in 1767 began his discussion of earlier theories with Grotius, found De laet's and Horn's theories so similar that he discussed them as a unit. Barcia charged that Horn wrote and published his book so hurriedly that he failed to produce a "mature" book, or to specify his sources: "an ancient vice of the Heretics." This accusation seems largely true, despite what Horn said in his "Preface" and the fact that Barcia used the second printing of 1669, and did not know of the 1652 edition.

The literary consequences of this dispute did not end with Horn. The subject of the origins of the American Indians became a very important one after mid-century. In part this was due to the notoriety of the Grotius-De Laet dispute; in part to the intrinsic interest of the subject. . . .

**The Grotius-De-Laet controversy and the works related to it illustrate the strength of the Acostan Tradition in northern Europe at mid-century. Joannes de Laet and Georg Horn, as well as some other authors, followed the arguments based on geography and animal distribution first laid down by Acosta in 1589. They went further than the Spaniard and identified the area of origination more precisely as Siberia (Tatary-Scythia), even though the first Indians might have been non-Tatars pushed out of Tatary and into America by the Tatars.**

The northern elaboration of the Acostan argument produced a position which may be stated thusly: because of the geographical isolation of America from Europe and Africa, the first settlers must have come from Asia. The presence in the New World of animals which could not have come in ships with men from Europe also indicated an Asian origin, while the presence of the same animals argued that America was either connected to Asia by land, or only narrowly separated by water. The size of the total population of America, and the variety of languages indicated a great antiquity for the original settlement. Consequently, it could be assumed that the Indians who originally came to America from Tatary might not be related to the tribes historically known to inhabit that region. Or, if the Indians were descendants of the historic Tatars, their antiquity indicated that they probably came before the Tatars developed some of their current cultural baggage, such as the domesticated horse. The Indians might then be derived from some unknown tribe which once lived in Tatary.

If such reasoning is true, it would of course be impossible to discover which people gave rise to the American Indians. The best one could do would be to assume that the unknown tribe (or tribes) from which the Indians descended more or less resembled the tribes which currently lived in Tatary.

This argument had the same effect as Acosta's hint of cultural autochthony: that is, it would make ultimate derivation of the Indians impossible except on a strictly geographical basis. And the autochthony was still there, for the unknown tribe probably did not possess a high civilization. The factors behind the source of the high cultures of Mexico and Peru remained unresolved. Did the savages produce such cultures independently?

Purchas had endorsed climate as the determining factor in the production of Indian civilizations. But the Genesis-based traditions of diffusionism were too strong for most men. Both De laet and Horn were ready to grant a large measure of autochthony; but, as Barcia pointed out, Horn was uncertain that the Indians could have invented architecture and other arts.

By 1650 the writers in the Acostan Tradition were willing to derive the Indians from some unknown tribe in northeastern Asia, at an unknown, but ancient, time. This position is substantially identical to that accepted by most modern authorities. But the Acostans were not able to maintain this position. Scholarly opinion of the day did not admit the possibility of genuinely unknown tribes. Since all tribes were related through common descent from Adam by way of Noah and his sons and all tribes could be traced to their relations, the possibility of a "wild state" for men was not in conformity with theology.

The Acostans could argue that tribes might be unknown in the sense that their relationship to other tribes might not be traceable, but culture was another matter. Regardless of how strongly their reasoning suggested autochthony, the knowledge and beliefs of the time could scarcely support an extreme statement of that position. So Horn and De Laet, as had Brerewood, Acosta himself, and Acosta's Spanish followers, admitted the possibility of late-comers of the "trans-Atlantic" sort.

One can glimpse the beginning of a certain clarification about the origin of the natives of the New World in the first half of the seventeenth century. At mid-century the question where the Indians had come from appeared to be in the process of separating from the question of their cultural origins. Not that there was any clear recognition of this possibility at the time, for these two aspects of the origin problem did not fully separate until the nineteenth century, and the cultural origins concept has largely dominated the literature in this century.

Though the possibility of separate physical and cultural origins of the Indians was emerging in the seventeenth century, it had little influence on the literature. The old habit of mind which ascribed men and culture to the same origin continued to dominate the discussion. Even the Acostans who had to resort to late-arriving Mediterraneans to explain the high cultures of America do not appear to have recognized the implications of this necessity to the idea of a single physical and cultural origin. Nor did they seem to realize that such a resort, without the separation of physical and cultural origins, could lead them straight to the all-embracing Garcian position.

Justin Winsor writes:

De Laet, not content with his own onset [or rebuttal to Hugo Grotius], incited another to take part in the controversy [on American Indian origins], and so George Horn (Hornius) published his *De Originibus Americanis, libri quatuor* (Hagae Comitum, i.e., The Hague, 1652; again, Hemipoli, i.e. Halberstadt, 1669). His view was the Scythian one, but he held to later additions from the Phoenicians and Carthaginians on the Atlantic side, and from the Chinese on the Pacific.

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 370.

**[1653] Bernabe Cobo** *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Marcos Jimenez de la Espada (ed.). 4 vols. Sevilla: E. Rasco, 1890-93 **Completed by 1653.**

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 102-105] Though Acosta's influence dominated the major writers from 1613 to 1638, it scarcely shows in the published literature after 1638. But a manuscript by a fellow-Jesuit in 1653 does reveal considerable concern with the problem of the discoverability of Indian origins. Bernabe Cobo, whose *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* did not appear in print until 1890-1893, spent more than fifty years in the Indies. With such experience, he was in a better position than most writers to comment on the character of the Indians, and whether there was a core of customs common to all the natives.

Cobo had several doubts about the common origin of the Indians. The natives, he pointed out, did not have a name for all America which all recognized; nor did they have a common name for all the peoples of the New World. Even the Peruvians had no name for *all* the people of their empire; the closest thing to it was the Quechua word "Runa" which meant "man." Despite this important objection, Cobo still thought the Indians all came from the same stock. He based this opinion largely on a belief that the Indians did possess certain traits in common. But beyond the cultural similarities, Cobo argued that the physical similarities of the Indians were also of great importance. They all had the same color--somewhat brown. This color varied some, but not to a significant degree. And, he added, concerning the varieties of colors in the world,

I am convinced that this variety of colors is not caused by the climate where one is born, but that it is a part of men and that we take it from nature, despite the fact that we all came originally from Adam and Eve; and that God ordained it thus for the beauty of the Universe and to show his infinite wisdom and omnipotence in this diversity of colors.

Cobo noted other physical characteristics such as the stature and corpulence of the Indians. Since these did not vary much, he thought this indicative of a common origin. Cobo found even greater uniformity in the eyes of the Indians. All Indians had black eyes; none had green or blue ones. He also pointed out the distinctive almond shape of the eyes and noted that it was caused by the eyelids. So distinctive was this particular characteristic that to tell if a person were a mestizo "we look them in the eyes" and there can be no doubt, because the corners of the eyes reflect the degree of Indian blood.

Cobo also noted that hair had physical characteristics in addition to its mere presence or absence. All Indians had black hair; it was never blond, rarely absent from the head, and seldom greyed. Moreover, the texture of Indian hair was very coarse.

The combination of physical and cultural characteristics common to all Indians convinced Cobo that "it was doubtless one nation or family of men which passed to people this land." The biggest objection to this theory lay in "the incredible multitude of languages" (Cobo estimated more than two thousands) used by the Indians. But this very variety provided an answer. If each language represented a separate migration, why did no one know how they came to America? Where could two thousand nations come from? And why should two thousand peoples preserve languages as their only major distinction?

Cobo argued that one language could differentiate into two thousand, just as the old Roman language had given rise to many languages. Without writing to stabilize speech, primitive languages probably changed much faster. He found evidence for such an argument in a comparison of the Quechua and Aymara languages of Peru, which he thought developed from the same parent language. Cobo did not seem to wonder why languages should change with no similar changes in other aspects of culture.

**The solution to the problem of origins offered by Cobo came largely from Solorzano. On several occasions (as when writing "we are not investigating what God could do . . .," but how it could be done in the course of human affairs) Cobo's language closely paralleled Solorzano's. His conclusion that the Indians came from East Asia also came from Solorzano. He did, however, offer a few elaborations and one important demurrer. Cobo did not think that there was any connection between the migration of men and the migration of animals. Evidence of this lack of connection was that all domestic animals in the New World were native to it; i.e., the immigrants had not brought their Old World domestic animals with them. Why did the Indians bring no animals with**

**them? the point is unclear in Cobo's work, but he seems to have thought the Indians came to America soon after the Flood, before they possessed cattle.**

Cobo fell distinctly in the Acostan Tradition, and he carried the arguments begun by Acosta to new heights, even though he abandoned the animal migration phase of it. The unfortunate circumstances which prevented the publication of his work greatly impeded the development of Spanish and foreign scholarship on the subject of the origins of the American Indians. Not only did Cobo advance the best tradition in Spanish scholarship; but he came close to formulating the new criteria necessary to the clarification and continued development of that tradition.

Cobo's remarks on the peculiar physical properties of the Indians were not offered as an alternative to the cultural comparison technique. He continued to rely on that method for determining the relationship of Indians to Old World peoples. But publication of these remarks might well have led to a wider application of physical, as opposed to cultural, comparisons. The problems which Acosta thought impossible under the old investigative procedure might have yielded to this new method sufficiently to encourage its development. Under those circumstances, the distinction between physical and cultural origins which began to crop up in Northern literature in the late seventeenth century might have entered Spanish literature too.

Unfortunately, Cobo's *History* was not published. Few writers after Calancha (1638) showed the Acostan influence. Without the new directions which Cobo's work could have supplied, the tradition stnated in Spain. The only important restatements of the tradition after 1638 came with the republication of Solorzano in 1703, and Torquemada in 1723.

. . . A pre-Columbian migration seemed not so unreasonable when viewed against the vast numbers of Europeans who had gone to America since 1492. Why then deny that the Carthaginians could have gone? Or the Greeks? Or the Romans? Or the ancient Spaniards themselves?

The absence of any historical record of such an event did not prove it had not happened. Knowledge, as the Renaissance knew so well, could easily be mislaid. Furthermore, ancient literature contained many veiled hints and allusions to legends of Atlantic lands which might refer to the New World.

Other factors retarding the success of the Acostan school were the inability of the writers to find a substitute for the accepted methodology and the failure of Europeans in general to identify degrees of reliability and authority. Garcia and Rocha were ultimately as unable to give definite answers as Acosta. They openly advised their readers that certainty would not be achieved in the field of Indian origins. Since they could offer only opinions which one could accept or not, by implication they invited disbelief. Garcia, of course, went so far as to proclaim that all opinions on the subject, except the Indians', possessed equal probability. Garcia trapped by his intellectual assumptions, genuinely believed all theories probable. Rocha, trapped by a nationalistic spirit, believed he had discovered the *most* probable one event though it depended on the prior existence of the generally discredited Atlantis.

[FINISH]

**1655    Anonymous** Systema Theologicum ex Praeadamitarum Hypothesi, Pars Prima, 1655.

(Isaac de la Peyrere)    See ***A Theological systeme upon that Presupposition That Men were before***

*(INDIGENOUS-PREADAMITE)* Adam. London, 1656. See also *Men before Adam. Or a Discourse upon the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth Verses of the Fifth Chapter of the Epistle of Apostle Paul to the Romans. By which are prov'd that the first Men were created before Adam.* London, 1656.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 139-140] The best argument for the particular nature of the Deluge appeared anonymously with--and subordinate to--the best statement of the dual Adam thesis. In 1655 a book titled *Prae-Adamitae* was published at Amsterdam. The author, in the same year, published *Systema Theologicum ex Praeadamitarum Hypothesi, Pars Prima*.

These books shocked and delighted Europe and were immediate successes. . . . An English translation of *Prae-Adamitae*, *Men Before Adam*, and a second English volume containing both books came off the presses in 1656. . . .

Despite the fact that both volumes were published anonymously, the author's name was no secret. Isaac de la Peyrere was a French Huguenot of some distinction even before he published the *Prae-Adamitae*. . . .

*The furious reaction to the Prae-Adamitae* resulted in La Peyrere's forced conversion to Catholicism, a retraction (which, when published, went through a least four editions by 1663 and kept the affair alive), and the burning of the original book in Paris.

The manuscript of the *Prae-Adamitae* was written in the early 1640's. In 1643 La Peyrere showed it to a friend, and sometime within the next year he sent a copy to Hugo Grotius. **This book in connection with the *Systema* expounded the idea that biblical and historical evidence showed that men probably existed before Adam. The evidence lay in the puzzling statements in Romans 5:12-14 which indicated the existence of sin before Adam, the two creation stories in Genesis 1 and 2, and several other apparent contradictions. La Peyrere thought he could solve these puzzles by postulating that God made two creations: the first creation produced the gentiles who then spread over the world--even to America; the second creation resulted in Adam, the progenitor of the Jews. The Deluge destroyed only the Hebrews. This theory explained why Egypt and Mesopotamia seemed more ancient than Israel, and why men seemed to be in America before the Flood.**

The literary response to the *Prae-Adamitae* far surpassed the response to the Grotius-De Laet controversy. [see the notations] The subject of the pre-Adamites became for several years the favorite question with regard to human--and largely incidentally, Indian--origins. In the year 1656 alone, in addition to La Peyrere's own works, at least twelve refutations were published. At least seven additional refutations appeared before 1698. Fabricius, in a doctoral dissertation of 1721, which purported to prove all men of "one and the same species," listed without dates thirty-seven more works touching on the subject of polygenism.

Most of the argument over polygenism centered on theology. When it touched on the origins of the Indians, it did so largely incidentally; but there was a close connection between the two controversies.

Dan Vogel writes the following:

Philippus Theophrastus (1493-1541), better known as Paracelsus, a German physician and alchemist, is credited as one of the first to suggest that the New World Indians were not descendants of Adam. He supposedly said, "God could not endure to have the rest of the world empty and so by his admirable wisdom filled the earth with other men." (Note 4)

Public debate over the consequences of such a belief dates to at least the final decade of the sixteenth century. "Impudently [unbelievers] persist in it," wrote Englishman Thomas Nashe in 1593, "that the late discovered Indians are able to shew antiquities thousands [of years] before Adam." (Note 5) Suspected sympathy for such beliefs was part of the stir



which brought charges of "atheism" against such men as Sir Walter Raleigh, Thomas Harriot, Matthew Royden, Christopher Marlow, and others in 1592-93. (Note 6) Some, such as Raleigh, did not deserve the accusation, but Marlowe and others did. When Marlowe was formally charged, the first item in the list of his heretical opinions was: "That the Indians and many Authors of antiquity have assuredly written of above 6 thowsande yeers agoe, whereas Adam is proved to have lived within 6 thowsand yeares." (Note 7)

In the Mid-seventeenth century Isaac de la Peyrere, a Calvinist of Bordeaux, France, wrote the first book-length exploration of the pre-Adamite theory, *A Theological System upon the Presupposition that Men were before Adam (also Men before Adam)*. (note 8) In the preface to his first work, La Peyrere described the "world newly discovered" and declared "the men of which, it is probable, did not descend from Adam." He based his supposition on the two accounts of the creation in Genesis. In the beginning, La Peyrere argued, God created the Gentiles; then, at a later time, he created Adam, the first Jew. The Flood was not universal but destroyed only the descendants of Adam in Asia. La Peyrere's arguments were persuasively constructed and gave Christian Europe a tremendous theological jolt. Many books and pamphlets rebutting La Peyrere's postulates immediately appeared.

La Peyrere's position did have its defenders in America. Bernard Romans (c. 1720-84), civil engineer, naturalist, and cartographer, was a captain of artillery sent by the British government to North America in 1757. He traveled extensively among the Indians and in 1775 published a natural history of Florida in which he argued for a separate creation for the Indians. Based on his own observations, he believed

the aborigines draw their origin from a different source, than either Europeans, Chinese, Negroes, Moors, Indians [the people of India], or any other different species of the human genus, of which i think there are many species, as well as among most other animals, and that they are not a variety occasioned by a comixture of any of the above species . . .

The above account will perhaps raise a conjecture that i believe the red men are not come from the westward out of the east of Asia; i do not believe it, i am firmly of opinion, that God created an original man and woman in this part of the globe, of different species from any in the other parts.

Henry Home (1696-1782), a Scottish judge of some wealth better known as Lord Kames, had not been to America but shared Romans's opinion. "I venture still further," he wrote in a book which was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1776, "which is, to conjecture, that America has not been peopled from any part of the old world." A blistering response from Samuel Stanhope Smith, a Presbyterian minister and member of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, represented the sentiments of many who were concerned about such arguments: "When ignorance pretends to sneer at revelation, and at opinions held sacred by mankind, it is too contemptible to provoke resentment, or to merit from a retaliation in kind."

Dan Vogel writes on p. 87 n. 4:

For a general history of the pre-Adamite theory, see A. J. Maas, "Preadamites," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols. (New York: Gilmary Society, 1907-12), 12:370-71; O. W. Garrigan, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols. (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1967), 11:702; also Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 272-6; and Don Cameron

Allen, *The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science and Letters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 132-37.

**1660 Morgan Jones**      *Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1740

(WEST. EUROPE)

Welch Theory advocated. Similarities in language

**1656 Antonio Leon Pinelo**      *El Paraiso en el Nuevo Mundo. Comentario apologetico, Historia*

*Natural y Peregrina de las Indias Occidentales Islas de Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano* . . . Raul Porras Barrenechea (ed.). 2 vols. Lima:

Comite del IV Centenario dell Descubrimiento del Amazonas., 1943.

Written c. 1650-1656.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 95-96] **A few Europeans wondered if perhaps Adam and Eve might have lived in America. . . . The Isagoge . . .** argued that America probably was the site of Paradise.

The great Spanish bibliographer Antonio Leon Pinelo wrote a substantial manuscript developing the idea of *El Paraiso en el Nuevo Mundo*, which he completed in 1656, fifty-five years before the *Isagoge*. A massive study, finally published in two volumes in 1943, it contained over a quarter of a million words. **After a long introductory section citing the numerous reasons for placing the original home of man in the New World, Leon Pinelo explained that although the Ark landed in Armenia, it had set out on its voyage from America.**

The author went on to explain that the sins of Noah's contemporaries contaminated the Indies. That was why God caused Noah to land in Armenia. As a further consequence of this contamination, the Indies remained uninhabitable for several centuries. Leon Pinelo argued that "no man entered the Continent of the Indies . . . where we supposed Paradise to be, the habitation of Adam, and of his first descendants," until the time of Christ. The death of Christ lifted the contamination of the Indies, redeeming Paradise as well as man. Leon Pinelo accepted a delayed version of the Ten Lost Tribes thesis to account for the first postdiluvian immigration. In effect, he used the traditional account, changing only the time of arrival.

Note\* see the 1627 Simon notation for more commentary on the Flood. See the 1711 *Isagoge* notation for more commentary on Eden in America.

**1658 Charles Rochefort**      ***The History of the Caribby Islands.*** John Davies (trans.).  
London: by

J. M. for T. Dring and J. Starkey, 1666 First published 1658.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 134-135] The discussion of the Lost Tribes theory in Europe was much more vigorous; but it was also more generally negative. Charles Rochefort's *History of the Caribby Islands* "referred to the Jewish-Indian argument as grounding "an imagination on too weak conjectures."

**1660 Thomas Thorowgood**      ***Jews in America, or Probabilities, that those Indians are Judaical***

**John Eliot**      ***made more probable by some Additional to the former Conjecture.***

(ISRAELITISH)      London, 1660.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 133-134] After 1650, Thorowgood did not publish anything new on the subject of Indian origins until 1660. In that year he published his *Jews in America, or, Probabilities that those Indians are Judaical . . .* at London. It was reprinted later the same year.

Thorowgood took the time in this second book to elaborate on what he meant by the word "probability." Though "Aristotle defines that to be probable which seem to be true," Thorowgood offered a somewhat different definition.

A Theme, Sentence, or Problem is said to be probable, when it cannot certainly be affirmed or denied, but the assent of the Reader, or Hearer is left to the weight of those arguments or examples which are laid before him and are most prevalent with his reason.

Apparently he meant something akin to the modern concept of possible.

*Jews in America* contained sixty-seven pages of new testimony on such things as circumcision, language, and customs. He added nothing new in itself in this book, but only items which he had overlooked the first time. He did, however, include "The Learned Conjecture of Reverend John Eliot Touching the Americans" which endorsed the Lost Tribes theory. As with his earlier *Jewes in America*, Thorowgood devoted much space to missionary considerations.

The literary discussion of the Lost Tribes of Israel and the American Indians between 1650 and 1660 was oriented largely toward theology and evangelism, rather than toward a consideration of the origins of the Indians as an intellectual problem, nor did the

controversy serve to invigorate the Lost Tribes theory. The American Samuel Sewall wrote in 1686 that Thorowgood's "arguments are not easily avoided," and again in 1696 that "Mr. Eliot and Mr. Thorowgood with many others are of the opinion that the Ten Tribes are here, and their arguments are not frivolous."

Dan Vogel writes:

Thorowgood, this time teamed with the famed "Apostle to the Indians," John Eliot of Massachusetts, strengthens his arguments that the Indians are of the ten tribes of Israel. Thorowgood had been attacked by fellow theologian sir Hamon l'Estrange, who argued similarities listed by Thorowgood were not peculiar to Jews or Indians. Thus Thorowgood and Eliot include evidence that American Indians are distinctly Israelite.

[They] borrowed heavily from Rabbi Israel [see the notation for 1652]. In addition, both men believed that the Peruvians "had their Temples and Priests, and they [had] their chambers there, much after the manner which Solomon built." (p. 35)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 22-23, 105-144

**1661**    **Gottlieb Spitzel**            ***Elevatio relationis Monteziniana de repertis in America tribus Israeliticis . . .***

Basle, 1661.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 135] Gottlieb Spitzel (Spizelius) wrote so thorough a denunciation of the Lost Tribes origin theory in his *Elevatio relationis Monteziniana . . .* of 1661, that Allen thought he "was successful in burying the theory of the Indians as descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes as deep as the great abyss."

**1669**    **Nicaloa Sanson**            **?????**

(ATLANTIS)

Map of the new world represented as Atlantis

**1671**    **Nortmanus Montanus**            ***New World.*** Paris

(POST FLOOD)

America peopled soon after the Flood

**1671 John Ogilby (1600-76) *America: Being the Latest, and Most Accurate Description of the New***

***World***. London, 1670, 1671.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 135-136] John Ogilby rejected the Lost Tribes theory in his *America*. . . .

John Ogilby wrote the first substantial investigation of the various origin theories after the "Hope of Israel" incident in his *America*. He began with a rejection of the possibility that the ancient knew of America; then he turned his attention to the "several Opinions, and the Learned still Jangling." Ogilby argued that the Indians must have come to America at a very ancient date. The presence of certain arts, such as goldsmithy, indicated the natives had been settled long enough to develop arts. The Indians must also have traveled to the New World by land, for "what profit could tygers, Lions, Wolves, Bears, and the like advantage the Transporter?"

Ogilby knew that Greenland and "Friezland" lay near America "but not without vast Bays and Inlets, which betwext *Groenland* and *America* are obstructed with floating Castles of Ice." The first migration, he argued, must have come from Tatory : "Tartary Transplanted." The modern Tatars were descendants of the Jews, he thought. "Yet nevertheless, the *Israelites* are not to be taken for the Planters of America . . . America was inhabited long before the dispersion of the Israelites."

But Ogilby did not leave the population of America to some unknown tribe. he thought the Scythians--the ancient inhabitants of Tatory--produced the Indians. he offered in evidence of this claim several characteristics common to both. In addition to the standard cultural comparisons, Ogilby argued that the very diversity of practices among the Indians and Scythians was indicative of a relationship. he noted the width between the eyes, the medium stature, and the downy hair of the chin, which he thought indicated a common ancestry. He did not use language comparisons: "It in no way follows that one people take original from the other, because here and there are several words found, that have the same signification and [are] found in divers countreys."

John Ogilby relied frequently on Horn, De Laet, and Purchas; and through the work of these men he knew Brerewood and Acosta. Ogilby, like the men mentioned above, rejected those who thought the first Indians came across the sea. But he admitted that America was peopled on a continual basis, and some late-comers might have gone there by sea. **In general, Ogilby's position closely paralleled that of Da Laet.**

Dan Vogel writes:

Ogilby discusses various theories of Indian origins, including the ten tribes and other Hebrew theories (7-18)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(123)

**1672 Richard [Nathaniel Crouch] Burton (1632?-1725?) *A Journey to Jerusalem*.** London, 1672;

Glasgow 1786; Philadelphia, 1794; Hartford, 1796.

Dan Vogel writes:

Burton discusses the ten tribe theory (31-36, passim)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(109)

**1674 John Josselyn *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England Made during the years 1638,***

**1663** . . . Boston: W. Veazie, 1865. First published 1674.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 136] John Josselyn, in *An Account of Two Voyages* published three years after Ogilby, adopted the Tatar origin theory. "The people that inhabit this country are judged to be of the Tatars called *Samonids* that border upon *Muscovia* . . . Their speech [is] a dialect of the Tartars out-wisted, pale and lean Tartarian visag'd," with black eyes, and smooth, curled, long, black hair; they were rarely bearded. They were readily recognized because of their flat noses. Yet even this thorough-going endorsement was mitigated by the "Chronological Observations of America" attached to the book. There, under the date 3740 Annon Mundi, he stated "Hanno the *Carthaginian* flourished, who sent to discover the great Island *Atlantis*, ie. *America*."

**1677 Matthew Hale *The Primitive Origination of Mankind, considered and examined According to***

**(1609-76)** *the Light of Nature*. London: Wm. Godbid for Wm. Shrowsbery, 1677. Also

178, 1779.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 137] Not all Englishmen accepted the Anian route. Matthew Hale, in *The Primitive Origination of Mankind* (London, 1677), concluded that various people settled America at various times. Even though one could not determine for certain who had come to the New World first, Hale thought that either the British, Tatars, Chinese, or Carthaginians had gone there first. The animals, however, gave him the same problems Acosta had faced ninety years earlier. Hale postulated "Necks of Land" which probably once connected the Old and New worlds. The animals probably came by land, but the sea route remained the most likely route for human migrations into America.

[p. 140-141] Matthew Hale wrote his *Primitive Origination of Mankind* (1677) largely as a response to the polygenist turmoil. . . . he could not accept La Peyrere's polygenism because it undermined Scripture. Nor did he approve of the idea of a particular Flood, thus pre-Deluge men did not live in America. To get men to America hale relied on ships; but the animals forced him to postulate "necks of Land" connecting the Old and New worlds.

Dan Vogel writes:

Hale discusses the problems of animal and human origins in the Americas. He believes that their uniqueness is the result of climatic and environmental conditions and rejects the notion that Indians were products of a special act of creation (198-203).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(114)

**1678    Anastasius Kircher                    Amsterdam, 1678**

(ATLANTIS)

Map showing Atlantis as a large island midway between the pillars of Hercules and America.

**1680    [ ] Hubbard                    *History of New England***

Robert Wauchope writes:

Dissenters to the [lost Tribes of Israel] theory were not long in making themselves heard. In 1633, William Wood, after a short visit to New England, protested that American Indian words, which had been declared related to Hebrew, might as well be considered to gleanings of all nations, "because they have words which sound after the Greek, Latin, French, and other tongues. . . . "

In 1652, Sir Hamon L'Estrange wrote a treatise entitled *Americans no Jewes*, and the Israelite theory was further opposed by J. Ogilby in 1670, and by Hubbard, who wrote in his 1680 *History of New England*:

"If any observation be made of their manners and dispositions, it's easier to say from what nations they did not, than from whom they did, derive their origin. Doubtless their conjecture who fancy them to be descended from the ten tribes of Israelites . . . hath the least show of reason of any other, there being no footsteps to be observed of their propinquity to them more than to any other of the tribes of the earth, either as to their language or manners."

Source: Robert Wauchope, *Lost Tribes & Sunken Continents*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, p. 55.

**1681**     **Diego Andres Rocha**                     ***Tratado unico y singular del origen de los indios del Peru, Mejico,***

***Santa Fe y Chile.*** Madrid: J. C. Garcia. "Coleccion de libros raros o curiosos que tratan de America." Vols. 3 and 4, 1891. First published 1681.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[pp. 88-94] Garcia did not consider all the possible theories available to Spanish scholars after 1607. The *Origen* contained most of them, but post-Garcia writers added many variations unfamiliar to Garcia. . . .

The second book dealing exclusively with the origins of the American Indians, written by a Spaniard and published in his lifetime, appeared in Lima in 1681: *Tratado unico y singular del origen de los indios del Peru, Mejico, Santa Fe y Chile*, by Diego Andres Rocha, a judge of the Audiencia of Lima. In this book Rocha proposed "that the Americans take their origin from the primitive inhabitants of Spain in the first place, and from the Israelites, and Tartars in the second."

Rocha paid tribute to Garcia by copying his essay on the four ways of knowing. He did refine it somewhat by identifying *Fe Humana* as "Tradition," which made it more meaningful than in Garcia's writing. But he still concluded, as had Garcia, that only *Opinion* could apply to the search for Indian origins. Rocha freely admitted the inability of the "opinion method" to give verifiable results.

Rocha briefly sketched the various theories of Indian origins. He borrowed freely from Garcia, but he also added much that had come to light since 1607. He noted that Torquemada, Solorzano, and Calancha had referred to the Carthaginian theory, and that Solorzano had commented on the Phoenician origin. In each case he left the impression that those writers supported the ideas that he mentioned. They did not. Rocha continued in similar vein through a discussion of theories of origins from Tatars, Atlanteans, Opirians, and Courlanders.



After this background Rocha introduced his reasons for adhering to an initial Spanish (i.e., Basque) settlement. He claimed to believe:

that these West Indies, after the Universal Flood, began to be populated by the descendants of Japheth, son of Noah. From Japheth descended Tubal, who settled Spain . . . (with) his descendants . . . and these, as they were neighbors to the Isla Atlantida, came as settlers by way of it and arrived at Tierra Firme . . .

and inhabited every land from the Straits of Magellan to the Straits of Anian. Reason, and "the nearness of the continent of Cadiz [Atlantis] to Cartagena [in Colombia] of these Indies," suggest the Iberians as the earliest migrants to America.

Reasons did not stand alone. it drew support from the numerous similarities between the Indians and the ancient inhabitants of Spain. These ancient Spaniards shared an aptitude for war with the Araucanos and the Caribs. The dominant timidity of the Indian population resulted from migrations subsequent to the coming of the Basques to America. The ancient Iberians lived in a wild state and ate and slept under the stars; so did many of the Indians. Both peoples tended to idolatry and barbarity, and both were simple, short, and heavy-set. Both practiced human sacrifice; their festivals and flutes were similar. they both wore two braids; the men underwent sympathetic labor pains, and the women took care of them; both labored in the field; and neither used money. Both possessed rude customs, and wore the poncho-type overcloak; both peoples killed their children to prevent their enslavement, and both lived on wild fruits. Both nations lived in small, separated groups, and neither loved the pursuit of "science." In addition, the Iberians and Indians used similar weapons and had similar customs in the conduct of war. These weapons included the lance, the short sword, bow and arrow, poisoned arrows, war paint and war apparel, smoke signals, and female soldiers.

Rocha also argued that the Indian languages possessed several words in common with the most ancient Spanish language, Vizcaino (Basque). The Vizcainos had retained most of the original language of Tubal while other Spaniards mixed theirs with foreign languages. Furthermore, the Basques experienced far less trouble in learning Quechua, because of their linguistic affinities with the Incas--an affinity resulting from the fact that the Indians had come to America some four thousand years ago when Tubal's language still predominated in Iberia. Then Rocha listed several words common to the Quechua and the Basque languages.

:

Salt: *gache* or *gacha* in Basque, and *cache* in Quechua

water: *vura* (B); *jurac* (Q) meant white, i.e., the imitation of water

cask: *upia* (B); *upiai* (Q) meant "to drink"

the ceremonial kiss: *mucho* (B); *muchar* or *mochar* (Q)

Similarities in the names of geographical features abounded. **The old name for America, *Anaguac*, i.e., "ana" and "gua," meant "surrounded by water."** The names of many of the rivers of Spain began with "gua" such as Guadalquivir and Guadiana. Only in Spain and America could one find villages and rivers whose names began with the prefix "gua." But America possessed such villages and towns as Guaxaca [Oaxaca], Guatemala, Guanaco [Huanaco in Peru], Gualno, Guayaquil, Guancabelica [Huancavelilca], and dozens more.

Rocha reported that the Indians had, in olden times, used the name "Andes" as the name for all of America; they borrowed that word from Spain. The inhabitants of Florida had

named their village Tobal after their ancestral progenitor Tubal. The natives of Cuba honored Tubal's brother, Javan, by naming the city of Havana for him. Tubal's nephew, Iectan, had lent his name to Yucatan. The primitive name of Spain, "Pania," now applied to Paria in Venezuela. Similar comparisons filled several more pages, but Rocha did reject one. He thought that the Spaniards may have named the village of Salamanca near Arequipa, because he could not trace the name back beyond 1550. . . .

Rocha then returned to cultural traits common to both Indians and ancient Spaniards. He noted the use of vermilion to paint the face, excessive drinking, use of leather barques, polygamy, illiteracy, **lack of knowledge of or cultivation of wheat (earlier he had claimed the early Spaniards made a drink called *cesía* or *cería* from "trigo y cebada y otras raices")**, melancholy, Flood traditions, and indifference to gold and silver.

At the conclusion of this extensive catalogue of similarities supporting his thesis, Rocha restated it on more narrowly geographic grounds. Although, he wrote, Norway and parts of Africa lay closer to the Indies than Spain at the present time, in the old days people from Spain could more readily get to the New World because of the islands of Atlantis which began at Cadiz and reached to the vicinity of Mexico; Greenland lay thousands of miles farther away than Atlantis.

It seems that Rocha had a reason other than curiosity for discovering the origins of the Indians.

After the Deluge Spaniards went to the New World, and after many centuries God restored it to Spain by right of reversion. . . . Oh, the profundity of the wisdom and science of the Most High who after so many centuries ordained that these islands be restored to the Crown of Spain by Columbus.

Not only did Spain possess the reversionary interests of the ancient Iberians, but since the Spanish royal family had Gothic blood, and Rocha intended to prove that the Gothic Scythians also came to America, Spain could, therefore, claim the Scythian reversion.

From time to time Rocha had pointed out certain weaknesses in the character of the Indians which could not have been inherited from the ancient Spaniards. The source of these weaknesses lay in the character of the late-comers to America who had mixed to a certain extent with the earlier settlers: **"I am certain that many of the West Indians descended from the ten tribes which Shalmaneser carried into exile, and who came as settlers to the coasts of Mexico by way of the kingdom of Anian"**. However, this influence was introduced after the Spanish, and such Spain-based settlers as the Carthaginians, had populated the area.

**Rocha added very little to the Ten Lost Tribes theory other than to make it a secondary source of the American population.**

He took the traditional Esdras-based version and brought the Jews to America where they mixed somewhat with the original settlers, thus producing the weaknesses in character evident in some Indians. After the restoration by Columbus, the Spaniards rescued the Jews of the Lost Tribes by making them Catholics then followed a long catalogue of similarities between Jews and Indians. On occasion Rocha duplicated an argument he had used earlier to illustrate a Spanish descent. For example, he referred to Yucatan as a Jewish word ; he compared Jewish with Indian hair styles [no longer in braids] and cloaks, he found also that the Quechua language [previously Basque] greatly resembled Hebrew.

Rocha took much of his material from Garcia, but in one instance he borrowed from Calancha a story which Calancha considered ridiculous: Another proof "that the Hebrews

and Americans are of one origin is to see that this word *Indio* with the *n* inverted says *Iudio*, and this transformation is very simple."

Rocha spent sixty pages tracing the route of the Jews to America and concluded, as he had already stated, that they came via Anian. Their travels took them from Assyria and the cities of the Medes through Persia, Scythia, and Tataria to Anian and finally Mexico. En route they picked up several identifiable Old World customs and seventy-one place names which they later applied to America. They acquired also some stray peoples, such as the Tatars [Scythians] and brought them to America.

Finally, Rocha met the objections to his theoretical construct. **How did he account for the differences in the color of the brown Indians and the white Spaniards and Jews? He replied that climate and other associated factors caused the color of the skin to change. These factors had not caused the modern Spaniards to change, because such an alteration required several generations uninfluenced by new blood from outside the region.**

He explained the lack of beards in a similar fashion. Climatic variations and "the accidents of the signs and the palets" could act upon hair which appeared after birth and cause people to lose it. He replied to the other objections--the failure of the Jewish Indians to keep their laws, the lack of writing, and the vagueness and uncertainty of Esdras--in the standard Garcian manner.

The most striking characteristic of Rocha's *Tratado unico y singular* was that it contained little that Garcia could not have included in the *Origen*; and, indeed, little that he had not. Rocha did cite authorities who had written after 1607, but he did not always cite them accurately. Furthermore, he included little genuinely new material, but mainly material that had been restated since 1607. He gives the impression that he could have, and probably did, write his book with Garcia's *Origen de los indios* as his major source. Rocha, in essence, took the sections on Spain and the Lost Tribes from Garcia, elaborated on them somewhat, meshed them together into a "new" theory, and sprinkled the result with a few Carthaginians and Tatars.

Rocha did a disservice to such men as Solorzano, Torquemada, and Calancha when he quoted them erroneously to support his construction. Their thinking was far in advance of his, and doubtless they would have laughed at his theory just as they laughed at most others. They at least approached their subject with some degree of skepticism and a critical consideration of methodology. None of them borrowed Garcia's four-method scheme.

**1682 Bathassar de Medina *Chronica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de Mexico,***  
**de**

***religiosos descalcos de N.S.P.S. Francisco en Nueva Espana.***

Mexico: Juan de Ribera, 1682.,

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 88] Another writer who accepted the Issachar variation of the Ten Lost Tribes theory was Balthassar de Medina in his *Chronica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de Mexico* of 1682. Although Medina thought the South Americans and Yucatecans were descendants of the gentile Iectan (father of Ophir), "the Mexicans are originally of the ten tribes captured by Salmanazar," and of the family of Issachar, "Whom the Indians recognized as their special ancestor."

1683^ William Penn  
Pennsylvania In

*A Letter from William Penn. Proprietary and Governour of*

(ISRAELITISH)  
Province,

**America, to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that**

**residing in London.** London, 1683.

This letter of William Penn contains "A General Description of the said Province, its Soil, Air, Water, Seasons and Produce, both Natural and Artificial, and the good Increase thereof. Of the Natives or Aborigines, their Language, Customs and Manners, Diet, Houses or Wigwams, Liberality, easie way of Living, Physick, Burial, Religion, Sacrifices and Cantico, Festivals, Government, and their order in Council upon treaties for Land, &c. their Justice upon Evil Doers." He writes:

A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governour of Pennsylvania, &c.

Mr Kind Friends:

The Kindness of yours by the Ship *Thomas* and *Anne*, doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the Interest you take in my Health and Reputation, and the prosperous Beginnings of this Province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which, I have sent you a long Letter, and yet containing as brief an Account of My self, and the Affairs of this Province, as I have been able to make. . . . [p. 1]

XI. The NATIVES I shall consider in their Persons, Language, Manners, Religion and Government, with in fence of their Original. . . .

XII. Their Language is lofty, yet narrow, but like the Hebrew; in Signification full, like Short-hand in writing; one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the Understanding of the Hearer . . . [p. 5]

XXI. These poor People are under a dark Night in things relating to Religion, to be sure, the Tradition of it; yet they believe a God and Immortality, without the help of Metaphysics; for they say, There is a great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious Country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. . . . [p. 6]

XXVI. For their Original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish Race, I mean, of the stock of the Ten Tribes, and that for the following Reasons: first, They were to go to a Land not planted or known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he that intended that extraordinary Judgment upon them, might make the Passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in it self, from the Easter-most parts of Asia, to the Wester-most of America. In the next place, I find them of like Countenance, and their Children of

so lively Resemblance, that a man would think himself in Dukys-place or Berry-street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all, they agree in Rites, they reckon by Moons, they offer their first Fruits, they have a kind of Feast of Tabernacles; they are said to lay their Altar upon twelve Stones; their Mourning a year, Customs of Women, with many things that do not now occur. So much for the Natives. . . . [p. 7]

**1684<sup>^</sup> Thomas Burnet                      *The Theory of the Earth: Containing an Account of the Origin of***

(INDIGENOUS)                      *the Earth*, 2 vols., London, 1684.

Burnett is of the opinion that all mankind was not destroyed by the flood of Noah, and hence there was no need to repopulate the earth. He discounts all the stories of people going to America. He brings up the existence of many animals that are unique to America (thus obviating the need for someone to transport them over to America from the Old World. On pages 305-307 he writes:

Amongst other difficulties arising from the form of this present earth, that is one, how America could be peopled, or any other continent, or island remote from all continents, the sea interposing? This difficulty does not hold in our theory of the first earth, where there was no sea. And after the flood, when the earth was broken, and the sea laid open, the same race of men might continue there, if settled there before. For I do not see any necessity of deducing all mankind from Noah after the flood. If America was peopled before, it might continue so; not but that the flood was universal. But when the great frame of the earth broke at the deluge, Providence foresaw into how many continents it would be divided after the ceasing of the flood; and accordingly, as we may reasonably suppose, made provision to save a remnant in every continent, that the race of mankind might not be quite extinct in any of them. What provision he made in our continent we know from sacred history; but as that takes notice of no other continent but our's, so neither could it take notice of any method that was used there for saving of a remnant of men; but it were great presumption, methinks, to imagine that Providence had a care of none but us, or could not find out ways of preservation in other places, as well as in that where our habitations were to be. Asia, Africa, and Europe, were repeopled by the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet; but we read nothing of their going over into America, or sending any colonies thither; and that world, which is near as big as our's, must have stood long without people, or any thing of human race in it, after the flood, if it stood so till this was full, or till men navigated the ocean, and by chance discovered it. It seems more reasonable to suppose that there was a stock providentially reserved there, as well as here, out of which they sprung again; but we do not pretend in an argument of this nature to define or determine any thing positively. to conclude; as this is but a secondary difficulty, and of no great force, so neither is it any thing peculiar to us, or to our hypothesis, but alike common to both; and if they can propose any reasonable way whereby the sons of Noah might be transplanted into America, with all my heart; but all the ways that I have met with hitherto, have seemed to me mere fictions, or mere presumptions. Besides, finding birds and beasts there, which are nowhere upon our continent, nor would live in our countries if brought hither; it is fair conjecture that they were not carried from us, but originally bred and preserved there.

Thus much for the illustration of antiquity in some points of human literature, by our theory of the primeval earth.

Source: ^Bishop Burnett, *The Sacred Theory of the Earth, in Which Are Set Forth the Wisdom of God*

*Displayed . . . , London: T Kinnersley, 1816.*

**1684 Antonio de Solis *Istoria della conquista del Messico. (The History of the Conquest of***

***Mexoci by the Spaniards)*** First Spanish edition, Madrid, 1684.

English translation by Thomas Townsend, Esq., London, 1724.

Antonio de Solis was the secretary and historiographer to "his Catholic Majesty."

**1684 Pedro Cubero Sebastian *Pegrinacion del mundo.*** Napoles: Carlos Porsil, 1682.  
and

(Ophir) ***Descripcion general del mundo y notables sucessos d'***  
***el.*** Napoles:

Salvador Castaldo, 1684.. This was designed to be "Part II" of the  
*Perigrinacion.*

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 83] The most extensive endorsement of the Ophirian theory in the period appeared in 1684 when Pedro Cubero Sebastian published his book *Descripcion general del mundo y notables sucessos d' el* at Naples. The argument of this book requires no explanation, for it is identical with Cabello Valboa's argument. As a matter of fact, the sections of Cubero dealing with the early Indians in the New World were plagiarized from Cabello Valboa. Chapters XVI-XXXV of Cubero's *Descripcion* correspond directly to Cabello Valboa's Part II, Chapters 3-18, 20 and part III, Chapters 4-6. A preliminary investigation by this writer indicates that the entire *Descripcion* was plagiarized from Cabello Valboa. Although Cabello Valboa's elaborate Ophirian theory finally got into print by way of this plagiarism, few Spaniards accepted it. Most writers of the period ignored it.

**1688 Lucas Fernandez de Piedrahita *Historia general de las conquistas del Nuevo Reyno de***

***(Japheth)*** ***Granada [Amberes: J. B. Verdussen], 1688.*** See also the

same, 4 vols. Bogota: Editorial A B C, 1942.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 84] A theory somewhat similar to the Ophirian with respect to the time of the first settlement and the "gentilidad" of the first settlers appeared in the late seventeenth century. Lucas Fernandez de Piedrahita, who in general belonged to the Acostan school, wrote in his *Historia general de las conquistas del Nuevo Reyno de Granada* (1688) that he though Noah gave America to his son Japheth as part of his share of the world. Consequently, Fernandez argued, the Indians descended from Japheth. Fernandez de Piedrahita did not elaborate this idea, but Alonso de Zamora, who likewise neglected to explain the theory, adopted it on the testimony of Fernandez.

**1688 Diego Lopez Cogolludo** *Historia de yucathan*. Francisco de Ayieta (ed.).  
Madrid: Juan

Garcia Infanzon, 1688. Written by 1659.

**abt. 1690 Siguenza y Gongora (1645-1700)**

David Palmer writes:

Siguenza y Gongora (1645-1700) is practically a forgotten figure among Mexican historians, despite his great efforts to preserve Mexican history. He spent a fortune collecting manuscripts and ancient codices including those of Ixtlilxochitl. He wrote a great deal of ancient Mexican history, including the preaching of the life God, Quetzalcoatl. When he died, however, his manuscripts were lost by his heirs before being published. The historian Mariano Veytia says, "At his death it seems as if a surprise attack upon his papers had been sounded and everyone got possession of what he could." A few years later no trace could be found of his Quetzalcoatl manuscript, reportedly titled "Fenix del Occidente."

...

Note\* Despite the loss of the original manuscript, Palmer also writes that Francisco Javier Clavijero (1731-1787), one of the most successful of the early Mexican historians in terms of publication, and learned in the native languages of Nahuatl, Otomi (?), and Mixteca, had early access to the library of Siguenza y Gongora, so was well acquainted with the manuscript of Ixtlilxochitl, thus implying the some of the ideas of Siguenza y Gongora would have been passed down. (See the 1806 notation. See also the Mariano Veytia notation of 1836)

**1697 Samuel Sewall**      *Phaenomena Quaedam Apocalyptica*, Boston 1697; Boston, 1727.

Dan Vogel writes:

Sewall, a Congregational clergyman, suggests that the Indians are Israelites (2, 35), that America might be the place of the New Jerusalem, and that the "other sheep" mentioned in John 10:16 are the American Indians (1-2, 42)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(126)

**1698 Augustin de Vetancurt**      *Teatro mexicano. Descripcion breve de los sucessos exemplares,*

*historicos, politicos, militares, y religiosos del nuevo mundo*

*occidental de las Indias.* Mexico: Dona Maria de Benavides Viuda

de Juan de Ribera, 1698.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 95] Most commentators contented themselves with attempting to discover the origins of the first Americans after the Deluge. Three--Simon (1627), Calancha (1638), and Augustin de Vetancurt (1698)--made more or less detailed investigations into the possibility of antediluvian man in America. Simon thought that the fact that God made man rule over and people the Earth indicated that people had come to the New World before the Flood. He knew of some evidence pointing in that direction. for example, some Peruvians reported finding a ship high in the Andes, no doubt carried there by the Flood. He also had reports of elephant bones found in Mexico; since elephants did not now live in Mexico, they must have lived there before the Deluge. he had heard too of the discovery of the bones of giants in both Mexico and Peru; and all giants had drowned in the Flood.

Simon still had to explain how men and animals got to America even if they did come before the Flood. he suggested that perhaps the Old World had been geographically continuous with the New, before Noah. Even without such contiguity, Adam probably knew enough "science" to tell his descendants how to get to America by ship. . . . .

Augustin de Vetancurt followed Simon very closely in his *Teatro mexicano* , and added nothing to the earlier account.

**1701 Alonso de Zamora**



(Japheth)

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 84] A theory somewhat similar to the Ophirian with respect to the time of the first settlement and the "gentilidad" of the first settlers appeared in the late seventeenth century. Lucas Fernandez de Piedrahita, who in general belonged to the Acostan school, wrote in his *Historia general de las conquistas del Nuevo Reyno de Granada* (1688) that he though Noah gave America to his son Japheth as part of his share of the world. Consequently, Fernandez argued, the Indians descended from Japheth. Fernandez de Piedrahita did not elaborate this idea, but Alonso de Zamora, who likewise neglected to explain the theory, adopted it on the testimony of Fernandez.

**1701 Juan de Villagutierre Sotomayor *Historia de la conquista de la provincia de Itza.*** Madrid: Lucas

(POST FLOOD)

Antonio de Bedmar, y Narvaez, 1701.

By land before the earth was divided in the days of Peleg.

**1702 Francisco Nunez de la Vega *Constituciones Diocesanas del Obispado de Chiappas.*** Rome, 1702.

(See the discussion on Votan in the 1822 Antonio del Rio and Paul Cabrera notation. See also the discussion in the 1803 Don Ramon de Ordonez y Aguiar notation. See also the 1806 Francisco Javier Clavijero notation.)

**1702 Cotton Mather *Magnalia Christi Americana: or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England***

*from its first planting in the year 1620, Unto the Year of Our Lord 1698.* 2

vols. Hartford: Silas Andrus, Roberts & Burr, printers, 1820. First published 1702.

**1710 Samuel Sewall**      ***The Selling of Joseph.*** Boston, 1710.

Dan Vogel writes:

Sewall argues against the descent of the Indians from Canaanites who were expelled by Joshua and rejects the idea that Puritans have a right to subjugate Indians because of the curse in Gen. 9:27 (40-44)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(126)

**[1711] Anonymous**      ***Isagoge historica apologetica de las Indias Occidentales y especial de la***

***Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala . . .*** J. Fernando Juarez

Munoz (ed.). Guatemala: Tipografia Nacional. First published 1892 from

MS. of ca. 1711.

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 81] In 1711, the anonymous author of the manuscript *Isagoge*, who held to the Ophirian origin theory, accepted the Carthaginian theory as a secondary source of population. The author asserted that the "statues, buildings, and characters [pictographs]" of Guatemala testified that the Carthaginians settled in the region.

[p. 85-86] Neither Torquemada nor Calancha could accept the authenticity of the Ten Lost Tribes theory. Yet the anonymous author of *Isagoge* of 1711 accepted the story of Esdras to the extent of calling America "arsareth" throughout his manuscript. He traced the Tribes to Arsareth through Tatar, and settled them in America north of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec Carthaginians and, possibly, Egyptians produced the civilizations of Guatemala. He also hinted that Spaniards may have settled in South America.

**Between 1607 and 1729 only one Spaniard, the author of the *Isagoge*, accepted the traditional version of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel theory.** A variant reading of the thesis advanced by Pedro Simon in 1627 enjoyed as much popularity and more notoriety.

**1721^ Cotton Mather**      ***India Christiana. A Discourse, Delivered unto the Commissioners, for***

***the Propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians.*** Boston,

Printed by G. Green, 1721.

Dan Vogel writes:

Mather supports a continuing Protestant mission to New England Indians. His description of the Indians is anti-primitivist in tone. They are "the most forlorn Ruins of Mankind, and very doleful Objects," live a life "lamentably Barbarous," and practice a religion "beyond all Expression Dark" (28). He flatly rejects the pre-Adamite theory and suggest that those in the Old World could have sailed to America (23). He also discusses the theory that the devil brought the Indians to America after Christ's resurrection in order to keep them from hearing the gospel (24) and thus rejects the notion that St. Thomas somehow preached the gospel to the ancient Americans (26).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

George Weiner writes:

Cotton Mather, who would have none of the Jewish-Indian theory, preferring to consider that the Scythians were the progenitors of the Indians, described in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* how Eliot felt about "our *Indians* " as "the posterity of the dispersed and rejected Israelites." [p. 60]

Eliot saw, Mather wrote with tongue in cheek, "some learned men looking for the lost Israelites among the Indians in America, and counting that they had *thorow-good* reasons for doing so, . . . . Menasseh ben Israel be to back them. He saw likewise the judgments threatened unto the Israelites of old, strangely fulfilled upon our Indians. . . . Being upon such as these accounts not unwilling, if it were possible, to have the Indians found Israelites, they were, you may be sure, not a whit the less 'beloved for their (supposed) father's sake;' and the fatigues of his travails went on the more cheerfully, or at least the more hopefully, because of such possibilities."

Source: ^George Weiner (non-LDS), "America's Jewish Braves," in *Mankind*. Vol. 4, Number 9 (October 1974). Published bi-monthly by Mankind Publishing Company, Los Angeles, California, pp. 60-61.

Cotton Matther writes the following:

[pp. 22-24] It is utterly Unknown unto us, How and When it was, that AMERICA came to be first Peopled with the Inhabitants of that Olive Complexion, which, they say, the Biggest Part of Mankind is Coloured with. Be sure, They who have Entertained us, with Dissertations upon that Obscure Subject, have been sufficiently Luxuriant in their Fancies; . . .

Let a foolish Paracelsus and Peyrerius pretend what they will, we are sure, that the Americans are of the Noetic Original. And there is a great probability of what is affirmed by Acosta and Brierwood, That Asia and America are Contiguous. The Phoenicians also were

great Sailors, and by them (tho Bochart in his Nice tracing of them allows it not,) either Intentionally or Accidentally, People might be carried over the Atlantic into America. Tis reported, That Christopher Colonus, (the Leader of all our American Colonies, in the two last Centuries,) had some Advice of People, by a violent Storm carried over into America, to lead him into his Noble Undertaking. A Learned Helvetian, (the Incomparable Heidegger,) has well observed, That the Countries which have Great and Wide Seas between them, yet generally meet some where with an Isthmus, or some small passable Distance of Water between them; which Conjunction of Countries, Non fine Numine facia est. But I must refer you, to the Lucubrations of them who have written, as diverse others besides *Hornius, have done*, *De Origine Gentium Americanarum*, and especially an Essay in the Introduction to the *Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, more lately Published, for the Satisfaction of that Enquiry, *Which way the Indians, and other wild Creatures might come into America?*

We are as much at a loss about the Time, as we are about the Way. For, though we have Evidences as well as Traditions (confirming the ever-Triumphing Sentiments of our Excellent Woodward) that the Flood reached unto America, yet we have none, (except the Reliques of Giants, like those at Albany should pass for such) that America was peopled before the Flood.

It is the Opinion of a Learned Englishman, who would fain make America to be the Seat of them that shall Think an evil Thought, in a Thing that is yet above a Thousand Years off; That when the Silver Trumpets of the Gospel, were going to Sound in the other Hemisphere, upon the Ascension of our SAVIOUR, the Devil then seduced Numbers into these Remote Regions, in hopes that the Joyful Sound thereof, never would reach hither after them. The Deceiver of the Nations has been Deceived, if this were his Expectation; and that he may be more so, is that for which we now are Labouring.

[p. 25] Yea, The Sovereign Grace of heaven in that for which we are now Labouring, is yet more to be Adored, if the Opinion of a Learned German should be any better than so; which is, That America was not Peopled until after the Preaching of the Gospel in the other Hemisphere, when GOD for their Contempt of it, Ordered their coming hither as into a Banishment, where they that would not be Saints, do now almost cease to be Men: A Sentence of Transportation into America, was by heaven passed upon them. . . .

However, We are not so much at a Loss, How and When the Gospel was first Preached unto the Americans. We cannot be of the Perswasion, that it was done by the Mouth, or near the Age of the Apostles; or that All the World Evangelized by them, was much without the Bounds of the Roman Empire. Tho Justin Martyr tells us, That [ . . . . ] there was no kind of Men tho never so Barbarous, among whom GOD the Father was not in the Name of a Crucified JESUS then called upon: Tho Irenaeus tells us, That [ . . . . ] the Gospel had like the Sun, shone upon al Nations. Tho Tertullian tells us, That [ . . . ] the most hidden Nations, all of them even all that the Rising or Setting Sun shone upon, had the Name of CHRIST then adored among them. Tho Jerom tells us, That [ . . . ] The Scythians and People that were clad with nothing but Skins, were then warmed with the Light of the Gospel: And, tho Chrysostom tells us, That [ . . . . ] in whatever Land the Sun looks upon, and even without the Bounds of their World, a Worship was there paid unto our Crucified SAVIOUR. And Theodoret adds, That the Preachers of the Gospel had carried it [ . . . ] unto all the Men in the World. These Flourishes, are to be understood with their proper Limitations, Nor can we think, That because Nicephorus tells us, of Matthew's carrying the Gospel unto the Man-eaters, he must therefore be a Preacher to the Americans. Nor shall we believe the Legends we have had about either the Apostle Thomas, or a Lord-Thomas, Eight hundred Years after him, until we can see Malabar & Brasile holding a nearer Communication with one another. But considering how imperfect and spurious a Gospel it is, that the Spaniards have given to their Indians, and how the boasted Conversion of the Pagans (whereof sometimes one poor Friar, if we may believe Marrinus de Valentia, and

others of the Fraternity, has Baptized some Hundreds of Thousands) among them, has been little other than a Change of Idolatries: We may truly say, The First Planters of New-England, are the First Preachers of the Pure Gospel to the Americans, that we certainly know of. . . .

**1724 Lafitau *Moeurs des Sauvages*, Paris, 1724**

Advocated the Asiatic theory

**1728 *Russian Expeditions under Bering explore Anian peninsula [VERIFY]***

[p. 137] By the first quarter of the eighteenth century the Acostan Tradition had established itself more firmly in northern Europe than in Spain itself. The North produced no Garcia or Barcia to argue that all possible theories were probable. It was not that the Acostan Tradition dominated the argument at any given moment, yet the tradition was consistently present. This tradition gained strength after 1728 when rumors of Russian expeditions under Bering began to reach Western Europe.

**1729 Andres Gonzalez de Barcia Carballido y Zuniga *Origen de los indios*,  
1729**

**(Gregorio Garcia)**

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[p. 79] In 1729 Andres Barcia republished [Gregorio Garcia's] *Origen de los indios* with considerable additions. These additions consisted primarily of expanded arguments for old theories and extensive expositions on newer ones.

[pp. 106-109] In the late 1720's Andres Gonzalez de Barcia Carballido y Zuniga looked over the books on the subject of the origins of the American Indians. he considered those which treated the subject either by design or in passing and found Garcia's the best. He, then,

decided to reprint it, adding . . . other opinions that were not hidden from the notice of Fr. Gregorio, although he did not stop to mention them; and mentioning in the margin or in the text whatever came to our attention during the printing. . . We change or contradict nothing in what we add or declare: we point out the additions in the text between two brackets { }

Garcia had not referred to very many authorities; editor Barcia added hundreds of marginal bibliographical notes. Many of them referred to materials available in 1607, but most referred to works printed since that time which in any way bore on the subject of Indian origins.

Barcia's major contributions to the *Origen de los indios* consisted of voluminous insertions into the text itself. Sometimes the printer omitted the brackets, but the nature of the added part and the style usually identified it. True to his promise in the "Proemio" Barcia added nothing contradictory. His additions took the form of extensions to Garcia's catalogues of evidences; some of these additions ran more than twenty pages. A few of the expansions referred to opinions not available to Garcia. One, in particular, concerned the supposed equation of St. Brandon Isle (ca. 560 A.D.) with the Indies. Another major addition elaborated on the possibility of Phoenician settlement, unimportant in Garcia's own time. Barcia inserted thirty-eight pages of "proofs" of this theory.

At the end of the volume Barcia added a long section on new theories derived largely from non-Spanish sources. He attributed an Egyptian origin theory to Athanasius Kircher ; Barcia distinguished separate African and Ethiopian origins and mentioned Simon's Issachar and Martin's Courlanders ; and he catalogued supposed origins from France, Cambria and Ireland, Troy, Norway and Denmark, Frisia, and Scythia. In each case Barcia followed the first author's practice of stating and meeting all objections, leaving each of the thirteen new possibilities uncontested. Even the most inconsequential theory--the derivation of the Chileans from the Frisian islands off the coast of Greenland or Iceland because "Chile" meant "frio," which obviously derived from Frisia--received this type of endorsement.

Barcia had not read widely in non-Spanish literature. Most of his information came from the Dutch Georg Horn whose *De Originibus Americanis* appeared in editions of 1652 and 1669. Barcia made no secret of his dislike for the Protestant Horn, but he accepted his arguments.

Barcia also added a little to the first author's discussion concerning knowledge through *Opinion*.

To obtain the origin one must base it in Language, Customs, Religion, and conformity of names, and words, and even of the features and hair style, and adornment. . . . Horn affirmed that conformity argued one origin of the peoples, and disconformities different origins. . . . To avoid these errors it is necessary to have other specifics in addition to the conformity of the name (of peoples) . . . to legitimize the conjectures. It is not sufficient to have a few words that agree in meaning and sound to establish Opinion, but many, special ones. Nor is the diversity of languages enough to distinguish between nations: the Chinese and Japanese have very different languages and are one people. The same goes for the Mexicans and Tarascans, and even the Castellians and Basques. Nor can a comparison of two nations on the basis of what is common to many--such as the use of bows and arrows, lunar months, and the practice of living scattered in the hills which by themselves throw no light on the Origins--yield a conjecture which is not very weak.

But, on the other hand, such things as arms, "insignias of the people," idols, sacrificial rites, mode of writing, and architectural style were very useful.

In a certain sense Barcia's understanding of the usefulness of cultural comparisons showed a distinct advance over Garcia. The editor recognized that the characteristics used must be of a peculiar rather than a general nature, an idea that can be traced to the very beginning of the debate, and that many writers, notably Las Casas and Acosta, recognized. . .

The most remarkable characteristic of the revised *Origen* of 1729 is that Garcia could have written it all in 1607 except for the references to later specific authors and theories. . .

At the beginning of this section this writer posed the question: Did the second edition of the *Origen de los indios* show any development away from or advance over the 1607 edition? The answer must be negative.

**Indeed, the republication of the *Origen* in 1729 must be viewed as a distinctly regressive step. The finest products of Spanish scholarship on the subject of Indian origins were those I have designated the Acostan Tradition.** The republication of the *Origen* reaffirmed the credulity of the Garcian Tradition and constituted an effective rejection of the Acostan school. The restraint and skepticism characteristic of the Acostan writers were alien to the structure and purpose of the *Origen*. The dozen "probable" origins of 1607 mushroomed into more than two dozen "probable" origins in 1729.

**Between 1589 and 1638 the published members of the Acostan school--Acosta (1589-1590), Herrera (1601-1613), Torquemada (1631), Solorzano (1629-1646), and Calancha (1638)--had gradually eliminated trans-Atlantic origins and routes via the South Pacific. Geography and faunal distribution had convinced them that the first settlers must have come into the New World by way of the still undiscovered Straits of Anian.**

Ten of Barcia's new "probabilities" came across the Atlantic.

### **1729 Summary Note\*\*\***

Lee Eldridge Huddleston writes:

[Preface: viii] I chose to conclude this study in 1729 because [Gregorio Garcia's] *Origen de los indios* was republished in that year; moreover, developments in comparative anatomy and biology and explorations in the Bering Strait region after 1729 placed the discussion of American Indians on a more nearly scientific level, and, finally, because the period after 1729 has not suffered the degree of neglect that marked the period before 1729.

[pp. 141- ] Acosta first popularized the doubts about cultural comparisons, and drew attention to the geographical and faunal factors in a discussion of origins. Since 1589, men of the Acostan Tradition in both Spain and northern Europe had expanded on these doubts and factors. The general opinion of this school in 1729 was that the first men in America must have come from Tatar. The particular tribal source was beyond agreement, but the ancient Tatars (sometimes fused with the Scythians) were most frequently accepted.

Parallel to this growing acceptance of Tatar as the source of the Indian, there developed a rather dichotomous and confused attitude toward the Indians' culture. The bible taught, by implication at least, diffusion of cultures. The Acostan Tradition implied a large degree of cultural independence, and some Acostans, like Samuel Purchas, explicitly endorsed the autochthonous creation of Indian cultures. But the primitive Indian cultures were not the major issue here; the high civilizations of Peru and Mexico had to be explained. Neither European theology nor the Renaissance experience of borrowing high culture from the ancients gave much theoretical support to autochthony. Consequently,

Acostans had to resort to the Atlantic route to bring in the higher cultural characteristics. This presumed necessity to maintain a diffusionist position with respect to Peru and Mexico stymied development.

Adherence to the diffusionist position kept alive the belief that cultures--especially the more refined civilizations could not be separated from a peoples' biological background; furthermore, it kept alive the assumption that cultural relationships implied physical relationships. Even though the Acostans brought in the Europeans only to account for Mexico and Peru (and sometimes the ruins of Central America), this very practice illustrates why the Garcian Tradition, with its emphasis on cultural comparisons and the general probability of all theories, could retain such vitality.

Until new criteria for determining the relationships between peoples could be developed, the comparative technique must be retained. Cobo (1653), Ogilby (1671), Joselyn (1674), and several others had used physiological comparisons in their theorizing, but none had thought out the extent to which this technique might prove useful.

The polygenists, by pointing up the possibility of genuinely different races--of men *not* descended from an ancestor common to all men--focused attention on the problem of race, of physique. The implications of polygenism went beyond the physical. Men who did not share ancestors need not share cultures. But this point should not be taken too strongly. Descendants of the gentile "Adam" would perhaps all show common cultural traits; the same held true for descendants of the Jewish Adam. But the gentiles had been around longer than the Jews (in the La Peyrere version of polygeny, not in all), or at least their antiquity was undeterminable; and no one could point to a "gentile culture."

Though the gentiles might have differentiated, the same was less possible for the Jews. Consequently, Jewish relationship with other peoples could be traced through cultural similarities. But would the presence of a similarity indicate biological descent, or merely cultural contact? Gentile Christians borrowed heavily from Jews, but they were not of Jewish origin.

If culture were inconstant, physique was less so. The polygenist controversy served to draw attention to physique, thus increasing the possibility of creating new criteria for determining the source of people through physical comparisons. . . . .

One should not expect the situation with respect to American Indian origins to be clearer in 1729 than before. Indeed, the opposite was true. What Europe had once viewed as a simple problem to be solved by a few simple associations of traits had become after two hundred years of study a very complex problem. No longer could one think only in terms of finding a single source for the Indian, his ordinary culture, and his great civilizations. The clarification of the subject via a separation of the various questions insured that no matter how strong the evidence indicating an unknown Siberian tribe as the progenitors of the American Indians, writers of the latter-day Garcian Tradition could bring their favorites across the Atlantic, or from under the Atlantic, with impunity.

**1730\* Benito Jeronimo Feijoo Montenegro "Solucion del gran problema historico sobre la poblacion de la America, y Revoluciones del Orbe Terraques," in *Dos***



***Discursos de Fijoo sobre America.*** Mexico: Biblioteca

Enciclopeida popular, 1945. Written and published in the 1730's.

**1741**    ???                    ***The American Traveller,*** London, 1741.

Justin Winsor writes that "towards the middle of the eighteenth century the question [of American Indian origins] was considered in *The American Traveller* (London, 1741)

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 370.

**1741**    **Charlevoix**            ***Nouvelle France***

Justin Winsor writes that "towards the middle of the eighteenth century the question [of American Indian origins] was considered in . . . *Nouvelle France* (1744).

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 370.

**1746**    **Benaduci Lorenzo Boturini**    ***Essay on the American History of New Spain,*** printed at Madrid,

1746.

Benaduci Lorenzo Boturini, a noted antiquarian, was born at Milan about 1680 and died at Madrid in the year 1740. During eight years he traveled and lived among the Indians of Mexico, and collected several hundred specimens of their hieroglyphic records. He was despoiled of most of his collection and the greater part was permitted to perish through neglect. Some little of the results of his researches have been published.

Mrs. Simon writes the following:

[pp. 9-12] "This Milanese traveller," observes Humboldt, "had crossed the seas with no other view than to study on the spot the history of the native tribes of America; but in traversing the country to examine its monuments, and make researches into its antiquities, he had the misfortune to fall under the suspicion of the Spanish government. After having been deprived of the fruit of his labours, he was sent in 1736, as a state prisoner to Madrid. The king of Spain declared him innocent, but this did not restore to him his property; and this collection, the catalogue of which Boturini published at the end of his Essay on the American History of New Spain, printed at Madrid [1746], lay buried in the Archives of the University at Mexico; those valuable relics of the culture of the Aztecs were preserved with so little care, that there scarcely exists at present an eighth part of the hieroglyphic records taken from the Italian traveller."--Mex. Antiq. vol. vi. p. 136-7

In his preliminary protest to his small work, entitled "Idea de una nueva Hist. Gen." &c. **published in Madrid, in 1746.** (which remains unpublished), Boturini wrote:

At this distance of time when the state of the world is so different from what it was in the sixteenth century, it may not be readily conceived how easy it was for the council of the Indies, through the power vested in it, of permitting or prohibiting the general circulation of all writings relative to America, to keep the rest of Europe in a state of darkness respecting the history of the New Continent. For three centuries those who successively composed that council, exercised their function as censors with the greatest vigilance. If powerful patronage or inadvertence on their part suffered in the first instance any obnoxious work to appear in print, it was sure soon to be recalled. Thus the history of the Indies, by Gomara, dedicated to Charles v. and the Conquest of Mexico, by the same author, dedicated to Don Martin Cortez, son of the celebrated conqueror, became prohibited books soon after their publication; but there were other works against which a silent war was waged in Spain-- ibid. 269-70

We shall only further remark, that the history of Peru is enveloped in much greater obscurity than that of Mexico. The real cause of less being known of the history of the Peruvians in Europe, &c. (notwithstanding Garcillassa de Vega, himself of the race of the Incas, wrote in the latter end of the sixteenth century, a history of peru,) is probably that Peru was discovered many years after the discovery and conquest of Mexico, and Europe was not to be surprised a second time by a sudden appearance of fresh Ocean Decades and Mythological Paintings."--p. 270.

A part of the paintings collected by Boturini was sent to Europe in a Spanish vessel, which was taken by an English privateer. IT was never known whether these paintings reached England, or whether they were thrown into the sea as of no value. The greater part of the MX. of Boturini, those which were confiscated in new Spain, were torn, pilaged, and dispersed by persons who were ignorant of the value of these objects. What exists at present in the palace of the Viceroy, composes only three packets, each seven hands square, by five in height. The Library of the University of Mexico is no longer in possession of any original hieroglyphics.

And J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, 1757, I:161, 167-168.

In "Part II: The Manners of the Americans," Edmund Burke writes the following:

The Aborigines of America, throughout the whole extent of the two vast continents which they inhabit, and amongst the infinite number of nations and tribes into which they are divided, differ very little from each other in their manners and customs, and they all form a very striking picture of the most distant antiquity. . . .

The people of America are tall, and strait in their limbs beyond the proportion of most nations . . .

A people who live by hunting, who inhabit mean cottages, and are given to change the place of their habitation, are seldom very religious. The Americans have scarce any temples. We hear indeed of some and those extremely magnificent, amongst the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians; but the Mexicans and Peruvians were comparatively civilized nations. Those we know at present in any part of America are no way comparable to them. Some appear to have very little idea of God. Others entertain better notions; they hold the existence of a Supreme Being, eternal and incorruptible, who has power over all. . . .

**1758 Miguel Venegas**      *A Natural and Civil History of California*, Vol. I, pp. 69-63.  
Translated

(ISRAELITISH)?      from the original Spanish of Migel Venegas, a Mexican Jesuit,  
published at Madrid, 1758. Printed in London, ????

The Mexicans made use of symbols and hieroglyphicks, by which they painted events, and sufficiently indicated an admirable genius; and by this means they preserved the knowledge of their religion, laws, and history, and even the rights of particular families. Their chronology, cycles, and computations cannot be considered without astonishment. Some account of their hieroglyphicks and painted memorials may be seen in Gomara, Dias del Castillo, Acosta, Herrera, Torquimada, Solis, Betancourt, and almost all others who have treated of the affairs of Mexico, particularly father Kircher, Gemelli Careri, M. Purchas, and other foreign authors.

Had the Californians been acquainted with the use of letters, we should easily have discovered whether the founders of the American nations passed from Asia to the continent or not: and whether this happened before, or since, the invention of characters in Asia and Europe. We should also have been able to have formed some reasonable conjecture with regard to the particular nation of the first peoplers of this extensive continent.

Of all the parts of America hitherto discovered, the Californians lie nearest to Asia. We are acquainted with the mode of writing in all the eastern nations. We can distinguish between the characters of the Japanese, the Chinese, the Chinese Tartars, the Mogul Tartars, and other nations extending as far as the bay of Kamschathka; and learned dissertations on them, by Mr. Bayer, are to be found in the acts of the Imperial academy of sciences at Petersburg. What discovery would it be to meet with any of these characters, or others like them among the American Indians nearest to Asia? But as to the Californians, if

ever they were possessed of any invention to perpetuate their memoirs, they have entirely lost it: and all that is now found among them, amounts to no more than some obscure oral traditions, probably more and more adulterated by a long succession of time. They have not so much as retained any knowledge of the particular country from which they emigrated; so that both the Edues or Pericues, and the Cochimies or Laymones could give no farther account, than that they heard their ancestors came from the north; and this might be concluded without their information, California being on all sides environed with the sea, except on the north, where it joins to the continent. Besides, there is little reason to think, that the first settlers came hither by sea; nor can they give any account of the time when they came hither; for their stupidity and ignorance are so great, that they do not appear to have among them any means of distinguishing the years, or the intervals of time, as the Mexicans did, by means of their cycles of fifty years. They indeed seem something better acquainted with the occasion, on which their ancestors removed from their native settlements in the north, down into California: which, according to their tradition, was owing to a quarrel at a banquet, where the chief men of several nations were met. This was followed by a bloody battle; and the side which was defeated, fled towards the south, and were eagerly pursued by the victors, till they sheltered themselves among the forests and mountains of this peninsula.

Others say the quarrel was only between two great men, who divided the nation into two opposite factions; and after a great slaughter, one obliged the other to seek for safety among the mountains and islands of the sea: this is all the information the missionaries have been able to procure, with regard to the origin and emigration of the Californians. And here it may be observed, how free they are from the vanity of many polished nations, who affect to trace their origin from remote countries, and to decorate their ancestors with many plausible and pompous stories. It seems indeed something strange, that they should acknowledge themselves the descendants of persons obliged by a superior force to quit their country, when they might easily have pretended to be the offspring of conquerors; though there are not wanting too illustrious examples among the ancients of the like candour; the two noble states of Rome and Carthage, boasted of deriving their origin from persons who had been driven from their country; the former from the conquered Trojans, and the latter from Tyrian fugitives. But be this as it may, the most probable conjecture is, that these nations, and all others in America, have passed over from Asia since the dispersion of nations and the confusion of tongues. Though it may at the same time be affirmed, that hitherto there has not been found in any of the American nations on either side of the equinox, one single, authentic and clear monument, of their being originally from Asia, or of their supposed transition into America. Nor is there in the furthest parts of Asia, to which the Russians have hitherto penetrated, the least vestige, or tradition, that the inhabitants had ever any communication with, or knowledge of, the Americans.

Source: H. Alvah Fitzgerald, "Progressive Opinion of the Origin and Antiquity of the American Indian: A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Department of Religious Education," (In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science), Brigham Young University, 1930, pp. 26-28.

**1761<sup>^</sup>**    **Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix**    *Journal of a Voyage to North-America.* 2 vols. London,

Dan Vogel writes:

As early as 1761, Frenchman Pierre de Charlevoix argued that after the Flood, people could have sailed to America from the tower of Babel since they would have retained the knowledge of ship building. "Who can seriously believe," he wrote, "that Noah . . . the builder and pilot of the greatest ship that ever was . . . should not have communicated to those of his descendants who survived him, and by whose means he was to execute the order of the great Creator, to people the universe, I say, who can believe he should not have communicated to them the art of sailing upon the ocean." [1:53]

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The making of a Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004, p. 345.

Charlevoix makes one of the most exhaustive reviews of various ideas and theories concerning Indian origins that I have come across. In the "Preliminary Discourse on the Origin of the Americans," he writes:

After reading almost every thing that has been writ on the manner in which America might have been peopled, we seem to be just where we were before this great and interesting question began to be agitated; notwithstanding, it would require a moderate volume to relate only the various opinions of the learned on this subject For most part of them have given so much into the marvellous, almost all of them have built their conjectures on foundations so ruinous, or have had recourse to certain resemblances of names, manners, customs, religion and languages, so very frivolous, which it would, in my opinion, be as useless to refute, as it is impossible to reconcile with each other.

It is not, perhaps, to be wondered at, that those who have first treated this matter should wander in a way which had not as yet been marked out, and in which they must travel without a guide. But what I am surprized at is, that those who have gone deepest into this affair, and who have had the advantage of helps beyond all those who have gone before them, should have been guilty of still greater mistakes, which at the same time they might easily have avoided, had they kept to a small number of certain principles, which some have established with sufficient judgment. . . .

Those of our hemisphere were, no doubt, much surprized, when they were told of the discovery of a new world in the other, where they imagined nothing was to be seen, but an immense and dangerous ocean. Notwithstanding, scarce had Christopher Columbus found out some islands, and amongst others that of Hispaniola, in which he discovered gold mines, but he was presently of opinion, sometimes that this was the Ophir of Solomon . . . Vatablus and Robert Stephens were likewise persuaded, that it was to America that Solomon sent fleets in quest of gold, and Columbus though he saw the remains of his furnaces in the mines of Cibao, by much the finest and richest of the islands of Hispaniola, and perhaps of all the new world.

[p. 3-4] Arias Montanus not only places Ophir and Parvaim in the new world; but likewise makes Jectan, the son of Heber, the founder of Juctan, a chimerical city in Peru; and also pretends, that the empire of Peru and that of Mexico, which he will have to be the same with Ophir, were founded by a son of Jectan of the same name. . . . The authority of

this learned interpreter of the scriptures has drawn Postel, Becan, Possevin, Genebrard, and many others, into the same opinion. Lastly, the Spaniards have asserted, that in the time when the Moors invaded their country, part of the inhabitants took refuge in America. They even pretended in the fifteenth century, that they discovered certain provinces of their empire, which the misfortunes of those times had robbed them of, and to which, if you believe them, they had an incontestable right. Oviedo, one of their most celebrated authors, was not afraid to affirm, that the Antilles are the famous Hesperides, so much vaunted of by the poets; and that God, by causing them to fall under the dominion of the kings of Spain, has only restored what belonged to them three thousand one hundred and fifty years ago in the time of king Hesperus, from whom they had this name; and that St. James and St. Paul preached the gospel there, which he supports by the authority of St. Gregory in his *Morals*. If we add to this what Plato has advanced, that beyond his own island of Atalantis, there were a great number of islands, and behind them a vast continent, and behind this continent the true ocean, we shall find, that the new world was very far from being new to the ancients. What then must become of the opinion of Paracelsus, who maintains, that each hemisphere had its own Adam?

[pp. 4-5] Postel, whom I have already cited, and who has made himself famous by his adventurous conjectures, believed that all North America was peopled by the Atlantides, inhabitants of Mauritania; and he is the first who has made such a difference between the two Americas, by means of the Isthmus of Panama; that according to him and those who have adopted his opinions, the inhabitants of those two continents have nothing common in their original. But in this case, I should rather be for placing with Budbeck's the Atalantis in the North, as well as the pillars of Hercules, and maintaining, that North America has been peopled from Scandinavia, than by sending thither the Moors from the coast of Africa. On the other hand, Gomara and John de Lery make the Americans come from the Canaanites, driven out of the promised land by Joshua: Some, on the contrary, make those Israelites, whom Salmanazar led captive into Media, pass into America by the North of Asia. But Thevet, who believed, like them, that the Israelites peopled the new world, concludes, that they must have spread themselves over the whole world, from the circumstance of the finding a tomb with Hebrew characters on it in one of the Azores or western islands. The author was misinformed as to the fact. It was not a tomb that was discovered in Corvo, the most northerly of those islands, but an equestrian statue, erected upon a pedestal, on which were certain characters, which could not be deciphered.

[pp. 6-7] Augustine Torniel is of opinion, that the descendants of Shem and Japhet have passed to America, and from thence to the countries lying onto the southward of the straits of Magellan, by the way of Japan, and the Continent, to the Northward of the Archipel, or cluster of islands. A Sicilian, whose name is Marinoeus, makes no doubt of the Romans having sent a Colony into this country, for which he has no other reason, than a report current in his time, that a medal of Augustus was found in one of the mines of Peru; as if it had not been more natural to suppose, that some Spaniard had accidentally dropt this medal, when visiting these mines. Paulus Jovius has dreamt that the Mexicans have been among the Gauls, which ridiculous opinion he founds upon the human sacrifices which those two nations offered to their false divinities. But if this pretended resemblance proves any thing, it would much rather prove that the Gauls had been in Mexico, a people whom we know to have been always of a wandering disposition, and to have peopled many provinces by the colonies they sent out.

The Frieslanders have likewise had their partisans with respect to the origin of the Americans. Suffridus Petri and Hamconius assert, that the inhabitants of Peru and Chili came from Friesland. James Charron and William Postel do the same honour to the Gauls, Abraham Milius to the ancient Celtae, Father Kirker to the Egyptians, and Robert Le Comte to the Phenicians; every one of them at the same time excluding all the rest.

[pp. 7-12] I pass by a great many other opinions, still less tenable than the foregoing, equally founded on simple conjecture, and void of all probability, to come to those who have made the deepest researches into this affair.

The first is Father Gregorio Garcia, a Spanish Dominican, who having been a long time employed in the missions of Peru and Mexico, published at Valencia in the year 1607, a treatise in Spanish, on *the Origin of the Indians of the New World*, where he both collects and examines a great number of different opinions on the subject. He proposes every opinion; as if it were some thesis or question in philosophy: names its authors and advocates, sets down the arguments, and lastly, answers the objections, but gives no decision. I to these he has added the traditions of the Peruvians, Mexicans, and islanders of *Haiti* or Hispaniola, all which he was informed of, when on the spot. In the sequel, he gives his own opinion, which is, that several different nations have contributed to the peopling of America: and here I think he might have stopt. This opinion is somewhat more than probable, and it appears to me, that he ought to have been contented with supporting it, as he does, with some arguments drawn from that variety of characters, customs, languages, and religions, observable in the different countries of the new world: But he admits such a number of these, which the authors of other opinions had before made use of, that instead of strengthening, he really weakens his own. In the year 1729, Don Andre Gonzales de Barcia reprinted the work of this Father at Madrid with considerable augmentations; but though he has made many learned additions to it, he has contributed nothing to the farther satisfaction of his readers.

The second I Father Joseph de Acosta, a Spanish Jesuit, who had likewise spent a great part of his life-time in America, and has left behind him two very valuable works; one in the Castilian language, intitled, *The natural and moral History of the In-dies*; the other in Latin, the title of which is, *De promulgando Evangelio apud Barbaros, sive de procuranda Indorum salute*. This author, in the first book of his history, after taking notice of the opinion of Parmenides, Aristotle, and Pliny, who believed there were no inhabitants between the Tropicks, and that there never had been any navigation farther to the westward of Africa than the Canary Islands, gives it as his opinion, that the pretended prophecy of Medea in Seneca, could be no more than a bare conjecture of that poet, who, seeing that the art of navigation was beginning to receive considerable improvements, and not being able to persuade himself that there was no land beyond the Western Ocean, imagined that in a short time some discoveries would be made on that side of the globe. At the same time, this Spanish historian looks upon the passage I have already cited from the Timaeus of Plato, as a mere fiction, in which, in order to save his reputation, the disciples of that philosopher, zealous for his glory, strained their imagination to find out some ingenious allegory.

In his sixteenth chapter, Father Acosta begins to examine by what means the first inhabitants of America might have found a passage to that immense Continent, and at the first view he rejects the direct and premeditated way of the sea, because no ancient author has made mention of the compass. However, he sees no improbability in saying, that some vessels might have been thrown upon the coast of America by stress of weather, and on this occasion he mentions, as a certain fact, the story of a pilot, driven by a tempest on the Brazils, who, at his death, left his memoirs to Christopher Columbus. Afterwards, he takes notice of what Pliny relates concerning some Indians, who being driven by bad weather on the coast of Germany, were given as a present to Quintus Metellus Celer, by the king of the Suevi. In the same manner, he finds nothing improbable in the report which goes under Aristotle's name, viz. that a Carthaginian vessel having been driven very far to the westward by a strong easterly wind, the people on board discovered lands, which had, till that time, been unknown; and from those facts he concludes, that, according to all appearance, America has, by such like means, received one part of its inhabitants; but adds, that we must of necessity have recourse to some other way to people that quarter of

the world, were it only to account for the transportation of certain animals found in those parts, which we cannot reasonably suppose to have been embarked on board of ships, or to have made so long a passage by swimming.

The way by which this has been done, continues Father Acosta, could only be by the north of Asia or Europe, or by the regions lying to the southward of the straits of Magellan; and, were only one of these three passages practicable, we may sufficiently comprehend how America has been peopled by degrees, without having recourse to navigation of which there are no traces in the traditions of the Americans. In order to strengthen this argument, he observes, that those islands, such as Bermudas, which were too remote from the Continent to suppose that such small vessels as were used in that part of the world could find their way thither, were upon their first discovery uninhabited; that the Peruvians testified an extreme surprize at the first sight of ships on their coasts; and that those animals, such as tygers and lions, which might probably have got thither by land, or at most by traversing small arms of the sea, were altogether unknown even in the best peopled islands of that hemisphere.

In chapter twenty-second, he returns to the Atalantis of Plato, and refutes, with a great deal of gravity, the notion of some who believed the reality of this chimera, and who fancied, that there was but a very short passage from this imaginary island to America. In the following chapters, he rejects the opinion of those who have advanced on the authority of the fourth book of Esdras, that this vast country was peopled by the Hebrews. To these he objects, First, that the Hebrews were acquainted with the use of characters, which no nation of America ever was. Secondly, that these latter held silver in no manner of estimation, whereas the former have always sought after it with extreme avidity. Thirdly, that the descendants of Abraham have constantly observed the law of circumcision, which is practised in no part of America. Fourthly, that they have always preserved with the greatest care their language, tradition laws and ceremonies; that they have always, without ceasing, looked for the coming of the Messiah; that every since their dispersion over all the earth, they have never in the least relaxed from all those particulars; and that there is no reason to believe they should have renounced them in America, where not the smallest vestige of them remains.

In the twenty-fourth chapter, he observes, that in a discussion of this nature, it is much easier to refute the system of others than to establish any new one, and that the want of writing and certain traditions, have rendered the discovery of the origin of the Americans extremely difficult, so that nothing could be determined in it without being guilty of great temerity; and that all that can be allowed to the uncertainty of conjecture is, that this great continent has been peopled by degrees in the way we have just now mentioned; that he cannot believe these transmigrations to be very antient, and that according to all human appearance the first who attempted this passage were hunters, or wandering nations, rather than civilized people. . . . That the deluge, of which the Americans have preserved the remembrance, does not appear to him to be that spoken of in scripture, but some particular inundation, whereof some persons of great ability pretend there still remain certain marks in America; Lastly, that it cannot be proved, that the most ancient monuments in America are older than the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and that all beyond this is nothing but a confused heap of fables and tales, and those so very childish as to render it impossible to form one reasonable conjecture from them.

[pp. 13-14] The third author John de Laet whose opinion I ought to relate, acknowledges that there is a great deal of good sense and solid reasoning in that of Father Acosta. What he does not approve of is what follows. First, he pretends [claims] that the Jesuit is in the wrong to suppose that long passages by sea cannot be made, without the help of the



needle, since we may navigate by the help of the stars only; and, that he even seems to contradict himself, by asserting that the compass is a late invention, after telling us, that the use of it was very antient on the coast of Mozambique in the fifteenth Century; that he advances without proof that the Orientals were unacquainted with it, till it had been found out by the people of the west; lastly, that it was very evident wither that we could do without it, or that it must have been known in the earliest times, since several islands, even of our hemisphere, and those at a considerable distance from the continent, were peopled very soon after the deluge.

Secondly, that he relates as a thing certain, the story of the Pilot, from whose memoirs it is pretended Christopher Columbus learned the route of the New World, as also that of the Indians sent to Metellus Celer by the king of the Suevi; that we know that the Spaniards spread abroad the first report merely out of jealousy of that great man to whom they owed the obligation of having put them in possession of so many rich countries, and whose only misfortune it was not to have been born in Spain; and that the occasion of their publishing the second was only to rob the Portuguese of the glory of having first opened a way to the Indies by sailing round Africa; that he is deceived if he thinks it possible to make the passage from Terra Australis to the Streights of Magellan, without crossing the sea, the discovery of the Streights of Le Maire having shewn its utter impracticability. The error of Father Acosta, if it is one, was, however, excusable, as at the time when he wrote Le Maire had not as yet discovered the Streights which bear his name.

thirdly, that he makes the peopling of America too late; and that it is contrary to all probability, that this vast Continent, and some of the islands which surround it, should have so great a number of inhabitants at the end of the fifteenth century, had they only begun to be inhabited two hundred years since. John de Laet pretends, that there is no reason to think, that the Deluge, the tradition of which is still preserved amongst the Americans, is not the universal deluge which Moses mentions in the book of Genesis.

Besides the Spanish Jesuit, three other writers, a Frenchman, an Englishman, and a Dutchman, who have handled the same topick, have passed under the examination of this learned Fleming. These are Lescarbot, Brerewood, and the famous Grotius. He probably knew nothing of the work of Father Garcia, whereof I have already spoken, no more than of that of John de Solorzano Pereyra, a Spanish lawyer, entitled, *De Jure Indiarum*; whereof the first volume, in which the author relates all the opinions of the learned on the origin of the Americans, was printed in 1629. . . .

Lescarbot leans somewhat more towards the sentiment of those who have transported into the new world the Canaanites, who were driven out of the promised land by Joshua. He thinks there is at least some probability in this notion, because these nations, as well as the Americans, were accustomed to make their children pass through the fire, and to feed upon human flesh, whilst they invoked their idols. He approves what Father Acosta says of the accidents which might have caused certain ships to land in America, and also with respect to the passage by the north of Asia and Europe. He believes that all the parts of the Continent are contiguous, or at least, that if there be any Streight to pass, like that of Magellan, which he supposes separates two Continents from each other, the animals which are to be found in the New World might have made their passage good notwithstanding, since Jacques Cartier saw a bear as large as a cow, swim over an arm of the sea fourteen leagues in breadth. Lastly, he proposes his own opinion, which he seems to give only by way of simple conjecture.

Is it, says he, to be believed, that Noah, who lived three hundred and fifty years after the Deluge, should be ignorant that a great part of the world lay beyond the western ocean; and if he did know it, could he be destitute of means to people it? Was it more difficult to pass from the Canaries to the Azores, and from thence to Canada, or from the Cape Verd islands

to Brazil, than from the Continent of Asia to Japan, or to other islands still more remote? On this occasion he relates, all that the ancients and especially Aelilan and Plato, have said of those vestiges, which according to him still remained in their time, with respect to the knowledge of America. He sees nothing to hinder us from saying, that the Hesperides of the ancients were the same with the islands of the Antilles; and he explains the fable of the Dragon, which according to the poets guarded the golden apples, to be the different streights winding in a serpent-like manner round those islands, and which the frequency of the shipwrecks might have caused to be looked upon as unnavigable. . . .

[Charlevoix follows the above with page after page of point-counterpoint, intermingling the cultural evidences brought forth by so many various authors that I tended to get confused to the point that I am not confident in who was saying what]

Charlevoix then concludes with an emphasis on the idea of ancient navigation of the seas to be the source of the origins of the American Indians, and that the study of American Indian languages is the only way to sort out the specific origins. He writes:

[p. 52-63] This is a part of what has been written on the present question; and I am much mistaken if the bare setting down of so many different opinions is not sufficient to furnish the attentive reader with all the lights necessary to lead him to the choice of the proper side in this great controversy, which, by endeavoring to explain they have hitherto rendered only more obscure. It may be reduced as appears to me to the two following articles. 1. How the New World might have been peopled? 2. By whom and by what means it has been peopled.

Nothing it would seem may be more easily answered than the first. America might have been peopled, as the three other quarters of the world have been. Many difficulties have been formed upon this subject which have been deemed insolvable, but are far from being so. The inhabitants of both hemispheres are certainly the descendants of the same father. This common father of mankind received an express order from heaven to people the whole world, and accordingly it has been peopled. To bring this about, it was necessary to overcome all difficulties in the way, and they have also been got over. Were those difficulties greater with respect to peopling the extremities of Asia, Africa, and Europe, and the transporting men into the islands, which lie at a considerable distance from the Continents, than to pass over into America? Certainly not. Navigation which has arrived at so great perfection within these three or four centuries, might possibly have been still more perfect in those first times than at this day. At least, we cannot doubt, but it was then arrived at such a degree of perfection as was necessary for the design which God had formed of peopling the whole earth.

Whilst those authors whom I have cited, have kept to this possibility which cannot be denied, they have reasoned very justly; for it has not been demonstrated, that there is a passage into America over land, either by the north of Asia and Europe, or by the south, the contrary has not been made appear; besides, from the coast of Africa to Brazil; from the Canaries to the western Islands, from the western Islands to the Antilles; from the Britannic isles, and the coast of France to Newfoundland, the passage is neither long nor difficult; I might say as much of that from China to Japan, and from Japan and the Philippines to the Isles Mariannes, and from thence to Mexico. There are islands at a considerable distance from the Continent of Asia, where we have not been surprized to find inhabitants. Why then should we wonder to find people in America? And it cannot be imagined that the grandsons of Noah, when they were obliged to separate and to spread themselves in conformity to the

designs of God over the hole earth, should be in an absolute impossibility of peopling almost one half of the globe?

They ought therefore to have kept to this; but the question was too simple and too easy to be answered. The learned must make disquisitions, and they imagined they were able to decide how and by whom America has been peopled; and as history furnished no materials for this purpose, rather than stop short they have realized the most frivolous conjectures. The simple resemblance of names, and some slight appearances, seemed, in their eyes, so many proofs, and on such ruinous foundations they have erected systems of which they have become enamoured, the weakness of which the most ignorant are able to perceive, and which are often overturned by one single fact which is incontestable. Hence it happens, that the manner in which the New World has received its first inhabitants remaining in very great uncertainty, they have imagined difficulties where none really were, and they have carried this extravagance to such a height, as to believe, that the Americans were not the descendants of our first parents; as if the ignorance of the manner in which a thing hath happened, ought to make us look upon it as impossible, or at least as extremely difficult.

But what is most singular in this, is, that they should have neglected the only means that remained to come at the truth of what they were in search of; I mean, the comparing the languages. . . .

. . . I have already observed, that it is an arbitrary supposition that the great grandchildren of Noah were not able to penetrate into the New World, or that they never thought of it. In effect, I see no reason that can justify such a notion. Who can seriously believe that Noah and his immediate descendants knew less than we do; that the builder and pilot of the greatest ship that ever was, a ship which was formed to traverse an unbounded ocean, and had so many shoals and quicksands, to guard against, should be ignorant of, or should not have communicated to those of his descendants who survived him, and by which means he was to execute the order of the great Creator, to people the universe, I say, who can believe he should not have communicated to them the art of sailing upon an ocean, which was not only more calm and pacifick, but at the same time confined within its ancient limits?

Is it even determined on sufficient grounds, that America had not inhabitants before the deluge? Is it probable, that Noah and his sons should have been acquainted with only one half of the world, and does not Moses inform us, that all, even the remotest Continents and islands were once peopled? How shall we reconcile this with the supposition of those who maintain, that the first men were ignorant of the art of navigation; and can it seriously be said, contrary to the authority of so respectable a testimony, as John de Laet has done, that navigation is an effect of the temerity of mankind; that it does not enter into the immediate views of the Creator, and that God has left the land to the human species, and the ocean to fishes? Besides, are not the islands a part of the earth, and are there not many places on the Continent, to which it is much more natural to go by sea, than by long circuits frequently impracticable, or at least so very difficult, as to induce men to undertake almost any thing in order to avoid them.

It is certain, that the art of navigation has shared the same fate with may others, of which we have no proof that our early ancestors were entirely ignorant, some of which are now lost, and others again preserved only among a few nations; but what does this prove? We must always return to this principle, that the arts necessary to the designs of God have never been unknown to those who business it was to put them in execution. . . . Need we then be surprised, if men, for want of practice, lost the secret of making long voyages on an element so inconstant, and so frequently tempestuous.

Who can ever affirm that it was lost so soon? Strabo says in several places, that the inhabitants of Cadiz, and all the Spaniards, had large vessels, and excelled in the art of navigation. Pliny complains, that in his time, navigation was not so perfect as it had been for several ages before; the Carthaginians and Phenicians were long possessed of the reputation of being hardy and expert maritimers. Father Acosta allows, that Vasco de Gama found, that the use of the compass was known among the inhabitants of Mozambique. The islanders of Madagascar have a tradition, importing, that the Chinese had sent a colony into their country. And is it not a meer begging of the question, to reject that tradition on account of the impossibility to sail so far without the help of the compass. . . .

Primitive nations have been mixed and divided by various causes foreign and domestick wars as ancient as the lust of dominion, or the passion for domineering, the necessity of separating and removing to greater distances, either because the country was no longer able to contain its inhabitants multiplied to an infinite degree, or because the weaker were obliged to fly before the stronger; that restlessness and curiosity, so natural to mankind a thousand other reasons easily to be imagined, and which all enter into the designs of Providence; the manner in which those migrations have been made; the difficulty of preserving arts and traditions amongst fugitives transplanted into uncultivated countries, and out of the way of carrying on any correspondence with civilized nations: All this I say is easy to conceive. . . .

We may likewise further understand, that some part of these wanderers, either forced by necessity to unite for mutual defence, or to withdraw from the domination of some powerful people, or induced by the eloquence and abilities of a legislator, must have formed monarchical governments, submitted to laws, and joined together in regular and national societies. Such have been the beginnings of the most ancient empties in the Old World; and such might have been the rise of those of Peru and Mexico in the New; but we are destitute of historical monuments to carry us any farther, and there is nothing I repeat it, but the knowledge of the primitive languages which is capable of throwing any light upon these clouds of impenetrable darkness. It is not a little surprising, that a method so natural and practicable has been hitherto neglected of making discoveries as interesting at least, as the greatest part of those which for these two ages past have employed the attention of the learned. We should at least, be satisfied amongst the prodigious number of various nations inhabiting America, and differing so much in language from one another, which are those who speak languages totally and entirely different from those of the Old World, and who, consequently, must be reckoned to have passed over to America in the earliest ages; and those, who from the analogy of their language, with these used in the three other parts of the globe, leave room to judge that their migration has been more recent, and ought to be attributed to shipwrecks, or to some accident similar to those of which I have spoken in the course of this dissertation.

Note\* Check the following reference: 1744, Pierre Charlevoix, *Preliminary Discourse on the Origin of the Americans*, ?, 1744 Concerning this reference Dan Vogel writes:

In his thorough and scholarly "Preliminary Discourse on the Origin of the Americans" (1:1-59), Charlevoix reviews previous theories and presents his own views on the subject. He evidently believes that all men descended from Adam and that the Indian's skin color is due to climatic and environmental conditions (1:15, 47, 49). Hence he concludes that the Indians came to the New World shortly after the dispersion from the tower of Babel in a ship similar to Noah's (1:49, 53).

**1761 De Quignes** *Researches Academy of Inscriptions*. Paris. Vol. 28, p. 505-626  
(MONGOLOID)

Fusang theory discussed

**1762 ???** *Enquiry into the Origin of the Cherokees*, Oxford, 1762.

Justin Winsor writes:

The author of an *Enquiry into the Origin of the Cherokees* (Oxford, 1762) makes them the descendants of Meshek, son of Japhet.

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 370.

**1763 F. X. de Orrio** *Solucion del gran Problema*. London  
(POST FLOOD-Ham)

**1766 Gov. Thomas Pownal** *Knox's New Collection of Voyages*.  
(INDIGENOUS)

Cranial test of origin suggested.

**1767 E. Bailli d'Engel** *Essays on America*. Amsterdam  
(PRE-FLOOD)

Justin Winsor writes:

In 1767, however, the question [of American Indian origins] was again brought into the range of a learned and disputatious discussion, reviving all the arguments of Grotius, De laet, and Horn, when E. Bailli d'Engel published his *Essai sur cette question: Quand et comment l'America a-t-eele ete peulee d'hommes et d'Animaux?* (5 vols, Amsterdam, 1767, 2d. ed., 1768). He argues for an antediluvian origin.\* (Cf. Alex. Catcott's *Treatise on the Deluge* (2d. ed., enlarged, London, 1768) and A. de Ulloa's *Noticias Americanas* (Madrid, 1772, 1792), for

speculations.) The controversy which now followed was aroused by C. De Pauw's characterization of all American products, man, animals, vegetation, as degraded and inferior to nature in the old world, in an essay which passed through various editions, and was attacked and defended in turn. An Italian, Count Carli some years later [see the 1784 notation] controverted De Pauw, and using every resource of mythology, tradition, geology, and astronomy, claimed for the Americans a descent from the Atlantides.

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 370.

**1768 Alexander Calcott *Treatise on the Deluge*. London**

(PRE-FLOOD)

Antediluvian origin maintained.

**1768<sup>^</sup> Charles Beatty *The Journal of a Two Months Tour*; with a View of Promoting Religion among**

(ISRAELITISH) the Frontier Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, London, 1768.

Dan Vogel writes:

In 1755, Beatty, a Presbyterian clergyman, became chaplain to Pennsylvania troops sent to defend the northwestern borders of the state against Indians. This gave him an opportunity to observe the Indians. Beatty favors the Indian-Israelite theory and makes comparisons between Indian customs and the law of Moses (27, 83-92).

Source: <sup>^</sup>Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

In his book, Charles Beatty writes the following:

[p. 24] 2d Tuesday. . . . We travelled about eight miles farther, along a \_\_\_ road, too Edmund's Swamp, and lodged at Mr. John Miller's\*

\* Here we met with one Benjamin Suttan, who had been taken captive by the Indians, had been in different nations, and lived many years among them.

He informed us, when he was with the Cho\_\_ksaw Nation, or Tribe of Indians, at the Mississippi river, he went to an Indian town, a very considerable distance from New-

Orleans, whose inhabitants were of different complexions, not so tawny as those of the other Indians, and who spoke Welch.

He said he saw a book among them, which he supposed was a Welch bible, which they carefully kept wrapped up in a skin, but that they could not read it; and that he heard some of those Indians afterwards in the Lower Sh\_\_\_\_\_ town, speak Welch with one Lewis, a Welchman, captive there. This Welch tribe now live on the west side of the Mississippi river, a great way above New-Orleans.

Levi Hicks, before mentioned, as being among the Indians from his youth, told us he had been, when attending an embassy, in a town of Indians, on the west side of Mississippi river, who talked Welch (as he was told, for he did not understand them), and our interpreter, Joseph, saw some Indians, whom he supposed to be of the same tribe, who talked Welch, for he told us some of the words they said, which he knew to be Welch, as he had been acquainted with some Welch people.

In the "Appendix" we find "A Copy of a Letter sent to the Rev. John Erskine, D.D. one of the Ministers of Edinburgh. It is dated Feb. 27, 1768. It reads:

Rev. and dear Sir,

With this you will receive the journal I promised to send you, of a mission to the Indians, living about four hundred and fifty miles west of Philadelphia, previous to which you will see some account of our frontier inhabitants . . .

[p. 84] I have before hinted to you, that since I had the pleasure of seeing you last, I had taken pains to search into the usages and customs of the Indians, in order to see what ground there was, for supposing them to be part of the Ten Tribes: and I must own, to my no small surprise, that a number of their customs appear so much to resemble those of the Jews; that it is a great question with me, whether we can expect to find among the Ten Tribes (wherever they are) at this day, all things considered, more of the footsteps of their ancestors, than among the different Indian Tribes.

[He then goes on to describe a number of similarities in customs and tradition]

On page 92 he concludes:

In these and other particulars, dear sir, I believe you will observe, with me, a strong resemblance between the ancient Jews and Indians; to which, I might have added some peculiarities of less note, but I am unwilling to tire your patience. Permit me only to add, that all the customs and traditions above, are not to be found among every tribe of Indians; nor, perhaps, is the same usage or custom observed by every Indian of the same tribe.

I am, reverend dear sir,

With great regard,

Your affectionate humble servant,

C. Beatty

**1770 John Huddleston Wynne      *A General History of the British Empire in America.* 2 vols.**

London, 1770, 1776.

Dan Vogel writes:

Wynne discusses various problems of Indians coming to the New World but is certain they descended from Adam. (1:19-25)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(131)

**1772 Philip [Morin] Freneau (1752-1832)      *Poems.* Philadelphia, 1772, 1796, 1786, 1809. Providence,**

RI, 1797.

Dan Vogel writes:

Freneau jointly composed a poem with H. H. Brackenridge, "The Rising Glory of America" (42-58). In this poem, the authors reject the pre-Adamite theory on the grounds that the bible makes it clear that the entire world was destroyed during the Flood. Some philosophers had speculated that the Indians survived by climbing the Andes Mountains, but Freneau and Brackenridge reject the notion, arguing that the mountains were made by convulsions which accompanied the Flood (43-44). They speculate that the Indians came to America via the northern passage and were possibly descendants of the Jews, Siberians, or Tartars (44). Their poem also suggest that the New Jerusalem may be built in America. (57)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(113)

**1772 A. de Ulloa      *Noticias Americanas.* Madrid**

(POST FLOOD)



Favors the settlement of America by venturesome seamen following the experience of the Flood.

**1773<sup>^</sup> Samuel Mather      *An Attempt to Shew, that America Must Be Known to the Ancients.***

(ISRAELITISH)      Boston, 1773

Samuel Mather, a Congregational clergyman, believes that America was probably inhabited not long after the Dispersion. He also believes that the Gospel was spread to America by Christ's apostles and disciples. Mather writes:

An Attempt to shew, That the Ancients must have the Knowledge of the Western World, or America

[p. 5] It is well known, that, in the Year of our Lord 1492, Christopher Columbus, of Genoa, discovered the Islands of Hispaniola, Cuba and Jamaica; and that Americus Vesputius of Florence, under the Direction and Encouragement of Emanuel, King of Portugal, in the Year 1497, discovered the Continent of America, which has been so called from that Time after his Name.

Now many have imagined, and even some of the Learned among them, that this Western World was never known before these Discoveries of the Genoese and Florentine Commanders.--Thus the learned Pancirell in particular sees fit to reckon the New World, or America, among the Things, which were unknown to the Ancients. (Pancirollus, De Novo Orbe. Lib. 2. Tit. 1.)

Americus Vesputius too, in his Epistle to Renatus, King of Jerusalem and Sicily, and Duke of Lorrain and Barre, writes, as follows, *We believe, that, as our Ancestors make no mention of the Islands and firm Lands of America; so the Ancients themselves had no knowledge of them.*--And the Publisher of this Epistle, together with a Number of Tracts wrote by ancient Voyagers, Sebastian Munster, observes, that Christopher Columbus and Albericus [for so he writes it] Vesputius were the first of Mortals, who found out America, and other unknown Lands.

However, the learned Keckerman, having well considered, whether America was known to the Ancients or no, and weighed the most probable Arguments on both Sides of this Question, has plainly given his Judgment in Favour of it's being known to them.

But, if this Matter be examined with Judgement, and with proper Care and Accuracy, we shall find Reason to believe, that this large Part of the World was really known to the Ancients; and perhaps we shall see much more Reason to believe it, than most Men imagine, and even many of the Learned themselves can produce in opposition to it.

We shall take Leave to relate here; though we shall not lay any great Stress on the Relation, as it may be called a too modern one; That, in the Reign of Henry the Second, and in the Year 1170, which was 300 Years before Columbus, One Madoc ap Owen Gwineth, not only discovered South America, but settled in some Part of Mexico, and left Monuments there both of the British Language and British Usages: Of which the Spaniards have taken Notice; and several Welsh Writers, and other British Authors besides, have credited and confirmed the Relation.--How this honest Madoc came to take it into his Head to visit South

America, we know not. However we think it not irrational to suppose, that, previously to his going there, he might have had some Account of the Country, and the Way of getting at it.

There is also another still more modern Account, than that of honest Madoc's, concerning the Discovery of America; . . .

But, instead of taking up Time about these or any more modern Relation, we shall go back to more ancient Times and Things, which have Relation to this Western World. . . .

[p. 8] . . . there is an Historical Passage handed to us by Pomponius Mela, who lived in the Emperour Claudius's Time, about the Year of our Lord 93; which, as it is remarkable, is deserving both of a particular Recital and an attentive Consideration: It is as follows;--When Metellus Celer, who by the War wars called Celer for his Quickness in preparing to celebrate the Funeral Obsequies of his Father, was Proconsul among the Gauls, he received as a Present certain Indians (Pompon. Mela. Lib. 3) from the King of the Suevians; who, being snatched away by the Force of Storms from the Indian Shores, at length came out to the Shores of Germany.--These are the Words of the Historian: And this History, as Vadianus the Commentator on Pomponius observes, fairly indicates, that there is a Sea which may be navigated in the most distant Tracts. (Vadian. Note in Pompon. p. 13.)

Now, from this Historical Account, it seems probable, that these Indians might be carried away from the Coast of Newfoundland, or Labrador, or some other Place to the Northward, by a violent Gale of Wind of long Continuance with them, until at length they arrived on the German Coast, and got a Shore there.--And the coming of these Indians might very well convince and satisfie both the King of the Suevians with his People; and the Roman Proconsul, and from him the whole Roman Empire, that there was another World, besides That inhabited by themselves.

There was also in most ancient Times repeated Mention made of two Islands called Atlantides, which were said to have been about 10,000 Stadia distant from Libya: There were the Elysian Fields and the Dwellings of the Blessed, mentioned by Homer, Horace, and other Poets. These Islands seem to be called by Pliny the Hesperides: For he reckons two in the Atlantic Sea: and these, as he says, beyond the Gorgons in a Navigation for 40 Days beyond the Atlantis.-- Now the learned Geographer Ortellius supposes it probable, that these might be the Islands of Hispaniola and Cuba.--But Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Atlantides, or the People of those Islands, as we have received, are inhabiting Places near to be Ocean, and very happy indeed. (Diodor. Sicul. De fabulosis Antiquorum gelis. p. 261.) And in Truth, if we suppose, with Ortellius, these Islands to be the same with Hispaniola and Cuba, they must be near the Ocean indeed, as Diodorus says: For they are surrounded with it.

But Plato, who lived about 400 Years before our Saviour's Time, has given us the most particular and full Account of the Atlantic Island, as it is called by him, in one and another of his Compositions; And we shall endeavour, in as clear and concise a Manner as we can, to give his Account from the Edition of his Works published by Serranus.--In one of his Dialogues, he says, that Neptune had by Lot the Atlantic Island, and placed the Children he had by a mortal Woman in a certain Place of that Island.--It received, he says, its Name from its first King and Lord, even from Atlas; and further adds, that the extreme Part of this Island, which he had for his Lot, was at Hercules's Pillars. (Platonis Critias.)--And, in another of his Writings, (In Timaeo) the following Passages may be found: In those first Times the Atlantic was a most broad Islands; and there were extant most powerful Kings in it; who, with joint Forces, appointed to occupy Asia and Europe: And so a most grievous War was carried on: In which the Athenians, with the common Consent of the Greeks, opposed themselves; and they became the Conquerors.--But that Atlantic Island by a Flood and Earthquake was indeed suddenly destroyed; and so that Sort of warlike Men was

absorped. N. B. These Things seem to be related with Historical Truth--And he writes further plainly and expresly, that That Atlantic Island, being in Truth overwhelmed with the Waves of the Sea, altogether disappeared: And hence that Sea is difficult to be passed; inasmuch as copious Clay yet remained from the Reliques of that Island.--Moreover, he says, that--an island, in the Mouth of the Sea, and in the Passage to those Straits called the Pillars of Hercules, did exist; and that Island was greater and larger than Lybia and Asia; from which there was an easy Passage over to other Islands; and from those Islands also to that Continent, which is situated out of that Region, &c.

Now Plato is not singular in this Narration: For both Strabo (Strabo. Lib. 2) and Pliny (Plin. Lib. 2. Cap. 32.) have mentioned this Atlantic Islands; and say, that it was of old in the Atlantic Sea.

But as Plato says, that this greatest Island of the Western Ocean was lost; it is probably conjectured, that it was situated between the Azores and Canaries, as they are called: And, that These were form'd, and remain, out of the Reliques of it, Becman though; and he believed, as he says, that it might be lengthily demonstrated. (Becman. Hist. Insul. c. 5. )

[p. 11] Hoffman has truly observed, that the Atlantis of Plato is to many America: And the learned Bochart (Bochart. Geograph. Sacr. p. 716) appears to have been of the same Mind. And indeed, if this Island was larger than Libya and Asia, as Plato has acquainted us, it looks as if it were really America, or reaching so far as to be closely connected with it.

There seems also Reason to think, that there must have been in ancient Times some Knowledge of the American Regions: Because we have credible Accounts of the Passages of Vessels through the Atlantic Ocean both one Way and the other: We shall not insist on Pompanius Mela's Account . . . Nor shall we urge the Probability of it, that he might see, if not the American Continent, at least some of the Islands belonging to Western World.

But we ought to take some respectful Notice of Hanno, the famous Carthaginian, who wrote Periplum; in which we have a Relation of the Voyage prosecuted by him around the Coast of Africa, and the Lands found by him in the Atlantic Ocean: This Relation was written by him in the Punic, or Phoenician, Tongue: But it was afterwards translated into Greek, and it is still extant, as Hoffman gives us to understand in his Lexicon. . . . Caelius Rhodiginus has given us this more express and particular Information of the Carthaginian's Voyage; that Hanno, (Cael. Rhodigini Lecciones antique.) departing from Hercules's Pillars, that is, from the Streights of Gibraltar, into the Ocean, leaving Libya to the left, sailed out 30 Days, seeking the Western Parts: But afterwards, turning to the South, he met with many impediments.--Now, if Hanno, leaving Libya, or Africa, to the left, sailed seeking for 30 Days the Western Parts; it is most probable, that he found some of the American Islands, if not some Part of the Western Continent itself. Columbus, as appears from his own Account, sailed with his Squadron but thirty Days to the West, when he beheld certain Islands; And, coming nearer to them, he found the Number of them to be six; whereof two were larger ones: But Americus, after sailing nineteen Days from the Cape de Verd Islands, found a certain new Land, which he thought to be firm: But it proved an Island. But we may add, to this Account of Hanno, the Testimony of Diodorus Siculus, who lets us know, that certain Phoenicians were cast on a most fertile Island opposite to Africa:--We may not here, that, if it was opposite to Africa, it must be an American Islands--And he further tells us, that the Phoenicians left no Stone unturned, that this Region might remain unknown to the Europeans. (Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 5) Here therefore we see one Reason, why the Western World was kept secret from the Europeans by the Phoenicians: It was Regard to their own Commerce and Interest, that led them without Doubt to conceal the new Places, at which they traded.

Moreover, we may recite from Aelian, who lived and wrote after the Emperor Adrian's time, about the Year of our Lord 136, the Account, which he gives of a Colloquy between Midas of Phrygia and Silenus: In which Colloquy, amongst other Things, Silenus gave Information to Midas, that Europe, Asia and Libya are Islands, and surrounded with the Ocean; and that one Continent exists without this World; and he affirmed, that its Magnitude was immense and infinite. (Elian. Variar. Historiar. Lib. 3 Cap. 8.) Now if this one Continent existing away from the World, and of such an immense and infinite Magnitude, was not intended and meant of this Western World; we should be glad, that any one would be so kind as to let us know, what Place or Country is intended and meant by it.

We have thus produced Authorities, and offered Reasons sufficient to render it most highly probable, that this Western World must be known to the Ancients.

But here it may be demanded, if this Continent was known in ancient Times, was it inhabited in those Times; and when was it first inhabited, and by whom? And we shall endeavour to give some suitable Answer to the proper Enquiries.

Now it ought in all Reason to be thought, that, as America, upon the more modern Discoveries of it and Acquaintance with it, was found to be well peopled, and even flocked with Inhabitants, probably as much as Asia, Africa and Europe; surely it must have been inhabited, not merely above five hundred years; but above one, two, three and even four thousand years ago: And indeed it was probably inhabited not long after the Dispersion of those numerous Families, who were separated in Consequence of the unhappy Affair at Babel.

The learned Grotius conceived, that the Americans came out of Europe, passing from Norway into Iceland; thence by Friesland into Greenland; and so into Estiland, which is probably a Part of the Western Continent (Grotius, De origine Gent. Americanar) And we must acknowledge, that the passing out of Europe into America by this Route is possible and not unnatural: However it does not appear so likely, that America was, first of all, settled in this Manner.

*[p. 14] But we are rather most inclined to think, that the primary Americans were the Descendants of Magog and Japhet. And, when we say the primary Americans, we mean after the Flood: For there is Reason to believe, that the People, who resided in the Western World, as well as the other Continent, were swept away from the Face of the Earth; because all Flesh had corrupted their Way. Both Joseph Acosta and Antony Herrera acquaint us, that they found the Memory of the Flood preserved among the Indians of Cuba and Mechoachan and Nicaragua: And Coraca tells us, that, among the Peruvians, there was a Tradition, that all their Lands were plunged and laid hid in the Waters.--And if we mistake not, all the Evidences in the natural World, which are commonly brought on the other Side of the Water to prove the general Innundation over that Continent, may be fairly produced to prove the general Prevalence of it over this Continent.*

*But, as we are now treating of the primary Inhabitants of America after the Flood; so we say, that These appear to have descended from Japhet. As God, or Elohim, as it is in the hebrew Text, i.e. the Covenanting Ones, or the Interposers by Oath, had promised to enlarge Japhet; in which Promise there is a plain Allusion to his Name, as indeed there is a like Allusion to Names very frequently to be found in the Holy Scriptures; so this Promise was most remarkably fulfilled: For there fell to Japhet's Share, not only all Europe, so full of People, and Asia the less and Media and Part of Armenia and Iberia and Albania; but also all those vast Northern Regions, inhabited once by the Scythians, who descended from Magog, one of the Sons of Japhet, as he is said to be in Gen. x. 2. And probably this Western World, land that to a considerable Degree, came to his Share: For it is most likely, that This was at first much peopled by the Scythians: These, originally from Magog, were afterwards called Tartars; and so called, as some suppose, from the Name of the River Tartar or Tatar.*

As We find that the Earth was divided in the Days of Peleg; so we read, in Gen. ix. 19, that as there were three Sons of Noah; so of or from them the whole Earth was overspread or scattered. Nor is there any Reason to doubt, but that this Scattering was according to the

direction of Noah, and from a Divine Warrant given him for this purpose: So then the Posterity of Japhet, by Magog, according to the Will of heaven, took the primary Possession of this new World: And how greatly, how amazingly, was Japhet enlarged by this vast Acquisition?

But, after this first dispersion to the Western World, we readily grant, that there might be various Removals to it from various Nations: For after the Scythians or Tartars, were settled here; the Norwegians and Icelanders might come; and so might some of the Sinensians from the East.

*But some perhaps may say here, And how came they to this Separate World? To which we answer, that there was no need at all of any Navigation for it: For it is apprehended by many, that the northern Part of Asia may be joined to America; or if they be divided at all, it must be by a very narrow Channel, which may be passed over easily in Boats or Canoes; or perhaps, as it is frozen over for a great Part of the year, they might have a Passage across on Foot. Laet judged it most probable, that it was by the Straits of Anian, that the Tartars in ancient Times passed out of Asia into America. But it is beyond all doubt, that, from the northern Parts of Europe, there might be an easy passing to America for at least three Quarters of a Year on a Bridge of substantial Ice.*

*Thus it looks as if the Northern Parts of America were first of all occupied and improved; and the inhabitants of These might probably remove both to the Westward and to the Southward, as Occasion required. . . .*

Some have thought and suggested, but we think injudiciously, as John Larius and others, that the Americans were originally Canaanites, descended from Ham, the Son of Noah; and the Descendants of those, whom Joshua drove from their Seats in Canaan; who, being constrained to seek out new Regions, at length came and sat down on this Continent.

Here we shall readily allow, that the Phoenicians, who were originally Canaanites, in the Days not much later than Moses's, did sail into Spain: And as Part of these dispossessed Canaanites fled thither, so a Part of them went into Baetia, and another Part into Africa: And Procopius informs us of the Pillar to be seen about Tangier, which had inscribed on it, that they were of the Posterity of those who fled from the Face of Joshua the Son of Nun, the Robber. And it is not at all improbable, that, as these Phoenicians, or Canaanites, might mingle with Japhet's Posterity in Europe; so some of them might in Process of Time come to America by the Way of the Sea and settle here: For they were mightily for navigation and Trade and Commerce.

[p. 18] But some may ask: Where learned They the Art of navigation? And how came they to understand the Use and Application of the Magnet?--Panormitan indeed would have it, that Amalphis first discovered the use of the Loadstone to mariners: And there is a Latin Line made to record the Discoverer, Prima dedit Nautis usum Magnetis Amalphis:--By which we are to understand an Italian City, where one John Goa, it is said, found out the Use of the Mariner's Compass, about the Year of our Lord 1302--But the Phoenicians were generally thought to be the Inventors of the Mariner's Art; and, from These, the Greeks received it; and, of these, the Cretans first of all, as Pliny acquaints us. But as the Phoenicians first tried the Seas among the Nations at Hand, and then afar off; so Thucydides tells us, that the Corinthians were the first among the Greeks, who performed Voyages: . . .

The Voyage of Hanno, the Carthaginian, round the Coast of Africa, has already been mention'd: And surely this must discover no small Skill in Navigation. Nor have we any Doubt, that many of the Phoenicians were well skilld in the Mariner's Art: Nor yet is it any unreasonable Supposition, that they might sail to America, and make Settlements here.

Thus it appears with sufficient Probability, that America not very long after the Flood was settled; and that, after the first Settlement of it, there were successive Removals to it, especially from the Northern Parts of Europe and Asia: And then, after some Ages had revolved, the Phoenicians might arrive and trade and settle here. And, by these various Ways, America became very well settled; and vast Numbers of People were found in this Western World, when Columbus, Americus and succeeding Voyagers came to it: And perhaps the Inhabitants here might, for their Numbers, vie with those of the other Continent.

But some may be ready to enquire, Whether we have any Proofs from the sacred Writings, that this Western World was known to the Ancients? And what Evidences can be offered from them, to shew that it was so?

Now we do not presume to declare, that there is a clear, full and express Discovery of this Western Continent in the holy Writings.--But we may safely venture to affirm, that there are various Passages to be found in them, from which attentive and considerate Minds might form a Judgment, that there were Regions and great ones beyond those that were known to them in Asia, Africa and Europe. . . .

[Simon then discusses a number of biblical passages, some of which are the following: Psalm xxii. 27, Psalm lxvii. 2. 5. 7. Psalm xcvi. 3. Isaiah xlii. 10. Isaiah xlv. 22. Isaiah lix. 19. Malachi i. 11. ]

[p. 22] . . . In virtue of his Divine Power and Authority, He [the Lord] commissioned his Apostles to go into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every human Creature: And, without Question, they fulfilled their Commission according to the Intent and Meaning of it.

It is very difficult for us, at this Time, to shew the Progress of the Apostles. But there is Reason to think, that, according to the Mind and Will of their Lord made known to them, they agreed among themselves, to which Parts of the Earth each of them should go; and how they should each of them, employ themselves within the Line, that was laid out for them.

Some have told us, that Philip went away to the upper Asia, and even to Scythia: And Nicephorus relates, that the Apostle Andrew is believed by some to have been sent to Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, and the Western parts. (Nicephorus. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 6) But we place but very little Dependence on any such Accounts as these:--Although we allow, that there are some Evidences, that Thomas carried the Gospel to Eastern-India.

Some of the ancient Fathers appear to be full and strong in Favour of it, that the Gospel was carried throughout the World by the Apostles of our blessed Lord, --Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Philadelphians, says that it was so--Tertullian observes, that the Places of Britain, which were inaccessible by the Romans, lay open to CHRIST.--And we may well ask, why might not other distant Places and even these remote Regions do so too?-- . . .

[p. 24] . . . we may reasonably think, that the rest of the Apostles with the Seventy Disciples, being alike industrious and faithful in the Work of the Lord, must fully preach the Gospel even throughout the whole World.

But, if we think further with Eusebius, that, besides the Twelve Apostles, and the Seventy Disciples, there were more Apostles and Disciples: Which he gathers from that passage of the Apostle Paul, in 1 Corinth. XV. 6. *After that, he was seen of above five hundred*

*Brethren at once; of whom the greater Part remain unto this present; but some are fallen asleep:* (Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Libl. 1 Cap. 13.) Then there must be above two hundred and fifty Brethren, besides the twelve Apostles and the Seventy Disciples, who had seen CHRIST, and could attest to the Truth and Certainty of his Resurrection, and so to the Divinity of his Religion: And a considerable Number of these might come to our Western World. And so America must have been filled up with the Gospel, according to our Apostle's Expression. . . .

WE do not now therefore concern ourselves so much Who were the bringers of the Gospel to this American World : But we think, that there is Reason to affirm from Divine Authority, that it was brought here by one or more of the Apostles and Disciples and many Brethren, and produced Fruit. And therefore this Continent must be certainly known to these first Preachers of the Gospel in it: And from them, without Doubt the Faith of the Americans was published in all the other World.

There is then, alas! too much Reason to believe, that this Western World sinned away the Gospel: And why should this be thought strange and incredible with us; when Africa, which for several Hundreds of years after our Saviour's time, was enlightened with the Gospel and filled with Christian Societies, is now involved generally in Mahometan Glooms or Pagan Darknesses.

**1774 M. Du Pratz      *History of Louisiana, Eastern Asia, China and Japan.*** London  
(MONGOLOID)

Mexicans came originally from China or Japan.

Dan Vogel writes:

In his book *The History of Louisiana* (London, 1774), Antonoine du Pratz suggested that some Indians might descend from Phoenicians or Carthaginians who had ship-wrecked on the shores of South America. (see p. 283)

**1774 Henry Home [Lord Kames]      *Six Sketches on the History of Man,*** 2 vols.  
(Edinburgh, 1774), 2:71.

(INDIGENOUS-PREADAMITES)      Philadelphia 1776.

Dan Vogel writes:

Home, a Scottish judge also known as Lord Kames, defends the idea that the American Indians descended from pre-Adamites (1, 11, 29)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(116)

**1775 Bernard Roman (1720-84) A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida.** 2 vols.

(INDIGENOUS) New York, 1775, 1776.

Dan Vogel writes:

Romans, a cartographer sent to North America by the British government, believes the Indians were a separate creation and not descended from Adam (1:38-39). Consequently, he rejects any theory which has American natives originating in the Old World, including the ten tribe theory (1:46-49). He also argues for a partial flood at the time of Noah, thus accounting for Indian survival in the New World (1:57-58)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(126)

**1775^ James Adair The History of the American Indians;** Particularly Those Nations adjoining

(ISRAELITISH) to the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina,

and Virginia: Containing An Account of their Origin, Language, Manners, Religious and Civil Customs . . . . London, 1775.

Non-LDS writer George Weiner writes:

In 1775 appeared a milestone in Jewish-Indian literature that did for the Lost Tribes theory in the eighteenth century what Thorowgood and Menasseh ben Israel had done for it in the previous one. This was *The History of the American Indians* by James Adair, pioneer Indian trader who virtually lived as an Indian for at least thirty-four years of his life and whose careful account of Indian customs and manners is still said to be of value as an ethnological source book. But the sole object of writing this work, according to Adair himself, was to trace the origin of the Indians to the Lost Tribes of Israel.

Who Adair was or where he came from is a mystery that remains unanswered. In a misguided and meaningless effort to add stature to his work, subsequent admirers of Adair have fabricated a genealogy that makes him out to be an Irish or English nobleman. But all that is actually known of his life falls within the period that he spent among the Indian tribes of the southeast and derives solely from his book, plus perhaps a brief mention or two in contemporary newspaper accounts. Our first knowledge of him is that by 1735 he was in South Carolina engaging in trade with the Catawbas and Cherokees. For the next three and one-half decades he lived almost exclusively among the Indians, for all practical purposes completely cut off from the society of white men. At times he even played the renegade, such as when he led a band of Chickasaws against whites during the French and Indian War.



But throughout all the long years of his Indianlike existence, nothing could distract him for long from his avowed raison d'etre-the gathering of concrete evidence to substantiate his belief that the Indians were the Lost Tribes. With painstaking and meticulous scholarship that reveals a good education, he observed and recorded every facet of Indian life with an eye for the ostensible similarities to Jews and Judaism. He clearly saw these in the division of the Indians into tribes: in their fasts and festivals, in their cities of refuge; in their marriage, divorce, burial, and mourning customs; in their calendar; in their diet; and particularly in their languages, which he purported to be corrupt Hebrew. . . .

Then, after many years of deprivation and toil, he had gathered enough information on the subject to completely satisfy himself and-so he was certain-everyone else that the American Indians were indeed the progeny of Israel. The last recorded sighting of Adair was in 1769 when he showed up in New York with the apparent intention of embarking for England the following year to attend the publication of his manuscript. Whether or not he actually did go to England is unknown. Except for the fact that his book was published in London six years later, Adair disappeared into the obscurity from which he had sprung as surely as if the earth had opened and gobbled him up.

James Adair writes the following:

[Preface: pp. 3-4] The following history, and observations, are the production of one who hath been chiefly engaged in an Indian life ever since the year 1735: and most of the pages were written among our old friendly Chikkasah, with whom I first traded in the year 1744. . . .

My grand objects, were to give the Literati proper and good materials for tracing the origin of the American Indians-and to incite the higher powers zealously to promote the best interests of the British colonies, and of the mother country. . . .

[Contents] A History of the North American Indians, their customs, &c. Observations on their colour, shape, temper, and dress. Observations Page 1

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XXIII Their own traditions, the accounts of our English writers, and the testimonies which the Spanish and other authors have given, concerning the primitive inhabitants of Peru and Mexico.	p. 194

[pp. 10-11] Observations on the origin and descent of the Indians. . . . My design is, to examine, and if possible, ascertain the genealogy and descent of the Indians, and to omit nothing that may in the least contribute to furnish the public with a full Indian System. . . .

All the various nations of Indians, seem to be of one descent; they call a buffalo, in their various dialects, by one and the same name, "Yanasa." And there is a strong similarity of religious rites, and of civil and marital customs, among all the various American nations of Indians we have any knowledge of, on the extensive continent; as will soon be shewn. . . .

[pp. 12-14] Some have supposed the Americans to be descended from the Chinese; but neither their religion, laws, customs, &c., agree in the least with those of the Chinese: which sufficiently proves, they are not of that line. Besides, as our best ships now are almost half a year in sailing to China, or from thence to Europe; it is very unlikely they should attempt such dangerous discoveries, in early time, with their (supposed) small vessels, against rapid currents, and in dark and sickly monsoons; especially, as it is very probable they were unacquainted with the use of the load-stone to direct their course. China is above eight thousand miles distant from the American continent, which is twice as far as across the Atlantic ocean.--And , we are not informed by any ancient writer, of their maritime skill, or so much as any inclination that way, besides small coasting voyages.--The winds blow likewise, with little variation, from east to west, within the latitudes of thirty and odd, north and south, and therefore they could not drive them on the American coast, it lying directly contrary to such a course.

Neither could persons sail to America, from the north, by the way of Tartary, or ancient Scythia; that, from its situation, never was, or can be, a maritime power, and it is utterly impracticable for any to come to America, by sea, from that quarter. Besides, the remaining traces of their religious ceremonies, and civil and martial customs, are quite opposite to the like vestiges of the old Scythians. . . .

From the most exact observations I could make in the long time I traded among the Indian Americans, I was forced to believe them lineally descended from the Israelites, either while they were a maritime power, or soon after the general captivity; the latter however, is the most probable. This descent, I shall endeavour to prove from their religious rites, civil and martial customs, their marriages, funeral ceremonies, manners, language, traditions, and a variety of particulars.--which will at the same time make the reader thoroughly acquainted with nations, or which it may be said to this day, very little have been known.

[pp. 15--] Observations, and arguments, in proof of the American Indians being descended from the Jews. A number of particulars present themselves in favour of the Jewish descent. But to form a true judgment, and draw a solid conclusion, the following arguments must not be partially separated. Let them be distinctly considered--then unite them together, and view their force collectively.

#### Argument I.

As the Israelites were divided into Tribes, and had chiefs over them, so the Indians divide themselves: each tribe forms a little community within the nation--And as the nation hath its particular symbol, so hath each tribe the badge from which it is denominated. . . .

[pp. 194-197]

#### Argument XXIII

Although other resemblances of the Indian rites and customs to those of the Hebrews, might be pointed out; not to seem tedious, I proceed to the last argument of the origin of the Indian Americans, which shall be from their own traditions,--from the accounts of our English writers--and from the testimonies which the Spanish writers have given, concerning the primitive inhabitants of Peru and Mexico.

The Indian tradition says, that their forefathers in very remote ages came from a far distant country, where all the people were of one colour; and that in process of time they moved eastward, to their present settlements. So that, what some of our writers have asserted is not just, who say the Indians affirm, that there were originally three different tribes in those countries, when the supreme chieftain to encourage swift running, proposed a proportionable reward of distinction to each, as they excelled in speed in passing a certain distant river; as, that the first should be polished white---the second red--and the third black; which took place accordingly after the race was over. This story sprung from the innovating superstitious ignorance of the popish priests, to the south-west of us. Our own Indian tradition is literal, and not allegorical, and ought to be received; because people who have been long separated from the rest of mankind, must know their own traditions the best, and could not be deceived in so material, and frequently repeated an event. Though they have been disjoined through different interests, time immemorial; yet, (the rambling tribes of northern Indians excepted) they aver that they came over the Mississippi from the westward, before they arrived at their present settlements. This we see verified by the western old towns they have left behind them; and by the situation of their old beloved towns, or places of refuge, lying about a west course from each different nation. Such

places in Judea were chiefly built in the most remote parts of the country; and the Indians deem those only as beloved towns, where they first settled. . . .

If any English reader have patience to search the extraordinary volumes of the Spanish writers, or even those of his catholic majesty's chief historiographer, he will not only find a wild portrait, but a striking resemblance and unity of the civil and martial customs, the religious rites, and traditions, of the ancient Peruvians and Mexican, and the North-Americans, according to the manner of their moresque paintings: likewise, the very national name of the primitive Chikkasah, which they stile Chichemicas, and whom they repute to have been the first inhabitants of Mexico. However, I lay little stress upon Spanish testimonies, for time and ocular proof have convinced us of the laboured falsehood of almost all their historical narrations concerning every curious thing relative to South America. They were so divested of those principles inherent to honest enquirers after truth, that they have recorded themselves to be a tribe of prejudiced bigots, striving to aggrandise the Maometan valour of about nine hundred spurious catholic christians, . . .

The learned world is already fully acquainted with the falsehood of their histories; reason and later discoveries condemn them. Many years have elapsed, since I first entered into Indian life, besides a good acquaintance with several southern Indians, who were, conversant with the Mexican Indian rites and customs; and it is incontrovertible, that the Spanish monks and jesuits in describing the language, religion, and customs, of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, were both unwilling, and incapable to perform so arduous an undertaking, with justice and truth. They did not converse with the natives as friends, but despised, hated, and murdered them, for the sake of their gold and silver: and to excuse their own ignorance, and most shocking, cool, premeditated murders, they artfully described them as an abominable swarm of idolatrous cannibals offering human sacrifices to their various false deities, and eating of the unnatural victims. Nevertheless, from their own partial accounts, we can trace a near agreement between the civil and martial customs, the religious worship, traditions, dress, ornaments, and other particulars of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, and those of the present North-American Indians.

Acosta tells us, that though the Mexicans have no proper name for God, yet they allow a supreme omnipotence and providence; his capacity was not sufficient to discover the former; however, the latter agrees with the present religious opinion of the English-American Indians, of an universal divine wisdom and government. The want of a friendly intercourse between our northern and southern Indians, has in length of time occasioned some of the former a little to corrupt, or alter the name of the self-existent creator and preserver of the universe, as they repeat it in the religious invocation, Yo He a Ah. But with what show of truth, consistent with the above concession, can Acosta describe the Mexicans as offering human sacrifices also to devils, and greedily feasting on the victims!

[p. 198] We are told also that the Nauatalcas believe, they dwelt in another region before they settled in Mexico; that they wandered eighty years in search of it, through a strict obedience to their gods, who ordered them to go in quest of new lands, that had such particular signs;--that they punctually obeyed the divine mandate, and by that means found out, and settled the fertile country of Mexico. This account corresponds with the Chikkasah tradition of settling in their present supposed holy land, and seems to have been derived from a compound tradition of Aaron's rod, and the light or divine presence with the Israelites in the wilderness, when they marched. And probably the Mexican number of years, was originally forty, instead of eighty. . . .

[pp. 201-202] Nichalaus Challusium paints Florida full of winged serpents; he affirms he saws one there, and that the old natives were very careful to get its head, on account of some supposed superstition. . . . It must be confessed however, that none, even of the Spanish monks and friars, have gone so deep in the marvellous, as our own sagacious

David Ingram--he assures us, "that he not only heard of very surprising animals in these parts of the world, but saw elephants, horses, and strange wild animals twice as big as our species of horses, formed like a grey-hound in their hinder parts; he saw likewise bulls with ears like hounds; and another surprising species of quadrupeds bigger than bears, without head or neck, but nature had fixed their eyes and mouths more securely in their beasts." . . . Although this legendary writer has transcended the bounds of truth, yet where he is not emulous of outdoing the jesuitical romances, it would require a good knowledge of America to confute him in many particulars: this shews how little the learned world can rely on American narrators; and that the origin of the Indian Americans, is yet to be traced in a quite different path tow hat any of those hyperbolical, or wild conjectural writers have prescribed.

The Spaniards have given us many fine polished Indian orations, but they were certainly fabricated at Madrid; the Indians have no such ideas, or methods of speech, as they pretend to have copied from a faithful interpretation on the spot . . .

[p. 215] Robert Williams, the first Englishman in New-England, who is said to have learned the Indian language, in order to convert the natives, believed them to be Jews: and he assures us, that their tradition records that their ancestors came from the south-west, and that they return here at death . . . and that their language bore some affinity to the Hebrew. . . .

[p. 218] The South-American natives wanted nothing that could render life easy and agreeable: and they had nothing superfluous, except gold and silver. When we consider the simplicity of the people, and the skill they had in collecting a prodigious quantity of treasures, it seems as if they gained that skill from their countrymen, and the Tyrians; who in the reign of Solomon exceedingly enriched themselves, in a few voyages. The conjecture that the aborigines wandered here from captivity, by the north east parts of Asia, over Kamschatska, to have their liberty and religion; is not so improbable, as that of their being driven by stress of weather into the bay of Mexico, from the east.

Though a single argument of the general subject, may prove but little, disjoined from the rest; yet, according to the true laws of history, and the best rules for tracing antiquities, the conclusion is to be drawn from clear corresponding circumstances united: the force of one branch of the subject ought to be connected with the others, and then judge by the whole. Such readers as may dissent from my opinion of the Indian American origin and descent, ought to inform us how the natives came here, and by what means they formed the long chain of rites, customs, &c. so similar to the usage of the Hebrew nation, and in general dissimilar to the modes, &c. of the Pagan world.

Ancient writers do not agree upon any certain place, where the Ophir of Solomon lay; it must certainly be a great distance from Joppa, for it was a three years voyage. After the death of Solomon, both the Israelites and Tyrians seem to have utterly discontinued their trading voyages to that part of the world. Eusebius and Eupolemus say, that David sent to Urphe, an island in the red sea, and brought much gold into Judea; and Ortelius reckons this to have been Ophir: though, agreeably to the opinion of the greater part of the modern literati, he also conjectures Cephala, or Sophala, to have been the Ophir of Solomon. Junius imagines it was in Aurea Chersonesus; Tremellius and Niger are of the fame opinion. But Vatablus reckons it was Hispaniola, discovered, and named so by Columbus: yet Postellus, Phil. Mornay, Arias Montanus, and Goropius, are of opinion that Peru is the ancient Ophir; so widely different are their conjectures. Ancient history is quite silent, concerning America; which indicates that it has been time immemorial rent asunder from the African continent,

according to Plato's Timeus. The north-east parts of Asia also were undiscovered till of late. Many geographers have stretched Asia and America so far, as to join them together: and others have divided those two quarters of the globe, at a great distance from each other. But the Russians, after several dangerous attempts, have clearly convinced the world, that they are now divided, and yet have a near communication together, by a narrow strait, in which several islands are situated; through which there is an easy passage from the north-east of Asia to the north-west of America by the way of Kamschatska; which probably joined to the north-west pint of America. By this passage, supposing the main continents were separated, it was very practicable for the inhabitants to go to this extensive new world; and afterwards, to have proceeded in quest of suitable climates--according to the law of nature, that directs every creature to such climes as are most convenient and agreeable.

Having endeavoured to ascertain the origin and descent of the North American Indians--and produced a variety of arguments that incline my own opinion in favour of their being of Jewish extraction--which at the same time furnish the public with a more complete Indian System of religious rites, civil and martial customs, language, &c. than hath ever been exhibited, neither disfigured by fable, nor prejudice--I shall proceed to give a general historical description of those Indian nations among whom I have chiefly resided. . . .

**1776 B. R. Devoltair                      *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida***  
(INDIGENOUS)

A special creation in America favored.

**1777^ William Robertson                      *The History of America* 2 vols. London, 1777. New York:**  
Harper &  
(INDIGENOUS-Natural evolution + MIXED)                      Brothers, 1835.

William Robertson, D. D., was the Principal of the University of Edinburgh, Historiographer to His Majesty for Scotland, and Member of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid. In the 1835 edition, Volume 1, Book IV, pp. 129-140 we find the following:

Having thus surveyed the state of the New World at the time of its discovery, and considered the peculiar features and qualities which distinguish and characterize it, the next inquiry that merits attention is, How was America peopled? By what course did mankind migrate from the one continent to the other? And in what quarter is it most probable that a communication was opened between them?

We know, with infallible certainty, that all the human race spring from the same source, and that the descendants of one man, under the protection, as well as in obedience to the command of Heaven, multiplied and replenished the earth. But neither the annals nor the traditions of nations reach back to those remote ages, in which they took possession of the different countries where they are now settled. We cannot trace the branches of this first family, or point out with certainty the time and manner in which they divided and spread

over the face of the globe. Even among the most enlightened people, the period of authentic history is extremely short; and every thing prior to that is fabulous or obscure, It is not surprising, then, that the unlettered inhabitants of America, who have no solicitude about futurity, and little curiosity concerning what is passed, should be altogether unacquainted with their own original. The people on the two opposite coasts of America, who occupy those countries in America which approach nearest to the ancient continent are so remarkably rude, that it is altogether vain to search among them for such information as might discover the place from whence they came, or the ancestors of whom they are descended. Whatever light has been thrown on this subject is derived not from the natives of America, but from the inquisitive genius of their conquerors.

When the people of Europe unexpectedly discovered a New World, removed at a vast distance from every part of the ancient continent which was then known, and filled with inhabitants, whose appearance and manners differed remarkably from the rest of the human species, the question concerning their original became naturally an object of curiosity and attention. The theories and speculations of ingenious men with respect to this subject, would fill many volumes; but are often so wild and chimerical, that I should offer an insult to the understanding of my readers, if I attempted either minutely to enumerate or to refute them. Some have presumptuously imagined, that the people of America were not the offspring of the same common parent with the rest of mankind, but that they formed a separate race of men, distinguishable by peculiar features in the constitution of their bodies, as well as in the characteristic qualities of their minds. Others contend, that they are descended from some remnant of the antediluvian inhabitants of the earth, who survived the deluge, which swept away the greatest part of the human species in the days of Noah; and preposterously suppose rude uncivilized tribes, scattered over an uncultivated continent, to be the most ancient race of people on the earth. There is hardly any nation from the north to south pole, to which some antiquary, in the extravagance of conjecture, has not ascribed the honour of peopling America. The Jews, the Canaanites, the Phoenicians, the Carthagenians, the Greeks, the Scythians in ancient times, are supposed to have settled in this western world.; The Chinese, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Welsh, the Spaniards, are said to have sent colonies thither in later ages, at different periods, and on various occasions. Zealous advocates stand forth to support the respective claims of those people; and though they rest upon no better foundation than the casual resemblance of some customs, or the supposed affinity between a few words in their different languages, much erudition and more zeal have been employed, to little purpose, in defence of the opposite systems. Those regions of conjecture and controversy belong not to the Historian. His is a more limited province, confined to what is established by certain or highly probable evidence. Beyond this I shall not venture, in offering a few observations, which may contribute to throw some light upon this curious and much agitated question.

1. There are authors who have endeavoured, by mere conjectures to account for the peopling of America. Some have supposed that it was originally united to the ancient continent, and disjointed from it by the shock of an earthquake, or the irruption of a deluge. Others have imagined, that some vessel being forced from its course by the violence of a westerly wind, might be driven by accident towards the American coast, and have given a beginning to population in that desolate continent. But with respect to all those systems, it is vain either to reason or inquire, because it is impossible to come to any decision. Such events as they suppose are barely possible, and may have happened. That they ever did happen, we have no evidence, either from the clear testimony of history, or from the obscure intimations of tradition.

2. Nothing can be more frivolous or uncertain than the attempts to discover the original of the Americans, merely by tracing the resemblance between their manners and those of any particular people in the ancient continent. If we suppose two tribes, though placed in

the most remote regions of the globe, to live in a climate nearly of the same temperature, to be in the same state of society, and to resemble each other in the degree of their improvement, they must feel the same wants, and exert the same endeavours to supply them. The same objects will allure, the same passions will animate them, and the same ideas and sentiments will arise in their minds. The character and occupations of the hunter in America must be little different from those of an Asiatic, who depends for subsistence on the chase. **A tribe of savages on the banks of the Danube must nearly resemble one upon the plain washed by the Mississippi. Instead then of presuming from this similarity, that there is any affinity between them, we should only conclude, that the disposition and manners of men are formed by their situation, and arise from the state of society in which they live.** The moment that begins to vary the character of a people must change. In proportion as it advances in improvement, their manners refine, their powers and talents are called forth. In every part of the earth the progress of man hath been nearly the same, and we can trace him in his career from the rude simplicity of savage life, until he attains the industry, the arts, and the elegance of polished society. There is nothing wonderful then in the similitude between the Americans and the barbarous nations of our continent. had Lafitau, Garcia, and many other authors, attended to this, they would not have perplexed a subject which they pretend to illustrate, by their fruitless endeavours to establish an affinity between various races of people in the old and new continents, upon no other evidence than such a resemblance in their manners as necessarily arises from the similarity of their condition. There are, it is true, among every people, some customs which, as they do not flow from any natural want or desire peculiar to their situation, may be denominated usages of arbitrary institution. If between two nations settled in remote parts of the earth, a perfect agreement with respect to any of these should be discovered, one might be led to suspect that they were connected by some affinity. If, for example, a nation were found in America that consecrated the seventh day to religious worship and rest, we might justly suppose that it had derived its knowledge of this usage, which is of arbitrary institution, from the Jews. But, if it were discovered that another nation celebrated the first appearance of every new moon with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, we should not be entitled to conclude that the observation of this monthly festival was borrowed from the jews, but ought to consider it merely as the expression of that joy which is natural to man on the return of the planet which guides and cheers him in the night. **The instances of customs, merely arbitrary, common to the inhabitants of both hemispheres, are, indeed, so few an so equivocal, that no theory concerning the population of the New World ought to be founded upon them.**

3. The theories which have been formed with respect to the original of the Americans, from observation of their religious rites and practices, are no less fanciful, and destitute of solid foundation. When the religious opinions of any people are neither the result of rational inquiry, nor derived from the instructions of revelation, they must needs be wild and extravagant. Barbarous nations are incapable of the former, and have not been blessed with the advantages arising from the latter. Still, however, the human mind, even where its operations appear most wild and capricious, holds a course so regular, that in every age and country the dominion of particular passions will be attended with similar effects. The savage of Europe or America, when filled with superstitious dread of invisible beings, or with inquisitive solicitude to penetrate into the events of futurity, trembles alike with fear, or glows with impatience. He has recourse to rites and practices of the same kind, in order to avert the vengeance which he supposes to be impending over him, or to divine the secret which is the object of his curiosity. Accordingly the ritual of the superstition, in one continent, seems, in many particulars to be a transcript of that established in the other, and both authorize similar institutions, sometimes so frivolous as to excite pity, sometimes so bloody and barbarous as to create horror. But without supposing any consanguinity between such distant nations, or imagining that their religious ceremonies were conveyed by tradition from the one to the other, we may ascribe this uniformity, which in many



instances seems very amazing, to the natural operation of superstition and enthusiasm upon the weaknesses of the human mind.

4. **We may lay it down as a certain principle in this inquiry, that America was not peopled by any nation of the ancient continent, which had made considerable progress in civilization.** The inhabitants of the New World were in a state of society so extremely rude, as to be unacquainted with those arts which are the first essays of human ingenuity in its advance towards improvement. Even the most cultivated nations of America were strangers to many of those simple inventions, which were almost coeval with society in other parts of the world, and were known in the earliest period of civil life, with which we have any acquaintance. **From this it is manifest, that the tribes which originally migrated to America, came off from nations which must have been no less barbarous than their posterity, at the time when they were first discovered by Europeans. For, although the elegant and refined arts may decline or perish, amidst the violent shocks of those revolutions and disasters to which nations are exposed, the necessary arts of life, when once they have been introduced among any people, are never lost.** None of the vicissitudes in human affairs affect these, and they continue to be practiced as long as the race of men exists. **If ever the use of iron had been known to the savages of America, or to their progenitors, if every they had employed a plough, a loom, or a forge, the utility of those inventions would have preserved them, and it is impossible that they should have been abandoned or forgotten.** We may conclude then, that the Americans sprung from some people, who were themselves in such an early and unimproved stage of society, as to be unacquainted with all those necessary arts, which continued to be unknown among their posterity, when first visited by the Spaniards.

5. It appears no less evident that America was not peopled by any colony from the more southern nations of the ancient continent. None of the rude tribes settled in that part of our hemisphere can be supposed to have visited a country so remote. They possessed neither enterprise, ingenuity, nor power, that could prompt them to undertake, or enable them to perform, such a distant voyage. That the more civilized nations in Asia or Africa are not the progenitors of the Americans is manifest, not only from the observations which I have already made concerning their ignorance of the most simple and necessary arts, but from an additional circumstance. Whenever any people have experienced the advantages which men enjoy, by their dominion over the inferior animals, they can neither subsist without the nourishment which these afford, nor carry on any considerable operation independent of their ministry and labour. Accordingly, the first care of the Spaniards, when they settled in America, was to stock it with all the domestic animals of Europe; and if, prior to them, the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, the Chinese, or any other polished people, had taken possession of that continent, we should have found there the animals peculiar to those regions of the globe where they were originally seated. In all America, however, there is not one animal, tame or wild, which properly belongs to the warm, or even to the more temperate, countries of the ancient continent. The camel, the dromedary, the horse, the cow, were as much unknown in America as the elephant or the lion. From which it is obvious, that the people who first settled in the western world did not issue from the countries where those animals abound, and where men, from having long been accustomed to their aid, would naturally consider it, not only as beneficial, but, as indispensably necessary to the improvement, and even the preservation, of civil society.

6. From considering the animals with which America is stored, we may conclude that the nearest point of contact, between the old and new continents, is towards the northern extremity of both, and that there the communication was opened, and the intercourse carried on, between them. All the extensive countries in America, which lie within the tropics, or approach near to them, are filled with indigenous animals of various kinds, entirely different from those in the corresponding regions of the ancient continent. But the northern provinces of the New World abound with many of the wild animals which are

common in such parts of our hemisphere as lie in the similar situation. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, and several other species frequent the forests of North America, no less than those in the north of Europe and Asia. It seems to be evident, then, that the two continents approach each other in this quarter, and are either united, or so nearly adjacent, that these animals might pass from the one to the other.

7. The actual vicinity of the two continents is so clearly established by modern discoveries, that the chief difficulty with respect to the peopling of America is removed. While those immense regions which stretch eastward from the river Oby to the sea of Kamchatka were unknown or imperfectly explored, the north-east extremities of our hemisphere were supposed to be so far distant from any part of the New World, that it was not easy to conceive how any communication should have been carried on between them. But the Russians, having subjected the western part of Siberia to their empire, gradually extended their knowledge of that vast country, by advancing towards the east into unknown provinces. . . .

Thus the possibility of a communication between the continents in this quarter rests no longer upon mere conjecture, but is established by undoubted evidence. Some tribe, or some families of wandering Tartars, from the restless spirit peculiar to their race, might migrate to the nearest islands, and, rude as their knowledge of navigation was, might, by passing from one to the other, reach at length the coast of America, and give a beginning to population in that continent. The distance between the Marian or Ladrone islands and the nearest land in Asia, is greater than that between the part of America which the Russians discovered, and the coast of Kamchatka; and yet the inhabitants of those islands are manifestly of Asiatic extract. . . .

If we could rely on this account, we might conclude that the American continent is separated from ours only by a narrow strait, and all the difficulties with respect to the communication between them would vanish. What could be offered only as a conjecture, when this History was first published, is now known to be certain. The near approach of the two continents to each other has been discovered and traced in a voyage undertaken upon principles so pure and so liberal, and conducted with so much professional skill, as reflect lustre upon the reign of the sovereign by whom it was planned, and do honour to the officers intrusted with the execution of it.

It is likewise evident from recent discoveries, that an intercourse between our continent and America might be carried on with no less facility from the north-west extremities of Europe. As early as the ninth century [A.D. 830], the Norwegians, discovered Greenland, and planted colonies there. The communication with that country, after a long interruption, was renewed in the last century. Some Lutheran and Moravian missionaries, prompted by zeal for propagating the Christian faith, have ventured to settle in this frozen and uncultivated region. To them we are indebted for much curious information with respect to its nature and inhabitants. We learn that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait; that, at the bottom of the bay into which this strait conducts, it is highly probable, that they are united; that the inhabitants of the two countries have some intercourse with one another; that the Esquimaux of America perfectly resemble the Greenlanders in their aspect, dress, and mode of living; . . .

**8. Though it be possible that America may have received its first inhabitants from our continent, either by the north-west of Europe or the north-east of Asia, there seems to be good reasons for supposing that the progenitors of all the American nations, from Cape Horn to the southern confines of Labrador, migrated from the latter rather than the former.** The Esquimaux are the only people in America who, in their aspect or character, bear any resemblance to the northern Europeans. They are manifestly a race of men, distinct from all the nations of the American continent, in language, in disposition, and in

habits of life. Their original, then, may warrantably be traced up to that source which I have pointed out. But, among all the other inhabitants of America, there is such a striking similitude in the form of their bodies, and the qualities of their minds, that, notwithstanding the diversities occasioned by the influence of climate, or unequal progress in improvement, we must pronounce them to be descended from one source. There may be a variety in the shades, but we can everywhere trace the same original colour. Each tribe has something peculiar which distinguishes it, but in all of them we discern certain features common to the whole race. **It is remarkable, that in every peculiarity, whether in their persons or dispositions, which characterize the Americans, they have some resemblance to the rude tribes scattered over the northeast of Asia, but almost none to the nations settled in the northern extremities of Europe.** We may, therefore, refer them to the former origin, and conclude that their Asiatic progenitors, having settled in those parts of America, where the Russians have discovered the proximity of the two continents, spread gradually over its various regions. This account of the progress of population in America, coincides with the traditions of the Mexicans concerning their own origin, which, imperfect as they are, were preserved with more accuracy, and merit greater credit, than those of any people in the New World. According to them, their ancestors came from a remote country, situated to the north-west of Mexico. The Mexicans point out their various stations as they advanced from this, into the interior provinces, and it is precisely the same route which they must have held, if they had been emigrants from Asia. The Mexicans, in describing the appearance of their progenitors, their manners and habits of life, at that period, exactly delineate those of the rude Tartars, from whom I suppose them to have sprung.

Thus have I finished a disquisition which has been deemed of so much importance, that it would have been improper to omit it in writing the history of America. I have ventured to inquire, but without presuming to decide. Satisfied with offering conjectures, I pretend not to establish any system. When an investigation is, from its nature, so intricate and obscure, that it is impossible to arrive at conclusions which are certain, there may be some merit in pointing out such as are probable.

The condition and character of the American nations, at the time when they became known to the Europeans, deserve more attentive consideration than the inquiry concerning their original. The latter is merely an object of curiosity; the former is one of the most important as well as instructive researches which can occupy the philosopher or historian. In order to complete the history of the human mind, and attain to a perfect knowledge of its nature and operations, we must contemplate man in all those various situations wherein he has been placed. We must follow him in his progress through the different stages of society, as he gradually advances from the infant state of civil life towards its maturity and decline. .

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It is extremely difficult to procure satisfying and authentic information concerning nations while they remain uncivilized. To discover their true character under this rude form, and to select the features by which they are distinguished, requires an observer possessed of no less impartiality than discernment. . . .

The Spaniards, who first visited America, and who had opportunity of beholding its various tribes while entire and unsubdued, and before any change had been made in their ideas or manners by intercourse with a race of men much advanced beyond them in improvement, were far from possessing the qualities requisite for observing the striking spectacle presented to their view. Neither the age in which they lived, nor the nation to which they belonged, had made such progress in true science, as inspires enlarged and liberal sentiments. The conquerors of the New World were mostly illiterate adventurers,

destitute of all the ideas which should have directed them in contemplating objects so extremely different from those with which they were acquainted. . . .

Not only the incapacity but the prejudices of the Spaniards rendered their accounts of the people of America extremely defective. Soon after they planted colonies in their new conquests, a difference in opinion arose with respect to the treatment of the natives. One party, solicitous to render their servitude perpetual, represented them as a brutish, obstinate race, incapable either of acquiring religious knowledge, or of being trained to the functions of social life. The other, full of pious concern for their conversion, contended that, though rude and ignorant, they were gentle, affectionate, docile, and by proper instructions and regulations might be formed gradually into good Christians and useful citizens. . . .

Almost two centuries elapsed after the discovery of America, before the manners of its inhabitants attracted, in any considerable degree, the attention of philosophers. . . . They entered upon this new field of study with great ardour; but, instead of throwing light upon the subject, they have contributed in some degree to involve it in additional obscurity. Too impatient to inquire, they hastened to decide; and began to erect systems when they should have been searching for facts on which to establish their foundations. Struck with the appearance of degeneracy in the human species throughout the New World, and astonished at beholding a vast continent occupied by a naked, feeble, and ignorant race of men, some authors, of great name, have maintained that this part of the globe had but lately emerged from the sea, and become fit for the residence of man; that every thing in it bore marks of a recent original; and that its inhabitants, lately called into existence, and still at the beginning of their career, were unworthy to be compared with the people of a more ancient and improved continent. (M. de Buffon Hist. Nat. iii 484, &c. ix. 103. 114) . . .

As all those circumstances concur in rendering an inquiry into the state of the rude nations in America intricate and obscure, it is necessary to carry it on with caution. When guided in our researches by the intelligent observations of the few philosophers who have visited this part of the globe, we may venture to decide. When obliged to have recourse to the superficial remarks of vulgar travellers, of sailors, traders, buccaneers, and missionaries, we must often pause, and, comparing detached facts, endeavour to discover what they wanted sagacity to observe. Without indulging conjecture, or betraying a propensity to either system, we must study with equal care to avoid the extremes of extravagant admiration, or of supercilious contempt for those manners which we describe. . . .

. . . I shall conduct my researches concerning the manners of the Americans in this natural order, proceeding gradually from what is simple to what is more complicated.

I shall consider, I. The bodily constitution of the Americans in those regions now under review. II. The qualities of their minds. III. Their domestic state. IV. Their political state and institutions. V. Their system of war, and public security. VI. The arts with which they were acquainted. VII. Their religious ideas and institutions. VIII. Such singular detached customs are not reducible to any of the former heads. IX. I shall conclude with a general review and estimate of their virtues and defects.

Source: First American (1812) edition. Published by Johnson & Warner in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

**1777 J. B. Scherer      *Recherches historiques et géographiques sur le nouveau monde*, Paris, 1777**

Advocates the Asiatic theory.

**1778^ Jonathan Carver      *Three years Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America*, Philadelphia, 1784.**

The full title of this 217-page book is, *Three Years Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America, for More than Five Thousand Miles, containing, An Account of the great Lakes, and all the Lakes, Islands, and Rivers, Cataracts, Mountains, Minerals, Soil and Vegetable Productions of the North-West Regions of that vast Continent; with a Description of the Birds, Beasts, Reptiles, Insects, and Fishes peculiar to the Country. Together with a Concise History of the Genius, Manners, and Customs of the Indians Inhabiting the lands that lie adjacent to the Heads and to the Westward of the Great River Mississippi; and an Appendix, Describing the uncultivated Parts of America that are the most proper for forming Settlements.* In it Carver reviews various theories concerning Indian origins.

In Chapter 1 entitled "Of the Origin, Manners, Customs, Religion and Language of the Indians," Carver writes:

[pp. 83-92] The means by which America received its first inhabitants, have, since the time of its discovery by the Europeans, been the subject of numberless disquisitions. Was I to endeavour to collect the different opinions and reasonings on the various writers that have taken up the pen in defence of their conjectures, the enumeration would much exceed the bounds I have prescribed myself, and oblige me to be less explicit on points of greater moment.

From the obscurity in which this debate is enveloped, thro' the total disuse of letters among every nation of Indians on this extensive continent, and the uncertainty of oral tradition at the distance of so many ages, I fear, that even after the most minute investigation we shall not be able to settle it with any great degree of certainty. And this apprehension will receive additional force, when it is considered that the diversity of language, which is apparently distinct between most of the Indians, tends to ascertain that this population was not effected from one particular country, but from several neighbouring ones, and completed at different periods.

[p. 84] Most of the historians or travellers that have treated on the American Aborigines disagree in their sentiments relative to them. Many of the ancients are supposed to have known that this quarter of the globe not only existed, but also that it was inhabited. Plato in his *Timaeus* has asserted, that beyond the island which he calls *Atalantis*, and which according to his description was situated in the western Ocean, there were a great number of other islands, and behind those a vast continent.

Oviedo, a celebrated Spanish author of a much later date, has made no scruple to affirm that the Antilles are the famous *Hesperides* so often mentioned by the poets; which are at length restored to the kings of Spain, the descendants of king *Hesperus*, who lived upwards of three thousand years ago, and from whom these islands received their name.

Two other Spaniards, the one, Father Gregorio Garcia, a Dominican, the other, Father Joseph De Acosta, a Jesuit, have written on the origin of the Americans.

The former, who had been employed in the missions of Mexico and Peru, endeavoured to prove from the traditions of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and others, which he received on the spot, and from the variety of characters, customs, languages, and religion observable in the different countries of the new world, that different nations had contributed to the peopling of it.

The latter, Father De Acosta, in his examination of the means by which the first Indians of America might have found a passage to that continent, discredits the conclusions of those who have supposed it to be by sea, because no ancient author has made mention of the compass; and concludes, that it must be either by the north of Asia and Europe, which adjoin to each other, or by those regions that lie to the southward of the Straights of Magellan. he also rejects the assertions of such as have advanced that it was peopled by the Hebrews.

John De Laet, a Flemish writer, has controverted the opinions of these Spanish fathers, and of many others who have written on the same subject. The hypothesis he endeavours to establish, is, that America was certainly peopled by the Scythians or Tartars, and that the transmigration of these people happened soon after the dispersion of Noah's grandsons. He undertakes to show, that the most northern Americans have a greater resemblance, not only in the features of their countenances, but also in their complexion and manner of living, to the Scythians, Tartars, and Samoeides, than to any other nation.

In answer to Grotius, who had asserted that some of the Norwegians passed into America by way of Greenland, and over a vast continent, he says, that it is well known that Greenland was not discovered till the year 964; and both Gomera and Herrera inform us that the Chichimeques were settled on the Lake of Mexico in 721. . . .

De Laet further adds, that though some of the inhabitants of North America may have entered it from the north-west, yet, as it is related by Pliny, and some other writers, that on many of the islands near the western coast of Africa, particularly on the Canaries, some ancient edifices were seen, it is highly probable from their being now deserted, that the inhabitants may have passed over to America; the passage being neither long nor difficult. This migration, according to the calculations of those authors, must have happened more than two thousand years ago, at a time when the Spaniards were much troubled by the Carthaginians; from whom having obtained a knowledge of navigation, and the construction of ships, they might have retired to the Antilles, by the way of the western isles, which were exactly half way on their voyage.

He thinks also that Great Britain, Ireland, and the Orcades were extremely proper to admit of a similar conjecture. As a proof he infers the following passage from the history of Wales, written by Dr. David Power, in the year 1170.

This historian says, that Madoc, of the sons of Prince Owen Gwynnith, being disgusted at the civil wars which broke out between his brothers, after the death of their father, fitted out several vessels, and having provided them with every thing necessary for a long voyage, went in quest of new lands to the westward of Ireland; there he discovered very fertile countries, but destitute of inhabitants; when landing part of his people, he returned to Britain, where he raised new levies, and afterwards transported them to his colony.

The Flemish Author then returns to the Scythians, between whom and the Americans he draws a parallel. He observes that several nations of them to the north of the Caspian Sea, led a wandering life; which, as well as many other of their customs, and way of living, agrees in many circumstances with the Indians of America. And though the resemblances

are not absolutely perfect, yet the emigrants, even before they left their own country, differed from each other, and went not by the same name. Their change of abode effected what remained.

He further says, that a similar likeness exists between several American nations, and the Samoeides who are settled, according to the Russian accounts, on the great River Oby. And it is more natural, continues he, to suppose that Colonies of these nations passed over to America by crossing the icy sea on their sledges, than for the Norwegians to travel all the way Grotius has marked out for them.

This writer makes many other remarks that are equally sensible and which appear to be just; but he intermixes with these some that are not so well founded.

Emanuel de Moraez, a Portuguese, in his history of Brazil, asserts, that America has been wholly peopled by the Carthaginians and Israelites. he brings as a proof of this assertion, the discoveries the former are known to have made at a great distance beyond the coast of Africa. The progress of which being put a stop to by the senate of Carthage, those who happened to be then in the newly discovered countries, being cut off from all communication with their countrymen, and destitute of many necessaries of life, fell into a state of barbarism. As to the Israelites, this author thinks that nothing but circumcision is wanted in order to constitute a perfect resemblance between them and the Brazilians.

George De Hornn, a learned Dutchman, has likewise written on this subject. He sets out with declaring, that he does not believe it possible America could have been peopled before the flood, considering the short space of time which elapsed between the creation of the world and that memorable event. In the next place he lays it down as a principle, that after the deluge, men and other terrestrial animals penetrated into that country both by sea and by land; some through accident, and some from a formed design. That birds got thither by flight; which they were enabled to do by resting on the rocks and islands that are scattered about in the Ocean.

He further observes, that wild beasts may have found a free passage by land; and that if we do not meet with horses or cattle, (to which he might have added elephants, camels, rhinoceros, and beasts of many other kinds) it is because those nations that passed thither, were either not acquainted with their use, or had no convenience to support them.

Having totally excluded many nations that others have admitted as the probable first settlers of America, for which he gives substantial reasons, he supposes that it began to be peopled by the north; and maintains, that the primitive colonies spread themselves by the means of the isthmus of Panama through the whole extent of the continent.

He believes that the first founders of the Indian Colonies were Scythians. that the Phoenicians and Carthaginians afterwards got footing in America across the Atlantic Ocean, and the Chinese by way of the Pacific. And that other nations might from time to time have landed there by one or other of these ways, or might possibly have been thrown on the coast by tempests; since, through the whole extent of that Continent, both in its northern and southern parts, we meet with undoubted marks of a mixture of the northern nations with those who have come from other places. And lastly, that some Jews and Christians might have been carried there by such like events, but that this must have happened at a time when the whole of the New World was already peopled.

After all, he acknowledges that great difficulties attend the determination of the question. These, he says, are occasioned in the first place by the imperfect knowledge we have of the extremities of the globe, towards the north and south pole; and in the next place to the havock which the Spaniards, the first discoverers of the new world, made among its most ancient monuments; as witness the great double road betwixt Quito and

Cuzco, an undertaking so stupendous, that even the most magnificent of those executed by the Romans, cannot be compared to it.

It supposes also another migration of the Phoenicians, than those already mentioned, to have taken place; and this was during a three years voyage made by the Tyrian fleet in the service of King Solomon. he asserts on the authority of Josephus, that the port at which this embarkation was made was in the Mediterranean. The fleet, he adds, went in quest of elephants teeth and peacocks to the western Coast of Africa, which is Tarsish; then to Ophir for gold, which is Haite, or the island of Hispaniola; and in the latter opinion he is supported by Columbus, who, when he discovered that island, though he could trace the furnaces in which the gold was refined.

To these migrations which preceded the Christian era, he adds many others of a later date from different nations, but these I have not time to enumerate. For the same reason I am obliged to pass over numberless writers on this subject; and shall content myself with only giving the sentiments of two or three more.

The first of these is Pierre De Charlevoix, a Frenchman, who, in his journal of a voyage to North America, made so lately as the year 1720, has recapitulated the opinions of a variety of authors on this head, to which he has subjoined his own conjectures. But the latter cannot without some difficulty be extracted, as they are so interwoven with the passages he has quoted, that it requires much attention to discriminate them.

He seems to allow that America might have received its first inhabitants from Tartary and Hircania. This he confirms, by observing that the lions and tigers which are found in the former, must have come from those countries, and whose passage serves for a proof that the two hemispheres join to the northward of Asia. . . .

He quotes . . . Mark Pol, a Venetian, who, he says, tells us, that to the northeast of China and Tartary there are vast uninhabited countries which might be sufficient to confirm any conjectures concerning the retreat of a great number of Scythians into America. . . . Charlevoix concludes, that there is at least room to conjecture that more than one nation in America had a Scythian or Tartarian original.

He finishes his remarks on the authors he has quoted, by the following observations: It appears to me that this controversy may be reduced to the two following articles; first, how the new world might have been peopled; and secondly, by whom, and by what means it has been peopled.

Nothing, he asserts, may be more easily answered than the first. America might have been peopled as the three other parts of the world have been. Many difficulties have been formed on this subject, which have been deemed insolvable, but which are far from being so. The inhabitants of both hemispheres are certainly the descendants of the same father; the common parent of mankind received an express command from heaven to people the whole world, and accordingly it has been peopled.

To bring this about it was necessary to overcome all difficulties that lay in the way, and they have been got over. Were there difficulties greater with respect to peopling the extremities of Asia, Africa, and Europe, or the transporting men into the islands which lie at a considerable distance from those continents, than to pass over into America? certainly not.

Navigation which has arrived at so great perfection within these three or four centuries, might possibly have been more perfect in those early ages than at this day. Who can believe that Noah and his immediate descendants knew less of this art than we do? That the builder and pilot of the largest ship that ever was, a ship that was formed to traverse an



unbounded ocean, and had so many shoals and quick-sands to guard against, should be ignorant of, or should not have communicated to those of his descendants who survived him, and by whose means he was to execute the order of the Great Creator; I say, who can believe he should not have communicated to them the art of sailing upon an ocean, which was not only more calm and pacific, but at the same time confined within its ancient limits?

Admitting this, how easy is it to pass, exclusive of the passage already described, by land from the coast of Africa to Brazil, from the Canaries to the Western Islands, and from them to the Antilles? From the British Isles, or the coast of France, to Newfoundland, the passage is neither long nor difficult; I might say as much of that from China to Japan; from Japan, or the Philippines, to the Isles Mariannes; and from thence to Mexico.

There are islands at a considerable distance from the continent of Asia, where we have not been surprised to find inhabitants, why then should we wonder to meet with people in America? Nor can it be imagined that the grandsons of Noah, when they were obliged to separate, and spread themselves in conformity to the designs of God, over the whole earth, should find it absolutely impossible to people almost one half of it.

I have been more copious in my extracts from this author than I intended, as his reasons appear to be solid, and many of his observations just. . . . I shall only add, to give my readers a more comprehensive view of Mons. Charlevoix's dissertation, the method he proposes to come at the truth of what we are in search of.

The only means by which this can be done, he says, is by comparing the languages of the Americans with the different nations, from whence we might suppose they have peregrinated. . . . Even the different dialects, in spite of the alterations they have undergone, still retain enough of the mother tongue to furnish considerable lights.

Any enquiry into the manners, customs, religion, or traditions of the Americans, in order to discover by that means their origin, he thinks would prove fallacious. . . .

He concludes with the following remarks, among many others. Unforeseen accidents, tempests, and shipwrecks, have certainly contributed to people every habitable part of the world; and ought we to wonder after this, at perceiving certain resemblances, both of persons and manners between nations that are most remote from each other, when we find such a difference between those that border on one another? As we are destitute of historical monuments, there is nothing, I repeat it, but a knowledge of the primitive languages that is capable of throwing any light upon these clouds of impenetrable darkness.

By this enquiry we should at least be satisfied among that prodigious number of various nations inhabiting America, and differing so much in languages from each other . . .

I shall only add the opinion of one author more, before I give my own sentiments on the subject, and that is of James Adair, Esq; who resided forty years among the Indians, and published the history of them in the year 1772. In his learned and systematical history of those nation, inhabiting the western parts of the most southern of the American colonies; this gentleman without hesitation pronounces that the American Aborigines are descended from the Israelites, either whilst they were a maritime power, or soon after their general captivity.

This descent he endeavours to prove from their religious rites, their civil and martial customs, their marriages, . . .

He begins with observing that though some have supposed the Americans to be descended from the Chines, yet neither their religion, laws, or customs agree in the least

with those of the Chines; which sufficiently proves that they are not of this line. Besides, as our best ships are now almost half a year in sailing for China (our author does not here recollect that this is from a high northern latitude, across the Line, and then back again greatly to the northward of it, and not directly athwart the Pacific Ocean, for only one hundred and eleven degrees) or from thence to Europe, it is very unlikely they should attempt such dangerous discoveries with their supposed small vessels, against rapid current, and in dark and sickly Monsoons.

He further remarks, that this is more particularly improbable, as there is reason to believe that this nation was unacquainted with the use of the loadstone to direct their course.

China, he says, is above eight thousand miles distant from the American continent, which is twice as far as across the Atlantic ocean.--And , we are not informed by any ancient writer, of their maritime skill, or so much as any inclination that way, besides small coasting voyages.--The winds blow likewise, with little variation, from east to west, within the latitudes of thirty and odd, north and south, and therefore they could not drive them on the American coast, it lying directly contrary to such a course.

Neither could persons sail to America, from the north, by the way of Tartary, or ancient Scythia; that, from its situation, never was, or can be, a maritime power, and it is utterly impracticable for any to come to America, by sea, from that quarter. Besides, the remaining traces of their religious ceremonies, and civil and martial customs, are quite opposite to the like vestiges of the old Scythians. . . .

[pp. 93-96] Thus numerous and diverse are the opinions of those who have hitherto written on this subject! I shall not, however, either endeavour to reconcile them, or to point out the errors of each, **but proceed to give my own sentiments on the origin of the Americans; which are founded on conclusions drawn from the most rational arguments of the writers I have mentioned, and from my own observations; the consistency of these I shall leave to the judgment of my Readers.**

The better to introduce my conjectures on this head, it is necessary first to ascertain the distances between America and those parts of the habitable globe that approach nearest to it.

The Continent of America, as far as we can judge from all the researches that have been made near the poles, appears to be entirely separated from the other quarters of the world. That part of Europe which approaches nearest to it, is the coast of Greenland, lying in about seventy degrees of north latitude; and which reaches within twelve degrees of the coast of Labrador, situated on the north-east borders of this continent. The coast of Guinea is the nearest part of Africa; which lies about eighteen hundred and sixty miles north-east from the Brazil. The most eastern coast of Asia, which extends to the Korean Sea on the north of China, projects north-east through eastern Tartary and Kamschatka to Siberia, in about sixty degrees of north latitude. Towards which the western coasts of America, from California to the Straights of Annian, extend nearly north-west, and lie in about forty-six degrees of the same latitude.

Whether the Continent of America stretches any farther north than these straights, and joins to the eastern parts of Asia, agreeable to what has been asserted by some of the writers I have quoted, or whether the lands that have been discovered in the intermediate parts are only an archipelago of islands, verging towards the opposite continent, is not yet ascertained.f

It being, however, certain that there are many considerable islands which lie between the extremities of Asia and America, viz. Japon, Jefe or Jedio, Gama's Land, Behring's Isle,

with many others discovered by Tschirikow, and besides these, from fifty degrees north there appearing to be a cluster of islands that reach as far as Siberia, it is probable from their proximity to America, that it received its first inhabitants from them.

This conclusion is the most rational I am able to draw, supposing that since the Aborigines got footing on this continent, no extraordinary or sudden change in the position or surface of it has taken place, from inundations, earthquakes, or any revolutions of the earth that we are at present unacquainted with.

To me it appears highly improbable that it should have been peopled from different quarters, across the ocean, as others have asserted. From the size of the ships made use of in those early ages, and the want of the compass, it cannot be supposed that any maritime nation would by choice venture over the unfathomable ocean, in search of distant continents. had this however been attempted, or had America been first accidentally peopled from ships freighted with passengers of both sexes, which were driven by strong easterly winds across the Atlantic, these settlers must have retained some traces of the language of the country from whence they migrated; and this since the discovery of it by the Europeans must have been made out. It also appears extraordinary that several of these accidental migrations, as allowed by some, and these from different parts, should have taken place.

Upon the whole, after the most critical enquiries, and the maturest deliberation, I am of opinion, that America received its first inhabitants from the north-east, by way of the great archipelago just mentioned, and from there alone. But this might have been effected at different times, and from various parts from Tartary, China, Japon, or Kamschatka, the inhabitants of these places resembling each other in colour, features, and shape; and who, before some of them acquired a knowledge of the arts and sciences, might have likewise resembled each other in their manners, customs, religion, and language. . . .

It is very evident that some of the manners and customs of the American Indians resemble those of the Tartars; and I make no doubt but that in some future era, and this is not a very distant one, it will be reduced to a certainty, that during some of the wars between the Tartars and the Chinese, a part of the inhabitants of the norther provinces were driven from their native country, and took refuge in some of the isles before mentioned, and from thence found their way into America. . . .

It appears plainly to me that a great similarity between the Indian and Chinese is conspicuous in that particular custom of having or plucking off the hair, and leaving only a small tuft on the crown of the head. . . .

There probably might be found a similar connection between the language of the Tartars and the American aborigines, were we as well acquainted with it as we are, from a commercial intercourse, with that of the Chinese. . . .

I am happy to find, since I formed the foregoing conclusions, that they correspond with the sentiments of that great and learned historian Doctor Robertson; and though, with him, I acknowledge that the investigation, from its nature, is so obscure and intricate, that the conjectures I have made can only be considered as conjectures, and not indisputable conclusions, yet they carry with them a greater degree of probability than the suppositions of those who assert that this continent was peopled from another quarter.

Ojeda, 1836.

**1783 Ezra Stiles** ***The United States elevated to Glory and Honor.*** New Haven, 1783 It is (Canaanite) included in J. W. Thornton's *Pulpit of the Amer. Revolution* (Boston, 1860).

Justin Winsor writes:

It was not till after reports had come from the Ohio Valley of the extensive earthworks in that region that the question of the earlier peoples of America attracted much general attention throughout America; and the most conspicuous spokesman was President Stiles of Yale College, in an address which he delivered before the General Assembly of Connecticut, in 1783, on the future of the new republic. In this, while arguing for the unity of the American tribes and for their affinity with the Tartars, he held to their being in the main the descendants of the Canaanites expelled by Joshua, whether finding their way hither by the Asiatic route and establishing the northern Sarchenidoms, or coming in Phoenician ships across the Atlantic to settle Mexico and Peru.\*

Winsor notes\* that "This Canaanite view, though hardly held with the scope given by Dr. Stiles, had been asserted earlier by Gomara, DE Lery, and Lescarbot. Cf. *For. Quart. Rev.*, Oct, 1856."

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 371.

**1784 G. B. Count Carli** ***Delle Lettere Americane.*** Milan, 1784-94. Better known in J. B. L. (Atlantis) Villebrune's French translation, *Lettres Americaines* (2 vols; Paris and Boston, 1787). Sabin, no. 10,912. There is also a German version.

Justin Winsor writes:

In 1767, however, the question [of American Indian origins] was again brought into the range of a learned and disputatious discussion, reviving all the arguments of Grotius, De laet, and Horn, when E. Bailli d'Engel published his *Essai sur cette question: Quand et comment l'America a-t-elle ete peulee d'hommes et d'Animaux?* (5 vols, Amsterdam, 1767, 2d. ed., 1768). He argues for an antediluvian origin.\* (Cf. Alex. Catcott's *Treatise on the Deluge* (2d.

ed., enlarged, London, 1768) and A. de Ulloa's *Noticias Americanas* (Madrid, 1772, 1792), for speculations.) The controversy which now followed was aroused by C. De Pauw's characterization of all American products, man, animals, vegetation, as degraded and inferior to nature in the old world, in an essay which passed through various editions, and was attacked and defended in turn. An Italian, Count Carli some years later [see the 1784 notation] controverted De Pauw, and using every resource of mythology, tradition, geology, and astronomy, claimed for the Americans a descent from the Atlantides.

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 370.

**1787**                    ***Columbian Magazine (Monthly Miscellany)***. vol. 1. Philadelphia, July 1787.  
vol. 2,

May, July 1788.

Dan Vogel writes:

The July 1787 issue gives a brief discussion on several theories about the origin of the Indians (552)

The May 1788 issue contains "Extracts from Du Pratz's History of Louisiana, and other Authors, respecting the resemblance between the traditions and Customs of the Nations of America, and those of the Ancient Jews" (240-41). Extracts were also included in June and July issues.

The July 1788 issue reprints John Smith's letter about Hebrew among the Indians and Charlevoix's *Journal of Travels in North America* (1761), which states Indians are similar to Jews (367-71)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(136)

**1788**    **Jonathan Edwards**                    ***Observations***

(ISRAELITISH)

Jewish and Indian languages have many similarities

**1788**^    **Thomas Jefferson**                    ***Notes on the State of Virginia 1781-1787***. Boston. As part of *The*

(MONGOLOID)

*Bedford Series in History and Culture: Notes on the State of Virginia*

*with Related Documents*, edited with an Introduction by David  
Waldstreicher, Bedford/St. Martins, 2002

[Preface] Editor David Waldstreicher writes:

Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785, 1787) is the only book published by one of America's greatest interpreters and statesmen. . . . The Introduction presents the *Notes*

as a response to Jefferson's, Virginia's, and America's revolutionary experiences. . . . A quintessential Enlightenment thinker, Jefferson placed nature inside of history, and history inside of nature. Natural history served as his paradigm, or organizing principle, for thinking about change in society. Natural history enabled him to speculate on old world European history and make arguments about the American future. . . .

Founding fathers like Jefferson have often been presented without their human failings or limitations. They get the credit for what is good about America. In response, it is easy to blame them for America's problems. Both approaches risk placing too much emphasis on powerful or representative individuals in history. When history is about celebrating or criticizing heroes and villains, it loses much of its power to explain the past, much less how we got from there to here. [pp. iv-vi]

Jefferson divides his work into 23 "Queries." Query XI deals with the "Aborigines." In this Jefferson writes:

Great question has arisen from whence came those aboriginal inhabitants of America. Discoveries, long ago made, were sufficient to show that a passage from Europe to America was always practicable, even to the imperfect navigation of ancient times. In going from Norway to iceland, from Iceland to Greenland, from Greenland to Labrador, the first traject is the widest; and this having been practised from the earliest times of which we have any account of that part of the earth, it is not difficult to suppose that the subsequent trajects may have been sometimes passed. Again, the late discoveries of Captain Cook [between 1771 and 1779], coasting from Kamschatka to California, have proved that, if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow strait. So that from this side also inhabitants may have passed into America; and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the Eastern inhabitants of Asia would induce us to conjecture, that the former are the descendants of the latter, or the latter of the former, excepting indeed the Eskiimaux, who, from the same circumstance of resemblance, and from identity of language, must be derived from the Greenlanders, and these probably from some of the northern parts of the old continent. A knowledge of their several languages would be the moot certain evidence of their derivation which could be produced. In fact, it is the best proof of the affinity of nations which ever can be referred to. . . . It is to be lamented then, very much to be lamented, that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish, without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature the general rudiments at least of the languages they spoke. . . .

But imperfect as is our knowledge of the tongues spoken in America, it suffices to discover the following remarkable fact. Arranging them under the radical ones to which they may be palpably traced, and doing the same by those of the red men of Asia, there will be found probably twenty in America for one in Asia of those radical languages, so called because, if they were ever the same, they have lost all resemblance to one another. A separation into dialects may be the work of a few ages only, but for tow dialects to recede

from one another till they have lost all vestiges of their common origin, must require an immense course of time; perhaps not less than many people give to the age of the earth. A greater number of those radical changes of language having taken place among the red men of America, proves them of greater antiquity than those of Asia. . . . I will reduce within the form of a catalogue all those within and circumjacent to, the United States, whose names and numbers have come to my notice. . . . [Jefferson here lists 84 tribes and their homelands]

Dan Vogel writes:

Jefferson had long been interested in America's antiquities, and in his only published book, he discusses the North American mounds and the discovery of mammoth bones. He was also one of the first to study the mounds by strata and to suggest that the dead were buried at various times rather than all at once after some great war.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

Stuart J. Fiedel writes:

One burial mound in Virginia was investigated by that all-around Enlightenment genius, Thomas Jefferson, in 1784. His aim was to determine whether the burials had all been deposited at once, or in stages. Jefferson's use of excavation to solve a problem rather than hunt for treasure, his careful excavation technique, and his cautious interpretation of the evidence, mark this as the first scientific archaeological research project in the Americas (Jefferson 1801). It was not to be equalled until more than a century had passed. Jefferson tentatively concluded that the Indians' ancestors had raised the mounds and buried their dead in them.

Source: ^Stuart J. Fiedel, *Prehistory of the Americas*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 3

**1790^**     **Jedidiah Morse**     ***The History of America***, in *Two Books. Containing, 1. A General History of*

*America. . . . Extracted from The American Edition of The Encyclopaedia.*

*Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1795.*

In Chapter IX [pp. 102-119] we find the following:

[pp. 102- *Of the Peopling of America--Old and New-Continents supposed to have been formerly joined--At present separated only by a narrow Strait--Conjectures concerning the first Migration to the New Continent--Mr. Pennant's opinion--Customs, &c. common to the eastern Asiatics and the Americans--Brute Creation migrated by the same Route.*

The questions which now present themselves to our notice are, From what part of the Old-World America has, most probably, been peopled?--And how was this peopling accomplished?--

Few questions in the history of mankind have been more agitated than these.--Philosophers, and men of learning and ingenuity, have been speculating upon them, ever since the discovery of the American-Islands, by Christopher Columbus.--But notwithstanding all the labours of Acosta, of Grotius, and of many other writers of eminence, the subject still affords an ample field for the researches of the man of science, and for the fancies of the theorist.

Discoveries, long ago made, inform us, that an intercourse between the Old-Continent and America might be carried on, with facility, from the north-west extremities of Europe and the north-east boundaries of Asia. In the ninth century the Norwegians discovered Greenland, and planted a colony there. . . . By [missionaries] we are informed that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait; that at the bottom of the bay it is highly probable that they are united; that the Esquimaux of America perfectly resemble the Greenlanders, in their aspect, dress, and mode of living; and that a Moravian missionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having visited the country of the Esquimaux, found, to his astonishment, that they spoke the same language with the Greenlanders, and were, in every respect, the same people. The same species of animals, too, are found in the contiguous regions. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, frequent the forests of North-America, as well as those in the north of Europe.

Other discoveries have proved, that if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow strait. From this part of the Old-Continent, also, inhabitants may have passed into the New; and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture that they have a common origin. This is the opinion adopted by Dr. Robertson, in his *History of America*, where we find it accompanied with the following narrative.

[What is quoted here has to do with the Russian discovery voyages of Behring and Tschirikow from Kamtschatka to the American continent and back.]

Morse continues:

[p. 107] . . . From the volcanic disposition, it has been judged probable, not only that there was a separation of the continents at the straits of Behring, but that the whole space from the isles to that small opening had once been occupied by land; and that the fury of the watery element, actuated by that of fire, had, in most remote times, subverted and overwhelmed the tract, and left the islands to serve as monumental fragments.

Without adopting all the fancies of Buffon, there can be no doubt, as the Abbe Clavigero observes, that our planet has been subject to great vicissitudes since the deluge. . . .

[p. 109] . . . In South America, all those who have observed with philosophic eyes the peninsula of Yucatan, do not doubt that that country has once been the bed of the sea . . . In the strait which separates America from Asia many islands are found, which probably were the mountains belonging to that tract of land which we suppose to have been swallowed up by earthquakes . . .



[p. 110] . . . The histories of the Toltecas fix such earthquakes in the year I Tecpatl; but as we know not to what century that belonged; we can form no conjectures of the time that great calamity happened. . . .

. . . observations prove, that in one place the distance between continent and continent is only 39 miles, not (as the author of the *Recherches Philosophiques fur les Americains* would have it) 800 leagues. This narrow strait has also in the middle two islands, which would greatly facilitate migration of the Asiatics into the New-World, supposing that it took place in canoes after the convulsion which rent the two continents asunder. Besides, it may be added, that these straits are, even in the summer, often filled with ice; in winter, often frozen. In either case, mankind might find an easy passage . . .

[p. 111] . . . There appears no reason why the Asiatic North might not be an *Officina virorum* as well as the European. The overteeming country to the east of the Riphoean Mountains must find it necessary to discharge its inhabitants. The first great wave of people was forced forward by the next to it, more restless and more powerful than itself. Successive and new impulses continually arriving, short rest was given to that which spread over a more eastern track; disturbed again and again, it covered fresh regions. At length, reaching the farthest limits of the old world, it found a new one, with ample space to occupy unmolested for ages." . . .

"The inhabitants of the New-World (Mr. Pennant observes), do not consist of the offspring of a single nation: different people, at several periods, arrived there; and it is impossible to say, that any one is now to be found on the original spot of its colonization. It is impossible, with the lights which we have so recently received, to admit that America could receive its inhabitants (at least the bulk of them) from any other place than eastern Asia. . . .

[p. 118] . . . Let it not be objected, that animals bred in a southern climate, after the descent of their parents from the ark, would be unable to bear the frost and snow of the vigorous north, before they reached South-America, the place of their final destination. It must be considered, that the migration must have been the work of ages; that in the course of their progress each generation grew hardened to the climate it had reached; and that, after their arrival in America, they would again be gradually accustomed to warmer and warmer climates, in their removal from north to south, as they had in the reverse, or from South to North [in Asia]. Part of the tigers still inhabit the eternal snows of Ararat, and multitudes of the very same species live, but with exalted rage, beneath the line, in the burning soil of Borneo, or Sumatra; but neither lions or tigers ever migrated into the New-World. . . .

In fine, the conjectures of the learned respecting the vicinity of the Old and New-World are now, by the discoveries of late great navigators, lost in conviction; and, in the place of imaginary hypotheses, the real place of migration is almost incontrovertibly pointed out. Some (from a passage in Plato) have extended over the Atlantic, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the coast of North and South-America, an island equal in size to the continents of Asia and Africa; over which had passed as over a bridge, from the latter, men and animals . . . [However] A mighty sea arose, and, in one day and night, engulfed this stupendous tract, and with it every being which had not completed its migration into America. . . . Not a single custom, common to the natives of Africa and America, to evince a common origin. Of the quadrupeds, the bear, stag, wolf, fox, and weasel, are the only animals found on each continent. . . .

[p. 120] Allusions have often been made by travellers, and others, to some remains in America which appeared to owe their original to a people more intimately acquainted with the arts of life than the savage tribes which inhabited this continent on its first discovery by the Europeans, or than those which are, at present, scattered through various parts of its extent. . . . a fortification . . . has been discovered near the confluence of the rivers Ohio and Maskingum. The remains described, or alluded to [by an author] . . . are characters, or singular marks, which were supposed by some Jesuits, who examined them to be Tartarian. . . . The mounds of earth are supposed, by the author, to have been designed for different purposes: the smaller ones are, evidently, tumuli, or repositories of the dead; and, he thinks, the larger ones, as that at Grave-Creek (a branch of the Ohio); many which are to be seen in Mexico, and in other parts of America, were intended to serve as the bases of temples. . . .

[p. 122] . . . The author's opinion concerning these remains is this; that they owe their original to "the Toltecas, or some other Mexican nation," and that these people were, probably, the descendants of the Danes. The first member of this conjecture appears not improbable, if we consider the similarity of the Mexican mounts and fortifications, described by Torquemada, by the abbe Clavigero, and by other authors, to those of which our author has published an account . . .

**1792<sup>^</sup> Daniel Gookin      *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England: Of Their Several Nations, Numbers, Customs, Manners, Religion and Government, Before the English Planted There.* Boston, 1792.**

This 140-page book begins with Chapter 1 (5 pages) on the basic theories of Indian origins. Daniel Gookin writes the following:

Chapter I: Several Conjectures of their Original

#1. Concerning the original of the Savages, or Indians, in New England, there is nothing of certainty to be concluded. But yet, as I conceive, it may rationally be made out, that all the Indians of America, from the straits of Magellan and its adjacent islands on the south, unto the most northerly part yet discovered, are originally of the same nations or sort of people. Whatever I have read or seen to this purpose, I am the more confirmed therein. I have seen of this people, along the sea coasts and within land, from the degrees of 34 unto 44 of north latitude; and have read of the Indians of Magellanica, Peru, Brasilia, and Florida, and have also seen some of them; and unto my best apprehension, they are all of the same sort of people.

The colour of their skins, the form and shape of their bodies, hair, and eyes, demonstrate this. Their skins are of a tawny colour, not unlike the tawny Moors in Africa; the proportion of their limbs, well formed; it is rare to see a crooked person among them. Their hair is black and harsh, not curling; their eyes, black and dull; though I have seen, but very rarely, a grey-eyed person among them, with brownish hair. But still the difficulty

yet remains, whence all these Americans had their first original, and from which of the sons of Noah they descended, and how they came first into these parts; which is separated so very far from Europe and Africa by the Atlantick ocean, and from a great part of Asia, by Mar del Zur, or the South sea . . .

There are divers opinions about this matter.

First, some conceive that this people are of the race of the ten tribes of Israel, that Salmanasser carried captive out of their own country, A. M. 3277, of which we read in II. Kings, xviii. 9-12; and that God hath, by some means or other, not yet discovered, brought them into America; and herein fulfilled his just threatening against them, of which we may read, II. Kings, xvii. from 6 to the 19 verse; and hath reduced them into such woful blindness and barbarism, as all those Americans are in; yet hath reserved their posterity there; and in his own best time, will fulfil and accomplish his promise, that those *dry bones shall live*, of which we read Ezek. xxxvii. 1-24. A reason given for this is taken from the practice of sundry Americans, especially of those inhabiting Peru and Mexico, who were most populous, and had great cities and wealth; and hence are probably apprehended to be the first possessors of America. Now of these the historians write, that they used circumcision and sacrifices, though oftentimes of human flesh; so did the Israelites sacrifice their sons unto Moloch. II. Kings, xvii. 17. But this opinion, that these people are of the race of the Israelites, doth not greatly obtain. But surely it is not impossible, and perhaps not so improbable, as many learned men think.

#3. Secondly, another apprehension is, that the original of these Americans is from the Tartars, or Scythians, that live in the northeast parts of Asia; which some good geographers conceive is nearly joined unto the north west parts of America, and possibly are one continent, or at least, separated, but by some narrow gulf; and from this beginning have spread themselves into the several parts of the north and south America; and because the southern parts were more fertile, and free from the cold winters incident to the northern regions, hence the southern parts became first planted, and most populous and rich. This opinion gained more credit than the former, because the people of America are not altogether unlike in colour, shape, and manners, unto the Scythian people, and in regard that such a land travel is more feasible and probable, than a voyage by sea so great a distance as is before expressed, from other inhabited places, either in Europe, Asia, or Africa; especially so long since when we hear of no sailing out of sight of land, before the use of the load-stone and compass was found. But if this people be sprung from the Tartarian or Scythian people, as this notion asserts, then it is to me a question, why they did not attend the known practice of that people; who, in all their removes and plantations, take with them their kine, sheep, horses, and camels, and the like tame beasts; which that people keep in great numbers, and drive with them in all their removes. But of these sorts and kinds of beasts used by the Tartars, none were found in America among the Indians. This question or objection is answered by some thus. First, possibly the first people were banished for some notorious offences; and so not permitted to take with them of these tame beasts. Or, secondly, possibly the gulf, or passage, between Asia and America, though narrow, comparatively, is yet too broad to waft over any of those sort of creatures; and yet possibly men and women might pass over it in canoes made of hollow trees, or with barks of trees, wherein, it is known, the Indians will transport themselves, wives, and children, over lakes and gulfs very considerable for breadth. I have known some to pass with like vessels forty miles across an arm of the sea.

#4. But before I pass to another thing, suppose it should be so, that the origination of the Americans came from Asia, by the northwest of America, where the continents are conceived to meet very near, which indeed is an opinion very probable; yet this doth not hinder the truth of the first conjecture, that this people may be of the race of the ten tribes

of Israel; for the king of Assyria who led them captive, as we heard before, transported them into Asia, and placed them in several provinces and cities, as in II. Kings, xvii. 6. Now possibly, in process of time, this people, or at least, some considerable number of them, whose custom and manner it was to keep themselves distinct from the other nations they lived amongst; and did commonly intermarry only with their own people; and also their religion being so different from the heathen, unto whom they were generally an abomination as they were to the Egyptians; and also partly from God's judgment following them for their sins: I say, it is not impossible but a considerable number of them might withdraw themselves; and so pass gradually into the extreme parts of the continent of Asia; and where-ever they came, being disrelished by the heathen, might for their own security, pass further and further, till they found America; which being unpeopled, there they found some rest; and so, in many hundreds of years, spread themselves in America in that thin manner, as they were found there, especially in the northern parts of it; which country is able to contain and accommodate millions of mankind more than were found in it. And for their speech, which is not only different among themselves, but from the Hebrew, that might easily be lost by their often removes, or God's judgment.

#5. A third conjecture of the original of these Indians, is, that some of the tawny Moors of Africa, inhabiting upon the sea coasts, in times of war and contention among themselves, have put off to sea, and been transported over, in such small vessels as those times afforded, unto the south part of America, where the two continents of Africa and America are nearest; and they could not have opportunity or advantage to carry with the small vessels of those times any tame beasts, such as were in that country. Some reasons are given for this notion. First, because the Americans are much like the Moors of Africa. Secondly, the seas between the tropicks are easy to pass, and safe for small vessels; the winds in those parts blowing from the east to the west, and the current setting the same course. Thirdly, because it is most probable, that the inhabitants of America first came into the south parts; where were found the greatest numbers of people, and the most considerable cities and riches.

#6. But these, or any other notions, can amount to no more than rational conjecture; for a certainty of their first extraction cannot be attained; for they being ignorant of letters and records of antiquity, as the Europeans, Africans, and sundry of the Asians, are and have been, hence any true knowledge of their ancestors is utterly lost among them. I have discoursed and questioned about this matter with some of the most judicious of the Indians, but their answers are divers and fabulous. Some of the inland Indians say, that they came from such as inhabit the sea coast. Others say, that there were two young squaws, or women, being at first either swimming or wading in the water; the froth or foam of the water touched their bodies, from whence they became with child; and one of them brought forth a male; and the other, a female child; and then the two women died and left the earth; so their son and daughter were the first progenitors. Other fables and figments are among them touching this thing, which are not worthy to be inserted. These only may suffice to give a taste of their great ignorance touching their original; the full determination whereof must be left until the day, wherein all secret and hidden things shall be manifested to the glory of God.

#7. But this may upon sure grounds be asserted, that they are Adam's posterity, and consequently children of wrath; and hence are not only objects of all christians' pity and compassion, but subjects upon which our faith, prayers, and best endeavours should be put forth, to reduce them from barbarism to civility; but especially to rescue them out of the bondage of Satan, and bring them to salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ; which is the main scope and design of this tractate.

**1792<sup>^</sup> Jeremy Belknap      *A Discourse, Intended to Commemorate the Discovery of America.* Boston, 1792.**

Dan Vogel writes:

Belknap discusses the problems of Indian origins and how the gospel reached America (43-44, 48). He suspends judgment on Indian origins . . . He also describes fortifications in Ohio (44-45).

Source: <sup>^</sup>Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

Dan Vogel writes:

Without concrete proof, theories about Indian origins multiplied. As early as 1792, Jeremy Belknap, Congregational clergyman and founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society, summarized the various theories and debates:

Whence was America peopled? For three centuries this has been a subject of debate among the learned; and it is amazing, to see how national prejudice has become involved with philosophical disquisition, in the attempts which have been made to solve the question. The claims of Hanno the Carthaginian, of Madoc the Welchman, to the seven Bishops of Spain, and the ten tribes of Israel, have had their several advocates; and after all, the claim of the six nations is as well founded as any, that their ancestors sprung like trees out of the soil. The true philosopher will treat them all with indifference, and will suspend his judgment till he has better information than any which has yet appeared.

Source: <sup>^</sup>Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 43-44, 92n80.

This discourse by Jeremy Belknap was "Delivered at the request of the Historical Society in Massachusetts, on the 23d day of October, 1792, being the completion of the third century since that memorable event." Belknap writes:

[pp. 43-46] It is an old observation of Solomon, "He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." This may justly be applied to the enlargement of science which is made by the discovery of America. The field is extended, but difficulties have arisen which are not yet solved. Though we have learned more of the works of creation and providence than was known to preceding ages, yet we find that there is still more behind the curtain.

Among these difficulties we may reckon the question, whence was America peopled? For three centuries this has been a subject of debate among the learned; and it is amusing, to see how national prejudice has become involved with philosophical disquisition, in the attempts which have been made to solve the question. The claims of Hanno the Carthaginian, of Madoc the Welchman, of the seven Bishops of Spain, and the ten tribes of Israel, have had their several advocates; and after all, the claim of the six nations is as well

founded as any, that their ancestors sprung like trees out of the soil. The true philosopher will treat them all with indifference, and will suspend his judgment till he has better information than any which has yet appeared. Since the late discovery of many clusters of islands in the Pacific Ocean, and the near approach of the Asian to the American continent, the difficulty with respect to the population of America, by the human species is lessened; and had this continent been discovered by a scientific people on its western, before it was on its eastern side, perhaps the question would not have been so long nor so warmly agitated. But still the transportation of other animals from the old to the new continent, and the existence of some here which are not known there, is a subject, which remains involved in obscurity.

Before we have solved one difficulty another rises to view. It is not many years since the large bones found in the neighbourhood of the Ohio excited much attention. We had scarcely conjectured to what animal they belonged when a new object was brought forward. *Mounds and fortifications* of a regular construction were discovered in the thickest shades of the American forest, overgrown with trees of immense age, which are supposed to be not the first growth upon the spot since the dereliction of its ancient possessors.

The most obvious mode of solving the difficulty which arose in the curious mind on this occasion was by making inquiry of the natives. But the structures are too ancient for their tradition, their oldest and wisest men know nothing of their original. Indeed the form and materials of these works seem to indicate the existence of a race of men in a stage of improvement superior to those natives of whom we or our fathers have had any knowledge; who had different ideas of convenience and utility; who were more patient of labour, and better acquainted with the art of defence.

That these works were not constructed by any Europeans who have penetrated the American wilderness since the discovery of the continent, appears from various considerations; but most decisively from the trees found growing on them; which by indubitable marks are known to be upwards of three hundred years old. At what remote period these works were erected and by whom; what became of their builders; whether they were driven away or destroyed by a more fierce and savage people, the Goths and Vandals of America; or whether they voluntarily migrated to a distant region; and where that region is, are questions which are present can not be satisfactorily answered. . . .

[pp. 48-50] Let us now turn our attention to another subject of debate, arising from the knowledge of this continent. If the gospel was designed for an universal benefit to mankind, why was it not brought by the Apostles to America, as well as propagated in the several regions of the old continent? To solve this difficulty, it has been alleged that America was known to the ancients; and that it was enlightened by the personal ministry of the Apostles. (See an elaborate Essay on this subject by the late Dr. Samuel Mather) With equal propriety it might be solved, by denying that America was at that time inhabited by any human being, and it might not be impossible to maintain this negative position, against any positive proof which can be adduced to the contrary. But both are attended with difficulties which require more light to unravel than has yet appeared. If America was peopled at that period, perhaps the state of human society was such, that the wise and benevolent Author of christianity saw no prospect of success, to the propagation of his gospel here, without the intervention of more and greater miracles, than were consistent with divine wisdom or the nature of man to permit.

Nearly akin to this, is another difficulty. The native inhabitants of peru, for some centuries before the Spanish invasion, are represented as worshipers of the sun; whose universally benignant influence to the world they thought themselves bound to imitate. (See Garcilasso de la Vega's Royal Commentations of Peru) Accordingly their national character was mild, gentle and humane. They made no offensive wars; and when they repelled the

invasions of their savage neighbours, and conquered them, it was done with a view to reduce them from their native ferocity, under the government of rational and social principles; and to incorporate them with themselves, that they might enjoy the benefits of their own pacific system. Their code of laws, delivered by the founder of their empire, was a work of reason and benevolence, and bore a great resemblance to the divine precepts given by Moses and confirmed by Jesus Christ. In short, they seem to have made the nearest approach to the system of christianity, I mean the moral part of it, of any people who had never been formally instructed in its principles.

It would seem then to human reason, that they were fit objects for an apostolic mission; and, that if the pure, simple, original doctrine of the gospel had been preached to them they would readily have embraced it.

But when we find that these mild and peaceful people were invade by avaricious Spaniards, under a pretence of converting them to the catholic faith; when instead of the meek and humble language of a primitive evangelist, we see a bigoted Friar gravely advancing at the head of a Spanish army, and, in a language unknown to the Peruvians, declaring that their country was given to his nation, by the Pope of Rome, God's only vicar on earth, and commanding them to receive their new mater on pain of death; . . .

**1793**                    **"Consequences of the Discovery of America and the Indians" in *New York Magazine***

**(*Literary Repository*)**, vol. 4, Oct. New York, 1793.

Dan Vogel writes:

This article states that many authors have tried to solve the mystery of the Indians' origin, but nothing certain has been found (582-84)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(137)

**1793**    **Jedidiah Morse**                    ***The American Universal Geography***, 2 vols, Boston, 1793, 1:75.

According to Dan Vogel,

the very discovery of the Indians in the New World had posed theological problems of considerable significance. . . . [Many] wonder[ed] how the New World had been populated after the entire earth had been swept clean by the flood at the time of Noah and what the theological status of that New World population was. . . . Jedidiah Morse, a Congregational pastor in Charlestown, Massachusetts, summed up the controversy in 1793, writing:

[p. 75] Those who call in question the authority of the sacred writings say, the Americans [that is the native Indians] are not descendants from Adam, that he was the father of the Asiatics only, and that God created other men to be the patriarchs of the

Europeans, Africans and Americans. But this is one among the many weak hypotheses of unbelievers, and is wholly unsupported by history.

Note\* According to Vogel, Morse's book went through several editions before 1830 and was listed for sale at Pomeroy Tucker's bookstore in Palmyra under books "for school." (See the *Wayne Sentinel*, 5 May through 7 July 1824.) The book is also listed in the Manchester Library under accession numbers 42 and 43.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 35-44, 48

See the Morse notation for 1824.

**1794 Samuel Williams** *The Natural and Civil History of Vermont.* Walpole, NH, 1794.

Dan Vogel writes:

Williams discusses various theories of Indian origins, including the pre-Adamite theory, but prefers the Tartar theory (187-89). He also believes that all Indians originated from the same place (158). He mentions the discovery of mammoth bones in North America and the Indians' belief that such animals still existed in the western territories (103).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(131)

**1794 George Henry Laskiel** *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in*

*North America.* London, 1794.

Dan Vogel writes:

Laskiel discusses various theories of Indian origins (1-2)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(119)

**1795 James Sullivan** *The History of the District of Main* Boston, 1795.



Dan Vogel writes:

Sullivan discusses various theories of Indian origins and is satisfied with none of them (80). According to Sullivan, Ohio fortifications were built by people from Mexico and Peru because North American Indians did not possess the knowledge to construct them (83).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(128)

**1797^ Benjamin S. Barton *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America*,**

(ASIATIC / MIXED

Philadelphia, 1797.

Justin Winsor writes:

The earliest American with a scientific training to discuss the question [of American Indian origins] was a professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Smith Barton, a man who acquired one of the best reputations in his day among Americans for studies in this and other questions of natural history. His father was an English clergyman settled in America, and his mother a sister of David Rittenhouse. It was while he was a student of medicine in Edinburgh that he first approached the subject of the origin of the Americans, in a little treatise on American Antiquities, which he never completed. (*Observations on some Parts of Nat. Hist.*, Lond., 1787). His *Papers relating to certain American Antiquities* (Philad., 1796) consists of those read to the Amer. Philos. Soc., and printed in their *Transactions* (vol. iv.). They were published as the earnest of his later work on American Antiquities. **He argues against De Pauw, and contends that the Americans are descended--at least some of them--from Asiatic peoples still recognized.** The *Papers* include a letter from Col. Winthrop Sargent, Sept. 8, 1794, describing certain articles found in a mound at Cincinnati, and a letter upon them from Barton to Dr. Priestley. He in the end gave more careful attention to the subject, mainly on its linguistic side, and went farther than any one had gone before him in his *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America* (Philad., 1797; 2d ed., enlarged, 1798).

Jefferson was at that time gathering material in similar studies, but his collections were finally burned in 1801. Barton, in dedicating his treatise to Jefferson, recognized the latter's advance in the same direction. He believed his own gathering of original MS. material to be at that time more extensive than any other student had collected in America. His views had something of the comprehensiveness of his material, and **he could not feel that he could point to any one special source of the indigenous population.**

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 371.

In this book, Benjamin Barton lists and compares North American Indian, Asiatic, and European words. At the end of these lists, on page 80, there is the following "Note":

Hitherto, I have not given a place, in these vocabularies, to the Jews, Chaldeans, Syrians, Arabians, or Assyrians. Yet I have discovered other affinities between their languages and those of the Americans. In a more extensive comparative view of the languages of these nations and those of the people of the new-world, than that which I now offer to the public, it will be proper to examine, with attention, the languages of all the nations of Asia, in particular. All our inquiries seem to favour the opinion, that this great portion of the earth gave birth to the original families of mankind. In what particular part of the continent these families received their birth, we shall, perhaps, never know with absolute certainty. But the active curiosity of man, aided by labour and research, is capable of conducting us very far.

**1799<sup>^</sup> Charles Crawford *An Essay upon the Propagation of the Gospel*, Philadelphia, 1799.**

(NOAH + TEN TRIBES)

Dan Vogel writes:

Crawford believes that America was settled by two major groups: first, by descendants of Noah before the earth was divided in the days of Peleg; later, by the ten tribes (17). He cites evidence of the Indians' Hebrew origins from Adair and Penn (20-23) and urges his fellow Christians to resist conflict with one another and rather concentrate their efforts on civilizing and converting the Indians (40-48).

Source: <sup>^</sup>Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

Charles Crawford writes the following:

It seems to be at this time particularly required of the disciples of Christ, that there should not be a nation, frOm the North to the South pole, without having the Gospel preached to them. . . . The Principal places, however, where the Gospel might at this time be propagated with great prospect of success, are, in India, among the Hindoos, in Africa among the Negroes, and in America among the Indians. . . .

[pp. 16-19] There is a strong argument in favour of the Indians being converted to Christianity, their being descended from the Jews. St. Paul says that "all Israel shall be saved." As this is a subject of great importance, it may be necessary to give it considerable attention.

"Aborigines of America were probably the descendants of Noah, that is, America was first peopled by the sons of Noah, before the division of the globe. The sons of Noah are said to have wandered over the earth. We read in scripture, that the division of the globe

was made in the days of Peleg, who was the seventh from Noah. (See Genesis, X. 25.) The Hebrew word Peleg signifies a division. It is a strong argument in favor of the division of the earth being a fact of great notoriety, that a man of eminence obtained his name from the circumstance. . . .

Carver, in his *Travels*, says, that at Beering's Straits (which are now sometimes called Cook's Straits) the continents of Asia and America, on both sides, appear as if they had formerly been united.

Afterwards, it is probable that America was further peopled by the ten tribes, who were taken captive by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. . . . (2 Kings xvii. 6.) . . . It is said in Esdras (2 Esdras, chap. xiii) which, though it may contain some idle visions, has some truths, that "the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land, took counsel among themselves that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go into a further country." It is said they went into a country called Arsareth, or Ararath, which signifies "the curse of trembling." Sir William Jones, in his account of the Afghans, in the Asiatic Researches, says "they are said by the best Persian historians to be descended from the Jews." he says they have a district called Hazareh or Hazaret, which might easily have been changed into the word used by Esdras.

[pp. 19- ] It is probable that a part of the ten tribes remained in the country where they were carried, near Habor (which is now Tabor), and that the Tartars are their descendants. It is mentioned in Aaron Hill's *Travels*, that the Tartars have a town called Jericho, and that the name of their capital Samar-yah (or Samarcand) is very little different from Samaria. It is said they have a Mount Sion, and a river Yordan; with many pillars, buildings, and reliques of antiquity, which are evidently Jewish monuments. The Tartars boast of their descent from the Jews. Some Moravian ministers who have been at Mount Caucasus, in Tartary, and in North America, say there are people on Caucasus, who speak a language similar to that of some American Indians. The Tartars are divided into tribes, and practice circumcision.

Others of the ten tribes might have continued in the country of Arsareth, and others might have past over from the continent of Asia to that of America, at Beering's or Cook's Straits. It is said in Ledyard's *Account of Captain Cook's Voyage*, that these Straits are but fourteen leagues over; about twice the breadth of the Straits of Dover. It is mentioned in Cook's last Voyage, that there are some islands named Diomedes, about the middle of these Straits, which are alternately visited by the inhabitants of both countries. Many have gone from one continent to the other in open boats.

[p. 20- ] An interesting work was published in London in 1775, entitled "History of the American Indians; particularly those Nations adjoining to the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia. By James Adair, Esq. a Trader with the Indians, and resident in their Country for forty Years."

Mr. Adair endeavours to prove by 23 arguments that some of the Indians are the descendants of the Jews. [The 23 arguments are then listed]

It has been supposed there are many visionary notions in Mr. Adair's work. If we were to grant there are some, we might contend and prove there are many things observed by him, and corroborated by others, which indisputably prove the descent of the Indians from the Jews. the descent in my opinion would be clearly proved, if they could only establish two points, and they can establish many more, the separation of their women at a certain time by the Indians, and their dance in which they sing Hallelujah Yo-he-wah. . . .

The author then quotes from the following authors citing cultural evidence in support of this connection between the Jews and the American Indians: Thorowgood, Grotius, Pancirollus, Arias Montanus, Lerijs, William Penn, David Brainerd, Samuel Hearne, Charlevoix, Jonathan Edwards, Mr. Bartram . . .

Crawford then writes:

[pp. 33-35] Some of the Jews scattered through the world are of the opinion that some of the Indians are the descendants of the ten tribes. There was a learned Jew, the son of a Jewish Rabbi, or a Rabbi himself, who was converted to Christianity, and who preached with some applause in various parts of Great Britain, sometime before the year 1787. About this time he came over to Philadelphia, where the religious people were considerably struck with the decency of his behaviour. He said that many of the Indians in America were the descendants of the ten tribes. He said his design was to go and live among them (he went first among the Chickasaws I believe) to learn their language, that he might teach them the Gospel, and proceed with them in person to Jerusalem; to obtain which he supposed an expedition would soon be entered upon. . . . He died a natural death, it is supposed, some little time after being among the Indians.

It is probable, when the time arrives foretold by the Prophets, that the Jews will be gathered from their dispersion among all nations, many of the Indians will pass over in tribes, at Beering's or Cook's Straits, into Asia. It is said of the Almighty by the Prophet, "For lo, I will command, and I will sift the House of Israel, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth." Amos ix. 9. And Isaiah says, "I will bring thy seed from the East, and gather thee from the West. I will say to the North, Give up; and to the South, Keep not back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth." Chap. xliii. 5 and 6.

The consideration of these prophecies should induce the whole people of America to treat the Indians with as much lenity and forbearance as possible, We reason "from the sure word of prophecy," according to the expression of the Apostle, when we say that all the descendants of the house of israel, among which are many Indians, will be restored to the land of their forefathers. the time is not far distant when this restoration will be effected. Many of the Indians then will voluntarily relinquish their land to the white people. Upon the restoration of the Jews, it is said that the land of their forefathers will be too small to contain them, and that they will with its borders to be enlarged, "for thy waste and thy desolate places, and the land of thy destruction, shall even now be too narrow by reason of the inhabitants." Isaiah xlix. 19.

#### **BRIEF REVIEW OF INDIAN ORIGIN THEORIES FROM 1800-----> 1830**

Alvah Fitzgerald writes the following concerning the period from 1800 to 1830:

The beginning of the nineteenth century found the public mind eager for new and novel ideas of origin of the American Indian.

[MIXED]: A popular writer, Samuel H. Mitchell, published in 1802 the *Archaeology of United States* in which he defended a mixed origin, including Malay, Tartar, and Scandinavian.

[MONGOLOID]: The impressive works of Alexander Humbolt were published in 1816 and the "Asiatic theory got a conservative yet definite advocate." (Winsor, p. 371) John Ranking enthusiastically devoted a whole book in 1827 to the "Conquest of Peru, Mexico, Bogota, Natches and Talomeca in the Thirteenth Century by the Mongols." His analogies, however, are not considered by scholars sufficiently well founded to prove distinctive Mongoloid characteristics in language, customs, and social institutions. These writers with others less noted indicated the growing credence given this theory.

[ISRAELITISH]: Supporters of the Israelitish theory were no less ardent. Dr. Elias Boudinot wrote in 1816, "Their language in their root, idioms, and particular construction appear to have the whole genius of the Hebrews and what is very remarkable has most of the peculiarities of that language, especially those in which it differs from other languages." (Boudinot, 1816) The clergy of the day was pronounced in support of the Hebrew theory, if we may judge by the statements of Ethan Smith, Jedidiah Morse, and J. B. Hyde, all of whom expressed their views about 1825. . . .

[SCIENTIFIC] A number of important events before 1830 indicated future trends of [scholarly] thought regarding the American Indian and prepared the way for later research. . . . The American Antiquarian society was organized in 1812. . . . Following the scholarly attitude of Benjamin Smith Barton, Dr. James Mm. McCulloh published his *Researches on America* at Baltimore in 1816. The book was encyclopedic in nature and summarized existing data and evidence without attempting definite conclusions of origin. (Winsor, p. 372). . . . The Journal of Arts and Sciences was published in 1819 by Stilliman. These movements stimulated wide inquiry and independent thinking on the subject under discussion.

Source: ^H. Alvah Fitzgerald, "Progressive Opinion of the Origin and Antiquity of the American Indian: A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Department of Religious Education," (In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science), Brigham Young University, 1930, pp. 47-50.

**1800^ Bernal Diaz del Castillo *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico: Written in the Year 1568***

*Bernal Diaz del Castillo* (1492-1584) was a 21-year old soldier in the army of Cortez in 1519 when Cortez began his conquest of Mexico. Eventually, Bernal Diaz retired to Guatemala City, where he wrote his most informative book entitled *The Discovery and Conquest of New Spain*. This 478-page book was **written in the year 1568**. It was translated from the original Spanish into English by Maurice Keatinge, the first English **edition being published in London, 1800**. This book is a classic, as it provides a first-hand Spanish account of the Conquest of Mexico (1519-15-21) This history, though rough in its literary style, has remained a standard historical authority on the conquest of Mexico. Diaz died in Nicaragua, about 1593.

**1800- Samuel L. Mitchell    *Archaeology of United States.* Haven. 1800-1802**

Justin Winsor writes, "A conspicuous litterateur of the day, Samuel L. Mitchell, veered somewhat wildly about in his notions of a Malay, Tartar, and Scandinavian origin."

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 371.

**[1803]    Don Ramon de Ordonez y Aguiar    *History of the Creation of the Heavens and the Earth***

*according to the system of the American Gentility. . . .*

*Universal Deluge, Dispersion of Mankind. Manuscript, 1803.*

(The only known edition would be published in Mexico about 1907.)

In their 1850 book, *Ancient America and the Book of Mormon*, Milton R. Hunter and Thomas Stuart Ferguson write the following:

[pp. 27-29] Certain other ancient native accounts from southern Mexico indicate that the earliest artisans of Middle America came from Babel in the Chaldean country. One of the most important was a hieroglyphic manuscript referred to by the Spaniards who knew of it as the *Probanza de Votan*, meaning "Proof [of the genealogy] of Votan." As late as the eighteenth century, it was in the hands of Nunez de la Vega, a Catholic priest who had been Bishop in Chiapas in southern Mexico before publishing in Rome in 1702 his *Constituciones Diocesanas del Obispado de Chiappa*. In the latter work he refers to one of the earliest traditional colonizers, Votan, as follows:

Votan is the third gentile placed on the calendar [of the Tzendal Mayas] and in the historical manuscript [Probanza de Votan] written in the Indian language are mentioned stops and towns where he was . . . and he is said to have seen the great wall, which is the Tower of Babel, which by the command of Noah, his grandfather, was made from the earth to the sky, and who was the first man God sent to divide and distribute this land of the Indies, and there were he say the great wall, was given to each nation its different language. (Translated from Nunez de la Vega, *Constituciones Diocesanas del Obispado de Chiappa*, written in 1692, published in Rome in 1702, Preamble, Paragraph 34 Sec. 30, p. 9)

The hieroglyphic manuscript of Votan has been lost. Perhaps it was a victim of the ignorance that was responsible for many such tragic literary losses during the Spanish Inquisition. At any rate it disappeared, as did the most complete work compiled directly from it, the historical writings of Don Ramon de Ordonez y Aguiar. Ordonez was a resident priest in the town Ciudad Real in Chiapas, one of the southernmost states of Mexico. Don Ramon wrote a two-volume work, the first on the history and the second on the religion of the ancients of the Chiapas region. About the year 1803, he sent his manuscript to Spain to

be printed. He never saw it again and died not knowing what had become of it. It is possible that it was suppressed. (D. Charles Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Lettres Pour Servir d'Introduction a L'Histoire Primitive des Nations.* ) [See also Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i. ?] However, the first portion which deals with the religion of the ancient Americans has survived in Mexico, apparently from a duplicate of the original which went to Spain. Thus, the title of his two-volume work has been preserved and from it we see that, working from the *Probanza de Votan*, Don Ramon tells of the earliest emigrants coming across the ocean from Babylon after the building of the Tower of Babel. The title of his works, translated from the Spanish [1907 edition], reads:

"History of the Creation of the  
Heavens and the Earth  
according to the system of the American Gentility  
Theology of the Serpents  
represented in ingenious hieroglyphs, symbols,  
emblems and metaphors,  
Universal Deluge, Dispersion of Mankind

*True origin of the Indians: their departure from Chaldea: their immigration to these southern parts: their crossing the ocean, and the defeat which followed, until their arrival in Mexico*

Beginning of their empire, foundation and destruction of their ancient and first court, discovered recently, and known by the name city of Palenque.\*

(Hunter & Ferguson Note\* "Palenque is an existing community in the state of Chiapas, Mexico. A great ruined city of the ancient Mayas is located near the village. The native accounts clearly indicated that somewhere in the general vicinity of Palenque was located the great capital center of the second Toltecas settlers, *Tullani or Tula*, "Bountiful" or "Bountiful plant-land" However, it is not likely that the Palenque ruins visible today are to be identified with either Jaredites or Nephites for the standing monuments date from the seventh century A.D. Ordonez y Aguiar was in error in locating the first colonizers from the Near East in the Palenque area. However, see the discussion on page ---.)

Superstitious worship with which the ancient Palencans worshiped the true God, pictured in those symbols and emblems, which placed in the altars of their temples, lately degenerated into abominable idols.

Books, all of the most venerable antiquity; some taken from the forgotten past; others recently discovered: and their symbols, emblems and metaphors interpreted according to the genuine meaning of American phraseology.\* (Translated from the only known edition, one published in Mexico about 1907.)

An effort has recently been made to locate the manuscript of Ordonez y Aguiar. correspondence with the Vatican in Rome, with the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain, and with the Manuscripts Section, National Library, Mexico, has resulted negatively.

Ordenez y Aguiar apparently feared that the information he was setting forth from the *Probanza de Votan* might be suppressed. In his introduction to the portion of his writings which survived he attempted to prepare the way and justify publication of his material. He stated that there was a basis for suppressing the information in 1700 A.D.. in the day of Nunez de la Vega, when the natives were being "converted" from their ancient religion. But, he says, writing in about 1800, ". . . the Indians are no longer capable of understanding the errors of their paganism . . . and it would not be fair or just to deprive the scholars any longer of the rare and wonderful antiquities of which both sacred and profane American history abound, there being no reason whatever for withholding them." (Don Ramon Ordenez y Aguiar, *Historia de la Creacion del Cielo y de la Tierra . . .* (Mexico), p. 15, translated from the Spanish.) Unfortunately, the *Probanza de Votan* is still not available, nor are the historical writings of the priest who understood that hieroglyphic document and who wrote a volume concerning the data therein.

Source: Milton R. Hunter and Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *Ancient America and the Book of Mormon*. Oakland, California: Kolob Book Company, 1950.

**1803 James Madison (Essay)**

Dan Vogel writes that in 1803 the Reverend James Madison of Virginia published an essay in which he questioned the idea that the Moundbuilders represented a separate race from the Indians which were now inhabiting those areas of North America. He reasoned that the Indians had built the earth works. Another Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, had demonstrated that the mounds contained the remains of those who had been buried over a period of time rather than the single mass burial of those killed in battle. [see the 1788 notation]

Source: Robert Silverberg, *Mound Builders of Ancient America: The Archaeology of a Myth* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1968), pp. 42-49 as noted in Dan Vogel, in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 68-69, 100.

**1804 C[onstantin] F[rancois] Volney *View of the Climate and Soil of the United States of America.***

London, 1804; Philadelphia, 1804.

Dan Vogel writes:

Volney includes his essay, "General Observations on the Indians or Savages of North America." (393-491), which argue Indian skin color is the result of climatic and environmental conditions (394, 405-7). He mentions the Tartar theory of Indian origins (408) but unlike most other Indian observers, rejects the idea that all Indians look the same



(411). He believes that Adair distorted and misrepresented Indian customs and language in order to prove his Indian-Israelite theory (403). He also describes the mounds and fortifications of North America as inferior to those of Mexico (485-87)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(129)

**1804 Alexander [Von] Humboldt *Researches Concerning the Institutions and Movements of the***

***Ancient Inhabitants of America.* London, 1804**

See the 1815 and 1833 notation.

These volumes were quite extensive but on pages 103-104 of an 1833 condensed edition, we find the following:

The natives of America may be divided into two great classes. To the first belong the Esquimaux of Greenland, Labrador, and Hudson's Bay, and the inhabitants of Behring's Straits, Alaska, and Prince William's Sound. The eastern and western branches of this great family, the Esquimaux proper and the Tschougtagas, are united by the most intimate similarity of language, although separated to the immense distance of eight hundred leagues. The inhabitants of the north-east of Asia are evidently of the same stock. Like the Malays, this hyperborean nation resides only on the seacoast. They are of smaller stature than the other Americans, lively and loquacious. Their hair is straight and black; but their skin is originally white, in which respect they essentially differ from the other class.

The second race is dispersed over the various regions of the continent, from the northern parts to the southern extremity. They are of larger size, more warlike, and more taciturn, and differ in the colour of their skin. At the earliest age it has more or less of a coppery tinge in most of the tribes, while in others the children are fair, or nearly so; and certain tribes on the Orinoco preserve the same complexion during their whole life. Humboldt is of opinion that these differences in colour are but slightly influenced by climate or other external circumstances, and endeavours to impress the idea that they depend on the original constitution.

Source: ^*The Travels and Researches of Alexander Von Humboldt: Being a Condensed Narrative of His Journeys in the Equinoctial Regions of America . . .* By W. Macgillivray, A.M., New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833.

Humboldt links the mortar used by the Incas with that found on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates river in Mesopotamia. He writes:

We do not find in the ruins of Cannar those stones of enormous size, which we see in the Peruvian edifices of Cuzco and the neighboring countries. Acosta measured some at

Traquanaco, which were twelve metres, (thirty-eight feet) long, five metres eight tenths (eighteen feet) broad, and one metre nine tenths (six feet) thick. Pedro Cieca of Leon saw some of the same dimensions in the ruins of Tiahuanaco. In the citadel of Cannar I saw no stones that exceeded twenty-six decimetres (eight feet) in length. They are in general much less remarkable for their bulk, than the extreme beauty of their shape; the greater part are joined without any appearance of cement. We nevertheless recognized cement in some of the buildings surrounding the citadel, and in the three houses of the Inca at Pullal, each of which is more than fifty-eight metres long. This cement is formed of a mixture of small stones and argillaceous marl, which effervesces with acids; it is a true mortar, of which I detached considerable portions with a knife, by digging into the interstices which were left between the parallel courses of the stones. This fact deserves some attention; because the travellers who preceded us have all asserted, that the Peruvians were unacquainted with the use of mortar in the great edifices of Pacaritambo, but made of a cement of asphalt (betun); a mode of construction, which on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris may be traced back to the remotest antiquity.

Justin Winsor writes:

During the early years of the [19th] century old theories and new were abundant. The powerful intellect and vast knowledge of Alexander von Humboldt were applied to the problem [of Indian origins] as he found it in Middle America. He announced some views on the primitive peoples in 1806, in the *Neue Berlinische Monatsschrift* (vol. xv.); but his ripened opinions found record in his *Vues de Cordilleres et monumens des peuples indigenes de l'Amerique* (Paris, 1816), and the Asiatic theory got a conservative yet definitive advocate. [See the 1814 and 1815 notations.]

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 371.

**1805** Edward Easy ed. *Companion and Weekly Miscellany*, vol. 1, Feb. 1805, Baltimore.

Dan Vogel writes:

The February 1805 issue connects the Indians with the Tartars of Asia who supposedly invaded America and destroyed the mound builders (133-34)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(136)

**1805 Abraham Rees      *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and***

***Literature.*** 41 vols. Philadelphia, [1805-25]

Dan Vogel writes:

According to the entry titled "America," neither Phoenicians, Carthaginians, nor Chinese came to ancient America, although Icelanders may have. The horse and the ox did not exist in America before the Spanish, but the American bison may have been used in tillage. The discovery of mammoth bones in both North and South America is also noted.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

NOTE\* THIS COMPLETE COLLECTION IS ON MICROFICHE BUT THERE ARE 358 OF THEM!!! COVERING ABOUT 35,000 PAGES. BYU microfiche number: 080 Sh64a no. 9234

Note\* See the 1817 McCulloh notation which quotes a number of the articles in this "Cyclopaedia."

**1806 Francisco Javier Clavijero      *Ancient History of Mexico*, Charles Cullen, trans.,**  
3 vols. Richmond, Virginia: William Prichard, 1806. Philadelphia:  
Thomas Dobson, 1817, 3:93-102..

David Palmer writes:

Francisco Javier Clavijero (1731-1787) was the most successful of the early Mexican historians in terms of publication. He was born in Veracruz, Mexico, and as a Catholic monk learned Nahuatl, Otomi (?), and Mixteca, the native Mexican languages. He had early access to the library of Siguenza y Gongora, so was well acquainted with the manuscript of Ixtlilxochitl. . . .

Siguenza y Gongora (1645-1700) is practically a forgotten figure among Mexican historians, despite his great efforts to preserve Mexican history. He spent a fortune collecting manuscripts and ancient codices including those of Ixtlilxochitl. He wrote a great deal of ancient Mexican history, including the preaching of the life God, Quetzalcoatl. When he died, however, his manuscripts were lost by his heirs before being published. The historian Mariano Veytia says, "At his death it seems as if a surprise attack upon his papers had been sounded and everyone got possession of what he could." A few years later no trace could be found of his Quetzalcoatl manuscript, reportedly titled "Fenix del Occidente."  
. . .

[Clavijero] went to Italy in 1767 and did his writing in Bologna. His works were translated from Spanish for publication in Italian, and comprise the first comprehensive history of Mexico. It has subsequently been printed in many editions. Of primary interest

are the English editions. These were printed in London in 1887, in Richmond, Virginia in 1806, and in Philadelphia in 1817. The book mentions an eclipse in 34 A.D., but aside from that Clavigero chose to ignore the period covered by the Book of Mormon, preferring instead to concentrate on descriptions of flora, fauna, customs, and later history, even though he had information on the early history available to him.

Source: ^David A. Palmer, "A Survey of Pre-1830 Historical Sources Relating to the Book of Mormon," reprinted from *BYU Studies* 17, 1 (1976): 102-103.

Dan Vogel notes:

[Clavigero] mentions that "those who question the authority of the sacred writings say the Americans derive not their origin from Adam and Noah" and goes on to argue that the Mexican tradition of a flood was proof that the Americans were descendants of Noah. . . .  
. **Josiah Priest quoted from Clavigero in *The Wonders of Nature and Providence, Displayed (Albany, 1825), 569-93.*** Priest's book was listed in the Manchester Library under accession number 208.

Source: Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 35-44, 48

Abbe D. Francesco Saverio Clavigero writes in Volume 1 concerning first the variety of theories proposed by the writers on Indian origins, and second concerning the lack of certainty in the methods of their investigation:

[p. 31] . . . If in enumerating the writers on Mexico, we meant to display our erudition, we could add a long catalogue of French, English, Italian, Dutch, Flemish, and German writers, who have written either designedly, or accidentally, on the ancient history of that kingdom; but after having read many of them, to obtain assistance to this work, I found none who were of service except the two Italians, Gemelli and Boturini, who having been in Mexico, and procured from the Mexicans many of their paintings, and particular intelligence concerning their antiquity, have contributed in some measure to illustrate their history.

[p. 116] Whatever may be in these things mentioned by Boturini, upon which I leave the prudent reader to form his own judgment, there cannot be a doubt, with those who have studied the history of that people, that the Toltecas had a clear and distinct knowledge of the universal deluge, of the confusion of tongues, and of the dispersion of the people; and even pretended to give the names of their first ancestors who were divided from the rest of the families upon that universal dispersion. It is equally certain, as we shall show in another place, however incredible it may appear to the critics of Europe, who are accustomed to look upon the Americans as all equally barbarous, that the Mexicans and all the other civilized nations of Anahuac regulated their civil year according to the solar, by means of the intercalary days, in the same manner as the Romans did after the Julian arrangement; and that this accuracy was owing to the skill of the Toltecas. Their religion was idolatrous, and they appear by their history to have been the inventors of the greatest part of the mythology of the Mexicans, but we do not know that they practised those barbarous and bloody sacrifices which became afterwards so common among the other nations.

[p. 141] The Chiapanese have been the first peoplers of the New World, if we give credit to their traditions. They say that Votan, the grandson of that respectable old man who built the great ark to save himself and family from the deluge, and one of those who undertook the building of that lofty edifice which was to reach heaven, went, by express command of the Lord, to people that land. They say also that the first peoplers came from the quarter of the North, and that when they arrived at Soconusco, they separated, some going to inhabit the country of Nicaragua, and others remaining in Chiapan.

In Volume 3, Section 1 (pp. 89-102) we find the following:

*At What Period America Began to Be Peopled*

Betancourt, and other authors, are persuaded, that the new world began to be peopled before the deluge. That certainly might have happened, because the space of one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years elapsed from the creation of the first man until the deluge, according to the chronology of the Hebrew text of Genesis, and our common reckoning; and still more, the space of two thousand two hundred and forty-two, or two thousand two hundred and sixty-two years, according to the computation of the Seventy, was certainly enough to people all the world, as has been already demonstrated by some writers; at least after ten or twelve centuries, some of those families which scattered themselves towards the most eastern parts of Asia, might pass to that part of the world which we call at present America, whether it was, as we believe, united to the other, or separated by a small arm of the sea from it. But how do those authors prove that America was peopled before the deluge? Because they say there were giants in America, and the race of giants was antediluvian. Because God, others will say, did not create the earth to remain uninhabited; and it is not probable that, after creating America for that purpose, he would leave it so long without inhabitants. Admitting the sacred text to be taken in the vulgar sense, and that the giants were men of extraordinary size and bigness, this would by no means confirm such opinion, because we read in the sacred writings also of giants posterior to the deluge. Neither does the text of Isaiah prove anything in favor of that opinion, because although God created the earth to be inhabited, no one can divine the time prefixed by him for the execution of his designs. . . .

It is therefore useless to investigate whether America was peopled before the deluge, because on one hand although we were able to discover it, on the other we are certain, that all men perished in the deluge. We are therefore obliged always, after that general inundation, to seek for new peoplers of America. We know that some writers circumscribe the deluge to a certain part of Asia; but we know also that that opinion is contrary to the Sacred Writings, to the traditions of the Americans, and physical observations.

Dr. Siguenza believed the population of America began not long after the dispersion of nations. As we have not the manuscripts of that celebrated Mexican, we are ignorant of what foundation he rested his opinion, which was very conformable to the tradition of the Chiapanese. Other authors, on the contrary, believe that population very modern, because the writers of the history of the Mexicans and Peruvians did not find among those nations any memory of their particular events farther back than eight centuries. But those authors confound the population of Mexico made by the Chichimecas and the Aztecas, with that which their ancestors had made many ages before in the northern countries of America, nor distinguished the Mexicans from other nations who occupied that country before them. Who can ascertain when the Otomies, Olmecas, Cuitlatecas, and Michauacanese entered into the country of Anahuac? It is not surprising that some writers of Mexico could not find any memorials more ancient than eight centuries; since, besides the loss of the greater part of the historical monuments of those nations, as they did not know how to adjust the Mexican

years with ours, they frequently committed gross anachronisms; but they who had procured greater abundance of the ancient and select paintings, and knew a little better how to trace the chronology of those people, such as Siguenza and Ixtlilxochitl, found records certainly more ancient, and used them in their valuable manuscripts.

We do not doubt that the population of America has been very ancient, and more so than it may seem to have been to European authors. (1) because the Americans wanted those arts and inventions, such, for example, as those of wax and oil for light, which, on the one hand, being very ancient in Europe and Asia, are on the other most useful, not to say necessary, and when once discovered, are never forgotten. (2) Because the polished nations of the new world, and particularly those of Mexico, preserve in their traditions, and in their paintings the memory of the creation of the world, the building of the tower of Babel, the confusion of languages, and the dispersion of the people, though blended with some fables, and had no knowledge of the events which happened afterwards in Asia, in Africa, or in Europe, although many of them were so great and remarkable, that they could not easily have gone from their memories. (3) Because neither was there among the Americans any knowledge of the people of the old continent, nor among the latter any account of the passage of the former to the new world. These reasons, we presume, give some probability to our opinions.

## Sect. II

### *Who Were the Peoplers of America*

Those who question the authority of the sacred writings say the Americans derive not their origin from Adam and Noah, and believe, or feign to believe, that as God created Adam that he might be the father of the Asiatics, also made before or after him other men, that they might be the patriarchs of the Africans, Europeans, and Americans. This does not arraign the authority of the sacred writings, says a modern author, because although Moses makes mention of no other first patriarch than Adam, it was owing to his having undertaken to write the history of no other people than the Israelites. But this is contrary to the tradition of the Americans, who in their paintings and in their hymns called themselves the descendants of those men who escaped from the general deluge. The Toltecas, Mexicans, Tlascalans, and all the other nations were agreed on this point. They all said that their ancestors came from elsewhere into those countries; they pointed out the road they had come, and even preserved the names, true or false, of those their first progenitors, who, after the confusion of languages, separated from the rest of men.

F. Nunez de la Vega, bishop of Chiapa, says, in the preface of his Synodal Constitutions, that in the visit which he made to his diocess towards the end of the last century, he found many ancient calendars of the Chiapanese, and an old manuscript in the language of that country, made by the Indians themselves, in which it was said, according to their ancient tradition, that a certain person named Votan, was present at that great building, which was made by order of his uncle, in order to mount up to heaven; that then every people was given its language, and that Votan himself was charged by God to make the division of the lands of Anahuac. The prelate adds afterwards, that there was in his time in Teopixca, a great settlement of that diocess, a family of the surname of Votan, who were the reputed descendants of that ancient populator. We are not here endeavouring to give antiquity to the populator of America on the faith of the Chiapanese, but merely to show that the Americans conceived themselves the descendants of Noah.

Of the ancient Indians of Cuba several historians of America relate, that when they were interrogated by the Spaniards concerning their origin, they answered, they had heard from their ancestors that God created the heavens, the earth, and all things; that an old man,

having foreseen the deluge with which God designed to chastise the sins of men, built a large canoe, and embarked in it with his family, and many animals; that when the inundation ceased, he sent out a raven, which, because it found carrion to feed on, never returned to the canoe; that he then sent out a pigeon, which soon returned bearing a branch of Hoba, a certain fruit of America, in its mouth; that when the old man saw the earth was dry he disembarked, and having made himself some wine of the woo-grape, he became intoxicated and fell asleep; that then one of his sons made ridicule of his nakedness, and that another son piously covered him; that, upon waking he blessed the latter, and cursed the former. Lastly, that they drew their origin from the cursed son, and therefore went almost naked; that the Spaniards as they were well clothed, descended perhaps from the other.

The Mexicans used to call Noah Coxcox, and Teocipactli; and the Michuacene, Tezpi. They used to say, that there was once a great deluge, and that Tezpi, in order to save himself from being drowned, embarked in a ship formed like an ark, with his wife, his children, and many different animals, and several seeds of fruits; and that as the water abated, he sent out that bird which bears the name of aura, which remained eating dead bodies, and then sent out other birds, who did not return either, except that little bird (the flower-sucker) which was much prized by them on account of the variety of the colours of its feathers, that brought a small branch with it; and from this family they all believed they drew their origin. If therefore we refer to the sacred writings, or the traditions of those Americans, we must seek for the peoplers of America among the descendants of Noah.

But who were they? Which of the sons of Noah was the root of the American nations? D. Siguenza, and the very ingenious Mexican Sister J. Agnes de la Cruz, believed or conjectured, that the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, were the descendants of Naphtuhim, son of Mezraim; and nephew of Cham. Boturini was of opinion, that they descended not only from Naphtuhim, but likewise from his other five brothers. The learned Spaniard Arias Montano was persuaded that the Americans, and particularly the Peruvians, belonged to the posterity of Ophir, fourth son of Shem. The reasons of this author are so weak that they do not merit mention. Of those of Siguenza we shall speak presently.

The other authors, who have not been willing to carry their inquiries so far into antiquity, have sought for the origin of the Americans in different countries of the world. Their opinions are so numerous and different, it is not easy to recite them. Some think they find the ancestors of the Americans in Asia, others trace them in Africa, and others from Europe. Among those who imagine they have found them in Europe, some have supposed their ancestors the Grecians, others the Romans, others the Spaniards, others the Irish, others the Courlanders, and some the Russians. Among those who report them originally from Africa, some make them the descendants of the Egyptians, some of the Carthaginians, and some of the Munidians. But there is not where greater variety of sentiment than among those who believe the population of America due to Asia. The Israelites, the Canaanites, the Assyrians, the Phoenicians, the Persians, the Tartars, the East Indians, the Chinese, the Japanese, all have their advocates among the historians and philosophers of the two last centuries. Some, however, not content to look for the populators in the known countries of the world, draw the famous isle Atlantida out of the waters of the ocean, to send colonies from it to America. But this is not extraordinary; since there are authors who, in order to do wrong to no people, believe the Americans the descendants of all the nations of the world.

So great a variety and extravagance of opinion is owing to a persuasion, that to make one nation be believed to have sprung from another, no more is necessary than to find some affinity in the words of their languages, and some similarity in their rites, customs, and manners. Such are the foundations of the above mentioned opinions, collected and illustrated with a great show of erudition, by the Dominican Garcia, and those learned

Spaniards who reprinted his work with additions: which those who please may consult, as we have no time to refute them.

We cannot, however, dispense with the mention of the opinions of D. Siguenza, adopted also by the famous bishop F. P. Daniel Huet, as it appears to us to be the best founded. Siguenza was persuaded, that the nations which peopled the Mexican empire belonged to the posterity of Naphtuhim, and that their ancestors, having left Egypt not long after the confusion of tongues, travelled towards America. The reasons on which he grounds this opinion are mentioned only in the Bibliotheca Mexicana. As we are deprived of his excellent manuscripts, we can only cite them, as Eguiara did, in the Bibliotheca above mentioned.

Those reasons, from what appears, are first, the conformity of those American nations with the Egyptians in the construction of pyramidal edifices, and the use of hieroglyphics in the method of computing time, in their dress, and in some of their customs; and lastly, the resemblance of the word Teotl of the Mexicans to the Theuth of the Egyptians, which occasioned bishop Huet to adopt the same sentiment with Siguenza. If this opinion is proposed as a conjecture, we shall not contradict it; but if it is offered as a truth on which we are to depend, the proofs do not appear sufficient.

Siguenza conceived that the children of Naphtuhim set out from Egypt towards America not long after the confusion of tongues; it would therefore be necessary to make the comparison of the customs of the Americans with those of the first Egyptians, not of their descendants who dwelt in Egypt many years after, and from whom the Americans are not believed to be descended. But who can imagine that the Egyptians, immediately after the dispersion of the people, began to build pyramids, and make use of hieroglyphics, and that from thenceforward they ordered and arranged their years and months in the form they had afterwards? All those things were certainly posterior to that epoch, nor was it necessary to have seen the pyramids of Egypt to make the Americans think of building such kind of edifices; for the mountains alone were sufficient to suggest them: whoever desire to build an edifice to immortalize his name, will easily think of making it in the form of a pyramid; because no other fort or building can be raised to the same height with so little expense and trouble, as the higher it rises the fewer materials in proportion are required. Besides, the Mexican edifices were entirely different from those of Egypt. The latter were truly pyramidal, the former not; they were composed of three, four, or five square or oblong bodies, of which the higher was less in amplitude than the lower; those of the Egyptians were in general hollow, those of the Mexicans solid; these served for the basis of their sanctuaries, those for the sepulchres of their kings. The temples of the Mexicans and other nations of Anahuac were of a species so singular, that we do not know they were ever used by any other people of the world; on which account the ought to be considered as an original invention of the Toltecas or some other people more ancient than them.

In the mode of computing time, the Mexicans were much more similar to the Egyptians; that is, of the later Egyptians, not of the former, of whose method we know nothing. . . .

The Mexicans, like the Egyptians, employed hieroglyphs; but how many other nations have done the same to conceal the mysteries of their religions; and if the Mexicans learned hieroglyphics from the Egyptians, why had they not also the use of letters from them? Because letters, it may be said, were invented after their separation; but how is it known that before they separated they had made the invention of hieroglyphics? . . .

. . . Lastly, we do not pretend to demonstrate the opinion of Siguenza to be false, but only to show that it is not a truth upon which we can safely rely.

The extravagant M. de P. says, that the Mexicans derive their origin from the southern Apalachites; but he neither does nor can offer any reason to make such a supposition



probable; . . . It is true, that author finds little difficulty, as he sometimes gives us to understand that he is not unfavourable to the romantic system of La Peyrere.

With respect to the opinion we have ventured to form ourselves, we shall explain it in the following conclusions.

I. The Americans descended from different nations, or from different families, dispersed after the confusion of tongues. No person will doubt of the truth of this, who has any knowledge of the multitude and great diversity of the American languages. In Mexico we have already found thirty-five; in South American there are still more known. . . . We can safely affirm, that there are no living or dead languages which can differ more among each other than the languages of the Mexicans, Otomies, Tarascas, Mayas, and Miztecas . . . It would therefore be absurd to say, that languages so different were different dialects of one original. How is it possible a nation should alter its primitive language to such a degree, or multiply its dialects so variously, that there should not be, even after many centuries, if not some words common to all, at least an affinity between them, or some traces left of their origin?

Who can ever believe what we read in the history of Acosta? . . . This allegory by which the Mexicans signified that all those nations drew their origin from one common stock, was made a fable of by the above mentioned authors, from ignorance of its meaning.

II. The Americans do not derive their origin from any people now existing in the ancient world, or at least there are no grounds to affirm it. This inference is founded on the same argument with the preceding, since if the Americans descended of any of those people, it would be possible to trace their origin by some marks in their languages in spite of the antiquity of their separation; but any such traces have not been discovered hitherto, although many authors have searched with the utmost attention, as appears from the work of the Dominican Garcia. We have leisurely compared the Mexican and other American languages with many others which are now living, and with those which are dead, but have not been able to discover the least affinity between any of them. . . .

If the Americans descended from different families dispersed after the confusion of tongues, as we believe, and have been separated since then from those others who peopled the countries of the old continent, authors will labour in vain, to seek in the language or customs of the Asiatics for the origin of the people of the new world.

Source: Fitzgerald, pp. 56-73.

**1809^**      **Washington Irving**      ***A History of New York . . .*** , 2 vols. New York, 1809.  
Reprint

Washington Irving became popular by looking at history in a critical but humorous manner. In his *History of New York* he reviewed the various theories on Indian origins. In Book I, Chapter III, we find the following:

[pp. 33-35] Noah, we are told by sundry very credible historians, becoming sole surviving heir and proprietor of the earth, in fee simple, after the deluge, like a good father, portioned out his estate among his children. To Shem he gave Asia; to Ham, Africa; and to Japhet, Europe. Now it is a thousand times to be lamented that he had but three sons, for

had there been a fourth, he would doubtless have inherited America; which, of course, would have been dragged forth from its obscurity on the occasion; and thus many a hard-working historian and philosopher would have been spared a prodigious mass of weary conjecture respecting the first discovery and population of this country. Noah, however, having provide for his three sons, looked in all probability upon our country as mere wild unsettled land, and said nothing about it; and tot his unpardonable taciturnity of the patriarch may we ascribe the misfortune, that America did not come into the world as early as the other quarters of the globe.

It is true, some writers have vindicated him from this misconduct towards posterity, and asserted that he really did discover America. Thus it was the opinion of Mark Lescarbot, a French writer, possessed of that ponderosity of thought, and profoundness of reflection, so peculiar to his nation, that the immediate descendants of Noah peopled this quarter of the globe, and that the old patriarch himself, who still retained a passion for the sea-faring life, superintended the transmigration. The pious and enlightened father, Charlevoix, a French Jesuit, remarkable for his aversion to the marvellous, common to all great travelers, is conclusively of the same opinion; nay, he goes still farther, and decides upon the manner in which the discovery was effected, which was by sea, and under the immediate direction of the great Noah. "I have already observed," exclaims the good father, in a tone of becoming indignation, "that it is an arbitrary supposition that the grandchildren of Noah were not able to penetrate into the new world, or that they never thought of it. In effect, I can see o reason that can justify such a notion. Who can seriously believe, that Noah and his immediate descendants knew less than we do, and that the builder and pilot of the greatest ship that ever was, a ship which was formed to traverse an unbounded ocean, and had so many shoals and quicksands to guard against, should be ignorant of, or should not have communicated to his descendants the art of sailing on the ocean?" Therefore, they did sail on the ocean--therefore, they sailed to America--Therefore, America was discovered by Noah!

Now all this exquisite chain of reasoning, which is so strikingly characteristic of the good father, being addressed to the faith, rather than the understanding, is flatly opposed by Hans de Laet, who declares it a real and most ridiculous paradox, to suppose that Noah ever entertained the thought of discovering America; and as Hans is a Dutch writer, I am inclined to believe he must have been much better acquainted with the worthy crew of the ark than his competitors, and of course possessed of more accurate sources of information. It is astonishing how intimate historians do daily become with the patriarchs and other great men of antiquity. As intimacy improves with time, and as the learned are particularly inquisitive and familiar in their acquaintance with the ancients, I should not be surprised if some future writers should gravely give us a picture of men and manners as they existed before the flood, far more copious and accurate than the bible; and that, in the course of another century, the log-book of the good Noah should be as current among historians, as the voyages of Captain Cook, or the renowned history of Robinson Cruse.

I shall not occupy my time by discussing the huge mass of additional suppositions, conjectures and probabilities respecting the first discovery of this country, with which unhappy historians overload themselves, in their endeavors to satisfy the doubts of an incredulous world. it is painful to see these laborious wights panting, and toiling, and sweating under an enormous burthen, at the very outset of their works, which, on being opened, turns out to be nothing but a mighty bundle of straw. As, however, by unwearied assiduity, they seem to have established the fact, to the satisfaction of all the world, that this country *has been discovered*, I shall avail myself of their useful labors to be extremely brief upon this point.

I shall not, therefore, stop to inquire, whether America was first discovered by a wandering vessel of that celebrated Phoenician fleet, which, according to Herodotus, circumnavigated Africa; or by that Carthaginian expedition, which Pliny, the naturalist informs us, discovered the Canary Islands; or whether it was settled by a temporary colony from Tyre, as hinted by Aristotle and Seneca. I shall neither inquire whether it was first discovered by the Chinese, as Vossius with great shrewdness advances; nor by the Norwegians in 1002, under Bjorn; nor by Behem, the German navigator, as Mr. Otto has endeavored to prove to the savans of the learned city of Philadelphia.

Nor shall I investigate the more modern claims of the Welsh, founded on the voyage of Prince Madoc in the eleventh century, who having never returned, it has since been wisely concluded that he must have gone to America, and that for the plain reason--if he did not go there, where else could he have gone?--a question which most socratically shuts out all farther dispute. . . .

On pages 36-40 we find the following:

#### Chapter IV

*Showing the great difficulty philosophers have had in peopling America--And how the aborigines came to be begotten by accident--To the great relief and satisfaction of the author*

The next inquiry at which we arrive in the regular course of our history is to ascertain, if possible, how this country was originally peopled--a point fruitful of incredible embarrassments; for unless we prove that the Aborigines did absolutely come from somewhere, it will be immediately asserted in this age of skepticism that they did not come at all; and if they did not come at all, then was this country never populated--a conclusion perfectly agreeable to the rules of logic, but wholly irreconcilable to every feeling of humanity, inasmuch as it must syllogistically prove fatal to the innumerable Aborigines of this populous region. . . .

Of the claims of the children of Noah to the original population of this country I shall say nothing, as they have already been touched upon in my last chapter. The claimants next in celebrity, are the descendants of Abraham. Thus Christovallo Colon (vulgarly called Columbus) when he first discovered the gold mines of Hispaniola, immediately concluded, with a shrewdness that would have done honor to a philosopher, that he had found the ancient Ophir, from whence Solomon procured the gold for embellishing the temple at Jerusalem; nay, Colon even imagined that he saw the remains of furnaces of veritable hebraic construction employed in refining the precious ore.

So golden a conjecture, tintured with such fascinating extravagance, was too tempting not to be immediately snapped at by the gudgeons of learning; and accordingly, there were divers profound writers, ready to swear to its correctness, and to bring in their usual load of authorities, and wise surmises, wherewithal to prop it up. Vetablus and Robertus Stephens declared nothing could be more clear--Arius Montanus, without the least hesitation, asserts that Mexico was the true Ophir, and the Jews the early settlers of the country. While Possevin, Becan and several other sagacious writers, lug in a supposed prophecy of the fourth book of Esdras, which being inserted in the mighty hypothesis, like the keystone of an arch, gives it, in their opinion, perpetual durability.

Scarce, however, have they completed their goodly superstructure, than in trudges a phalanx of opposite authors, with Hans de Laet, the great Dutchman, at their head, and at

one blow tumbles the whole fabric about their ears. Hans, in fact, contradicts outright all the Israelitish claims to the first settlement of this country, attributing all those equivocal symptoms, and traces of Christianity and Judaism, which have been said to be found in divers provinces of the new world, to the Devil, who has always affected to counterfeit the worship of the true Deity. "A remark," says the knowing old Padre d'Acosta, "made by all good authors who have spoken of the religion of nations newly discovered, and founded besides on the authority of the fathers of the church."

Some writers again, among whom it is with much regret I am compelled to mention Lopez de Gomara, and Juan de Leri, insinuate that the Canaanites, being driven from the land of promise by the Jews, were seized with such a panic that they fled without looking behind them, until stopping to take breath, they found themselves safe in America. As they brought neither their national language, manners nor features with them, it is supposed they left them behind in the hurry of their flight--I cannot give my faith to this opinion.

I pass over the supposition of the learned Grotius, who being both an ambassador and a Dutchman to boot, is entitled to great respect; that North America was peopled by a strolling company of Norwegians, and that Peru was founded by a colony from China--Manco or Mango Capac, the first Incas, being himself a Chinese. Nor shall I more than barely mention, that father Kircher ascribes the settlement of America to the Egyptians, Rudbeck to the Scandinavians, Charron to the Gauls, Juffredus Petri to a skating party from Friesland, Milius to the Celtae, Marinocus the Sicilian to the Romans, Le Compte to the Phoenicians, Postel to the Moors, Martyn d'Angleria to the Abyssinians, together with the sage surmise of De Laet, that England, Ireland and the Orcades may contend for that honor.

Nor will I bestow any more attention or credit to the idea that America is the fairy region of Zipangri, described by that dreaming traveler, Marco Polo, the Venetian; or that it comprises the visionary island of Atlantis, described by Plato. Neither will I stop to investigate the heathenish assertion of Paracelsus, that each hemisphere of the globe was originally furnished with an Adam and Eve. Or the more flattering opinion of Dr. Romaine, supported by many nameless authorities, that Adam was of the Indian race--or the startling conjecture of Buffon, Helvetius and Darwin, so highly honorable to mankind, that the whole human species is accidentally descended from a remarkable family of monkeys! . . .

. . . I determined from that moment not to burn my fingers with any more of their theories, but content myself with detailing the different methods by which they transported the descendants of these ancient and respectable monkeys to this great field of theoretical warfare.

This was done either by migrations by land or transmigrations by water. Thus Padre Joseph D'Acosta enumerates three passages by land--first by the north of Europe, secondly by the north of Asia and thirdly by regions southward of the Straits of Magellan. The learned Grotius marches his Norwegians by a pleasant route across frozen rivers and arms of the sea, through Iceland, Greenland, Estotiland and Narembega: and various writers, among whom are Angleria, De Hornn and Buffon, anxious for the accommodation of these travelers, have fastened the two continents together by a strong chain of deductions--by which means they could pass over dry-shod. But should even this fail, Pinkerton, that industrious old gentleman, who compiles books, and manufactures geographies, has constructed a natural bridge of ice, from continent to continent, at the distance of four or five miles from Behring's Straits--for which he is entitled to the grateful thanks of all the wandering aborigines who ever did or ever will pass over it.

It is an evil much to be lamented, that none of the worthy writers above quoted could even commence his work, without immediately declaring hostilities against every writer who had treated of the same subject. In this particular, authors may be compared to a certain

sagacious bird, which is building its nest, is sure to pull to pieces the nests of all the birds in its neighborhood. This unhappy propensity tends grievously to impede the progress of sound knowledge. Theories are at best but brittle productions, and when once committed to the stream, they should take care that like the notable pots which were fell-voyages, they do not crack each other.

My chief surprise is, that among the many writers I have noticed, no one has attempted to prove that this country was peopled from the moon--or that the first inhabitants floated hither on islands of ice, as white bears cruise about the northern oceans--or that they were conveyed hither by balloons, as modern aeronauts pass from Dover to Calais--or by witchcraft, as Simon Magus posted among the stars--or after the manner of the renowned Scythian Abaris, who, like the New England witches on full-blooded broomsticks, made most unheard-of journeys on the back of a golden arrow, given him by the Hyperborean Apollo.

But there is still one mode left by which this country could have been peopled, which I have reserved for the last, because I consider it worth all the rest; it is--*by accident!* Speaking of the islands of Solomon, New Guinea and New Holland, the profound father Charlevoix observes, "in fine, all these countries are peopled, and it is possible, some have been so by accident. Now if it could have happened in that manner, why might it not have been at the same time, and by the same means, with the other parts of the globe?" This ingenious mode of deducing certain conclusions from possible premises, is an improvement in syllogistic skill, and proves the good father superior even to Archimedes, for he can turn the world without any thing to rest his lever upon. It is only surpassed by the dexterity with which the sturdy old jesuit, in another place, cuts the gordian knot--"Nothing," says he, "is more easy. The inhabitants of both hemispheres are certainly the descendants of the same father. The common father of mankind received an express order from Heaven to people the world, and accordingly it has been peopled. To bring this about, it was necessary to overcome all difficulties in the way, and they have also been overcome!" Pious logician! How does he put all the herd of laborious theorists to the blush, by explaining, in five words, what it has cost them volumes to prove they knew nothing about!

From all the authorities here quoted, and a variety of others which I have consulted, but which are omitted through fear of fatiguing the unlearned reader, I can only draw the following conclusions, which luckily, however, are sufficient for my purpose. First, that this part of the world has actually been peopled (Q. E. D. ), to support which we have living proofs in the numerous tribes of Indians that inhabit it. Secondly, that it has been peopled in five hundred different ways, as proved by a cloud of authors who, from the positiveness of their assertions, seem to have been eye-witnesses to the fact. Thirdly, that the people of this country had a variety of fathers, which, as it may not be thought much to their credit by the common run of readers, the less we say on the subject the better. The question, therefore, I trust, is for ever at rest.

**1811<sup>^</sup> Adam Clarke      *The Holy Bible . . . with a Commentary and Critical Notes.* 6 vols. New**

York, 1811.

See the notation in the Appendix

**1811 Archibald Loudon** *A Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Outrages*

*Committed by the Indians, in Their Wars with the White People.* 2 vols.

Carlisle, PA, 1811.

Dan Vogel writes:

Loudon's description of the Indians is negative and anti-primitivist. For example, he reports idol worship and human sacrifice (2:283). However, he supports the ten tribe theory (2:285-92), mentions that the Spaniards dug up Indians tombstones covered with Hebrew characters (2:285), and compares Peruvian temples to Jewish synagogues (2:288).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(120)

**1812 Amos Stoddard** *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana.* Philadelphia, 1812

Dan Vogel writes:

Stoddard discusses various theories of Indian origins (465-66) and mentions the presence of white Indians in North America (474-75)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(128)

**1812 James Foster** *"American Antiquities," in Weekly Register*, Vol. 1, Jan 11; Vol. 10, Baltimore.

Dan Vogel writes:

James Foster describes fortifications in Ohio . . . Foster speculates that the mounds were the work of another race "much more civilized than the present Indian inhabitants." he speculates that the Indians came from Asia and are probably Scythians.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(137)

**1812<sup>^</sup> DeWitt Clinton      *Discourse Delivered before the New-York Historical Society.***  
[6 Dec.

1811]. New York, 1812.

Dan Vogel writes:

Clinton, governor of New York, describes the various fortifications in his state (57-58). He also makes a distinction between the mound builders and the Indians, who supposedly destroyed the mound builders in a terrible war (53, 61).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

On pp. 314-322 of Governor Clinton's Discourse we find a discussion of "Indian Antiquities," with a more special focus on the Mound Builders. On pages 320-321, after describing the location and character of a number of these mounds, he writes:

. . . on the south shores of Lake Erie, these ancient fortresses exist in great number, there can be no doubt but that these works were erected, when this ridge was the southern boundary of Lake Ontario, and, consequently, that their origin must be sought in a very remote age.

A great part of North America was then inhabited by populous nations, who had made considerable advances in civilization. These numerous works could never have been supplied with provisions without the aid of agriculture. Nor could they have been constructed without the use of iron or copper; and without a perseverance, labour, and design which demonstrate considerable progress in the arts of civilized life. A learned writer [Morse, 1795] has said, "I perceive no reason why the Asiatic North might not be an *Officina virorum* as well as the European. The overteeming country to the east of the Riphoean Mountains must find it necessary to discharge its inhabitants. The first great wave of people was forced forward by the next to it, more restless and more powerful than itself. Successive and new impulses continually arriving, short rest was given to that which spread over a more eastern track; disturbed again and again, it covered fresh regions. At length, reaching the farthest limits of the old world, it found a new one, with ample space to occupy unmolested for ages."

After the north of Asia had thus exhausted its exuberant population by such a great migration, it would require very long period of time to produce a co-operation of causes, sufficient to effect another. The first mighty stream of people that flowed into America, must have remained free from external pressure for ages. Availing themselves of this period of tranquility, they would devote themselves to the art of peace, make rapid progress in civilization, and acquire an immense population. In course of time, discord and war would rage among them, and compel the establishment of places of security. At last, they became alarmed by the irruption of a horde of barbarians, who rushed like an overwhelming flood from the north of Asia . . .

The great law of self-preservation compelled them to stand on their defence, to resist these ruthless invaders, and to construct numerous and extensive works for protection. And for a long series of time the scale of victory was suspended in doubt, and they firmly withstood the torrent; but like the Romans in the decline of their empire, they were finally worn down and destroyed, by successive inroads, and renewed attacks. And the

fortifications of which we have treated, are the only remaining monuments of these ancient and exterminated nations.

**1812^**    **Elijah Parish**            ***A New System of Modern Geography***, 2nd ed. Newburyport,  
MA: E. Little &  
Co., 1812

As appears on the title page, this was "A New System of Modern Geography: or a General Description of all the Considerable Countries in the World, compiled from the Latest European and American Geographies, Voyages, and Travels. Designed for the use of the seminaries, schools and academies of the United States." Some pertinent information found in this book is as follows:

[pp. 22-23] *Inhabitants*--At first glance we are struck with the general resemblance in the features of the tribes from the islands of Terra del Fuego to the waters of the St. Lawrence. (Humboldt) How the first inhabitants could reach the continent is not, since the late discoveries in geography, considered a problem of difficult solution. They might easily cross Behring's strait to the N.W. part of America from the N.E. part of Asia; or they might doubtless reach the N.E. part of America from the N.W. part of Europe. One remarkable fact renders it highly probable, that the principal emigrations to this continent were in the high latitudes of these cold regions. Not one animal, which belonged to the warm latitudes of the eastern continent, is found in any part of America. (Heron, Encyclopedia) They could not have survived such a cold journey. Neither is it very improbable that some persons might have been driven by accident from the western coast of Africa to the eastern shores of South America. Others following the clusters of islands which rise in the southern ocean, might probably reach Peru or Chili from the south eastern part of Asia. Some facts have rendered it probable that America has been peopled from all these points.

Those traditions of the Indians, which relate to events of the eastern continent, are of remote antiquity. They have traditions, which evidently refer to the creation, the fall of man, the flood, the tower of Babel, and the longevity of the early ages. . . .

[pp. 134-135] *Mexico, or New-Spain* . . .

*Religion and arts*-- The religion of the Spaniards is Roman catholic. One fifth of the inhabitants are ecclesiastics. The religion of the Indian natives was infinitely worse than the Roman catholic. Fasts, penances, and tortures were common rites. Human sacrifices were considered the most acceptable. Captives were tortured, and then sacrificed. The heart and head were the portion of the gods: (Castillo) the captor and his friends feasted on the body. In Mexico 25,000 men were annually sacrificed. The great temple of Mexico was a square mound of earth, partly faced with stone; on the top of which was an image of their deity. The Mexicans had an excellent manufacture of earthen ware, and were skilled in casting metals. They buried their dead in mounds like those before the gates of the forts in the west. They raised fortifications for their defence. . . . The form of the Mexican temples was that of the Egyptian pyramids. (Humboldt) The ruins of four vast cities have been discovered in the province of Campeachy and its vicinity. They are of stone and adorned with admirable sculptures. The figures show, that they were not formed by Europeans. These ruins bespeak a state of civilization superior to that of the Peruvians. (Dr. Barton) The



province of Campeachy lies on the southern side of the gulf of Mexico; on the Campeachy, 300 miles E. of Vera Cruz . . .

[p. 152] *Chili* . . .

*Indians*--Though it is probable that North America was peopled from the northwest, or rather, from the northeast part of Asia, the Indians of Chili suppose their forefathers came from the west. Nor is this an extravagant supposition; for a chain of innumerable islands extends from America to the southern part of Asia . Accordingly as the North American savage resembles the ferocious Tartar; the natives of Chili resemble the southern Asiatics in the mildness of their character and the harmony of their language. So copious and elegant is their language, it has been supposed that in some former period they must have enjoyed a higher degree of civilization than at present. (Don Ignatios Molina)

**1812    *The American Antiquarian Society is organized.***

**1812^    Hannah Adams            *the History of the Jews.* 2 vols. Boston, 1812**

Dan Vogel writes:

Adams discusses the Indian Israelite theory of Manasseh ben Israel and James Adair (2:333-38) and mentions the black Jews of Cochin and their brass plates (2:197-99).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

In the final pages of her 2-volume work, Hannah Adams writes the following (pp. 331-332):

The future conversion of the Jews has been the subject of various works published in Europe in the last, and especially since the commencement of the present century.\* Dr. Hartley, Dr. Prestley, and others, have written in defence of the restoration of the Jews to their native country. At a later period Mr. Faber has published a work on this subject, in which he adduces various passages from the prophets to prove, that after a period of the most terrible political convulsions which the world ever witnessed, the Jews will be restored to Palestine, partly in a converted, and partly in an unconverted state: that the ten tribes will be afterwards converted and restored, and with the tribe of Judah united under one head, the king Messiah, and reign with him a thousand years in high pre-eminence among the nations of the earth. . . .

. . . An inspired apostle has assured us, that the Jews, "the natural branches of the Olive Tree," (See Hartley's Observations on Man, Vol. III. P. 373) though now broken off by

unbelief, will "be grafted in again, and participate with the Gentiles in the blessings resulting from faith in the Messiah."

In the Appendix (p. 333), Adams writes the following:

The ten tribes who were carried captive by the king of Assyria have been lost for more than two thousand years. Various conjectures have been formed, both by Jews and Christians, respecting the place of their residence; some of which shall be briefly mentioned.

Menasses Ben Israel, in a work styled "The Hope of Israel," has attempted to prove, that the American natives were the descendants of the ten tribes. This opinion has been adopted by some christian writers, particularly by James Adair, Esq. a trader with the Indians, and resident in the country for forty years. . . . In a work entitled "The History of the American Indians," he concludes his observations on their origin and descent as follows: "From the most exact observations I could make in the long time I traded among the Indian Americans, I was forced to believe them lineally descended from the Israelites, either while they were a maritime power, or soon after the general captivity; . . .

. . . he argues that the ten tribes, who were the forefathers of the Americans, soon advanced eastward from Assyria, and reached their settlements in the new continent before the destruction of the first temple.

In order to prove that the American Indians are descended from the ten tribes, Mr. Adair adduces various arguments; a sketch of his mode of reasoning is as follows:

[Adams then has nine arguments of cultural similarities (6 pages) used by Adair in support of his belief.]

Note\* See the 1644 Ben Israel notation. See the 1775 James Adair notation.

**1814 Alexander Humbolt** *Researches*. 5 volumes. Translated by Helen Maria Williams.

(MONGOLOID) London, 1814

Humbolt traveled in America during the years 1799-1804. He was a conservative advocate of Mongoloid origin.

**1814 H[enry] M[arie] Brachenridge (1786-1871).** *Views of Louisiana*. Pittsburgh, 1814.

Dan Vogel writes:

Brachenridge describes mounds and pallisaded forts in North America (121, 183-88) and mentions various theories on Indian origins, including the Indian-Israelite theory of Adair (189-90).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\* (108)

**1814**                      ***New-Magazine, and General Repository of Useful Knowledge***, vol. 1,  
July,  
  
New York, 1814.

Dan Vogel writes:

Refers to Mather's *An Attempt to Shew, that America Must Be Known to the Ancients* (1773) and marshals additional support for his hypothesis (154-56)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(137)

**1815**    **George Alexander Thompson**    ***A New Theory of the Two Hemispheres; Whereby It Is Attempted to Explain, on Geographical Facts, the Time and Manner in which America was Peopled.*** London, 1815.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(128)

**1815**    **Alexander [von] Humboldt**    ***Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the***  
**(MONGOLOID)**                      ***New Continent, during the Years 1799-1804.*** Translated by  
Helen Maria Williams. 7 vols. Philadelphia, 1815.

Dan Vogel writes:

As traveler, explorer, and scientist, Humboldt, one of the most qualified men of his day, reports to his fellow Europeans his finds in the New World. For example, he describes antiquities of North America and Mexico (6:315-22).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

Note\* Does BYU have volume 6?

Note\* Humboldt's writings included information from Peter Martyr's *Decadas del Nuevo Mundo* ( First complete edition in Latin in 1530. The first Spanish Edition published in 1892.)  
-- See the 1511 notation.

**1815**     **Oliver Oldschool, ed.**             **Port Folio**, Vol. 5 (third series), Philadelphia, March  
1815

(Joseph Dennie)

Dan Vogel writes:

"Proposed Solution of the Question, Touching the Peopling of the Continent of America," an extract from the unpublished manuscript by Dr. John P. Campbell in the periodical's possession, argues the impossibility of men and animals crossing the Bering Strait, since no one would transport snakes or wolves. Rather the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans were once dry land, allowing men and animals to migrate to the New World. This land disappeared during he convulsions of the earth at the time of Peleg (231-41).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

**1815^**     **William Hubbard**             **A General History of New England, from the Discovery to**  
**(1770)**                             **MDLXXX**. By the Rev. William Hubbard, Minister of Ipswich, Mass.  
Published by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Cambridge:  
Hilliard & Metcalf, 1815.

Hubbard seems to favor the theory that the Indians were originally were rebellious souls brought here from Asia, Europe and Africa by the Devil. He rejects the ten tribe theory of Indian origins.

Originally the manuscript was derived from a transcript made by Peter Oliver, Chief Justice of Massachusetts, sometime previous to June of the year 1773. This manuscript was later furnished to the Massachusetts Historical Society by the Rev. Dr. John Eliot from his collection and was published by the Society in 1815. They write that "many of their associates and others have expressed a wish, that it might be given to the publick; as it is

the original source from which several of our earliest historians derived much of their information." A note from Rev. Eliot mentions that "Mr. Hubbard was certainly for many years the most eminent minister in the county of Essex: equal to any in the province for learning and candour, and superiour to all his contemporaries as a writer."

In chapter VI (pp. 26-28) we find the following "Of the disposition of the natives of America in New England, with the conjectures about their passage hither."

When God first made man, he gave him a command, with a secret promise, to increase and multiply, and replenish the earth; of which it is noe question butt America was intended as a part, although probably it was long before any of his posterity found the way thither, which in the shortest cutt they can be supposed to take from Eden or Armenia, could not bee less than a journey of eight or ten thousand miles. Butt in what age or by what meanes, or by whose conduct they found their passage over hither, is not easy, if possible, in this age, to finde: unless the astrologers can find it in the starrs, or that itt can be gathered from the motion [of] the celestiall bodyes, that lighted them hither; none of the inhabitants being ever knowne to have kept any annals or records of things done in fore past tymes. Nor is it less to bee wondered att, that any of the posterity of Adam should ly hid so long from the knowledge of the rest of the world. It will be impertinent to trouble ourselves with uncertaine guesses of all those that have busyed themselves to make enquiry into this matter. Mr. Mede's opinion about the passage of the natives into this remote region carries the greatest probability of truth with it; of whose conjecture it may be said, in a sense as sometimes of Achithopell's counsell in those dayes, that itt was as the oracle of God. His conceitt is, that when the devill was putt out of his throne in the other part of the world, and that the mouth of all his oracles were stopt in Europe, Asia, and Africa, hee seduced a company of silly wretches to follow his conduct into this unknowne part of the world, where hee might lye hid and not bee disturbed in the idolatrous and abominable, or rather diabolicall service hee expected from those his followers; for here are noe foote stepes of any religion before the English came, butt meerely diabolicall. Storyes were delivered by the people of Mexico, the seat of Montezuma's Empire, when the Spaniards first seized itt, which seemes to intimate the passage of their ancestors from some other remote place aboute nine hundred yeeres before it was possessed by them, Anno 1498 or 1500. Butt which way those people should come is hard to say, for the streights of Magallan wee may thinke are too neere one of the frigid zones to give opportunity of such a passage; although it bee certaine that on the south continent, called Nova Guena, there are people inhabiting, as Sir Francis Drake relates in his voyage through the Pacificke Sea, towards China and the East Indies: others therefor more probably conceive, that they might finde some passage out of Tartaria by the streights of Anian beyond California. And that which gives not a little countenance to this opinion is, that the natives upon this continent do in their manners more resemble the Savage Tartar, then any other people whatsoever; though possitively to affirm any thing in a matter so uncertaine is not convenient.

If any observation bee made of their manners and dispositions, its easier to say from what nations they did not, then from whom they did derive their orriginall. Doubtless their conjecture who fancy them to be descended from the ten tribes of the Israelites, carried captive by Salmaneser and Esarbaddon, hath the least shew of reason of any other, there being noe footsteps to bee observed of their propinquity to them more than to any other of the tribes of the earth, either as to their language or manners. No instance can bee given of any nation in the world that hath so fare degenerated from the purity of their orriginall tongue in 1500 or 2000 yeeres, butt that there may be observed some rudiments of the ancient language, as may bee seene in the Greeke and Latine tongues, though they are now utterly lost as to the purity of them; yett it is easy to trace either of them amongst the nations since descended from those that naturally spoke the language; butt here can noe such thinge bee observed amonge the natives of America. Besides, here is found no

footsteps of the idolatry or rites of any religious worship the people had degenerated into, nor are any other customs here to be observed, that bespeak any relation to that stock, more than to any other people, unless it be polygamy, which yett was no more peculiar to the Jews than to all other nations of the East. It is certainly known also, that within 200 miles compass their language is nothing akin; so as one nation of the natives can no more understand the language of them that live a 100 miles from them . . .

**1816\*** **Rev. Solomon Spaulding** *Manuscript Story*, Unpublished. Later included in *The Manuscript*

*Found," Manuscript Story*, by Rev. Solomon Spaulding. Printed from a Verbatim Copy . . . Millennial Star Office, Liverpool, 1910.

Note\* Solomon Spaulding was born in the year 1761 in Connecticut. He graduated in theology in 1787 and moved to Conneaut, Ohio about 1809. During his residence there he wrote a story in which some Romans sailing to England were blown off course, became lost and finally landed in America. The manuscript dealt with what they encountered among the Indians. About 1812 Spaulding moved to Pittsburgh for two years, and in 1814 he moved again to Amity, Pennsylvania. In 1816 Spaulding died without the manuscript being published.

In the 1830's, an apostate Mormon named D. P. Hurlbut began circulating the idea that the Book of Mormon was plagiarized from Solomon Spaulding's lost manuscript when he had various people relate to him that Solomon Spaulding had been telling a story about an early colony who came to the Americas and lived among the Indians. However, while he was gathering material for an 1836 anti-Mormon book he came across this manuscript, found it did not substantiate his previous claims, and suppressed it. Through various means the whereabouts of this manuscript became known in 1884 to President James H. Fairchild, of Oberlin College, Ohio. A number of years later a copy of this manuscript was given to the College and in 1910 a verbatim copy was finally published.

I will now quote from this copy for a number of reasons. First, it represents what a contemporary of Joseph Smith might be capable of in narrative literature. Second, this manuscript was used for over fifty years by anti-Mormon writers as evidence against the Book of Mormon.

We begin in Chapter 1:

[pp. 4- 5] Preparation was made instantly and we sailed--The vessel laden with provisions for the army--clothing, knives and other implements for their use had now arrived near the coasts of Britain when a tremendous storm arose & drove us into the midst of the boundless Ocean. Soon the whole crew became lost & bewildered--They knew not the direction to the rising Sun or polar Star--for the heavens were covered with clouds; & darkness had spread her sable mantle over the face of the raging deep. . . .

After being driven five days with incredible velocity before the furious wind, the storm abated in its violence but still the wind blew strong in the same direction. Doubt whether the wind had not changed her point we gave the ship full sail & let her drive--On the sixth day after, the storm wholly subsided, the sun rose clear & the heavens once more appeared to smile--Inexpressible was the consternation of all the crew. they found themselves in the midst of a vast Ocean. No prospect of returning--all was lost--The wind blowing westwardly & the presumption was that it had been blowing in that direction during the whole of the storm. . . . [We continued in the same direction and] On the fifth day after this we came in

sight of Land--we entered a spacious River-& continued sailing up the same many leagues until we came in view of a Town . . . We anchored within a small distance from shore. Immediately the natives ran with apparent signs of surprise & astonishment, to the bank of the River . . .

[p. 7] As no alternative now remained, but either to make the desperate attempt to return across the wide boistrous ocean or to take up our residence in the country inhabited by savages & wild ferocious beasts we did not long hesitate. We held a solem treaty with the king & all the chiefs of his nation.--They agreed to cede to us a tract of excellent Land on the north part of the town . . .

[pp. 15-20] CHAP IV. A journey to the N W. & [removal]

Gracious God! how deplorable our situation! are we doomed to dwell among hords of savages-& be deprived of all social intercourse with friends & the civilized world? & what will be the situation of our offspring? . . . Thus I reasoned respecting the solar system, of which the earth is a part. . . . **The earth must be of a spherical form & a westerly course will lead us to the land of our nativity--Perhaps this is a part of the eastern Continent, or perhaps only a narrow strip of the Ocean intervenes! On no other principle can we account for the emigration of the ancestors of those innumerable hords of human beings that possess this continent--Their tradition is that their ancestors came from the west--& they agree in their information that at the distance of fifteen days journey in a westerly direction, there are nations vastly more numerous, powerful & civilized than themselves.**

. . . **From this I draw the conclusion--that the sea if any, which intervenes between the two Continents at the westward is not so extensive, but that it may be safely navigated.** . . . From all these considerations, I am determined to remove--pursue a westerly course & seek the delightful country of my ancestors. . . . We then proceeded on by slow marches,--but in crossing the great mountain we had some difficulties to encounter . . . but finally arived safely at the great city Owahon on the twenty fifth day after our departure from the Deliwan. . . .

[pp. 20-21] CHAP V A discription of the Ohons,

I am now to discribe a [species of] nation who have but little resemblance to those [innumerable tribes of ] Savages, who live along the coasts of the Atlantic--Their complexion, the form and construction of their bodies, their customs manners, Laws, government & religion all demonstrate that they must have originated from some other nation & have but a very distant affinity with their Savage neighbours. . . .

**1816** "Of the Aborigines of the Western Country," Pt. 1, *Port Folio*, 4th series, 1 (June 1816): 458-59, 461.

Dan Vogel writes:

In 1816, the Philadelphia *Port Folio* reported: "It is a very general opinion, prevailing in the western country, that there is ample proof that the country in general was once inhabited by a civilized and agricultural people" who were eventually destroyed by the Indians." "It is current opinion," the periodical continued, "that the first inhabitants of the

western country were white people." One Indian tradition reportedly held that "Kentucky had once been inhabited by white people, but that they were exterminated by the Indians."

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004, p. 332.

**1816^ Henry Ker *Travels through the Western Interior of the United State, from the Year***

***1808 up to the Year 1816 with a Particular Description of a Great part of Mexico, or New-Spain.*** Elizabethtown, New Jersey, 1816.

Dan Vogel writes:

Ker discusses various theories on Indian origins (151-70), describes an ancient mound-builder city discovered in North America (324), and mentions mammoth bones (320-23).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

In Chapter XII, Henry Ker writes the following:

[pp. 150-153] The Indians which we had just left, are called the Yorotecs. They are small in stature, but well built, and their women handsome. . . .

In travelling through different tribes of Indians, I have had opportunity to notice many singularities in their religious worship, which approach near to that of the ancient Jewish religion: singular as this may appear, it is a fact which requires investigation, and is highly deserving the attention of the learned. In this particular tribe I observed many strong traits of Judaism; they circumcise their children; in their religious ordinances they have their high-priest, and in a small house is kept an ark, which it is death for any one to touch but the high-priest. They have likewise three towns which are considered sacred, and if any one kills another and flees to these places of refuge, he is safe and none dare disturb him. they have also, like the Jews, three principal festivals; one is after their hunting is over, when they all assemble, bringing with them their old stock which has remained over the season, and laying it in a pile, when it is set fire to and consumed; they now observe a fast of three days, denying every indulgence, and forgiving all their enemies. The next day after the fast is closed, the high priest lights a fire by rubbing dry wood together, for which every dwelling is supplied with the sacred flame. The scene now changes; hilarity and mirth reign; new fruits and meats are brought forward, and three days are spent in dancing and amusement.

These circumstances are no less interesting than true, and deserve the serious consideration of the curious. In many of the prophecies mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, respecting the Jews, there is a striking similarity. It was said to the Israelites, "And they that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquity in your enemies' lands; the land of your enemies shall eat you up." *Levit.* chap. xxvi. And it was very similar with the



Indians; the small number of Europeans who first visited this country, were, in comparison of the immense population, but as a grain of sand; yet they succeeded in forcing their way in spite of all opposition, and though the natives were sturdy warriors, nothing but their bones are now left to tell to the world that they once existed. it was also observed in regard to the Israelites, that they should be offered for sale, and few or none should buy them, *Deut.* ch. xxviii.; and in the different wars of the state of Massachusetts, the Indians were sent in great numbers up the Mediterranean, (according to Mr. Hutchinson,) and found few or no purchasers.

The resemblance of many words in their language, is though by Dr. Edwards to be sufficient to identify the people. Whether this similarity exists with regard to this nation, I cannot say, as I do not understand the language.

The traditions of this tribe relative to events of the eastern continent, and of remote antiquity, are curious and deserving attention. They have traditions which evidently refer to the creation, the fall of man, the flood, the tower of Babel, and the longevity of antediluvian ages. They say that in ancient times, their ancestors lived till their feet were worn out with walking, and their throats with eating.

From these observations it may be seen there is a nearer affinity between the nations of the new continent and the old than has been generally imagined; and that the speculations of different writers relative to the peopling of our continent, and their conjectures that it was accomplished in part by the way of Asia, is not without foundation.

I shall conclude my observations on this people in the language of Dr. Mather Megapolensis, a Dutch missionary, who returned to Europe and published his travels some time ago.

"How far some of these circumstances are common to all nations who approximate to the same state of society, or how far they may be characteristic of the same people, I presume not to offer an opinion; but leave it to those who have more learning and more time for investigating it than myself."

**1816<sup>^</sup> Elias Boudinot      *A Star in the West; or, a Humble Attempt to Discover the Long Lost***

(ISRAELITISH)      ***Ten Tribes of Israel.*** Trenton, 1816.

George Weiner writes:

. . . undoubtedly one of the most influential works on the theory was *A Star in the West; or a Humble Attempt to Discover the Long Lost Ten Tribes of Israel* by Elias Boudinot, a public figure of considerable stature. Boudinot's book was essentially an unimaginative rehash of the works of Adair and Edwards, but the fame of its author made it perhaps the number one best-seller of all time in the Jewish-Indian category. An ardent patriot during the American Revolution, Boudinot was president of the Continental Congress at the time of the signing of the peace treaty with Great Britain. Then, after serving in the new United States Congress and subsequently as Director of the United States Mint, he resigned in 1805 from a long and distinguished governmental career to devote himself to biblical studies and charitable work. His book made its appearance in 1816, the same year that he became the first president of the newly formed American Bible Society.

Source: ^George Weiner (non-LDS), "America's Jewish Braves," in *Mankind*. Vol. 4, Number 9 (October 1974). Published bi-monthly by Mankind Publishing Company, Los Angeles, California, p. 62.

Dan Vogel writes:

The title of this work was no doubt inspired by Claudius Buchanan's popular book, *A Star in the East* (Boston, 1811), which claimed the ten tribes were east of Israel in Persia and India. Boudinot wrote to defend the Indians' character and to save them from extinction. He relies heavily on evidences compiled by James Adair. He also mentions the Indians' lost book of God (110-11).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

The following pertinent ideas are excerpted from Boudinot's book:

A very bright and portentous Star having arisen in the East, making glad the hearts of God's people and urging the friends of Zion to unusual and almost miraculous exertions in spreading the glad tidings of salvation among the distant nations of the earth; the compiler of the following sheets, animated by this blessed eastern prospect, can no longer withhold the small discovery that has been made of a rising Star in the West, from the knowledge of those who are zealous and anxious to behold the returning Messiah coming "in his own glory and the glory of the Father," attended by all the saints; which star may in the issue, turn out to be the *star of Jacob*, and become a guide to the long suffering and despised descendants of that eminent patriarch . . . [i, Preface]

. . . There is a possibility, that these unhappy children of misfortune [the aborigines of America], may yet be proved to be the descendants of Jacob and the long lost tribes of Israel. . . . The following pages are an humble attempt to investigate this important subject, which has been the object of the writer's attention for a long time. . . . [p. iii]

. . . The enormities of the Indians form no excuse for the enormities of white men. . . . In a little while, and they [the Indians] go the way that so many tribes have gone before. . . . They will vanish like a vapour from the face of the earth--their very history will be lost in forgetfulness--and "the places that now know them, will know them no more forever." . . . [pp. xx-xxi]

In the prosecution of this compilation, the writer will avail himself of the best accounts given by the Spanish writers, he can meet with--the histories written by our own people who first visited this land, or have since made themselves acquainted with the native inhabitants, and recorded any thing relative to their languages, customs, manners and habits, such as Colden, Adair, Brainerd, Edwards, jun. . . . also of the information received from the Rev. Dr. Beatty, Bartram, and others, of their personal observations, while with the Indians. [pp. 29-30]

After recounting the history of the Jews with respect to the lost ten tribes and citing a number of biblical passages as well as respected historical commentary, the author writes:

Thus it appears, that the ten tribes, except a few who took refuge in Jerusalem, with the tribe of Judah, were wholly deprived of their goodly land, and transferred into the northern parts of Assyria, between the Euxine and Caspian seas, among the cities of the Medes, except a part of them, who were settled something more to the south, in Persia, which was then a part of the Assyrian monarchy. . . . [p. 60]

That the ten tribes were transported into some of the northern provinces of the then Assyrian empire, bordering on the Caspian and Euxine seas, and to the northward and north east of them, is universally admitted, and fully proved by the sacred records. And that they continued there a very considerable time, and became very numerous, can scarcely be doubted; but that they cannot now be found there, in any great numbers, is also very certain. . . . [p. 67]

Again, "the usual route from the Euxine sea to the northward of the Caspian sea, through Tartary and Scythia, to Serica and the northern parts of China, by which the merchants carried on a great trade, might enable the tribes to travel northward and eastward, towards Kamschatka." At least this is the assertion of that able geographer D'Anville, in his ancient geography . . .

But the most minute and last account we have of them, is in the thirteenth chapter of the second apocryphal book of Esdras, 39-50. Esdras had a dream or vision--An angle appeared and interpreted it to him in the following detail: "And whereas thou sawest that he, Jesus the Christ, gathered another peaceable multitude unto him; those are the ten tribes, who were carried away prisoners out of their own land. . . . And he carried them *over the waters*, and so they came into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth *into a further country, where never mankind dwelt*, that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. . . .[pp. 68-69]

**But although these Children of Israel might have passed over the straits of Kamschatka, and peopled the northeast parts of America, and so went on to the southward and eastward, and left some settlers wherever they remained any time; yet it does not follow that they might not have been attended by many of the inhabitants of Scythia or Tartary, who were willing to try their fortunes with them. Neither does it follow, that some persons of other nations might not have been driven by storms at sea on the American coasts, and made settlements there. All these might have contributed to establish customs among them, different from their own, and also might adulterate and change their language in some instances, as was done in Babylon.**

**In this land, then, they are to remain till the latter time, when Jehovah will "put forth his hand again a second time, to recover the remnant of his people . . . [p. 74]**

From a serious consideration of all the foregoing circumstances, we seem naturally led to have recourse to the late discovered continent of America, which the first visitants found filled with inhabitants, and though called savages, differed essentially from all the savages ever known to the people of the old world before. . . . [p. 85]

Suppose a strange people to be discovered, before wholly unknown to the civilized world, and an enquiry was instituted into their origin, or from what nation they had sprung, what mode of examination would be most likely to succeed and lead to a rational solution of the questions?

In our opinion, a strict enquiry into the following particulars, would be the best means of accomplishing this valuable purpose.

Their language.

Their received traditions.

Their established customs and habits.

Their known religious rites and ceremonies.

And, lastly, their public worship and religious opinions and prejudices.

Therefore to commence this enquiry, with some degree of method, we shall confine ourselves to these five particulars, as far as we can find well authenticated data to proceed upon. [pp. 87-88]

**[Yet], it is not improbable, as has before been hinted, that some few of other nations, who traded on the seas, might, in so long a course of time, have been driven by stress of weather, and reached the Atlantic shores at different places; but the great body of people settling in North and South-America, must have originated from the same source.**

**Hence it would not be surprising to find among their descendants, a mixture of the Asiatic languages, manners, customs and peculiarities. Nay, it would appear rather extraordinary and unaccountable if this was not so. And if we should find this to be the case, it would greatly corroborate the fact of their having passed into America from the northeast point of Asia, according to the Indian tradition. . . . [p. 124]**

Source: ^A reprint of Boudinot's work, entitled *A Star in the West or A Humble Attempt to Discover the Long Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, Preparatory to Their Return to Their Beloved City Jerusalem*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970

Note\* Elias Boudinot was the first president of the American Bible Society. He also served in the U.S. Congress from 1777 to 1884. In 1816 he wrote *A Star in the West; or, a Humble Attempt to Discover the Long Lost Tribes of Israel*. According to Dan Vogel, "this book drew heavily on the evidence of Adair [1775] and introduced a wide American audience to the theory of Israelite origins.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 35-44, 48

Note\* In his book *A Critical Study of Book of Mormon Sources* (Detroit, Mich.: Harlo Press, 1964), non-Mormon Wesley M. Jones writes some notes on *A Star in the West* in which he states:

Speculating on the possible route taken by the tribes from the Old World to the New, Boudinot says, "from the great tower of Babel each race took to their own direction . . ." Again, a body of the tribe of Ephraim going northward ". . . into that quarter where there never had man been." (p. 25)

**1816 James Foster "American Antiquities," in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. 10, June 15, Baltimore, 1816.**

Dan Vogel writes:

This article discusses various theories regarding the mounds (258-59)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(137)

**1817 "American Antiquities," in *Weekly Register*, Vol. 13, Sept. 27, Baltimore, 1817.**

Dan Vogel writes:

This article states that the mound builders, a highly civilized nation, were destroyed by the savage Indians (74). As evidence of the mound builders' superiority over the Indians, the author claims that glass objects have been discovered in some of the mounds (74-75)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(138)

**1817^ James Haines McCulloh, Jr. *Researches on America; Being an Attempt to Settle Some* (ATLANTIS) *Points Relative to the Aborigines of America &c.* Baltimore, 1817.**

James McCulloh discusses problems with the various theories that have been proposed to explain Indian origins. He then proposes the Atlantis theory. He also discusses the idea that the Mound Builders were different than the current Indians. He writes:

[Preface: pp. v-vii ] As the first edition of this work was printed with many inaccuracies, and under several disadvantages, it appears proper that the author should here state, the causes of the defects in that impression.

The principal part of this essay was written previous to the year 1813; under the disadvantages of youth, occupation, and a limited library. . . . A year of greater leisure, has, however, enabled the author to revise, correct, and add certain facts and considerations, esteemed important to his first work. . . .

So much has been written on the origin of the American Indians, that it is scarcely possible for an opinion to be now given, which would not, in some manner or other, have coincidences with some preceding hypothesis. This has often been experienced by the author of this essay; and sometimes with chagrin, for, after believing himself the original framer of certain opinions, he has afterwards found, that the same idea had been promulgated many years ago; and perhaps there may be other opinions, advanced in this work, that are similarly situated. however, as far as possible, I have done justice to every writer I have met with. . . .

[pp. xi-xii] I have not thought it necessary to examine the opinion, which supposes two or more different creations of men or animals. The best naturalists have agreed in the identity of the human race, and that animals have descended in like manner, from certain original pairs; these observations concurring with the Pentateuch, should be considered conclusive. . . .

[p. xviii] Perhaps no event in the history of the world, ever excited such interest among the philosophick and inquiring, as the discovery of America; almost every circumstance connected with this continent was the subject of infinite debate and speculation. In process of time many of these obscure and difficult points were explained away, and settled to the general satisfaction of the literary world; but other questions, and some of them of the greatest importance to philosophers, ave been left nearly if not wholly in their original obscurity. Among these is the origin of the American Indians. Whence come they? In what age did they arrive, and in what manner? A curiosity to understand or explain the difficulties attending the peopling of America, first led the author of this essay to make some research on the subject, the result of which is now given, and in the manner and general order in which the investigation proceeded.

In Chapter 1 we find the following:

[pp. 20-24] [*Proposed Theory*] In latitude sixty-six degrees north, the two coasts [of Asia and the Americas] are only thirteen leagues asunder, and about midway between them lie two islands, the distance from which to either shore is short of twenty miles; at this place the natives of Asia could find no difficulty in passing over to the opposite coast, which is in sight of their own; they might have also traveled across on sledges or on foot, for we have reason to believe, from the accounts of captain Cook and his officers, that the strait is entirely frozen over in the winter, so that the continents during that season, with respect to the communication between them, may be considered as one land.

"We may therefore conclude, that the Asiatics having settled in those parts of America, where the Russians have discovered the proximity of the two continents, spread gradually over its various regions." (See Robertson's Hist. America.)

[*Comment*] This proposed route for the emigration of mankind from Asia to America, is, in the very commencement, opposed by the striking fact, that about Behring's Straits, the precise spot where Dr. Robertson believes man to have crossed over from one continent to the other, there is a very widely extended race of men interposed, who are utterly dissimilar

to either Asiatics or Americans. This race is the Esquimaux, who, as Dr. Robertson himself acknowledges, bear a near resemblance to the northern Europeans, and none to the American Indians.

This fact, so directly adverse to the doctor's general theory, obliges him to form a new opinion as to the origin of the Esquimaux; whom he supposes to be descendants from the Norwegians and Icelanders. But is it probable, I was near saying, possible, that within the time that has elapsed since the fourteenth century, the Norwegians could have been degraded from their lofty stature down to that of Esquimaux? Can we suppose, moreover, that any people used to the comforts of civilized life, would stay in the most dreary, desolate, and unfruitful region on earth--in a tract of country where the cold is so excessive, that ten degrees farther to the south than Behring's Straits, every aqueous and fermented liquid is frozen, notwithstanding the efforts of man, and where even spirits of wine are reduced by the frost to the consistence of oil?

Besides, the Norwegians landed in Greenland; now the Esquimaux extend across the whole continent of America, along the circle of latitude sixty-five degrees north; a distance greater than 4500 miles; or from Greenland to Behring's Straits; for captain Cook found them at Norton Sound, Oonelashka, and Prince William's Sound. (See his third voyage) This statement must close the absurdity of giving an European origin to this people; for who can believe, that a colony of civilized men, would confine their migrations exclusively along the Arctic circle\*

Note\* The Greenlanders and Esquimaux are certainly the same people; this is evident from Crantz' History of Greenland; but that they are perfectly dissimilar to any nation of Europe, or Asia, is also certain. Rees's Cyclopaedia, see article Greenland . . .

Mr. Pennant, though the most able defender of Dr. Robertson's opinion, observes that the Norwegians, when they first landed in America, found the Esquimaux already there, and gave them the name of Skraelingues, or dwarfish people, from their small stature. (See Arctic Zoology, Introduct. vol. i. p. 164.)

But the facts most strongly opposed to a migration to America by way of Behring's Straits, may be deduced from the utter impossibility of animals ever reaching this continent by that route; and if they could not arrive in this way, the theory is indefensible; for we must believe, that men and animals did come by the same passage, wherever such passage may have lain. To admit the contrary, would be a libel on the proceedings of the Deity, who, without a deviation from his uniform wisdom and simplicity of design, could not have provided two ways where one only was necessary. This must be obvious to the lowest capacity.

Some persons, however, have the hardihood to contend, that men and animals did pass by Behring's Straits to America. Such an allegation as this, supposes that animals living now only in the hottest parts of America, such as the guanaco, alligators, monkeys, parrots, and a vast number more, actually past in the winter, within the Arctic circle, through a cold that congeals spirits of wine! For the writers who maintain this hypothesis, have been necessarily obliged to make them pass in the winter, in order that they may avail themselves of a bridge of solid ice, forty miles in length, which, during this season, connects the two worlds together. Besides, is not all herbage either killed or covered with snow for hundreds of miles, both on the Asiatic and the American side of the strait, during the inclemencies of winter?

This brief examination of Robertson's theory, is all I conceive necessary; the more so, as he himself simply advances it without attempting its permanent establishment. Several writers have, indeed, endeavoured to confirm it, but without success. Neither has the laboured and curious essay of Dr. Barton, or the shorter attempt of Mr. Pennant, eventuated

more favourably to their respective writers. Their arguments I shall pass over without notice. Dr. Barton's arguments may be found in his *New Views of the Origin of our Aborigines*, and those of Mr. Pennant in the introduction to his *Arctic Zoology*, vol. i. p. 161.

[p. 24] [*Proposed Theory*] Some theories have suggested an opinion, that Asiatics have been forced to sea in boats, and driven by storms or currents afterwards upon the American continent; and in this manner they account for the peopling of the new world.

[*Comment*] The most invincible arguments are opposed to this hypothesis. Without considering the disastrous and unprovided state of persons who may have been thus unexpectedly driven to sea; and who, without water or provisions, in open boats, had to perform a dangerous navigation of several thousand miles; - such an opinion will not account for the appearance of animals in America; of animals not only useless to mankind, but in many instances fierce, intractable, or poisonous; or what must completely destroy the theory, the fact, that there are many animals found in America utterly unknown to any part of the old world.

[p. 24 ] [*Proposed Theory & Comment*] The opinion of the Abbe Clavigero, that land once connected Africa and South America together, is certainly erroneous and imperfect; and has so few if any advocates, that it is not deemed worth while to enumerate the difficulties his theory has to encounter.

In concluding this chapter it may be proper to observe, that in Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, under the article *America*, the various hypothesis respecting the peopling of the new world, have been ably considered. To that work, therefore, the reader is at present referred for ample information.

## Chapter II.

### Proposed Solution of the Question, Touching the Peopling of the Continent of America.

[pp. 25-28] . . . we are convinced, that men never make traditions or histories, without having some foundation for them; how far they may alter or corrupt the truth of the fact, is not always to be ascertained . . .

Although the truth of the story related by the Egyptian priests to Solon, respecting the Island *Atalantis*, has been disputed and denied; yet, many learned men have defended the narration, and this latter opinion has gained credence considerably within the last forty or fifty years; no doubt there is something fabulous in the narration; but that there wa such an island or continent, is highly probable, and we have, within a few years, received no slight proofs of its actual existence. The relation made to Solon was as follows:

"You greeks, says the Egyptian, are ever children; an air of youth is visible in all your histories and traditions; your country, from its situation, is forever exposed to those inundations which sweep away the generations of men, and leave no traces of the past. The lofty mountain of the *Thebais* of Egypt, affords its inhabitants a more secure asylum, and in its temples are deposited the records of ages and nations long buried in oblivion. There have been innumerable deluges and conflagrations of the superficial regions of the globe. You fable of *Phaeton* setting the world on fire, is founded on some mutilated tradition of one



of these grand catastrophes, in which terrestrial things have perished, by the devastation of the igneous element. Your histories, I know, mention only one deluge; but there have been various and successive deluges prior to that mighty one recorded of Deucalion and Pyrrha. There existed an ancient and celebrated people in Greece, the wisdom of whose laws, and fame of whose valour, rare renowned in the sacred writings and ancient annals of Egypt. This heroick race were as highly celebrated for their exploits by sea as by land, as was evident in their arduous contests with the mighty nation who formerly inhabited the vast island Atalantis, now buried in the ocean which bears its name. This island was situated near the straits of Gades, and it exceeded in magnitude all Europe and Asia joined together. It was so called from Atlas, the son of Neptune, whose descendants reigned there in an hereditary line, during a period of nine thousand years; and extended their sway over all the adjoining regions, for there was an easy passage from this island to the neighbouring islands and continents; and their armies passing over into Europe and Africa, subdued all Lybia, to the borders of Egypt, and all Europe to Asia Minor: in succeeding ages, owing to prodigious earthquakes and inundations, in the space of one day and night, all that part of Greece which your ancestors inhabited, was desolated and submerged, and the Atlantic island itself, being suddenly absorbed into the bosom of the ocean, entirely disappeared, and for many ages afterwards, that sea could not be navigated, owing to the numerous rocks and shelves with which it abounded."

As proof of the existence of this island, or country Atalantis, Mr. Taylor, who has translated the works of Plato, gives the following relation of one Marcellus, who wrote a history of Ethiopic affairs, according to Proclus [who lived 800 years after Plato], in Tem. p. 55.

"That such and so great an island once existed, is convinced by those who have composed histories of things relative to the external sea; for they relate that in their times there were seven islands in the Atlantic sacred to Proserpine: and besides these, three others of an immense magnitude, one of which was sacred to Pluto, another to Ammon, and another, which is the middle of these, and is of a thousand stadia, to Neptune; and besides this, that the inhabitants of this last islands preserved the memory of the prodigious magnitude of the Atlantic island, as related by their ancestors, and of its governing, for many periods, all the islands in the Atlantic sea." (See Rees's Cyclop. art. Atlantis)

The Hindoos have in their ancient maps and records, a region called Atala, which they assert was sunk by earthquakes. (See Asiat. Research, vol. iii. p. 300, and also vol. viii. p. 375, where a more enlarged description is given.)

The appearance of the globe in that part in which this catastrophe is said to have happened, has been asserted by some learned men to bear marks of such an event having taken place; and that the Canaries, Azores, and Teneriffe, are nothing else than the tops of mountains belonging to land sunk in the Atlantic Ocean. Buffon says this tradition of the Island Atlantis is not devoid of probability, and that the lands swallowed up by the waters were perhaps those which untied Ireland to the Azores, and the Azores to the continent of America.\*

Note\* The presence of volcanoes, either burning or extinct, in every islands in the Atlantic Ocean, may be considered as no slight argument in our favour. In the Azores alone, there are upwards of forty extinct or active volcanoes.

[p. 32] We have now shown, that there is some argument for our belief, that land once existed in the Atlantic Ocean; we can also show that the countries and islands on and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans give evidence that land was once submerged in those portions of the globe. . . .

[pp. 34-35] Clavigero in his history of Mexico, relates that the mexicans, in their descriptions of the different ages of the world, say that the second age lasted from the time of the *Inundation* until the ruin of the giants, and the great earthquakes, which concluded the second sun, which they supposed was destroyed at the end of every age.

In concluding this chapter, we will only remark that the number of traditions and geological observations, having a reference to a great convulsion of our earth, must strike the reader as some evidence in our favour; the universality of these traditions, also induces us to believe that a great extent of land has been destroyed.

From the present appearances of the earth, its islands, and other circumstances connected with them, we do not think it a hasty or rash declaration to say that we believe, since the deluge, there was land of great extent in the pacific, Indian, and Atlantic Oceans; no doubt much shattered and broken, yet not to such a degree as to hinder men and animals from roaming through the extended parts. During this state of things, or whilst men and animals were traversing the world, this land was generally submerged; and though numbers of men and animals were doubtless destroyed, yet the new formed islands (fragments of this land,) preserved many; and thus early severed from the rest of the world, these fragments of the human family have remained through successive generation, until the spirit of navigation and modern enterprise once more untied the links between them and their brother men.

### Chapter III.

#### On the Islanders of the Pacific Ocean

[pp. 36-41] As further proof of what has been asserted, there are some extraordinary circumstances connected with the islands in the Pacific Ocean, that most strongly support the idea, that a large tract of land once existed across the sea; and which has been submerged.

How these islands have been peopled, is as curious as the settlement of America; and the facts that explain the one will also elucidate the other.

In looking over the map, we find New Zealand about 1500 miles distant from new Holland; which if not the nearest to it is as near as any other land; and from which the Zealanders, according to the common theory, can only be supposed to have come: now the New Hollanders are mostly, (for some are like Malays) as black as African negroes, flat noses, wide nostrils, wide sunk eyes, thick brows and lips, very large mouths, low stature, and ill made, arms, legs, and thighs, thin. The New Zealanders are brown and yellowish, long black hair, and in one of the two islands some have white features, regular and pleasing.

Is it possible then, that under such circumstances we can believe the people of Zealand came from New Holland, or that their animals ever swam 1500 miles, the distance between New Holland and New Zealand.

The New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Queen Charlotte's Islands, &c. lay nearest to Papua or New Guinea; from which, on the most moderate calculation, they are 700 miles distant, and nearly that distance from one to the other. We find the inhabitants of these islands nearly like the Zealanders; and completely different from the Papuans, who are black and shining, woolly heads, and other characters of negroes.

The Friendly Islands are distant from these last group, which are nearer to them than any other land, about 1200 miles.

The Society Isles are about 1200 miles distant from these last islands.

The Sandwich Islands lay above 3000 miles from America, and at least 1500 miles from those groups of islands, where man is supposed to have crossed the ocean; and Maria Lajara is 300 miles distant from the Sandwich Islands.

Yet over these insulated spots, have philosophers believed, men actually crossed to America, and that our animals also came by the same route. A map of this sea is the most striking authority against such an opinion; and should be consulted as to the distance and relative situation of these islands to one another, and to America.

So great is love of theory, that the possibility of crossing the Pacific Ocean to America, in the way we have just mentioned, has been insisted upon, from the rare circumstance of finding a few savages in canoes, at considerable distances from land, whither they had been driven by winds or currents. We grant that they have been found at great distances from their islands; but never to one-third of the distance that some islands lay apart, or from the continent, and where they have been found; the fact is mentioned, only as being very surprising and uncommon.

During all the many voyages that have been made in this sea, the circumstance of thus finding them, as far as I know, does not amount to more than five or six instances; and never have they been found with animals in their canoes, from whom other lands might be supplied.

But if ten thousand men in canoes, unprepared as these savages, were thus driven out to sea, not one in a thousand could possibly go half the distance between some of these lands without starving; and then what are the chances of their touching land at all? The idea is absurd, and requires no further comment.

Capt. Cook asks,

"How shall we account for the Otaheitans having spread themselves, in so many detached islands, so widely disjoined from each other, as in the Pacific ocean? We find the language of these islanders, from New Zealand in the south, as far as the Sandwich to the north; and in another direction, from Easter Islands to the New Hebrides, to be dialects of the Otaheitan: that is over an extend of ocean of 60 degrees of latitude, or 1200 leagues N. and S. and 83 degrees longitude, or 1660 leagues E. and W." (See Cook's Voyage, 4to. vol. ii. 251.)

This singular circumstance has struck most of the navigators in the Pacific, and who have all made similar queries. Nothing can be more in favour of our hypothesis than this remarkable fact.

Mankind, after the confusion, marched, according to Moses, in three directions. The children of Ham went to Africa, Japhet peopled Europe, while Shem held his course towards the East. By this it is not to be understood, that they each went in a body to these respective parts of the earth; but, on the contrary, that they were in small tribes or families, and roving over the world. A continent then stood where now is the great Pacific ocean; and while men and animals were in this loose and unsettled state, this tract of land was in great measure sunk under the water, and only the tops of its mountains and highlands remained above the surface of the sea. These new made islands saved numbers of men and animals,

who were thus cut off from the rest of mankind, until their discovery a few years since by modern enterprise.

According to the learned Jackson, and many ingenious and sensible commentators on the Mosaic writings, the language of man at Babel was not divided into radically different languages, but into dialects of some few original and distinct languages. Now as the settlements of the children of Shem were towards the East, &c. the languages over its extent may have been mere dialects from one common root, belonging to that branch of Noah's family only: of course, when the division of the earth took place, these dialects, of one or two roots, would be found in those islands; the remains of land, once settled or travelled over, to the descendants of Shem; and thus the great extent of sea, where we find this extraordinary diffusion of one language and its dialects, may be explained and accounted for.

From the subjoined observation, this appears to be undeniable. In Sir William Jones's Disquisitions on the Nations of the East, he introduces the observations of a distinguished author, (Mr. Marsden,) on the insular dialects of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, which he decidedly affirms to be all dialects of the Sanskrit, the original language of the East, and from which the languages of the Eastern world may even now be generally derived. (See Sir W. Jones's Works, iii 175)

Dr. Barton, (see New Views, &c.) says, that strong analogies may be pointed out between the languages of the Pacific Islanders and the American Indians.

How can we explain these striking facts, unless by the theory we have advanced; for we can now trace a language originating in Eastern Asia, diffusing itself throughout the great Pacific, and afterwards spreading into America.

For certain analogies between the language of the Malays, and that of the Islanders of the Pacific Ocean, it has been supposed, that the Malays colonized or settled these Islands. . . . but even supposing that it was proved the Malays were the original settlers of these islands, how were the animals transported, or who carried those animals, such as the Ornithorincus or the Kangaroo, which are found in these Islands, not only unknown in Malacca, but to the remainder of the world. . . .

Chapter ??

On the Antiquities of the Western Country

[pp. 210-214] These important traditions have been extracted from the Port Folio, of Philadelphia; and were originally taken from some manuscripts in the possession of the editor of that periodical work;--they are as follows:

"Mr. Thomas Bodely was informed by Indians of different tribes, north west of the Ohio, that they had understood from their old men, and that it had been a tradition among their several nations, that Kentucky had been settled by whites, and that they had been exterminated by war. They were of opinion that the old fortifications now to be seen in Kentucky and Ohio, were the productions of those white inhabitants. . . .

Colonel M'Kee, who commanded on the Kenhawa when Cornstalk was inhumanly murdered, had frequent conversation with that chief, respecting the people who had

constructed the ancient forts. He stated, that it was a current and assured tradition among the Indians, that Ohio and Kentucky had been once settled by white people; who were possessed of facts which the Indians did not know, and that after many sanguinary contests they were exterminated.--(*Port Foflio*, number for June, 1816)

From these traditions, and from the testimony of three South American nations, who ascribe their civilization and religion to three white men, whom we shall presently notice, it appears very reasonable to believe, that a race of white men, imperfectly civilized, were the center from whence the civilization, observable in America, has emanated;--and to this population must we refer the pyramids and fortifications of the Western country.\*

Note\* We have already shewn, (in page 52) that white men are found in several parts of America, who have never had any connexion with Europeans. Bearded men may be seen among the ancient Mexican figures and hieroglyphicks--as see Humboldt's *Atlas Pittoresque Planches*, 21, 47, and 48.

It can be but little more than guess work to state more of this aboriginal white people--for the few scattered, unconnected facts and circumstances that remain concerning them, can only serve to give a tolerable plausibility to what we will say o this subject.

How great, or how extended their population may have been, is impossible to tell;--perhaps we may with safety say, that their influence pervaded all that country where we find the fortifications and pyramids, and which, I am disposed to believe, embraced several of the copper coloured tribes also.

A cruel and bloody war appears to have taken place between the rude and barbarous natives, perhaps under some Attila or Genseric, and their more refined and civilized neighbours, which ended nearly in the total destruction of the latter. The few that survived this catastrophe, fled their country, and sought happier and more peaceful climes. The Toltecas and Mexicans, copper coloured people, who appear to owe the knowledge and refinement they possessed to these aboriginal whites, avoided a cruel fate in this manner, though they appear to have also suffered before leaving their original country.

The arguments supporting the opinion, that the Western States of the Union were the original countries of the Mexicans and Toltecas, may perhaps be plausibly demonstrated, and under the peculiar circumstances of the bloody war which we have just mentioned, may be found the reasons that enforced their migration. . . .

It can be also shewn that the works and labours of the Mexicans, bear striking analogies to the ruins found along the Mississippi and Ohio. The pyramids of Anahuac, and temples of Mexico, are decidedly of the same style, design and arrangement, with the ancient remains. The Mexicans also raised places of defence similar to the ancient fortifications; this may be seen in *Clavigero*, ii. 389; and this is also evident by the account given by Cortez, of the conquest of Mexico.

*Clavigero* has given a drawing of the defence to the Tascalan territories, not materially different from the figure of one given in the *Columbian Magazine*, iii. and figu. 1st. which is situated on the Huron river. . . .

**1818 Timothy C. Strong ed.**  
21, Palmyra, NY,

**"Indian Antiquities," in *Palmyra Register* vol. 1, Jan.**

1818.

Dan Vogel writes:

This article is a reprint of an article from the *North American Review* (Vol. 16, Nov. 1817) which in turn reported on an item from the *Western Gazetteer* describing several mounds found in Harrison, Indiana. The editor of the *North American Review* introduces the item by stating that the mounds were the work of a people "who had made much greater advances in the arts of civilized life" than any of the Indians. The *Western Gazetteer* is quoted as stating that the mound builders were more civilized than the Indians and that the numerous skeletons which fill the mounds "were doubtless killed in battle, and hastily buried."

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(139)

Note\* See the 1935 Kirkham notation.

**1818** John Gottlieb Ernestus Heckewelder *An Account of the History Manners, and Customs, of the*

*Indian Nations, Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and Neighbouring States.* Philadelphia, 1818, 1819.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(115)

**1819** Timothy C. Strong, ed. *Palmyra Register*, Vol. 2, Palmyra, New York, 26 May 1819

Dan Vogel writes:

"American Antiquities" reports on the discovery of mounds and expresses the belief that their builders were exterminated by the Indians:

"this country was once inhabited by a race of people, at least, partially civilized, & that this race has been exterminated by the forefathers of the present and late tribes of Indians in this country."

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

Note\* See the 1935 Kirkham notation

**1819    Stillman published Journal of Arts and Sciences**

**1819    Caleb Atwater        *Journal of Arts and Sciences*.** First volume published by the Antiquarian Society.

General Asiatic origin upheld. See the 1820 notation

**1819    John Smith        *The General Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles*.**

London, 1624, 1625, 1626 . . . ; Richmond, VA, 1819.

Smith refers to the Welsh and Carthaginian theories of Indian origins (1)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(127)

**1820    Caleb Atwater        "Description of the Antiquities Discovered in the State of Ohio and other**

**States," in *Archaeologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 1. Worcester, MA, 1820.**

Dan Vogel writes:

Atwater describes North American mounds and fortifications . . . He rejects the idea that the Indians or their ancestors built the mounds, thus making a sharp distinction between Indians and mound builders (206-10). The *Archaeologia* also contains a letter from Samuel L. Mitchill, professor of natural history at the University of New York, to DeWitt Clinton, president of the New York Philosophical Society, dated 31 March 1816 (325-32), which connects the Indians with Asiatics.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(133)

Stuart J. Fiedel writes:

In 1820, the first comparative study of the Ohio mounds, by Caleb Atwater, postmaster of Circleville, was published by the American Antiquarian Society, which had been founded in Boston eight years earlier. Atwater provided accurate descriptions of many sites, but he also lapsed into groundless speculation, suggesting that "Hindoos" had built the mounds.

Source: ^Stuart J. Fiedel, *Prehistory of the Americas*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 3

**1820**                    ***Western Review***, vol. 2, May, Lexington, KY, 1820.

Dan Vogel writes:

This issue describes two ancient modes of burial which indicate to the writer that "there were too [two] powerful nations contending for the country" (200). The fortifications and burial mounds are evidence that a terrible war had been fought in North America (200). The writer also rejects the Bering Strait theory and proposes instead that the ancient Americans came by ship (204).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144\*(144)

**1820**    **Emanuel Howitt**    ***Selections from Letters Written during a Tour through the United States,***

***In the Summer and Autumn of 1819; Illustrative of the Character of the Native Indians, and of Their Descent from the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel.*** Nottingham, [1820]

Dan Vogel writes:

Howitt describes ancient fortifications he has visited (135-6, 183). He believes the mounds were erected more than a thousand years previous (183), states that they were the work of a people superior to the Indians (136), and mentions the mound builders' use of iron (135, 183). He also subscribes to the thesis that Indians are descendants of the ten



tribes of Israel (161-84). He describes the mammoth skeleton on display during his 1819 visit to Peal's Museum in Philadelphia (61).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

Note\* This book is only found in AMER-RARE and as such no part can be copied without undue cost. Call #: E 165 .H86

**1820^ Samuel Farmar Jarvis      *Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America,***

Delivered Before The New-York Historical Society, December 20,  
1819. New York: C. Wiley & Co., 1820

Jarvis argued against the idea that the American Indians were of the Lost Tribes of Israel

Source: Franklin S. Harris, Jr. *The Book of Mormon: Message and Evidences*, 2nd ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1961, p. 55. (see the note on the 1831 notation)

In this "Anniversary Discourse" delivered by the "Reverend Doctor Jarvis" we find the following:

[p. 5] In surveying those portions of American history from which I might select a subject for the present occasion, it appeared to me, that the religion of the Indian tribes of North America, had not been viewed with the largeness of observation, which is the characteristic of enlightened philosophy. . . .

[pp. 8-9] The various speculations, for example, on the question, whence America was peopled, led to many misrepresentations of the religious rites of its inhabitants; and affinities were discovered which existed nowhere but in the fancy of the inventor. Gomara, Lerijs, and Lescarbot, inferred from some resemblances of this kind, that America was peopled by the Canaanites when they were expelled by Joshua; and the celebrated Grotius, adopting the sentiment of Martyr, imagined that Yucatan was first peopled by Ethiopians, and that those Ethiopians were Christians! . . .

It is well known, that, among the philosophers of Europe, the opinion has very generally prevailed, that the natives of America were, both as to physical and mental powers, a feeble race; and, impressed with this belief, they hardly considered the religion of the Indians as worthy of minute attention. . . .

Volney, in opposition to the sentiments of Rousseau, has endeavored to sink the character of the savage, in the same proportion as that eccentric author sought to raise it. . . .

[pp. 10-15] On the other hand, an hypothesis has somewhat extensively prevailed, which exalts the religion of the Indians as much above its proper level, as Volney has debased it below; I mean that, which supposes them to be the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel. This theory so possessed the mind of Adair, that, although he had the greatest opportunities of obtaining knowledge, his book is, comparatively, of little use. We are constantly led to suspect the fidelity of his statements, because his judgment had lost its equipoise, and he saw every thing through a discoloured medium. I feel myself bound to notice this hypothesis the more, because it has lately been revived and brought before the public, by a venerable member of this society, whose exalted character renders every opinion he may defend a subject of respectful attention.\* (\*See D. Boudinot's *Star in the West, or a humble attempt to discover the long-lost ten tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city Jerusalem*. Trenton, N. J., 1816. 8vo.)

To the mind of every religious man, the history of the Hebrews is a subject of peculiar interest; and it is impossible to read of the extermination of the kingdom of Israel, without a feeling of compassion for the captives, who were thus torn from the land of their prerogative. The impenetrable darkness which hangs over their subsequent history, combines with this sentiment of pity, the powerful excitement of curiosity. It is not, then, to be wondered at, that when the disquisitions arose respecting the peopling of America, the idea of tracing to these western shores the long-lost tribes of Israel, should also have arisen before the eye of imagination with captivating splendour; that the thought should have been seized with avidity by men who were pious, and ardent, and contemplative; and that, in the establishment of a theory which every one could wish to be true, facts should be strained from their natural bent, and resemblances imagined, which have no existence in reality.

The most unequivocal method of tracing the origin of the aborigines of America, as Charlevoix has sensibly remarked, is to ascertain the character of their languages, and to compare them with the primitive languages of the eastern hemisphere.

But this test will, I conceive, be found very fatal to the theory in question. The best informed writers agree, that there are, exclusive of the Karalilt or Esquimaux, three radical languages spoken by the Indians of North America. . . . These three languages are primitive, that is to say, are so distinct as to have no perceivable affinity. All, therefore, cannot be derived from the Hebrew; for it is a contradiction in terms, to speak of three languages radically different, as derived from a common source. . . .

Besides, there is one striking peculiarity in the construction of American languages, which has no counterpart in the Hebrew. Instead of the ordinary division of genders, they divide into the animate and inanimate. it is impossible to conceive that any nation, in whatever circumstances they might be placed, could depart, in so remarkable a manner, from the idioms of their native language.

But supposing that there were some affinity in any one of the languages of North America to the Hebrew, still it would not prove that the persons who speak it are of hebrew descent. . . .

To pursue this subject further, would occupy too much time upon a point which is merely subsidiary. But I cannot forbear remarking, that, while the nation of Israel has been wonderfully preserved, the Indians are nearly exterminated. The nation of Israel will hereafter be restored to the land of their forefathers; but this event must speedily arrive, or the unhappy tribes of America can have no part in it. A few years more, and they will be beyond the capability of migration!

The question, then, with regard to the immediate origin of the American Indians, must remain in the uncertainty which hangs over it. Nothing but a more extensive knowledge of the languages of this continent, of those of Northern Asia, and of the Islands in the

Southern pacific, can throw any additional light upon a problem, which has so long exercised, and so completely exhausted, the ingenuity of conjecture. Their religion furnishes no assistance in the solution, for it cannot be identified with that of any particular nation, in any other portion of the globe; and though resemblances, and those very strong and striking, can be traced, yet they are such as are common to the great family of man, and prove nothing but that all have one common origin.

It will be readily seen, however, that this proof is of vast importance. If the religion of the Indians exhibits traces of that primeval religion which was of divine appointment; if the debasement of it was owing, as among all other nations, to the concurrent operation of human ignorance, weakness, and corruption: and if its rites, and even its superstitious observances, bear that analogy to those of the old world, which must exist where all have flowed from one source: then all that is really useful in the question respecting the origin of the inhabitants of this continent will be fully obtained. There will be no anomaly in the history of human nature; and the assertion of Voltair will be found to be as false as it is flippant, that the Americans are a race entirely different from other men, and that they have sprung into existence like plants and insects.

[pp. 16-20] Previous to the dispersion of the descendants of Noah, the knowledge of the true God, of the worship which he required from his creatures, and of the sanctions with which he enforced his commands, must have been common to all. . . .

How long this purity continued we know not, nor when, nor where idolatry was first introduced. That it began, however, at a very early period, we have the strongest evidence; for Terah, the father of Abraham, was an idolater, notwithstanding the precepts and example of Noah, both of which, for more than a hundred years, he personally enjoyed. . . .

. . . The worship of the invisible Creator was at length forgotten; His seat was usurped by fictitious deities; and a general apostasy prevailed. . . . Then it was that the Almighty was pleased to give the nations over "to reprobate mind," and to select a peculiar people, to be a signal example of his providence, the witness of his wonders, and the guardian of that revelation with which he sought to check the waywardness of human corruption. . . .

[He then analyzes the Indians in a number of related religious areas [pp. 20-60] :

1. A belief in One Supreme Being
2. The belief of a future state of rewards and punishments
3. The belief that there is a God who regulates the affairs of men and of a future state of rewards and punishments.
4. The system of Priesthood.
5. Prophecy and seership.

Note\* In regards to part 5, the following is pertinent:

[p. 52] But there is another office, which Carver, Bartram, and others, have confounded with the priesthood, which exists among all the Indian Tribes, and concerning which, there is no diversity in the statement of travellers. To this class of men, the French Missionaries gave the name of *Jongleurs*, whence the English have derived that of Jugglers or Conjurers. . . . "The Jongleurs of Canada," says Charlevoix, "boast that by means of the good spirits whom they consult, they learn what is passing in the most remote countries, and what is to

come to pass at the most distant period of time; that they discover the origin and nature of the most secret disorders, and obtain the hidden method of curing them; . . .

[p. 60] In proportion, then, as Idolatry increased, the prophetic spirit in the patriarchal church was gradually withdrawn. While the true God was worshipped, even though in the absurd connection with Idols, the divine influence was sometimes communicated. But being gradually more and more frequently denied, the prophets had recourse to the superstitious observances of divination and judicial astrology. And as Idolatry, in its downward course, at length lost sight of the Creator, and worshipped only the creatures, so the prophetic office degenerated into the arts by which impostors preyed upon the superstition of the ignorant.

[pp. 61-62] I have now, gentlemen, finished the view which I proposed to take of the Religion of the Indians. . . .

It is already been observed, however, that their religious system can afford no clue by which to trace them to any particular nation of the old world. On a subject so obscure as the origin of nations there is great danger of expatiating in conjectures. In fact, the view here taken, in some measure cuts off these conjectures, by tracing the Aborigines of America, to a higher source than has usually been assigned to them. If the opinion I have advanced be true, it will, I think, appear rational to believe, that the Indians are a primitive people; -- that, like the Chinese, they must have been among the earliest emigrants of the descendants of Noah; --that, like that singular nation, they advanced so far beyond the circle of human society, as to become entirely separated from all other men;--and that, in this way, they preserved a more distinct and homogeneous character than is to be found in any other portion of the Globe. Whether they came immediately to this western continent, or whether they arrived here by gradual progression, can never be ascertained and is, in fact, an inquiry of little moment. It is probable, however, that, like the Northern hordes who descended upon Europe, and who constituted the basis of its present population, their numbers were great; and that from one vast reservoir, they flowed onward in successive surges, wave impelling wave, till they had covered the whole extent of this vast continent. At least, this hypothesis may account for the uniform character of their religion and for the singular fact which has lately been illustrated by a learned member of the American Philosophical Society, that their languages form a separate class in human speech, and that, in their plans of thought, the same system extends from the coasts of Labrador to the extremity of Cape Horn.

**1821<sup>^</sup> Timothy Dwight *Travels; in New-England and New-York*, 4 vols. New Haven, 1821-22, vol. 1,**

pp. :126.

According to Dan Vogel,

Jedidiah Morse in 1793 referred to legends of a flood among Mexican Indians to validate his view "that we ought to seek among the descendants of Noah, for the first peoples of America." And Timothy Dwight, eighth president of Yale College, echoed these and other conclusions in his own book published some twenty years later [1813?]:

The several traditions . . . of the inhabitants of Hispaniola, Brazil, and several other countries of South America, concerning the Creation, the Deluge, and the confusion of

language, cannot have been inventions of their own. The chances are many millions to one against their agreement in the formation of these traditionary stories. They are, therefore complete proofs against the hypothesis, that these people were indigenous inhabitants of America. Equally are they proofs, that they sprang from a common stock, and this stock certainly existed in Asia.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 35-44, 48

In the Preface of his book, Timothy Dwight writes:

In the year 1795 I was chosen President of Yale College. The business of this office is chiefly of a sedentary nature, and requires exertions of the mind almost without interruption. In 1774, when a tutor in the same Seminary, I was very near losing my life by inaction, and a too intense application to study. A long course of unremitted exercise restored my health. These facts, together with subsequent experience, had taught me, that it could not be preserved by any other means. I determined, therefore, to devote the vacations, particularly that in the autumn, which includes six weeks, to a regular course of travelling.

Letter [Chapter] IX is a "General account of the Indians of New-England--Divisions of their Nations or Tribes-Their character, passions, and manners-Their Weekwams, Agriculture, Wars, Treatment of Captives, Government, Knowledge of Medicine, Religion, Morale, and Language--*Considerations relative to their Origin*. On pages 124-129 we find the following:

After investigating their Character and Manners, the question is naturally asked, *Whence came these people to America; and whence did they derive their origin?* To these questions, as you know, several answers have been given. I shall not here enter into an examination of them. Permit me, however, to present you a few remarks on the subject; which I will briefly make, and then leave it to your own consideration.

1. The distance between the East Cape of Asia, and Cape Prince of Wales in America, across the straits of Behring, is about forty miles. Capt. Cook found a body of Savages in their canoes, six hundred miles from home; (i.e. fifteen times this distance) on a military enterprize. It is plain therefore, that the breadth of these straits could present no obstacle to their emigration from the Eastern continent. It may be proper further to observe, that the people of both continents now cross them familiarly; and that the people of America, bordering on the great Western lakes [ the Great Lakes] customarily pass over them in their batteaus. I need not tell you, that this navigation is both more dangerous, and extends through many times the same distance.

2. The Colonization of the world by the descendants of Noah must necessarily have conducted them, within a period, whose utmost limit terminated from two to three thousand year ago, to the North-Eastern shore of Asia. From this shore the next step was to the American Continent. To a people, habitually fond of a roving live, an excursion to this Continent could not, in the circumstances, fail of being an alluring object, and would present not a single serious difficulty.

3. The figure, complexion, dress, manners, customs, and canoes, of the natives of both Continents are the same. Mr. Simbert, a respectable European Painter, who came to New-England with the celebrated Berkely, in the year 1732, saw some Indians at Newport; and informed Dr. Stiles, afterwards President of Yale College, that their countenances, in all the features were, remarkably copies of some Tartars, whose faces he had taken at Naples for the King of the two Sicilies. The opinion of a respectable Painter on a subject of this kind will not, I suppose, be questioned. The tribes of both continents pull out their beards; march in single file; bury their dead in the same manner; &c. &c.

4. The traditions of all the American nations, so far as they are known, uniformly declare, that their Ancestors came from the West. Particularly this is asserted by the Mohekaneews, the Irohekanees, delivers it as the tradition of their Ancestors, that they came in the direction of West by North from another country; that they passed over the great waters, where this country and that are nearly connected; and that they originally lived by the side of the Ocean; whence they derived their name; which signifies great waters, continually in motion, or continually ebbing and flowing (see Hist. Coll. Vol 4th, p. 100)

The Mexicans pointed out their course to the Spaniards distinctly; and marked the stations, at which they stopped for a considerable length of time, together with the works, which they threw up at these stations for their defence. The Abbe Clavigero informs us, that the Spaniards have since discovered some of these stations, and the ruins of the works, at the places, mentioned in the Mexican accounts.

Beside the proof, here furnished, that the Mexicans told the truth concerning their emigration, the very tradition, itself, among these several nations cannot be false, nor mistaken. All traditionary accounts, which are regularly retained by any nation concerning the place of its origin, are almost of course true; i.e. in substance. Those, who first communicated them, communicated facts. Those who followed, have often forgotten some facts, and added some fabulous circumstances. But the great and commanding facts have rarely been forgotten, and never mistaken. Those who repeat and those who receive, the tradition, are here interested in preserving truth; because every nation, particularly every savage nation, considers its origin as honourable to itself and regards it with not a little attachment. The subject, also is too simple to perplex the memory, and too important to escape it.

When, therefore, these nations tell us, that their ancestors came from the West; it is to be received as a of course true.

In addition to this, the several traditions of the nations, which have been mentioned, and of the inhabitants of Hispaniola, Brazil, and several other countries in South America, concerning the Creation, the Deluge, and the confusion of languages, cannot have been inventions of their own. The changes are many millions to one against their agreement in the formation of these traditionary stories. They are, therefore, complete proofs against the hypothesis, that these people were indigenous inhabitants of America. Equally are they proofs, that they sprang from a common stock, and this stock certainly existed in Asia.

5. These people emigrated in Colonies; each composed of a Tribe. The Tartars emigrate in this manner at the present time; and have ever thus emigrated. The proof of this, also is complete. Each colony has ever retained its own language; and that, proved by its strictly analogical character to be an unmixed language. There is a striking example of this truth in the circumstances of the Iroquois, and Mohekaneews. . . .

The Abbe Clavigero informs us, that there are upwards of thirty languages in Mexico. These however he himself reduces too "three or four," i.e. to a very small number;: for his phraseology teaches us, that the Abbe did not know the exact truth. . . .

As they emigrated in a body; each tribe brought with it its own knowledge, arts, and customs; whatever they were. These so far as the means of continuing them were found in the countries where they settled, they communicated to their children. Such of them as were advanced sufficiently far in improvement to awaken the spirit of ingenious effort, added somewhat to their previous stock of knowledge and arts. The Toltecas, particularly, who appear to have been better informed than any other American tribe, seem originally to have possessed the art of recording historical events by pictures. had not the Spaniards in their furious zeal against Gentilism, foolishly destroyed a great multitude of these pictures, they would probably have contributed not a little to throw light upon the ancient history of America. From the Toltecas the Mexicans, properly so called, received all their arts: and improved some of them; but seem never to have arrived at the same degree of intelligence, refinement, or morality. The Peruvians, I mean that tribe of them, which laid the foundation of the Peruvian empire, and ultimately conquered all the nations which it contained; were also possessed of considerable improvements, at their emigration: and of a softness of manners, resembling that of the Toltecas. The Tlascalans in Mexico, and the Araucanians in Chili, were republicans; and possessed a high spirit of freedom, and a juster sense of its nature, and value, than any other American nation. Both also possessed a considerable knowledge of the useful arts; and principles of government, totally superior to any thing else, existing among the Aborigines of this Continent. All these distinctions are in a primary degree to be attributed to the state of society, attained by these tribes before their emigration. This conseration connected with the fact that all these people emigrated in tribes, will sufficiently explain the differences, found among them, when the Europeans visited America.

6. There is nothing mysterious in finding this set of Colonists on every part of the Western Continent. To wander is the delight, and very often the proper and only business of Indians; as it ever has been of the Tartars. Indians travel with a facility, a celerity, and a freedom from fatigue, unknown to the people of Europe. Their couriers, or runners, are said to go at the rate of one hundred miles in a day. . . .

It will require but a moderate number of years, compared with what an European would naturally suppose, to furnish ample opportunity for a tribe of these people, delighted as they are with rambling, to reach the most distant parts of this continent. Half a century would convey them with great ease from Cape Prince of Wales to Cape Horn.

7. Still I think it altogether probable, that all of them did not come to America across Behring's Straits. There is good reason to believe, that the Malayans, the Dutch of Asia, crossed the Pacific ocean in the pursuit of commerce. Should this be admitted, it will be easily believed that they planted Colonies on the Western coast. The Esquimaux and Greenlanders, together with some other Northern tribes, seem to be an entirely different people from the nations, which were landed to the South; and unless the supposition should be refuted by their language, may without any improbability be considered as having derived their origin from the North of Europe. Nor is there a single known fact, which forbids us to believe, that the Phoenicians, and Carthaginians, in their voyages to different countries on the Atlantic, particularly to the Fortunate Islands, wandered, either from necessity or accident, into the course of the trade winds, and were driven to the western continent. This, I acknowledge is a conjecture; but it is not an improbable one.

**Paul Cabrera**  
**Critical**

***Kingdom of Guatemala . . . Followed by Teatro Critico Americano; or,***

***Investigation and Research into the History of the Americans, by Doctor Paul Felix Cabrera, London, 1822, 31.***

Dan Vogel writes:

Like Clavigero, Paul Cabrera also cited Indian legends of a flood as evidence that their origins could be traced to the Old World. His confidently titled essay, "Solution of the Grand Historical Problem of the Population of America," was published in 1822 in the same volume with explorer Antonio del Rio's description of the ruins of an ancient city discovered near Palenque, Guatemala. . . . Cabrera denounced the pre-Adamite theory because he found that American antiquities such as those discovered by del Rio were so like those of the "Egyptians and other nations" as to prove a "connexion has existed between them and the Americans," thus solving "the grand historical problem of its population." . . .

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 35-44, 48

Dan Vogel writes:

Rio describes various ruins at Palenque, including several houses and palaces and a very large building. He includes plates of some of the structures, several Mayan codices, and an article, "Teatro Critico Americano; or, a Critical Investigation and Research into the History of the Americans," written by Paul Felix Cabrera. Cabrera interprets the pre-Adamite theory of Indian origins as an attack on the atonement of Christ (28-29). He suggests instead that the ancient Americans came by sea (101). He also mentions the tradition of an eclipse in A. D. 34 and speculates that the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl was St. Thomas preaching the gospel in ancient America (93-94, 113).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

Yates and Moulton write [pp. 72-73]:

The ruins of an ancient city near **Palenque**, in the province of Chiapa, and kingdom of Guatemala, in Spanish America, are described as exhibiting the remains of magnificent edifices, temples, towers, aqueducts, statues, hieroglyphics, and unknown characters. This city (since called the Palencian city) was first discovered by Captain Antonio Del Rio, in 1787. He says in his report, that the town appears to have been seven or eight leagues in length, and at least half a league in breadth; that from a Romish similarity in location, in that of a subterranean stone aqueduct, and from certain figures in Stucco, he thought that an intercourse once existed between the original natives and **Romans**. The Palencian edifices are of very remote antiquity, having been buried for many ages in the impenetrable thickets covering the mountains, and unknown to the historians of the new world.



Source: John Van Ness Yates and Joseph White Moulton, *History of the State of New York*. vol. 1, New York: A.T. Goodrich, 1824.

NOTE\* THIS BOOK IS ONLY FOUND IN THE BYU NON CIRC. RARE COLLECTION. (F 1435.1 .P2 R5 1822) As such no portion of it can be copied without undue cost.

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On pages 156-165 of his 1883 *Native Races* (vol. 5), Hubert H. Bancroft relates the following information relative to Cabrera and to the tradition of Votan:

[p. 157] In the southern regions, where the Maya culture flourished, or what may be considered geographically as Central America, we have seen that the chronologic record is much less extensive and perfect even than in the north, taking us back in an oft-broken line only a few centuries beyond the Conquest. Yet we have caught traditional glimpses far back in the misty past of a mighty aboriginal empire in these tropical lands, of the earlier and grander stages of Maya culture, of Votan, of Xibalba, of even the early periods of Nahuatl civilization and power. . . .

[157-158] The history of the Native Races may be most conveniently subdivided as follows;--1st. The Pre-Toltec Period, embracing the semi-mythic traditions of the earliest civilization, extending down to a date--always preceding the sixth century . . . 2d. The Toltec Period . . . 3d. The Chichimec Period, extending from the eleventh century to the formation of the tripartite alliance between the Aztecs, Acolhuas, and Tepanecs in the fifteenth century. 4th. The Aztec Period. . . .

The first division, the Pre-Toltec Period, to which the present chapter is devoted, will include the few vague traditions that seem to point to the cradle of American civilization, to the Votanic empire, to Xibalba, and to the deeds of the civilizers, or culture-heroes, in Tabasco and Chiapas. . . .

[pp. 159-161] I have told in another volume the mythic tale of Votan (Vol. iii, p. 450, et seq.), the culture-hero, how he came to America and apportioned the land among the people. He came by divine command from Valum Chivim by way of Valum Votan, built a great city of Nachan, "city of the serpents"--so called from his own name for he was of the race of Chan, a Serpent--and founded a great empire in the Usumacinta region, which he seems to have ruled over as did his descendants or followers for many centuries. He was not regarded in the native traditions as the first man in America; he found the country peopled, as did all the culture-heroes, but by his teachings and by the aid of his companions, he firmly established his own ideas of religion and government. So far as his memory was preserved by tradition he was a civilizer, a law-giver, the introducer of the Maya culture, worshiped moreover, after his disappearance, as a god. He came by sea from the east, but with the locality whence he started I have nothing to do here; neither is it necessary to indulge in speculation respecting the four mysterious visits which he paid after his arrival in America to his original home in the Old World, where it is gravely asserted he was present at the building of Solomon's temple and saw the ruins of the tower of Babel. His reported acts in the New World, whose people he came to civilize, were;--the dividing or apportioning of the lands among the people; their instruction in the new institutions they were required to adopt; the building of a great city, Nachan, afterwards the metropolis of an empire; the reception of a new band of disciples of his own race, who were allowed to share

in the success already achieved by his enterprise; the subdividing of his empire after its power had become wide-spread in the land into several allied monarchies subordinate in a certain degree to Nachan, among whose capitals were Tulan, Mayapan, and Chiquimula; the construction of a subterranean road or "snake hole" from the barranca of Zuqui to Tzequil . . . and finally the writing of a "book" in which was inscribed a complete record of all he had done, with a defense or proof of his claims to be considered one of the Chanes, or Serpents.\*\*

(Note\*\* Ordonez states in one part of his work that this record was not written by Votan himself, but by his descendant in the eighth or ninth generation. --Brasseur de Bourbourg, in *Popol Vuh*, p. lxxxvii.)

This document is the authority, indirectly, for nearly all that is known from Tzendal sources of Votan and his empire. Francisco Nunez de la Vega, Bishop of Chiapas, claims to have had in his possession and to have read this historical tract.\*\*\* (*Constituciones Diocesanas del Obispado de Chiappas*. Rome, **1702**.) He does not describe it, but from his having been able to read the contents, it would seem to have been, if genuine, not the original in hieroglyphics but an interpretation in European letters, although still perhaps in the Tzendal language. Of the contents, besides a general statement of Votan's coming as the first man sent by God to portion out the land, and some of his experiences in the Old World, this author says nothing definite. He claims to have had much knowledge of Tzendal antiquity derived from the work mentioned and other native writings, but he feared to perpetuate this knowledge lest it might "confirm more strongly an idolatrous superstition." He is the only authority for the deposit of the treasure in the Dark House at Huehuetan, without saying expressly that he derived his information from Votan's writings. This treasure consisting of aboriginal relics, the bishop felt it to be his duty to destroy, and it was publicly burned in 1691. It is not altogether improbable that a genuine Maya document similar to the *Manuscript Troano* or *Dresden Codex* (See vol. ii, pp. 771-4) preserved from the early times, may have found a native interpreter at the time of the Conquest, and have escaped in its disguise of Spanish letters the destruction that overtook its companions.

The next notice of this manuscript is found in the writings of Dr. Paul Felix Cabrera, (*Teatro Critico Americano*, p. 32, et seq.) who in the last part of the eighteenth century found it in the possession of Don Ramon de Ordonez y Aguiar, a native and resident of Ciudad Real in Chiapas. (see vol. iv., p. 289) He describes the document as consisting of "five or six folios of common quarto paper, written in ordinary characters in the Tzendal language, an evident proof of its having been copied from the original in hieroglyphics, shortly after the conquest." \*\*\*\*

(Note\*\*\*\* At the top of the first leaf, the two continents are painted in different colours, in two small squares, placed parallel to each other in the angles: the one representing Europe, Asia, and Africa is marked with two large SS; upon the upper arms of two bars drawn from the opposite angles of each square, forming the point of union in the centre; that which indicates America has two SS placed horizontally on the bars, but I am not certain whether upon the upper or lower bars, but I believe upon the latter. When speaking of the places he had visited on the old continent, he marks them on the margin of each chapter, with an upright S, and those of America with an horizontal S. Between these squares stands the title of his history "Proof that I am Culebra" (a snake), which title he proves in the body of his work, by saying that he is Culebra, because he is Chivim." -- Cabrera, *Teatro*, pp. 33-4.)

The manuscript, according to Cabrera, recounted Votan's arrival with seven families, to whom he apportioned the lands; his voyages to the Old World; and his reception of the new-comers. Returning from one of his voyages "he found seven other families of the Tzequil nation, who had joined the first inhabitants, and recognized in them the same origin as his own, that is, of the Culebras. he speaks of the place where they built their first town, which, from its founders, received the name of Tzequil; he affirms the having taught them refinement of manners in the use of the table, table-cloth, etc.; that, in return for these, they taught him the knowledge of God and of his worship; his first ideas of a king and obedience to him; and that he was chosen captain of all these united families."

[p. 162] Ordonez, at the time of Cabrera's visit, was engaged in writing his great "History of the Heaven and Earth," (*Historia del Cielo y de la tierra*, MS.--see vol. iv., p. 289, for additional notes respecting this author.) a work, as the learned Doctor predicts, to be "so perfect in its kind, as will completely astonish the world." The manuscript was never published, part of the historical portion was lost, and the remaining fragments or copies of them fell into the hands of Brasseur de Bourbourg, whose writings contain all that is known of their contents; and it must be confessed that from these fragments little or nothing of value has been extracted by the abbe in addition to what Nunez de la Vega and Cabrera had already made known. [Bancroft now gives his own opinion] Ordonez was familiar with the Tzendal language and character, with the ancient monuments of his native state, and was zealously devoted to antiquarian researches; he had excellent opportunities to collect and record such scraps of knowledge as the Tzendal tribes had preserved from the days of their ancestors' greatness;\* but his enthusiasm seems rather to have led him to profitless speculations on the original population of the New World and "its progress from Chaldea immediately after the confusion of tongues." Even after rejecting the absurd theories and speculations which seem to have constituted the bulk of his writings, one cannot help looking with some distrust on the few traditional statements respecting Votan not given by other authors, and thinking of possible transformations that may have been effected in Tzendal fables under the pens of two writers like Ordonez and Brasseur, both honest investigators, but of that enthusiastic class of antiquarians who experience few or no difficulties.

The few items of information respecting the Votanic period not already mentioned, some of them not in themselves improbable, but few traceable to any very definite native source, are the following: The date of the foundation of the empire, according to Ordonez, was about 1000 B.C. Whether he had any other reason for this supposition than his theory that the building of Solomon's temple, attributed by some writers to that period, took place during Votan's life is uncertain. The name Tzequiles, applied to Votan's followers by the aborigines,--or rather, it would seem, by the first to the second division of the Serpents--is said to mean in Tzendal "men with petticoats," and to have been applied to the new-comers by reason of their peculiar dress. \*\* (Ordonez, as represented by Cabrera--*Teatro*, p. 96) To them was given, after the permanent establishment of the empire, one of the great kingdoms into which it was divided, with tulan as their capital city. This kingdom with two others, whose capitals were Mayapan in Yucatan and Chiquimula, possibly Copan, in Honduras, were allied with yet to a certain degree subordinate to, the original empire whose capital was Nachan, built and ruled by Votan himself and his descendants. the only names which seem to have been applied in the Tzendal traditions to the people and their capital city were Chanes, or Serpents, and Nachan, or City of Serpents; but these names acquire considerable historical importance when it is noted that they are the exact equivalents of Culhuas and Culhuacan, names which will be found as exasperatingly prevalent in the Nahua traditions of the north. Ordonez claims, however, that the name Quiche', at a later

period that of a Guatemalan kingdom, was also in these earlier times applied to Votan's empire. (Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Cartas*, p. 10.)

NOTE--CHECK OUT LOUIS HILLS WRITINGS (1917-1924) BECAUSE HIS GEOGRAPHICAL MODEL IS VERY SIMILAR TO THE GEOGRAPHY OF VOTAN'S EMPIRE.

[pp. 164-165] Of Votan's death there is no tradition, nor is anything definite reported of his successors, save, what is perhaps only a conjecture, that their names are recorded in the Tzendal calendar as the names of days,\* (For list see vol ii, p. 767.) the order being that of their succession. In this case it is necessary to suppose that Votan had two predecessors, Igh and Imox; and in fact Brasseur claims to find one document a statement that Igh brought the first colony to America.\* (*Cartas*, p. 71) Chinax, the last but two of the line, a great soldier, is said to have been put to death by a rival of another nation.\* (Pineda, *Descrip. Chiapas*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, tom. iii, pp. 343-6; Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., pp. 95-7). Nunez de la Vega notes the existence of a family of Votans in his time, claiming direct descent from the great founder; and Brasseur states that a wild tribe of the region are yet known as Chanes.\* (Cabrera, *Teatro*, p. 30; Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh*, p. cix.)

Such are the vague memories of the Chiapan past so far as they were preserved by the natives of the region, and collected by Europeans . . . whatever the value may be attached to their details, the traditions in question have great weight in establishing two general propositions--the existence in the remote past of a great and powerful empire in the Usumacinta region, and a general belief among the subjects of that empire that the beginning of their greatness was due to a hero or demi-god called Votan. They point clearly to the appearance and growth of a great race, nation, or dynasty; and they carry us no farther. Respecting the questions who or what was Votan, man or mythic creation, populator, colonizer, civilizer, missionary, conqueror, foreign or native born? When, how, and whence did he come to the central tierra caliente? Who were the people among whom he wrought his mighty deeds, and what was their past history? we are left to simple conjecture,--conjecture of a class which falls without the limits of my present purpose, and to which the first chapter of this volume has been devoted. Doubtless the Votanic was not the first period of American civilization and power, but none earlier is known to us. . . .

[pp. 166-169] . . . as already stated, the Maya and Nahua nations have been within traditionally historic times practically distinct, although coming constantly in contact. Second, this fact is directly opposed to the once accepted theory of a civilized people, coming from the far north, gradually moving southward with frequent halts, constantly increasing in power of culture, until the highest point of civilization was reached in Chiapas, Honduras, and Yucatan, or as many believed in South America. third, the theory alluded to is rendered altogether untenable by the want of ruins in California and the great north-west; by the utter want of resemblance between new Mexican and Mexican monuments; by the failure to discover either Aztec or Maya dialects in the north; and finally by the strong contrasts between the Nahuas and Mayas, both in language and in monuments of antiquity. . . . The general theory alluded to of a great migration from north to south, and the theory of a civilized race of foreign origin extinct long before the Conquest, will find few defenders in view of the results of modern research. . . . thus the monumental relics of Central America by themselves and by comparisons with other American ruins, point directly to the existence of a great empire in the Palenque region; and the observed phenomena of myths, language, and institutions agree perfectly with such a conclusion, which, however, unaided, they could not have established. We may then accept as reality the Votanic Maya empire on

the authority of the native traditions confirmed by the tangible records of ruined cities, and by the condition of the southern civilized nations in the sixteenth century. It is more than probable that Palenque was the capital, as Ordonez believes--the Nachan of the Votanic epoch--and not improbable that Ocozingo, Copan, and some of the older Yucatec cities were the centres of contemporaneous, perhaps allied powers.\*\*\*\*

Note\*\*\*\* Bancroft writes:

Although in the "general view," Vol. ii., chap. ii., I have classed the Toltecs among the Nahua nations, it will be noticed that the preceding conclusions of the present chapter are independent of such a classification, and are not necessarily opposed to the theory, held by some, that the cities of Central America were built by the Toltecs **before** they assumed a prominent position among the nations of Anahuac. . . .

Source: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Native Races, Vol. V. Primitive History*. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1883.

**1822 Lydia Howard Sigourney**      ***Traits of the Aborigines of America. A Poem.*** Cambridge, MA., 1822.

Dan Vogel writes:

In her poem, Sigourney portrays the Indians in a positive light, relatively uncommon for her day, and refers to Elias Boudinot and the ten tribe theory (8-9). She appends notes to the poem defending the theory (187-88)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(127)

**1822**      ***The Rosetta Stone Is Translated***

RLDS writer Louise Palfrey writes:

Of the old and more superior stages of the ancient civilization there is no record left in the shape of writing except inscriptions on the ruins, and no one has yet been able to translate them. There was a time when Egyptian archaeology was likewise a **sealed book** to the world, when a stone, covered with inscriptions, was discovered in Rosetta, a town in Egypt, in 1799, by M. Boussard, a French officer of engineers. The stone was found in an excavation made near the town of Rosetta. In **1822**, Champollion, a great French scholar, discovered **the key** to the inscriptions, and was able to translate them. It was a great achievement for science. It unlocked the mysteries of ancient Egyptian writings, and since, inscriptions have been deciphered that have added rich contributions to our knowledge of the remote past in the East, and borne confirming testimony to historical declarations in the Old Testament Scriptures. As antiquarians have contemplated the inscriptions on the wonderful ruins of Central America they have

cried, "O, for another Champollion! to unlock the mysteries of America's past," more mysterious to the learning of the world than the prehistoric history of any other land. (Louise Palfrey, "American Archaeology" in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 15, No. 1, (Jan. 1902), p. 41.)

**1823**     **John Haywood (1762-1826)**     *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee*. Nashville, 1823

Dan Vogel writes:

Haywood, first president of the Tennessee Antiquarian Society, attempted a pre-history of the state. He compares American antiquities with those of Hindus, Egyptians, and Hebrews. He describes North America fortifications and Mexican temples (77, 107, 121-53, 168-73) and discusses the mound builders' use of metals, including steel (11, 181 348-49), copper and brass plates (82, 345-46, 348), and metal coins (173-82, 342-43). He reports the discovery in a mound of brass plates inscribed with strange characters (82), describes stone boxes used by the Indians to bury their dead (203-4, 348, 352), discusses the possible use of the wheel and horse in ancient America (134, 163), and concludes that the mound builders were a white people destroyed by the Indians (1, 191, 218).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(115)

**1823^**     **Timothy C. Strong, ed.**     *Palmyra Herald*, Vol. 2, Palmyra, New York, 19 Feb. 1823.

Dan Vogel writes that this article,

Distinguishes between mound builders and Indians. The first settlers of North America are supposedly the descendants of Shem who come by sea. Later the descendants of Japheth cross the sea and subjugate them. This source also speaks of mammoths.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

Dan Vogel writes:

In 1823 the *Palmyra Herald* speculated that there were two successive migrations to the New World:

The first settlers of North America were probably the Asiatics, the descendants of Shem. . . . The Asiatics, at an early period, might easily have crossed the Pacific Ocean, and made settlements in North America. . . . The descendants of Japheth [Europeans] might afterwards cross the Atlantic, and subjugate the Asiatics, or drive them to South America.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 44, 90.

The article is taken "From the Litchfield, Con. *Eagle*, Jan. 22." It reads as follows:

A gentleman in Pompey, N.Y. writes to his friend in this place that the following is a "fac similie" of an inscription on a stone found in that town, in Nov. last. The stone being 14 inches long, breadth 12, and depth 9, with the figure of a tree and a serpent climbing it, between the De and the L together with a cross.

[Note\* The inscription is rendered--I can only roughly approximate it below]

LeoX De L s ^ Vlx 1520 cross

The gentleman in Pompey requested the opinion of his friend here, on the subject and we have been permitted to extract the following from his answer.

Leo. X, De, VI. 1520} may thus be translated--Leo, by Grace of God, Pope, and the 6th year of his Pontificate.

The tree, with the serpent climbing it, clearly denotes the writer's faith in the apostacy, or fall of man, as described in the history of Moses.

L. S.} may denote, loco sigilli, the Latin words for *the place of the seal*. The inverted ^ may designate the place of the seal, or the seal itself.

The X or cross denotes the writer's faith in a crucified Savior, or the truth of the christian religion.

Dr. Moshier, the most authentic historian, informs us that Leo X. was made Pope in 1513, and held the office of Pontificate to the year 1520. If so, the year 1520 would be the 6th year of his Pontificate. This seems to prove that the writer of the inscription was a Christian and a Roman Catholic.

The inverted ^ is the most enigmatical of the whole; but might it not be an O, denoting the seal, with the bottom worn off by time? Or might not L. S. be the initials of the writer's name, on a sepulchral monument. Or might not the inverted ^ and the cross be masonic emblems, the meaning of which I am perfectly ignorant?

*The Indians are reported the aborigines of North America;--but I doubt the truth of this proposition. The fortifications and the remains of antiquity in Ohio and elsewhere, clearly prove them to be the work of some other people than the Indians. Many of these fortifications were not forts, but religious temples, or places of public worship.--Many of them much resemble the druidical temples still existing in England.*

*The first settlers of North America were probably the Asiatics, the descendants of Shem--Europe was settled by the children of Japheth. The Asiatics, at an early period, might easily have crossed the Pacific Ocean, and made settlements in North America. The South American Indians probably were the first inhabitants of North America.--The descendants of Japheth [Europeans] might afterwards cross the Atlantic, and subjugate the Asiatics, or drive them to South America.*

*Visionary as this idea may appear, several facts tend to corroborate the conjecture. The language, customs, and religious ceremonies of the South American Indians, resemble those of the Asiatics. The manners, language, and even size of the N. American Indians, especially the Esquimaux, have a great resemblance to the northern nations of Europe. What wonderful catastrophe destroyed at once the first inhabitants, with the species of the mammoth, is beyond the researches of the best scholar and greatest antiquarian. Discoveries of this kind furnish subjects for the investigation of the learned, and gratify the imagination of the inquisitive.*

But to return to this subject. How came this stone deposited in the place where it was found? America was discovered by Columbus in 1492. Mexico was settled in 1521.--Quebec was settled in 1603. Might some wandering Spaniards sail up the Mississippi, or the Mohawk, and find a resting place on Pompey hill, as a second paradise?

The inscription seems but the signature of some public or official act. But whether it was a bull, decree, edict or proclamation of the Roman Pontiff, or an indulgence, pardoning all sins, present, past and future, granted by some Roman priest, &c is a mere matter of conjecture. It was customary to affix seals to such sacred documents. The sign of the cross generally all[????]ded all public acts of the Roman Catholics.

Yours, [???

Note\* See the 1935 Kirkham notation

**1823^ John M. Duncan      *Travels through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819.* 2 vols. New York, 1823.**

Dan Vogel writes:

Duncan describes the Indian's religion and America's ancient antiquities (2:91-101). Like Clinton, he distinguishes between the mound builders, whose bodies supposedly filled the burial mounds of North America, and the Indians, who were said to have destroyed them (2:91-93).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

**1823^ Edwin James      *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains:*  
Performed**

in the Years 1819 and '20, by Order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Sec'y of War  
under the Command of Major Stephen H. Long. (2 vols) Compiled by Edwin  
James, Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, vol. 1, 1823, pp. 56-69.

[Foreword] Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, with the concurrence of President Monroe, set in motion what was projected as a grandiose expedition by the United States Army into the West. The plan envisaged a powerful military force of approximately 1,000 men which would proceed up the Missouri River and construct a fort near the mouth of the Yellowstone River. From that base the Army could overawe the Indians and prevent incursions by British traders into American territory. The plan also called for a scientific party to investigate the region. According to Secretary Calhoun's orders, it was "to acquire as thorough and accurate knowledge as may be practicable, of a portion of our country, which is daily becoming more interesting, but which is as yet imperfectly known." The scientific party, under command of Major Stephen Long, consisted of army men and of civilian scientists. The results of what the expedition accomplished in 1819-1820 were reported by Edwin James, a botanist and geologist in the party. . . . James, who acted as a compiler, drew from a large mass of notes and journals kept by himself and others. Maps, scientific data, illustrations, and special reports accompanied the narrative.



[Chapter III] Tumuli and Indian graves about St. Louis . . .

[p. 59] Tumuli, and other remains of the labours of nations of Indians that inhabited this region many ages since, are remarkably numerous about St. Louis. Those tumuli immediately northward of the town, and within a short distance of it, are twenty-seven in number, of various forms and magnitudes, arranged nearly in a line from north to south. The common form is an oblong square, and they all stand on the second bank of the river. . . . It seems probable these piles of earth were raised as cemeteries, or they may have supported altars for religious ceremonies . . .

[p. 63] In the first [Indian] grave opened by Mr. Say, were found the fragments of an earthen pot, and the bones of an infantine skull . . . An inhabitant residing here informed them, that many similar graves had been found along the summits of most of the neighbouring hills. . . . After spending a night at this place, they crossed the river to the town of Lilliput, (one of the projected towns here has received this name) the place so often mentioned as the locality of the graves of a pigmy race. Appearances here are in general similar to those already described. One head, that had been dug up, was that of an old person, in whom the teeth had been lost, and the alveolae obliterated, leaving the sharp edge of the jaw bone. From this the neighbouring settlers had inferred the existence of a race of men without teeth, having their jaws like those of the turtle. Having satisfied themselves that all the bones found here were those of men of the common size, Mr. Say and Mr. Peale "sold their skiff, shouldered their guns, bones, spade, &c. and bent their weary steps towards St. Louis . . . "

[pp. 64-66] Whist we were at Cincinnati, Dr. Drake exhibited to us in his cabinet of Natural History, two large marine shells, that had been dug out of ancient Indian tumuli in that vicinity. These shells were each cut longitudinally, and the larger half of each only remained . . .

One of these specimens seems to be a *Cassia cornutus* . . . The other specimen is a heterostrophe shell of the genus *Fulgur* of Montfort, and, as far as we can judge, in every respect the same with those which are, at the present day, found on the coast of Georgia and East Florida . . .

Several different countries have been mentioned by authors as the habitation of the *cornutus* . . . The *cornutus* becomes of some importance in the question relative to the Asiatic origin of the American Indians. All the authorities to which we have been able to refer, correspond in assigning the shore of Asia, or those of the islands which lie near that continent, as the native territory of this great species of conch . . . as no other author has discovered it on the coasts of this continent, we must believe with Bruguiere, that it is only to be found in the Asiatic ocean.

The circumstance then of this shell being discovered in one of the ancient Indian tumuli affords, at least, an evidence that an intercourse formerly existed between the Indians of North America and those of Asia; and leads us to believe that even a limited commerce was carried on between them [between Asia and America], as it undoubtedly was with the Atlantic coast, from which the *Fulgur* was obtained.

But although this isolated fact does not yield a positive proof of the long asserted migration of the ancestors of the present race of American Indians from Asia to this country, yet, when taken in combination with other evidence, which has been collected by various authors, with so much industry, it will be regarded as highly corroborative of that popular belief.

1823<sup>A</sup>    **Domingo Juarros**            ***A Statistical and Commercial history of the Kingdom of Guatemala.*** Translated by John Baily. London, 1823.

Don Domingo Juarros, a native of New Guatemala was born in 1752 and died in 1820.

Dan Vogel writes:

Juarros claims his history of Guatemala was taken from ancient manuscripts. He rejects the pre-Adamite theory, argues the Indians originated in the Old World (118), and mentions the Indian-Israelite theory (162). According to him, the original inhabitants arrived in the New World shortly after the dispersion from the tower of Babel, since the Indians retain stories both of the tower and of the Flood (208-9). Juarros also describes Guatemalan fortifications, buildings, temples, and palaces, including the ruins of Palenque (18-19, 171-72, 187, 383).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

[p. 118] Chap. VI

Chronological Account of the City of Guatemala

The existence of the antipodes [civilizations on opposite sides of the world?] was a problem, that for many ages excited the attention of philosophers, producing, as might be expected, opposite opinions among them; and although the hieroglyphics, sculptures, and other monuments of Egyptian mythology, discovered by the Spaniards in the new world; and the traces of the sacred mysteries of Christianity, almost effaced as they were by Paganism, but still perceptible among the natives, forbid our denying that there had been at some very remote period, an intercourse between the inhabitants of the two hemispheres, all idea of it was so completely effaced from the memory of mankind, that in the 8th century, Pope Zachary condemned as a heretic, a certain Virgilius, who had supported the hypothesis of the antipodes. The time at length arrived, when this important problem was solved by the science and intrepidity of Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a Genoese, the most eminent navigator, and consummate mathematician of his age. He, either from the penetration of his own comprehensive genius, as some assert, **or as others maintain, from the information communicated to him by another mariner, who had been thrown upon these shores by stress of weather, or other casualty,** conceived the daring project of seeking a new route to the East Indies, by traversing the Western Ocean. . . .

[pp. 161-163] Chap. I.

Of the Establishment of the Monarchy of Guatemala, and of the Kings who governed it,  
at the Arrival of the Spaniards

It is not intended to undertake, in this place, the discussion of a subject that has already exhausted abilities of the first order, viz. the original population of America; from a conviction, that when the Tultecan Indians, from whom the Quiche' and Kachiquel kings descended, first came into this region, they found it already inhabited by people of different nations; and when these same Tultecas entered into the kingdom of Mexico, they discovered that the Chichimecas had previously got possession of it. this convection is founded upon the assumption, that if all the inhabitants of this kingdom did derive their origin from the Tultecas, they would doubtless have spoken the same language; but as there are so many different tongues used by the natives of it, the opinion in favour of a common origin is untenable. Coming, therefore, to the subject of the present chapter, it appears from the manuscripts of Don Juan Torres, the son, and Don Juan Macario, the grandson, of the King Chignaviucelut, and of Don Francisco Gomez, the first Ahzib Kiche, \* [see note below] that the Tultecas were descended from the house of Israel, and were released by Moses from the captivity in which Pharaoh held them. Having passed the Red Sea, they resigned themselves to the practice of idolatry, and persisted therein, in spite of the admonitions of Moses; but to avoid his reproofs, or from the fear of his inflecting some chastisement, they chose to

separate from him and his brethren, and to retire from that part of the country to a place which they called the *Seven Caverns*; that is, from the borders of the Red Sea, to what now is a part of the kingdom of Mexico, where they founded the celebrated city of Tula.

[Note\*] This manuscript was possessed by the descendants of Juan de Leon Cardona, appointed by Pedro de Alvarado lieutenant of the captain general over the country of the Quiche's. Fuentes assures us, that he obtained it by means of Father Francis Vasquez, the historian of the order of St. Francis.

The chief who commanded, and conducted this multitude from one continent to the other, was Tanub, the stock from which sprung the families of the kings of Tula and Quiche', and the first monarch of the Tultecas. The second was Capichoch; the third, Calel Ahus; the fourth, Ahpop; and the fifth, Nimaquiche', who being more beloved than any of his predecessors, was directed by an oracle to leave Tula with the people, who had by this time multiplied greatly, and conduct them from the kingdom of Mexico to that of Guatemala. In performing this journey they expended many years, suffered extraordinary hardships, and wandered over an immense tract of country, until they discovered a large lake (the lake of Atitan), and resolved to fix their habitations in a convenient place at a short distance from it, which they called Quiche' in commemoration of their king Nimaquiche',\* [see note below] who died during their peregrination.

Nimaquiche' was accompanied by his three brothers, and it was agreed, that they should divide the country between them; one was to have for his share the province of the Quelenes and Chapanecos; another, Tezulutlan, or Verapaz; the third to become chief of the Mames and Pocomames; and Nimaquiche' of the Quiche's, Kachiquels, and Zutugiles; . . .

[Note\*] In the Quiche' language Nima means great; Nimaquiche', therefore, signifies Great Quiche'.

[pp. 207-209] Chap. IX

Of the Southern Provinces of Guatemala.

The Province and Intendancy of Ciudad Real de Chiapa

The native authors do not agree in their accounts of the origin of the Indians of this district. Antonio de Remesal, in his History of the Province, of St. Vincent de Chiapa and Guatemala, (lib. 5, cap. 13,) positively asserts, that the people of Chiapa originally came from the province of Nicaragua. The Quiche' manuscript, already spoken of, says, that the Quelenes and Chapanecos are descendants of a brother of King Nimaquiche', who accompanied him from the city of Tula. Nunez de la Vega, bishop of Chiapa, in the preface to his Diocesan Constitutions, states, that he met with certain calendars in the language of these Indians, in which mention was made of 20 lords, or heads of families, from whom it appears this people derived their origin. The names were Nidus, or Mox, Ygh, Votan, Ghanan, Abagh, Tox, Moxic, Lambat, Molo, or Mulu, Chic, Chinax, Cahogh, and Aghual. Of all these magnates, Votan seems to have been the most celebrated personage, as a separate work is devoted to his particular history. In this he is said to have seen the great wall (by which the tower of Babel is meant) that was built by order of his grandfather No, from the earth to the sky; and that, at this place, to every people a different language was given. It farther says, that Votan was the first person whom God sent to this country, to divide the lands, and apportion them among the Indians; and adds, that Votan as at Huehueta, a town of Soconusco, where he introduced Dantas, and concealed a treasure. This treasure was discovered in a cave by Nunez de la Vega; it consisted of some earthen jars, on which were represented figures of the ancient Gentile Indians. If credit be given to the manuscripts, it follows that we must consider these regions to have been

peopled shortly after the deluge; since Votan, who was at Babel when they were building the tower, and the human race was dispersed and separated by different languages, was one of the founders of the Indian population. By parity of reasoning we must also admit, that the languages of these provinces are some of the primitive dialects, into which the Almighty divided the language of the post-diluvian patriarchs. From the same cause we shall be led to believe, that the first inhabitants of America did not, according to the most generally received opinion, arrive at it by way of the straits of Anian; for had that been the fact, many years, and many generations, must have passed away before they could have extended thence into these regions under the torrid zone, at a distance so immense from the straits.

One fact, however, is beyond controversy, viz. that this province was inhabited by a powerful and polished people, who maintained an intercourse with the Egyptians, as the sumptuous cities of Culhuacan and Tulha, vestiges of which yet remain near the towns of Palenque and Ocosingo, evidently demonstrate. In the first, some remaining buildings are objects of admiration, and rivalled in magnificence the most celebrated capitals of the old world. Stately temples, in which many hieroglyphics, symbols, devices, and traces of fabulous mythology, have resisted the effect of time: portions of superb palaces still remain; and an aqueduct, of sufficient dimensions for a man to walk upright in, yet exists almost entire. Previous, however, to the arrival of the Spaniards, this province had so much declined from its ancient splendour, that they found neither inhabited city nor building worthy of their attention, nor civilization or polity in the inhabitants.

**1823<sup>^</sup> Ethan Smith** *View of the Hebrews; or the Tribes of Israel in America*, Poultney, Vermont, 1823.

2nd Edition, Poultney, Vermont: Northern Spectator, 1825

George Weiner writes:

Boudinot's book was replaced on the best-seller list in 1823 by *View of the Hebrews* by Ethan Smith, pastor of a church in Poultney, Vermont. For the most part, Smith's book was also an uninspired warm-over of what had been said before on the subject. But it was instrumental in bringing interest in the search for Judaizing Indians to its peak. For Smith brought forth the story of Captain Joseph Merrick of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, who turned up a phylactery while plowing his field in the summer of 1815. Since no resident of Pittsfield had any knowledge of a Jew ever having lived there, the conclusion was obvious: who else could have lost the phylactery but an Indian?

Source: <sup>^</sup>George Weiner (non-LDS), "America's Jewish Braves," in *Mankind*. Vol. 4, Number 9 (October 1974). Published bi-monthly by Mankind Publishing Company, Los Angeles, California, p. 62.

Dan Vogel writes:

Ethan Smith, a Congregational clergyman who served as pastor to churches in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York, quoted both Adair [1775] and Boudinot [1816] as well as a variety of American and European sources in his 1823 book *View of the Hebrews; or the Tribes of Israel in America*. . . . The first edition of Ethan Smith's book appeared in 1823, but its popularity required a second, expanded edition two years later.

Vogel notes that Smith linked the Moundbuilders with the people of Mexico:

Ethan Smith reported more than 3,000 tumuli [artificial earthen mounds] along the Ohio River alone. Based on the number of mounds in eastern North America, one observer, Henry Brackenridge, estimated "that there were 5,000 cities at once full of people . . . I am perfectly satisfied," he wrote, "that cities similar to those of ancient Mexico, of several hundred thousand souls . . . have existed in this country."

Vogel comments concerning these mounds:

The eastern portion of North America was dotted with hundreds of artificial earthen mounds, or tumuli as they were often called. . . . Three general types of mounds were described: [1] temple or altar mounds, believed to have been erected for worship, either as altars or as platforms for temples which had long since deteriorated: . . . On 19 February 1823 western New York's *Palmyra Herald* opined that "many of these fortifications were not forts, but religious temples, or places of public worship. . . ."; [2] burial mounds, believed to contain the bodies of mound builders who had been slain in a terrible battle: . . . The *Palmyra Register* for 21 January 1818 stated that the unfortunate mound builders must have been "killed in battle, and hastily buried." . . .; and [3] fortification mounds, believed to have been built by mound builders in defense against attack by savages. . . . New York governor DeWitt Clinton described in 1817 a mound near Ridgway, Genesee County, New York, containing piles of skeletons. "They were deposited there by their conquerors," he speculated. . . .

Vogel also notes that on page 223 of *View of the Hebrews*, Ethan Smith related was that the Indians once had "a book which they had for a long time preserved. But having lost the knowledge of reading it, they concluded it would be of no further use to them; and they buried it with an Indian chief."

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 18-19, 24-31, 35-44, 48

Note\* In his book *A Critical Study of Book of Mormon Sources* (Detroit, Mich.: Harlo Press, 1964), Wesley M. Jones writes some notes on "View of the Hebrews" in which he states:

[Ethan] gives no detailed explanation as to how the Tribes of Israel reached America--only the fact that they are here. He quotes Esdras as saying that the Ten Tribes lived for a time in Media. Then, dissatisfied, they took a northeast journey of about a year and a half to a "sequestered land never inhabited by man since the great flood." (p. 37)

Ethan Smith supplies an appendix of thirteen pages into which he masses an impressive list of outside evidences supporting his thesis, such as: similarities of the American Aborigines and the Hebrews. Both have a monotheistic religion; they divide the people into tribes; they count time by "moons"; many Indian words and phrases have a Hebrew counterpart; their languages sound alike; the Indians, like the Hebrews claim they are a chosen people; they have a tradition of a white God with a long beard. Also, they have a tradition of a great flood; a tradition of a land flowing with milk and honey.

In the 1920's, B. H. Roberts made a chronological summary of correspondences between *View of the Hebrews* and *The Book of Mormon*. These "parallels" were distributed privately after the death of B. H. Roberts, and in 1956 Mervin B. Hogan had them published in *The Rocky Mountain Mason*. The quotes below are taken from a photomechanical reprint of the 1825 edition, which included "The Parallels between the Book of Mormon and the View of the Hebrews, by the Mormon Historian B. H. Roberts." (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co.):

["A Parallel", pp. 18-19]:

(#3) *View of the Hebrews* published (First Edition), 1823. Second Edition published 1825; considerably enlarged by quotations from Baron Humboldt's *New Spain* (Black's translation) American Edition, 1811. Copious quotations on ruined cities of America, temples, and the story of Quetzalcoatl-reminiscent of Moses "as a type of the Christ."

(#4) **Origin of American Indians:** In his index to the *View of the Hebrews* (Second Edition) (p. lx) Ethan Smith informs us that from page 114 to page 225 (111 pages) will be devoted to "promiscuous testimonies," to the main fact for which his book stands, viz., the Hebrew origin of the American Indians. He brings together a very long list of writers and published books to show that this view very generally spanned throughout New England. One hundred and eleven pages devoted to evidence alone of the fact of such Hebrew origin gives space for much proof. Referring to Adair's testimonies on the subject, the *View of the Hebrews* lists twenty-three arguments to prove such origin (pp. 147-8)

["A Parallel", p. 25]:

(#11) *Israel: The View of the Hebrews* has many references to both the scattering and gathering of Israel "in the last days." The second chapter of the *View of the Hebrews* is entitled "The Certain Restoration of Judah and Israel," and in this section is quoted nearly all the references to Isaiah that are referred to, but quoted more fully, in the *Book of Mormon*.

Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* quotes copiously and chiefly from Isaiah in relation to the scattering and gathering of Israel. In his second chapter on "the certain restoration of Israel" he quotes from six different chapters in Isaiah. In his fourth chapter and in the few pages he devotes to a "Conclusion" he returns to the subject of the "restoration of Israel," and here he quotes from twenty chapters of Isaiah! He quotes Isaiah 18th chapter complete; but verse by verse with comments and makes of it an "Address" of Isaiah to the U.S. to save Israel.

The following comes from *The View of the Hebrews*:

[Recommendations, pp. vi-viii] . . . *Extracts from a letter from the Rev. Jabez B. Hyde of Eden, Erie county, N. Y., dated Feb. 4, 1825, after having read the first edition of this work:*

I have long been in the sentiment of your book, that the natives of our country are *the outcasts of Israel*. It cannot well be doubted by any one, who has become acquainted with the religious ceremonies of the Indians, but that they have a manifest shadow of the Mosaic rituals. Most of the particulars you have mentioned in your book, *I know to be facts*; and were observed by the Seneca Indians. When I first came among them, the chiefs invited me to all their celebrations. . . . After I read Dr. Boudinot's "Star in the West" I discern what he had represented. In 1818, a general religious excitement commenced among the Senecas. They attempted to understand and reform their old religious rites, rather than receive Christianity. This brought together their wise men, who were best acquainted with their mysteries. They spent much time to investigate their religion, its origin and what it taught, and to what it would avail. They found themselves involved in darkness. . . . This in its progress brought in two who had officiated as high priests in their religious ceremonies. With these I have had frequent opportunities. They have given me, I believe, an unreserved account of all they know of their ancient religion. Their wish has been to obtain information whether any thing is found in our scriptures similar to their religion. They have been firmly persuaded that they are the people of God; but that they have lost their way, and are bewildered in darkness. . . .

In all their rites which I have learned from them, there is certainly a most striking similitude to the Mosaic rituals . . . I remain yours in the bonds of the Gospel, JABEZ B. HYDE

[p. viii] *From the Rev. Dr. Proudfit, of Salem, N. Y. February 18, 1825.*

Reverend and esteemed Brother; I have examined with no inconsiderable interest your "View of the Hebrews," and have been highly entertained, and instructed. From the view given of their language . . .

from their existing in tribes, during the lapse of so many ages; from the coincidence of their traditions with the events recorded in the inspired volume; we have in my opinion satisfactory evidence that the aborigines of our country are the remnant of the ten tribes of Israel. . . . ALEXANDER PROUDFIT

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.....

[AUTHORS AND AUTHORITIES ADDUCED]

Archaeologia Americana	Adair
Don Alonzo de Ericilla	Boudinot
Bartram	Buttrick
Beatty	Charlevoix
Colden	Cushman

Clavigero	Chapman
Carver	Columbus
Commissioners	Casas
Dodge & Blight	Edwards
Esdras	Frey
Giddings	Gooking
Hunter	Humboldt
Herman	Heckewelder
Hebard	Hutchinson
Immanuel de Moraez	Jarvis
M'Kenzie	Long
Lewis & Clark	Morse
Mather	Melvrda & Acasta
Occum	Pratz
Pedro de Cicca	Penn
Pixley	Robertson
Sauard	Smith (Col.)
Schoolcraft	Ulloa
Williams	Williams, (Roger)

[p. 67] Chapter III. The Present State of Judah and Israel

The present state of the Jews is so well understood in the Christian and literary world, that very little will here be said on this part of the subject. While a more particular attention will be paid to the present state of the ten tribes of Israel. . . .

[p. 69] My present object is rather to attend to the present state of the ten tribes of Israel. This branch of the hebrew family have long been "outcasts" out of sight; or unknown as Hebrews. The questions arise, are they in existence, as a distinct people? If so, who, or where are they? These are queries of great moment, at this period, when the time of their restoration is drawing near. These queries may receive an answer in the following pages. . . .

[p. 70] 1. It has been clearly ascertained in the preceding chapter, that the ten tribes, as the Israel of God, are in the last days to be *recovered*, and restored with the Jews. The valley of dry bones, and the two sticks becoming one in the prophet's hand, have been seen clearly to ascertain this: See Ezek. xxxvii, as well as the many other passages noted in that chapter. . . .

When the restoration of the Hebrews is predicted, in Isai. xi. that God will in the last days set up an ensign for the nations; it is to "assemble the *outcasts* of Israel; and gather together the *dispersed* of Judah from the four corners of the earth." Mark the distinction; the Jews are "dispersed," scattered over the nations as Jews, as they have long been known to be; but Israel are "outcast;" cast out from the nations; from society . . .



[p. 73] 2. It inevitably follows, that the ten tribes of Israel must now have, somewhere on earth, a distinct existence in an *outcast* state. And we justly infer, that God would in his holy providence provide some suitable place for their safe keeping, as *his outcast tribes*, though long unknown to men as such. There is no avoiding this conclusion. If God will restore them at last as his Israel, and as having been "outcast" from the nations of the civilized world for 2500 years; He surely must have provided a place for their safe keeping as a distinct people, in some part of the world, during that long period. They must during that period, have been unknown to the Jews as Israelites; and consequently unknown to the world as such; or the Jews would not at last (on their being united to them, inquire, "These, where had they been?" Isai. xlix. 21. Nor would they themselves plead at that time, "though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel (the Jews) acknowledge us not." . . .

[p. 74] In 2 Esdras xiii. 40, and [...] we read; "Those are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land, in the time of Osea, the king, whom Salmanezar, the king of Assyria, led away captive; and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land." Here is the planting of them over the Euphrates, in Media. The writer adds, "But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never man dwelt; that they might there keep their statutes which they never kept (i.e. uniformly as they ought) in their own land.--*There was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half.*" The writer proceeds to speak of the name of the region being called Arsareth, or Ararat. he must allude here to the region to which they directed their course to go this year and a half's journey. This place where no man dwelt, must of course have been unknown by any name. But Ararat, or Armenia, lay north of the place where the ten tribes were planted when carried from Palestine. Their journey then, was to the north, or north-east. This writer says, "They entered into the Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river." He must mean, they repassed this river in its upper regions, or small streams, away toward Georgia; and hence must have taken their course between the Black and Caspian seas. This set them off north-east of the Ararat, which he mentions. Though this chapter in Esdras be a kind of prophecy, in which we place not confidence; yet the allusion to facts learned by the author, no doubt may be correct. And this seems just such an event as might be expected, had God indeed determined to separate them from the rest of the idolatrous world, and banish them by themselves, in a land where no man dwelt since the flood. But if these tribes took counsel to go to a land where no man dwelt, as they naturally would do, they certainly could not have taken counsel to go into Hindostan, or any of the old and long crowded nations of Asia . . .

[pp. 75-78] 4. Let several suppositions now be made. Suppose an extensive continent had lately been discovered away north-east from Media, and at the distance of "a year and a half's journey;" a place probably destitute of inhabitants, since the flood, till the time of the "casting out" of Israel. Suppose a people to have been lately discovered in that sequestered region appearing as we should rationally expect the nation of Israel to appear at this period, had the account given by the writer in Esdras been a fact. Suppose among their different tribes the following traditional fragments are by credible witnesses picked up. . . . [some characteristics of the American Indians are then given] . . . They tell you that Yohewah once chose their nation from all the rest of mankind to be his peculiar people. That a book which God gave, was once theirs; and then things went well with them. But other people got it from them, and then they fell under the displeasure of the Great Spirit; but that they shall at some time regain it. They inform you, some of their fathers once had a spirit to foretel future events, and to work miracles. . . . They inform you of the ancient flood; of the preservation of one family in a vessel; of this man in the ark sending out first a great bird, and then a little one, to see if the waters were gone. That the great one returned no more; but the little one returned with a branch. They tell you of the confusion of languages once when people were building a great high place; and of the longevity of the ancients; that they "lived till their feet were worn out with walking, and their throats with eating."

You find them with their traditional history that their ancient fathers once lived where people were dreadfully wicked, and that nine tenths of their fathers took counsel and left that wicked placed, being led by the Great Spirit into this country; that they came through a region where it was always winter, snow and frozen. That they came to a great water and their way hither was thus obstructed, till God dried up that water; (probably it froze between the islands in Beering's Straits.) . . .

[pp. 79-80] 5. These things are more than mere supposition. It is believed they are capable of being ascertained as facts, with substantial evidence. Good authorities from men, who have been eye and ear

witnesses, assure us that these things are facts. But you enquire where or who are the people thus described? They are *the aborigines of our own continent!* Their place, their language, their traditions, amount to all that has been hinted. These evidences are not all found among any one tribe of Indians. Nor may all the Indians in any tribe, where various of these evidences are found, be able to exhibit them. . . Men have been gradually perceiving this evidence for more than half a century; and new light has been, from time to time, shed on the subject, as will appear.

The *North American Reviewers*, in reviewing a sermon of Doct. Jarvis on this subject, delivered before the New-York Historical Society, (in which he attempts to adduce much evidence to show that the natives of this continent are the tribes of Israel,) remark thus; "The history and character of the Indian tribes of North America, which have for some time been a subject of no inconsiderable curiosity and interest with the learned in Europe, have not till lately attracted much notice among ourselves. But as the Indian nations are now fast vanishing, and the individuals of them come less frequently under our observations, we also, as well as our European brethren, are beginning to take a more lively interest than ever, in the study of their character and history."

In the course of their remarks they add; "To the testimonies here adduced by Doctor Jarvis, (i.e. that the Indians are the ten tribes of Israel, ) might have been added several of our new England historians, from the first settlement of the country." Some they proceed to mention; and then add, that the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Sewall, fellow of harvard College, and Samuel Willard, vice president of the same, were of opinion that "the Indians are the descendants of israel." Doct. Jarvis notes this as an hypothesis, which has been a favourite topic with European writers; and as a subject, to which it is hoped the Americans may be said to be waking up at last.

Manasses Ben Israel, in a work entitled "The Hope of Israel," has written to show that the American Indians are the ten tribes of Israel. But as we have access to his authors, we may consult them for ourselves. The main pillar of his evidence is James Adair, Esq. Mr. Adair as a man of established character, as appears from good authority. he lived a trader among the Indians, in the south of North America, for forty years. He left them and returned to England in 1774, and there published his "History of the American Indians;" and his reasons for being persuaded that they are the ten tribes of Israel. Remarking on their descent and origin, he concludes thus, "From the most accurate observations I could make, in the long time I traded among the Indian Americans, I was forced to believe them lineally descended from the Israelites. . . . Mr. Adair gives his opinion that the ten tribes, soon after their banishment from the land of Israel, left Media, and reached this continent from the north-west, probably before the carrying away of the Jews to Babylon.

[pp. 81-82] 6. There is a prophecy in Amos viii. 11,12, relative to the ten tribes of Israel while in their state of banishment from the promised land, which appears exactly to accord with the account given by Esdras and to the Indian tradition, which meets this, as will appear; and appears well to accord with the state of fact with the American natives, as will be seen. Amos was a prophet to the ten tribes of Israel. He prophesied not long before their banishment. . . .

As an event to be accomplished in their outcast state, the prophet gives this striking descriptive prediction. Verse 11,12; "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land, (or upon the tribes of Israel) not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water; but a hearing the words of the Lord. And they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even the east; they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it." Here is an event, which, when the reader shall have perused the traditions and sketches of the history of the Indians, he will perceive accurately describes their case. The prediction implies that Israel in their exilement should know that they had been blessed with the word of God, but had wickedly lost it; as a man in a famine knows he has had bread, but now has it not. They shall feel something what they have lost, and shall wander. They shall rove "from sea to sea; and from the north even unto the east." They shall set off a north course, and thence east; or shall wander in a north-east direction as far as they can wander from sea to sea; from the Mediterranean whence they set out, to the extremest sea in the north-east direction. Should they cross the straits found there, into another continent, they may wander still from sea to sea; from the northern frozen ocean, to the southern ocean at Cape horn; and from the Pacific to the Atlantic. They shall run to and fro through all the vast deserts between these extreme seas; retaining some correct ideas of God, and of his ancient word; they shall seek his word and will from their priests, and fro their religious traditions; but shall not find

it; but shall remain in their roving wretched state, till the distant period of the recovery from their exilement shall arrive.

Their blessed restoration is given in the following chapter. Verse 13-15 . . .

[pp. 83-84] Having made these preliminary remarks, I shall attempt to embody the evidence obtained, to show that the natives of America are the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel.

A summary will be given of the arguments of Mr. Adair, and of a number of other writers on this subject. As the evidence given by Mr. Adair appears in some respects the most momentous and conclusive I shall adduce a testimonial in his behalf. In the "Star in the West," published by the Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL. D. upon this subject, that venerable man says; "The writer of these sheets has made a free use of Mr. Adair's history of the Indians. . . .

Here are the evidences of two great and good men, most artlessly uniting in the leading facts stated by Mr. Adair. The character of Mr. Boudinot (who was for some time President of the American Bible Society) is well known. He was satisfied with the truth of Mr. Adair's history, and that the natives of our land are the Hebrews, the ten tribes. And he hence published his "Star in the West" ont his subject; which is most worthy of the perusal of all men.

[pp. 85- ] From various authors and travellers among the Indians, the fact that the American Indians are the ten tribes of Israel, will be attempted to be proved by the following arguments:

1. The American natives have one origin.

. . .

11. Their variety of traditions, historical and religious, do wonderfully accord with the idea, that they descended from the ancient ten tribes.

The reader will pardon, if the tax on his patience under this last argument, exceeds that of all the rest.

1. *The American natives have one origin.*-- Their language has a variety of dialects; but all are believed by some good judges to be the same radical language. . . .

. . . Here we find a cogent argument in favour of the Indians of North America, at least as being of one origin. And arguments will be furnished that the Indians of South America are probably of the same origin.

. . .

[pp. 113-116] 11. *Their variety of traditions, historical and religious, go to evince that they are the ten tribes of Israel.* Being destitute of books and letters, the Indians have transmitted their traditions in the following manner. Their most sedate and promising young men are some of them selected by what they call their beloved men, or wise men, who in their turn had been thus selected. To these they deliver their traditions, which are carefully retained. These are instead of historic pages and religious books.

Some of these Indian traditions, as furnished from good authorities, shall be give. Different writers agree that the natives have their historic traditions of the reason and manner of their fathers coming into this country, which agree with the account given in Esdras, of their leaving the land of Media, and going to a land to the northeast, to the distance of a year and a half's journey. M'Kenzie gives the following account of the Chepewyan Indians, far to the northwest. he says, "They have also a tradition among them that they originally came from another country, inhabited by very wicked people, and had traversed a great lake, which was in one place narrow, shallow, and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery; it being always winter, with ice, and deep snows. At the Copper Mine River, where they made the first land, the ground was covered with copper, over which a body of earth has since been collected to the depth of a man's height." Doctor Boudinot speaks of this tradition among the Indians. Some of them call that obstructing water a *river*, and some a *lake*. And he assures us the Indian tradition is, "that nine parts of their nation, out of ten, passed over the river; but the remainder refused and staid behind." Some give account of their getting over it; others not. What a striking description is here found of the passing of the natives of this continent, over from the north-east of Asia to the northwest of America at Beering's Straits.

These Straits all agree, are less than forty miles wide, at this period; and no doubt they have been continually widening. Doctor Williams, in his history of Vermont, says they are but eighteen miles wide. Probably they were not half that width 2500 years ago. And they were full of islands, the Indian tradition assures us. Many of those islands may have been washed away; as the Indian tradition says, "the sea is eating them up;" as in Dr. Boudinot.

Other tribes assure us that their remote fathers, on their way to this country, "came to a great river which they could not pass; when God dried up the river that they might pass over." Here is a traditional notion among the Indians of God's anciently drying up rivers before their ancestors. Their fathers in some way got over Beering's Straits. And having a tradition of rivers being dried up before the fathers, they applied it to this event. Those straits, after Israel had been detained for a time there, might have been frozen over in the narrows between the islands; or them might have been passed by canoes, or other craft. The natives of this land, be they who they may, did in fact arrive in this continent; and they probably must have come over those straits. And this might have been done by Israel, as well as by any other people.

Relative to their tradition of coming where was abundance of copper; it is a fact that at or near Beering's Straits, there is a place called Copper Island, from the vast quantities of this metal there found. In Grieve's history we are informed that copper there covers the shore in abundance; so that ships might easily be loaded with it. . . . Here then those natives made their way to this land; and brought down the knowledge of this event in their tradition.

Doctor Boudinot gives it as from good authority that the Indians have a tradition "that the book which the white people have was once theirs. That while they had this book, things went well with them; they prospered exceedingly; but that other people got it from them; that the Indians lost their credit; offended the Great Spirit, and suffered exceedingly from the neighboring nations; and that the Great Spirit then took pity on them, and directed them to this country." There can be no doubt but God did, by his special providence, direct them to some sequestered region of the world, for the reasons which have been already given.

M'Kenzie adds the following accounts of the Chepewyan nation; "They believe also that in ancient times, their ancestors lived till their feet were worn out with walking, and their throats with eating. They describe a deluge, when the waters spread over the whole earth, except the highest mountains; on the tops of which they preserved themselves." This tradition of the longevity of the ancients and of the flood must have been from the word of God in ancient Israel.

Abbe Clavigero assures us, that the natives of Mexico had the tradition, that "there once was a great deluge; and Tepzi, in order to save himself from being drowned, embarked in a ship with his wife and children and many animals.--That as the waters abated, he sent out a bird, which remained eating dead bodies. He then sent out a little bird, which returned with a small branch."

Doctor Beatty says that an Indian in Ohio informed, that one of their traditions was; "Once the waters had overflowed all the land, and drowned all people then living, except a few, who made a great canoe and were saved."

This Indian added, to Dr. Beatty, that "a long time ago the people went to build a high place; that while they were building, they lost their language, and could not understand each other."

[pp. 152-154] Under the last argument he [Mr. Adair] says; "The Indian tradition says that their forefathers in very remote ages came from a far distant country, where all the people were of one colour; and that in process of time they removed eastward to their present settlements." He notes and confutes some idle fabulous stories which he says "sprung from the innovating superstitious ignorance of the popish priests to the south-west;" and speaks of the Indian tradition as being altogether more to be depended on. He says, "They (the rambling tribes of northern Indians excepted) aver that they came over the Mississippi from the westward, before they arrived at their present settlements. This we see verified in the western old towns they have left behind them, and by the situation of their old beloved towns or places of refuge lying about a west course from each different nation."

"Ancient history (he adds) is quite silent concerning America, which indicates that it has been time immemorial rent asunder from the eastern continent. The north-east parts of Asia were also undiscovered till of late. Many geographers have stretched Asia and America so far as to join them together; and others have divided them into two quarters of the globe. But the Russians, after several dangerous attempts, have clearly convinced the world that they are now divided, and yet have a near communication together by a narrow strait in which there is an easy passage from the north-east of Asia to the north-west of America. By this passage, it was very practicable to go to this new world, and afterward to have proceeded in quest of suitable climates.

Those who dissent from my opinion of the Indian American origin, (he adds) ought to inform us how the natives came here, and by what means they found the long chain of rites and customs so similar to the usage of the Hebrew nation, and in general dissimilar to the modes of the pagan world. Their religious rites, martial customs, dress, music, dances and domestic forms of life, seem clearly to evince also, that they came to America in early times before sects had sprung up among the Jews; which was soon after their prophets ceased; also before arts and sciences had arrived at any perfection. Otherwise it is likely they would have retained some knowledge of them."

We learn in Dr. Robertson's history of America, that the Mexicans had their tradition that "Their ancestors came from a remote country situated to the north-west of Mexico. The Mexicans (he says) point out their various stations as they advanced from this into the interior provinces; and it is precisely the same rout which they must have held, if they had been emigrants from Asia.

Mr. Adair says, that though some have supposed the Americans to be descendants from the Chinese; yet neither their religion, laws or customs agree in the least with those of the Chinese, which sufficiently proves that they are not of this line. And he says the remaining traces of their religious ceremonies, and civil and martial customs, are different from those of the old Scythians. He thinks, therefore, that the old opinion that the Indians are descended from the Tartars or ancient Scythians, should be exploded as weak and without foundation. Those who have advocated the affirmative have not been able to produce much if any evidence, that any of the religious rites found among the Indians and resembling those of ancient Israel, have ever been found among any people in the east of Asia. Such a thing cannot be expected.

(see the B. H. Roberts notation for 1909)

### **1823    Joseph is visited by the angel Moroni, September 21, 1823**

In his 1835-36 diary, Joseph Smith reflected that at age seventeen when in bed at night, "An angel appeared before me . . . He said the Indians were the literal descendants of Abraham."

Source: ^Scott Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*, Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987, p. 51.

Note\* In a 2003 FARMS Review article, Matt Roper would write concerning the above 1835 diary statement:

This statement affirms the claim that Native Americans are descendants of Abraham, but it does not follow that this is the whole story. My great-great-grandfather is John Whetten, but it would not be reasonable to assume that in making this statement I am declaring that I have no other ancestors. Joseph Smith's statement plainly allows for Abraham to be one among many other.

Roper then adds:

In his 1838 account of Moroni's visit, the Prophet recounted: "He said there was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the source from whence they sprang; he also said that the fulness of the everlasting Gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Savior to the ancient inhabitants" (Joseph Smith--History 1:34)

Does this mean that the Book of Mormon tells us everything about Native American history and ancestry? Certainly not. While helping my family to move recently, I found a book giving an account of my ancestors who formerly inhabited this land and telling me where they came from. This book, which I had never seen before, give an account of John Whetten, his family , and the Whetten line in my ancestry, but it says very little about my other ancestors: the Ropers, Mellors, Smiths, Van Wagonens, Gillespies, Hamblins, and so forth. While significant, that book tells only a small part of my family history. Similarly, one can accept Joseph Smith's description of the Book of Mormon as an account of the ancient inhabitants of the promised land without insisting that it tells about all of them.

Source: ^Matthew Roper, "Nephi's Neighbors: Book of Mormon Peoples and Pre-Columbian Populations," in *The Farms Review* , Vol. 15, Num. 2, 2003, p. 95.

In "Church History," (Wentworth Letter), *Times and Seasons*, vol. 3 no. 9, March 1, 1842, 706-710, in relating the happenings relative to the initial visit of the angel Moroni, Joseph writes:

I was also informed *concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of this country*, and shown who they were, and from whence they came, a brief sketch of their origin, progress, civilization, laws, governments, of their righteousness and iniquity, and the blessing of God being finally withdrawn from them as a people was made known unto me. I was also told where there was deposited some plates on which were engraven an abridgment of the records of the ancient prophets *that had existed on this continent*. The angel appeared to me three times the same night and unfolded the same things.

Additional Sources: See also the ^*Times & Seasons*, vol. iii, p. 729; Supplement to Millennial Star, vol. xiv, p. 4; *History of the Church*, vol. i, pp. 11-14; *Lucy's History*, pp. 74-77.

(See the notations for 1838, 1842)

1823^ (abt. Joseph Smith) "How Much Did the Prophet Know," *Newsletter and Proceedings of the S.E.H.A.*, Number 158, December 1984, pp. 2-3.

The following was part of an address delivered by Ross T. Christensen at the Thirty-third Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures, held at BYU on September 28 and 29, 1984. In a paper entitled, "How Much Did the Prophet Know," *Newsletter and Proceedings of the S.E.H.A.*, Number 158, December 1984, pp. 2-3. Christensen writes:

A recent study documents no fewer than 22 visitations of the angel Moroni to Joseph, as well as appearances of Nephi, Alma, Mormon, and other Book of Mormon notables. Most of these visits were made, no doubt, during this four-year period, and many of them were reported by Lucy Mack Smith, mother of the Prophet, who in her old age dictated a biography of her controversial son. [*Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations*, Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853--dictated in 1845]

Chapter 18 of Mother Smith's biography is of particular interest. It starts with the date September 22, 1823, when young Joseph told his father of the visits of Moroni through the previous night. Then, that evening and the next, his whole family gathered about to listen to him.

From this time forth, Joseph continued to receive instructions from the Lord, and we continued to get the children together every evening for the purpose of listening while he gave us a relation of the same. I presume our family presented an aspect as singular as any that ever lived upon the face of the earth--all seated in a circle, father, mother, sons and daughters, and giving the most profound attention to a boy, eighteen years of age, who had never read the Bible through in his life: he seemed much less inclined to the perusal of books than any of the rest of our children, but far more given to meditation and deep study.

During our evening conversations, Joseph would occasionally give us some of the most amusing recitals that could be imagined. He would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent, their dress, mode of traveling, and the animals upon which they rode; their cities, their buildings, with every particular; their mode of warfare; and also their religious worship. This he would do with as much ease, seemingly, as if he had spent his whole life among them. (Smith, 1979, pp. 82-83)

. . . In any case, the Prophet seems to have known a good deal about ancient Nephite civilization.

Note\* In his book *^Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger* (SLC: Deseret Book, 2000), H. Donl Peterson has a chart, "Moroni's Known Appearances to Joseph Smith: 1823-1829," in which is listed twenty-two visits. (see pp. 131-134). Peterson also has a chart "Personages Who Appeared to Joseph" in which 59 visitors are listed. (see pp. 148-150) Among those visitors that might have related information about Book of Mormon geography we find: Moroni, the twelve Nephite Apostles including the Three Nephites, Nephi, Zeph the Lamanite, Mormon, and Alma.

Note\* Orson Pratt wrote:

Here, then, was a reality--something great and glorious, and after having received from time to time, visits from these glorious personages, and talking with them, as one man would talk with another, face to face, beholding their glory, he was permitted to go and take these plates from their place of deposit--plates of gold--records, some of which were made nearly six hundred years before Christ" (*^Journal of Discourses*, 13:66).

**1823 Sarah Joseph (Buell) Hale *The Genius of Oblivion; and Other Original Poems.* Concord, NH,**

Dan Vogel writes:

Hale's romance depicts the mound builders of North America as coming by ship from Tyre, a hundred miles from Jerusalem, during the siege of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia, 585-73 B.C. She concludes her work with eight pages of notes where she describes mounds and fortifications (65-69) and mentions that some fortifications had "pickets" (69). According to Hale, mound builders had metallurgy, including a knowledge of how to make steel (72). She believes that they were a different race than the Indians (67-68).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(114-115)

**1823 Nathaniel Willis "Review of Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*," in the *Boston Recorder*,**

Boston, Vol. 8, Dec. 27, 1823.

Dan Vogel writes:

This article expresses skepticism about Smith's hypothesis and wonders if "a fertile imagination might not discover the Israelites in China or Arabia, as well as in America." (206). The reviewer also recognized the speculative and inconclusive nature of Smith's evidence: "the time may be at hand when the origin of the Indian tribes on this continent will be clearly ascertained; but that time has not yet come." (206)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(134)

**1824^ James Buchanan *Sketches of the History, Manners, and Customs, of the North American***

***Indians, with a Plan for Their Melioration*. 2 vols. New York, 1824.**

Dan Vogel writes:

Buchanan, a British consul at New York, urges the Americans to be merciful to the Indians, who are being mistreated (1:vii-Xi). He reviews various theories on Indian origins but refrains from speculating himself (1:13), reprints a speech of Samuel Jarvis arguing that Indian religion is not like Judaism as Adair and others suppose (2:1-47), and includes an "Extract from Blome's State of His Majesty's Isles and Territories in America" [London, 1687], which states that the Indians are the lost ten tribes (2:101).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.



In the Preface of Vol. 1, dated "1st May, 1821" James Buchanan writes some interesting thoughts on his state of mind concerning the North American Indians. He writes:

[p. vii] In attempting to lay before the Public a sketch of the History of the Red Indians of North America, with a view to excite a general sympathy in behalf of an oppressed and suffering people, I am aware of the great importance of my undertaking and sensibly feel my inability to stand forward as an advocate in any degree equal to the task I have imposed on myself. . . .

[viii] I confess that I had no other idea of an American, than that he was the most ferocious of human beings. In the course of my travels through the United States and Upper Canada, I met with several Indians, whose external wretchedness induced me to make inquiries as to their present condition; and although many persons to whom I addressed myself appeared to be perfectly indifferent on the subject, and spoke of them in the most degrading terms, I was led to seek for further information respecting their character, in the pursuit of which I have been engaged for three years.

Little did I imagine that one of the most interesting subjects that can present itself to the human mind would open upon me, the full development of which would require the united and extended labours of men of talent and research, the absolute devotion of their time and energies, to place before the world an impartial view of the Indian of North America, whose virtues, independence of mind, and nobleness of character, have procured from their oppressors, as a justification of those measures of severity which have been practiced toward them, the most foul and unjust representations. . . .

[ix-x] While engaged in these pursuits, I learnt that the Historical Society of Philadelphia, actuated by a laudable desire to preserve an account of the Aborigines, had requested the Rev. John Heckewelder, a Moravian Missionary, to furnish a detail of the information he had acquired during a residence of the greater portion of his life among the Indians of Pennsylvania and the adjoining states. That gentleman, although seventy-five years of age, readily engaged in the arduous undertaking, and his "Historical Account of the Indian Nations" has been published in the transactions of the Society, who have thus rendered an important service to science and to mankind; while the reverend author has left on record an unparalleled example of benevolence, sympathy, patience, and self-devotion. From the fulness of his work, I deemed the further prosecution of my labours unnecessary, lest my efforts might appear to many as a mere presumptuous display. I had therefore, abandoned all intention of placing myself before the public; but upon my arrival in London in the summer of 1820, having casually spoken of the interest I had taken in the present state of North American Indians, it was suggested that from my observations and researches, which extended to other tribes than those more particularly noticed by Mr. Heckewelder, together with extracts from such parts of his useful and interesting volume and tends to confirm and illustrate the facts I had collected . . .

Mr. Heckewelder's "Historical Account" exists only in the printed transactions of the Philadelphian Society. It is on this account little, if at all, known among the British Public, and I have therefore been copious in my extract is from the Rev. Author's pages.

In Chapter I. "Historical Account of the North American Indians," we find the following:

[p. 13] My design in the following pages is rather to collect a series of facts and observations, bearing on the recent and present state and character of the North American Indians, than to furnish an account of their remote history. Whether they are or are not the Aborigines; whether their derivation is to be sought among the Tartars, who, in ages past, according to the sublime hypothesis of Governor De Witt Clinton, over-ran and exterminated nations who then inhabited great part of North America, and who had made considerable progress in the arts of civilized life; whether the theory adopted by Adair and Dr. Boudinot be true, that they are the descendants of the long-lost ten tribes of Israel; whether, in short, America was peopled from any of the countries of the old hemisphere or those from America, are questions which, however interesting, I leave to be discussed by abler Antiquarians than myself.

1824^ **John Van Ness Yates** *History of the State of New York*. vol. 1, New York: A.T. Goodrich,

**Joseph White Moulton** 1824.

(MIXED)

Dan Vogel writes:

Yates and Moulton trace the ancient and colonial history of New York, discussing in detail the problems and various theories of Indian origins in America (13-93). They describe mounds and fortifications in their state and neighboring states (13-20, 33-34), as well as the ruins of an ancient city near Palenque (73-77). According to them, these mounds, part of a great chain running down through Mexico and into South America (19-20), were built by a separate race of white -skinned people who were destroyed by the Indians (21-22, 40-44, 92-93). They mention the discovery of hieroglyphic writing and mammoth bones (14-15, 20), and include reports that Indians in certain locales possessed the signs and tokens of Freemasonry (55-56).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

Dan Vogel writes:

Two prominent members of the state [of New York] had also been at work on a book exploring Indian origins. John Van Ness Yates, lawyer, secretary of state of New York, and member of the New York Historical Society, and Joseph White Moulton, lawyer and member of the state historical society, had sent out a circular asking for information about the aboriginal and colonial history of New York. The circular appeared in various newspapers around the state including the *Wayne Sentinel*, which was published near Joseph Smith's home in Palmyra, New York. The newspaper reported back to its readers by announcing the publication of the book, *History of the State of New York*, on 20 April 1825: "The traditions and speculations relative to the aborigines are laid down at large . . . The work abounds with historical references, and is evidently a production of great research and industry. It will no doubt be extensively patronised, for no library in the state can be complete without it."

According to Vogel, Yates and Moulton saw the ruins of their own state as part of one great continental project:

These remains of art may be viewed as connecting links of a great chain, which extends beyond the confines of our state, and becomes more magnificent and curious as we recede from the northern lakes, pass through Ohio into the great vale of the Mississippi, thence to the Gulf of Mexico, through Texas into New Mexico and South America. In this vast range of more than three thousand miles, these monuments of ancient skill gradually become more remarkable for their number, magnitude, and interesting variety, until we are lost in admiration and astonishment.

Note\* The Yates-Moulton circular was published in the *Wayne Sentinel*, 28 April 1824; the publication announcement appears in the *Wayne Sentinel* for April 1825.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 24-31, 35-44, 48

Vogel writes concerning a tradition of the Seneca Indians contained in this book:

before and after that remote period, when the ancestors of the Seneceas sprung into existence, the country, especially about the lakes, was thickly inhabited by a race of civil, enterprising, and industrious people, who were totally destroyed, and whose improvements were taken possession of by the Senecas. (*History of the State of New York*, p. 40)

Furthermore, yates and Moulton inform their readers that the copper-colored Senecas had "exterminated" a white race of highly civilized people. (Ibid., pp. 42-43) And it was the "whites, whom tradition describes as having occupied the states north-east of the Ohio." (Ibid., p. 92) yates and Moulton then speculate that it was this white race that built the forts in the vicinity of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River in an effort to defend themselves against the savage red men. (Ibid.) They also inform their readers that many theories about the origin of this white race of men have been given, including an Israelitish origin. (Ibid., pp. 70ff.)

Source: Dan Vogel, "Book of Mormon Geography: Mormon Efforts to Relocate Nephite Lands," unpublished paper, no date (abt. 1984), p. 21, 44 notes 47-51.

Note\* In regard to the writings of Yates and Moulton I would like to say that because of the excellent extent of their scholarly research and the detail and reasoning given to the various Indian Origin theories with respect to the State of New York, and because they wrote at this time period (early 1820's) and in this place (New York) which times and place correlate so well with the birth of Mormonism and the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, I will try to include a good portion of their text. They write as follows:

[p. 12] . . . four questions have been agitated by the learned world, with more or less warmth, extravagance, and pertinacity, as national interest, national vanity, or literary pride predominated:

*First*, By what means was America originally peopled?

*Secondly*, Was America known to Europe before Columbus?

*Thirdly*, Who first explored the North American coasts, and discovered those and the harbours of New York?

*Fourthly*, What principle of international law should interchangeably govern the powers of Europe in their partition of this continent, and regulate them in respect to their right of its original proprietors or native occupants. . . .

. . . The first and second will be examined principally to illustrate the inquiry, whence originated the artificial remains of antiquity and the aborigines of this State. . . .

[p. 13] *First. By what means was America originally peopled?*

The controversy from the discussion of this question, which for nearly three centuries has elicited the talents of writers in almost every tongue and nation, is too diffuse to admit, in its present application more than a condensed sketch of the various hypotheses of the learned. The question involves a problem, the solution of which (if solvable) must become the result of a more profound philosophy than has yet been displayed upon it. And still analysis might be tasked for a binaean classification of the multifarious theories which have confounded the subject. Some authors have deduced the ancestors of the

Americans from Europe, and fancied that they had discovered them among the Grecians, the Romans, the Spaniards, the Irish, the Welsh, the Courlanders, or the Russians. Others have traced them to Asia, alternately to the Israelites, Canaanites, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Persians, Tartars, East Indians, Chinese, Japanese; each of which nations has had its advocates among philosophers and historians. A third species of writers look to Africa as the original cradle of the American race, and make them the descendants of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, or Numidians; while a fourth believe the Americans to have been descendants of all the nations in the world. (5)

Before we enter into any investigation of these theories a delineation of the antiquities of this state and sketches of the traditions of its aboriginal people, might become an interesting preliminary in the development of the main question. . . .

[pp. 19-20] These remains of art may be viewed as connecting links of a great chain, which extends beyond the confines of our state, and becomes more magnificent and curious as we recede from the northern lakes, pass through Ohio into the great vale of the Mississippi, thence to the Gulf of Mexico, through Texas into New Mexico and South America. In this vast range of more than three thousand miles, these monuments of ancient skill gradually become more remarkable for their number, magnitude, and interesting variety, until we are lost in admiration and astonishment, to find, as Baron Humboldt informs us, in a world which we call new, ancient institutions, religious ideas, and forms of edifices, similar to those of Asia, which there seem to go back to the dawn of civilization.

Over the great secondary region of the Ohio, are the ruins of what once were forts, cemeteries, temples, altars, camps, towns, villages, race-grounds and other places of amusement, habitations of chieftains, videttes, watch-towers, and monuments. . . .

In the valley of the Mississippi, the monuments of buried nations are unsurpassed in magnitude and melancholy grandeur by any in North America. Here cities have been traced, similar to those of ancient Mexico, once containing hundreds of thousands of souls. Here are to be seen thousands of tumuli, some a hundred feet high, others many hundred feet in circumference . . . Similar mounds are scattered throughout the continent, from the shores of the Pacific into the interior of our state, as far as Black river, and from the lakes to South America.

[p. 21] Philosophers and antiquaries concur in opinion, that these remains of art evince the remote existence of nations far more civilised than the indigenes of the present race; than, at least, of any known tribes of North America.

The antiquities of this state are, in the opinion of Mr. Clinton, (9) demonstrative evidence of the existence of a vast population settled in towns, defended by forts, cultivating agriculture, and more advanced in civilization than the nations which have inhabited the same countries since the European discovery. . . .

[p. 22] The inquiries now arise:--Who erected these works? Whence originated these wonderful people? Were they the primitive ancestors of the indigenes of our state? What is the story of their first migration and settlements; their progress from rudeness to comparative refinement; their retrogression into barbarism? What terrible disasters precipitated their ruin, exterminated their national existence, and blotted out their name, perhaps for ever? In reply--while there are a few remnants of tradition to guide inquiry, and volumes of conjectures to bewilder, not one authentic record remains of even the name of any of these populous and powerful nations.

[pp. 24-25] The nations of the old continent have their fabulous genealogical traditions, analogous to which are those of our aboriginal descendants. All barbarous or semi-savage nations whose origin was obscure in fact, or has been rendered so by lapse of time, have ever manifested this fabulous inclination. It is the refuge of national pride, or it may be founded in those constituents of human nature which delight to revel in mystery, which are curious to pry into the secrets of existence, to discover, if possible, an

intimate relationship between what is visible and invisible, and to enjoy at least, as an equivalent for disappointed curiosity, the conscious pride of superior penetration over vulgar perception. . . .

The Chinese extended their chronology of princes to the great Fo-hi, centuries before the flood. (11) . . . The Egyptians also pretended to a divine race of princes, who were succeeded by a race of mortals. . . . The Hindoos outstrip all nations in this race of antiquity. They pretend that their sacred book, containing the institutes of civil and religious duties, was received from the Supreme Being himself, by a subordinate divine being, about one thousand nine hundred and sixty millions of years ago! . . .

[p. 26] Some nations pride themselves in being **Autochthoni**. The Grecians boasted that they sprung from the earth. The Indians of the nine Mandan villages, whom Lewis and Clark visited, deduce their origin from a subterraneous village near a subterraneous lake, through which, they believe, the good only will return and rejoin their subterranean ancestors. Their progenitors, they say, saw the light of this world through the apertures of a grape-vine, whose roots reached to their nether abode. The boldest, climbing up the vine, were struck with the beauty of this upper world, plucked some grapes and descended. The whole nation then resolved to exchange their dreary habitation for a brighter. Accordingly, about half of them had ascended, when a corpulent woman who was clambering up the vine, broke it by her weight, and thus shut out the light and the way from the rest of the nation. Those who had gained the earth, settled where the Mandan villages are located. Instances of similar absurdity might be multiplied. The whole human family, and every living thing, according to some Indian traditions, sprang like vegetables out of the earth, many hundred snags ago. (14) In this opinion, (which is as old as Epicurus and Lucretius, that men sprung like seedless plants, being engendered by moisture and heat,) the French advocates of one of the hypotheses hereafter mentioned as to the origin of the aborigines, might find encouragement. Even Lord Monboddo, in his attempt to identify his progenitors with monkeys, might have received the sanction of some of the western Indians.

[p. 28] It sometimes happens, says Dr. Vander Donck, that when we are engaged in earnest conversation with the oldest and best informed of the Indians, they ask our opinion of the First cause and origin of man; and when we relate to them, in broken language, and in the best manner we can, the creation of Adam, they cannot or will not understand or comprehend that it has any relation to their nation, or the negroes, on account of the great difference of colour; and according to their opinion, the world was not created in the manner related in the first and second chapter of Genesis. They say:--"Before the world existed, and before mountains, men, and animals were created, God was with the woman: when or whence they came, we know not. All was water, or at least water covered all things. No eye could have discovered aught else, had there been an eye to see. The before mentioned beautiful woman, or goddess, (as they say) on a certain time gently descended from heaven until she came to the water. She was pregnant, and had the appearance as if she would bring forth more than one. She did not sink deep into the water, but immediately where she settled down, some land appeared, upon which she rested . . .

[p. 31] This piece of Indian mythology prevailed also among the Delawares; and however ridiculous these stories are, the belief of the Indians in them (says Mr. Heckewelder) cannot be shaken. (Heckewelder, 1 vol, Phila. Hist. and Lit. Trans. p. 244.) They consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where for a long time they had their abode before they came to live on its surface. They say the great and good Spirit had prepared all things for their reception, but like an infant in the womb of its natural mother, their first stage of existence was wisely ordained to be within the earth. . . .

[p. 32-36] Having thus noticed these fabulous traditions of the first creation of man and foundation of nations, we will introduce some of a more recent reference, possessing a degree of authenticity entitling them to more consideration than the former. These relate to the immediate ancestors of our Indians, whence they came, who were the inhabitants of the state previous to their arrival, and who probably constructed the works of art which we have described.

The Lenni Lenape, according to the traditions handed down to them by their ancestors, resided many hundred years ago in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent. They determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out in a body. After a long journey, and many nights encampment, (that is, halts of one year at a place,) they arrived on the Namaesi Sipu, (Mississippi,) where they fell in with the Mengwe (the Iroquois or Five Nations) who had also emigrated

from a distant country, and had struck upon this river somewhat higher up. Their object was similar to that of the Delawares; they were proceeding eastward until they should find a country that pleased them. The territory east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land. These were the Alligewei, from whose name those of the Alleghany river and mountains have been derived. . . . a train of events . . . ultimately ruined the Lenape, but paved the way for the victorious progress of the confederacy of the celebrated five nations. A sketch of those events will be given hereafter.

[pp. 36-37] The Rev. Mr. Beatty, in his mission from New York in 1766, to the western Indians, received from a person whom he credited, the following tradition, which he had heard from some old men among the Delaware tribe. That of old time their people were divided by a river, and one part tarried behind; that they knew not for certainty how they came first to this continent, but gave this account, viz. that a king of their nation, when they formerly lived far to the west, left his kingdom to his two sons; that the one son making war upon the other, the latter thereupon determined to depart, and seek some new habitation; that accordingly he set out, accompanied by a number of people, and after wandering to and fro for the space of forty years, they at length came to the Delaware River, where they settled three hundred and seventy years ago. . . .

The Mengwe (or five nations) have a tradition that they came from the west, but from what part their progenitors emigrated they know not. The late Rev. Samuel Kirkland says (in the manuscript Journal of his missionary tour into this State in 1788) he found by inquiry that a tradition prevailed among the Indians in general, "that all Indians came from the west." . . .

[pp. 42-44] . . . Many support the opinion, that the western states of the Union were the original country of the Mexicans and Toltecas. From a comparison of the bodies and envelopes found in the Copperas cave in Tennessee, and from other circumstances, the inference has been drawn that the western country was once their seat; that they were a copper-coloured people, who, it has been supposed, owed their knowledge and refinement to certain aboriginal whites. Three South American nations ascribe their civilization and religion to *three white men*, who appeared among them. Abbe Molina says, there is a tribe of Indians in Baroa, in Chili, whose connexions are a clear white and red. Baron Humboldt remarks, that in the forest of Guiana, especially near the sources of the river Orinoco, are several tribes of a whitish complexion. An exterminating war appears to have taken place between the barbarous natives, perhaps under some Attila or Genseric, and their more refined and civilized neighbours, ending in nearly the total destruction of the latter, the few survivors of whom fled to happier climes; and to these aboriginal whites perhaps the Mexicans, &c. were indebted for their knowledge and refinement.

The traditions of other Indians ascribe the construction of these works to whites. Indians north-west of Ohio and others say, that they had understood from their old men, that it had been a tradition among their several nations, that the western country, and particularly Ohio and Kentucky, had once been inhabited by white people, but they were exterminated. The last battle was fought at the falls of Ohio. The Indians drove the aborigines into a small island, (Sandy Island) below the rapids, where the whole were cut to pieces. *Kentuckee*, in Indian, signifies *river of blood*. Some of the remains of the ancient tribe of the Sacs expressed to a gentleman at St. Louis, their astonishment that any person should live in Kentucky. The country they said, had been the scene of much blood, and was filled with the manes of the butchered inhabitants who were white people.(19)

Numerous traditions of nations *west of the Mississippi* though varying as to the motive or uses that occasioned the construction of their tumuli and fortifications, concur in their great antiquity, and most of them in their having been the work of a people which had altogether ceased to exist, before those hunting grounds came into possession of the ancestors of the present occupants. (20)

But who were these whites? May it be presumed that the Alleghanians (Alligewi) and Mexicans were the same people by intermixture and that the former erected these works before the Lenape and Iroquois came and destroyed them. (21) Many of the supposed fortifications were temples, particularly that of

Circle-ville in Ohio, where human sacrifices were one of the rites, and where female victims, as in India were immolated with the males. Their similitude with those of Mexico, as described by Humboldt, has also been traced. (22) . . .

But if the Alleghanians may be thus identified with the Mexicans, who were the whites that instructed the latter? Were the nations of our state descendants in reality of those victorious **Tartars**, (if they may be so denominated,) who formed their alliance on the banks of the Mississippi, waged the exterminating war against the Alligewi, and succeeded in expelling them, according to the tradition before recited? Were, then, those fugitives who escaped down the Mississippi and never returned, the *white* instructors of the Mexicans? And if conjecture might be extended to the supposition that they were, still the inquiry arises, who were these whites, these Alligewi, these instructors of the Mexicans, these authors of our antiquities? Whence came they? Were they from Europe, or from Asia--were their conquerors from either of those continents? Were the former the first people who had emigrated, or had they succeeded others whom they in their turn had extirpated? The main question therefore recurs, by what means was America originally peopled?

[pp. 44- 56] We shall attempt little more than a classification of authors, and the peculiar theory which each has erected, following in order such as maintain **a European ancestry; European or Asiatic; Asiatic only; ante or postdeluvian; African; ancient Atlantic; and lastly, such as believe that the aborigines are strictly such.**

The remote voyages of the Scandinavians, which are alleged to have reached the coast of New York will be reserved until the examination of the third question. The antiquary of America will probably find, says Dr. Mitchell, that the Scandinavians emigrated about the tenth century of the Christian era, if not earlier. And they may be considered not merely as having discovered this continent, but to have explored its northern climes to a great extent, and to have peopled them three or four hundred years at least before Columbus was born. . . .

John Sevier, late governor of Tennessee, says, that in 1782 he was on a campaign against the Cherokees. Observing on his route traces of very ancient fortifications, he afterwards took occasion, on the exchange of prisoners, to inquire into their origin, of Oconostoto, who for sixty years had been a ruling chief of the Cherokee nation; and particularly as to the origin of the remarkable fortification on the bank of Highwassee river? The venerable chief replied, It was handed down by their forefathers, that these works were made by *white people*, who had formerly inhabited the country. When the Cherokees lived in the country now South Carolina, wars existed between them, and were only ended when the whites consented to abandon the country. Accordingly, they descended the Tennessee to the Ohio, then to the big river (Mississippi), then up the muddy river (Missouri), to a very great distance. They are now on some of its branches, but are no longer white people; they have become Indians, and look like the other red people of the country. "I then asked him," continues Governor Sevier, "if he had ever heard any of his ancestors say to what nation of people the whites belonged? He answered, "I have heard my grandfather and other old people say, that they were a people called Welsh; that they had crossed *the great water*, and landed near the mouth of Alabama river, and were finally driven to the heads of its waters, and even to Highwassee river, by the Mexican Spaniards." . . .

In conclusion, is it improbable that soon after the Spanish discovery of South America, or in the early visits of the Europeans, (as early as the commencement of the sixteenth century into Florida) some struggling Welshmen might have visited Florida or Alabama, and (like many resident traders since) intermarried with the natives? . . .

But from the assumed establishment of the fact of the existence of Welsh Indians, a strong *Probability* has been deduced in favour of Madoc's voyage to this continent, and his colonial settlement in the twelfth century. Whether true or fictitious, Prince Madoc's adventures have been the theme of modern (27) as well as ancient song, and the historian, traveller, and antiquary, (28) as well as the bard, have concurred in supporting as authentic, what others (29) have considered a fable. We shall not enter into the controversy, but dismiss it with a few observations . . .

If the Welsh Indians could be identified as descendants of Madoc's colony, or if the Alligewi could be ascertained to have been Welsh, the discovered traces of civilization, Christianity, and the arts, might partly be referred to their instrumentality. But the pre-existence of inhabitants when Madoc is supposed to have arrived, the crowded population (for instance, in Ohio 700,000, as Mr. Atwater has conjectured, which formerly swarmed over this continent, preclude the presumption that Madoc's colony (322 years only before Columbus) were the first settlers, or that they and their descendants were the sole constructors of all the mounds, temples, and fortifications that appear to have been erected. . . . But limited must be the views that would circumscribe the origin of myriads who have swarmed over this continent to the narrow confines of Wales.

[pp. 57-61] It is certain that our ancient forts in New-York resemble the old British and Danish. . . . The Danes descended from the Scythians and made settlements and conquests on the British Isles even since the days of Julius Caesar. According to Pliny, the name of Scythian was common to all nations living in the north of Asia and Europe, (41) The Scythians, therefore, from whom the Tartars were descended, in all probability first peopled the British isles. The fact that our works are in all respects like those of Britain, and that similar works may be found all the way from this part of America to Tartary, furnishes some proof that **the Tartars** were the authors of ours also. (42)

Edward Brerewood (43) claims the Tartars as the only parent people of the aborigines. John De Laet (44) a Flemish writer, Gregorio Garcia, (45) a Dominican, and father Joseph De Acosta (46) a Spanish Jesuit, concur in ascribing the American aboriginal population to the north of Asia and of Europe. The first makes the Scythians, Tartars, and Samoiedes, the principal hive; but traces portions of the American family from the northwest of Europe, the islands near the western coasts of Africa, particularly the Canaries, and partly from Wales, under prince Madoc. The two other authors suppose that these emigrants may have also come from those regions lying south of the straits of Magellan. Grotius (47) and Hornius (48) trace them from Norway, by way of Greenland; but the latter refers also to the Swedes, the Welsh, and others.

Dr. Mitchell says, that the suggestion of Mr. Clinton, of the Danish origin of some of the old forts in Onondaga and adjacent, was to him a new window of light. It led him to follow, with the reverend pastor Van Troil, the European emigrants, during the horrible commotions of the ninth and tenth centuries, to Iceland; trace them, with the reverend Mr. Crantz, to Greenland; and at last find the Scandinavians on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Madoc, Prince of Wales, and his Cambrian followers, appeared among these bands of adventurers. And thus the north-eastern lands of North America were visited by the hyperborean tribes from the north-westernmost climates of Europe; and the north-western climes of North America had received inhabitants of the same race from the north-eastern regions of Asia.

The hypothesis of this learned philosopher is, that America, as well as Asia, had its Tartars in the north and its Malays in the south. He aims to prove, from a comparison of the features, manners, and dress, distinguishable in the North American nations of the higher latitudes, with those of the Samoiedes and Tartars of Asia, that they are of the same race; and, from the physiognomy, manufactures, and customs of the North American tribes of the middle and lower latitudes, and of the South Americans, that they are nearly akin to the Malay race of Austral Asia and Polynesia; and that the north-western climes of Europe contributed, as the north-eastern regions of Asia had, to the original population of this continent.

This derivation of the Northern American from Asiatic and Norwegian ancestry, and the Southern from that of Southern Asia, is also ably maintained by Doctor Williamson, and the theory has attracted the concurrence of some modern philosophers in Europe.

In conformity to this interesting hypothesis, the antiquary is instructed to trace the swarms from the great hive of nations existing to the eastward and westward of the Caspian Sea, in a manner very different from that which some writers of Europe have pursued, as the barbarians descended upon the more warm and productive countries of the south. "He will follow the hordes journeying by land eastward, and he will trace the fearless boatman venturing over sea westward, until the Tartar and the Samoied meet each other at the antipodes. He will find this antipodal region to lie south of lake Ontario and Erie; and thereon pursue the vestiges of their combats, their conflicts, and their untold story, **to Onondaga**; the great head-quarters of the victorious Iroquois. The Danes, or Fins, and Welshmen, performing their



migrations gradually to the southwest, will appear to have penetrated to the country situate **south of lake Ontario**, and to have fortified themselves there. The Tartars of Samoieds, traveling, by degrees, from Alaska to the southeast, probably found them there. In their course, these Asian colonists probably exterminated the Malays (49) who had penetrated along the Ohio and its streams, or drove them to the caverns abounding in saltpetre and copperas in Kentucky and Tennessee, where their bodies, accompanied with the clothes and ornaments of their peculiar manufacture, have been repeatedly disinterred and examined. Having achieved this conquest, the Tartars and their descendants had probably a much more difficult task to perform: this was, to subdue the more ferocious and warlike European colonists, who had already been entrenched and fortified in the country before them. There is evidence enough, that long and bloody wars were waged among the tribes. In these, the Scandinavians and Esquimaux seem to have been overpowered in New-York. The survivors of the defeat and ruin retreated to Labrador, where they have continued secure and protected by barrenness and cold. **How memorable a spot has been Onondaga!--where men of the Malay race from the southwest, and of the Tartar blood from the northwest, and of the Gothic stock from the northeast, have successively contended for supremacy and rule**, and which may be considered as having been possessed by each before the French, Dutch, or English, had ever visited or known the country!"(50)

Father Charlevoix (51) allows that America might have received its first inhabitants from Tartary and Hyrcania; and that more than one nation had a Scythian or Tartarian origin. After considering a great number of writers, (52) and examining particularly Acosta, L'Escarbet, Brerewood, and Grotius, he concludes in his opinion, that ancient Celtæ and Gauls, who sent colonies to the uttermost bounds of Asia and Europe, and **whose origin may be undeniably carried back to the sons of Japhet**, made their way into America by the Azores; and in reply to the objection, if raised, that the Azores were not inhabited in the fifteenth century, he replies that the first discoverers of those islands abandoned them to make settlements in others of greater extent and fertility, and on an immense continent, whence they are not far distant.

[p. 61] The Esquimaux, and other nations of North America, resemble so much those of the north of Asia and Europe, and so like the other natives of the new world, that it may be presumed they descended from the former. . . .

[pp. 63- ] [SEA TRAVEL] In addition to authors named who support a European or Asiatic origin or one from both regions, we might add to the list of those who think that the north-eastern Asia might have been the route of the first people, the names of Robertson Pennant, Barton, and others. . . .

Doctor Barton and other respectable writers who have examined the subject, arrange themselves on the same side of the question. . . . Accordingly, the first inhabitants passed from Asia across the islands that lie between the extremities of Asia and America, but at different times and from various parts: Tartary, China, Japan, or Kamschatka: the inhabitants of these countries resembling each other in colour, feature, shape, and in many other particulars. . . . Asia and America are supposed to have been united at the north, and afterwards separated by one of those catastrophes which at times convulse the surface of the globe. . . . they are separated, as we formerly observed by islands at so short a distance, that the strait when not frozen over, may be passed by canoes . . . . .

. . . Even from the British Isles, or Coast of France to Newfoundland, the passage is not very long or difficult. A passage may with ease be effected from the coast of Africa to Brazil--Canaries to the Western Islands--thence to the Antilles. Neither is it very long or difficult from China to Japan--Japan or the Philippines to the Mariannes--thence to Mexico.

America has been peopled as the other parts of the world have been: independently of pre-design--- unforeseen accident, tempests, and shipwreck have certainly contributed to people every habitable part of the world.

This is also the opinion of Governor Clinton. "The probability is, that America was peopled from various quarters of the old world, and that its predominant race is the Scythian or Tartarian. Mate Brun,

the great French geographer, in his *Precis de la Geographie Universelle, &c.*, speaks of the vast colonial system of the Carthaginians, of Phoenician navigation, of that of the Arabians and the Malays, to the Moluccas and to America; and it is almost certain that the squadrons of the Japanese and the Malays traversed the great Southern Ocean, now filled with their colonies. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Phoenicians sailed far into the Atlantic Ocean. Herodotus states, that Africa was circumnavigated by vessels despatched by Necho, king of Egypt, under the conduct of Phoenicians. **Hanno, according to Pliny, during the most flourishing times of Carthage, sailed round from Gades to the utmost extent of Arabia and wrote an account of this voyage, called the Periplus.** That vessels from the old world, have been driven by tempests on the coast of America, is certain, and that they have gone there at early periods for various purposes, is highly probable. A communication can be had between America and the old world, without any considerable navigation. They are in one place divided by a strait, and where the distance enlarges, access can be easily had by intervening islands. Grotius says, that the Peruvians were a Chinese colony, that the Spaniards found at the entry of the Pacific Ocean, after coming through the straits of Magellan, the wrecks of Chinese vessels. Captain Shaler, our intelligent consul-general at Algiers, is well assured that a Chinese junk was wrecked on the north-west coast of America; some of the money of that country was found on board. Forster supposes that the fair South Sea race came from the Malay, and the blacks from the Moluccas. . . .

These facts show how the different races of men may have been spread over the globe, and indicate that America has derived its population from different sources in different ways, and at different times; by long voyages, and by short excursions, by tempests, by voyages of commerce and discovery, and by the other various causes which govern the conduct and affect the destiny of man.

In further coincidence with this opinion of a Scythian or Tartarian origin, and that the several quarters of the globe have contributed to people this continent in various ways, and at different times; we might superadd other writers, distinguished for their learning and research. America, according to one of them, was inhabited before the deluge. After this event, men and animals penetrated into the country by sea and land, through accident and design. The Scythians from the north were the first founders; the Phoenicians and Carthaginians followed next across the Atlantic; and the Chinese [across] the Pacific; people of other nations succeeded, or were driven hither by tempest. Some Jews and Christians by like means, might have been brought hither. Another migration of the Phoenicians is supposed by this writer to have taken place during the three years' voyage made by the Tyrian fleet, in the service of king Solomon, and on the authority of Josephus; he says that the port of its embarkation lay in the Mediterranean. The fleet, he continues, went in quest of elephant's teeth, &c to the western coast of Africa, that is Tarshish; then to Ophir for gold, which is Haiti, or the Island of Hispaniola. He superadds migrations since the Christian era.

[pp. 70- ] [ ISRAELITISH] Caleb Atwater, Esq. whose contributions of facts to the collections of the American Antiquarian Society have been curious and valuable, supposes that the first settlers sprang from one common origin, as early as the days of Abraham and Lot; that their improvements were originally rude, such as were common to those early ages; their progress in arts slow, but apparently improving as they advanced from the north to the south. The works described in those collection are offered as evidence of a race widely different from any now known.

The hypothesis of an Israelitish origin, or that the American Indians are descendants of the long lost tribes of Israel, has been ably assumed by Adair, supported by Boudinot. and denied by Jarvis, on the assumption that there is no affinity between the Indian and hebrew tongues.

One writer has gone so far as to trace the primogenitors of the American Indians to the descendants of the murderer Cain. His essay is ingenious, and contains a full quotation and explanation of scripture references. He insists, however upon the former union of the Asiatic and American continents. . . .

[p. 72] Siguenza (whose opinion was adopted by Bishop Huet) supposed that the Mexicans belonged tot he posterity of Naphtuhim, and that their ancestors left **Egypt** not long after the confusion of tongues,

and travelled towards America. This is a conjecture which Abbe Clavigero considers well supported but not sufficiently sustained to be pronounced truth.

[pp. 72-73] The ruins of an ancient city near **Palenque**, in the province of Chiapa, and kingdom of Guatemala, in Spanish America, are described as exhibiting the remains of magnificent edifices, temples, towers, aqueducts, statues, hieroglyphics, and unknown characters. This city (since called the Palencian city) was first discovered by Captain Antonio Del Rio, in 1787. He says in his report, that the town appears to have been seven or eight leagues in length, and at least half a league in breadth; that from a Romish similarity in location, in that of a subterranean stone aqueduct, and from certain figures in Stucco, he thought that an intercourse once existed between the original natives and **Romans**. [SEE THE 1822 NOTATION OF DEL RIO] The Palencian edifices are of very remote antiquity, having been buried for many ages in the impenetrable thickets covering the mountains, and unknown to the historians of the new world.

[pp. 73-75] Among the few historical American works that escaped the flames of the Spanish conquerors (who destroyed most of the memorials of the natives) was an ancient narrative, which is said to have fallen into the hands of the bishop of Chiapa, who refers to it in his *Diocesan Constitution*, printed at Rome 1702. This was the narrative of **Votan**, which, it is conjectured by Doct. Cabrera, of New Guatemala, may still be extant. A copy (as Doct. C. believes) of the original, in hieroglyphics, (taken soon after the conquest) was communicated to him in a memoir from a learned friend.

From an interpretation of this copy of the hieroglyphic narrative of Votan, he is made to say, that he conducted seven families from Valum Votan to this continent, and assigned lands to them; that he is the third of the Votans; that having determined to travel till he arrived at the root of heaven, in order to discover his relations, the Culebreas, and make himself known to them, he made four voyages to Chivim; that he arrived in Spain, and went to Rome; that he saw the great house of God building, &c. According to Doctor Cabrera's hypothesis, the figures and deities of the Palencian city, and particularly the hieroglyphics are Egyptian. A maritime communication existed between the American and African continents, in the very remotest ages of antiquity. The grandfather of Votan was **a Hivite, originally of Tripoli, in Syria**, (of a nation famous for having produced Cadmus) and was the first populator of the New World. That Votan, his grandson, made four voyages to the old continent and landed at Tripoli. The earliest inhabitants consequently came from the east to America, proceeded from its eastern part to the northward, and again descended. At any rate, this, according to Dr. Cabrera is the solution of the grand historical problem, so far as it regards the first peopling of the countries bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, and islands adjacent. He admits, that from various accidents since the introduction of the art of navigation, it is probable that many other families, besides those conducted hither by Votan, may have been conveyed to different parts of America and formed settlements.

Among the ruins of the Palencian city, were found several figures and idols. Agreeably to the Doctor's interpretations of these figures, Votan is represented thereon as on both continents, with an historical event, the memory of which he was desirous of transmitting to future ages. His voyages to and return from, the old continent, are also depicted. One of the idols, bearing a mitre or cap, with bulls' horns, and found in the temple of the city, is the Osiris, and another, the Isis of the Egyptians. These transmarine deities were known also to the Greeks, Romans, and Phoenicians.

[p. 75-77] Hornius, supported by the authority of Strabo, affirms, as certain, that voyages from Africa and Spain into the Atlantic Ocean, were both frequent and celebrated, adding, from Strabo, that Eudoxius, sailing from the Arabian gulf to Ethiopia and India, found the prow of a ship that had been wrecked, which from having the head of a horse carved on it, he knew belonged to a Phoenician bark, and some Gaditani merchants declared it to have been a fishing vessel. Laertius relates nearly the same circumstance. Hornius says, that in very remote ages, three voyages were made to America, the first by the Atlantes, or descendants of Atlas, who gave his name to the ocean and the islands, Atlantides: this name Plato appears to have learned from the Egyptian priests, the general custodes of antiquity. The second voyage, mentioned by Hornius is given on the authority of Diodorus Siculus, lib. 5, cap. 19, where he says, the Phoenicians, having passed the columns of Hercules, and impelled by the violence of the winds, abandoned themselves to its fury, and after experiencing many tempests, were driven upon an

island in the Atlantic Ocean, distant many days sail to the westward of the coast of Lybia. . . . Diodorus asserts, that one Hercules navigated the whole circuit of the earth, and built the city of Alecta in Septimania. From what Doct. Cabrera considers an irrefragable body of evidence, founded upon the coincidence of the memorials of writers of the old continent . . .

[p. 77] . . . the Doctor concludes that hercules Tyrius was the progenitor of Votan, Septimania, beyond a doubt, the island Atlantis, or Hispaniola; the city of Electee was Valum Votan, the capital of that island whence Votan embarked his first colony to people the continent of America, and whence he departed for the countries of the Old hemisphere.

Votan, the grandson of hercules, and author of the narrative, was the third of his race, and flourished between three and four hundred years before the Christian era. The Romans and Carthaginians derived their first knowledge of America from Votan himself, on his return to the old continent, and his visit to Rome; and the first Carthaginian colony was sent previous to the first Punic war . . .

[p. 77-80] So formidable, however, have been the interposing difficulties, as viewed by the learned, in arriving at any certainty when and whence came the first people of America, and how and when animals first appeared there, that many suppose (for instance Acosta, Grotius, Buffon, and Abbe Clavigero) that this continent was once connected with the old continents, and by some great convulsion, the communications have been destroyed. . . . The peninsula of Yucatan, in America, no doubt was once the bed of the sea. . . . In the strait which separates America from Asia, are many islands, which probably were the mountains belonging to that tract of land, which we suppose to have been swallowed by earthquakes, a probability strengthened by the knowledge we have of the multitude of volcanoes in the peninsula of Kamschatka. . . . Abbe Clavigero is persuaded that there was an ancient union between the equinoctial countries of America and those of Africa, and a united continuation of the northern countries of America with those of Europe or Asia, the latter affording a passage for beasts of cold climes, the former for quadrupeds and reptiles peculiar to hot climes. he also believes that there was formerly a great tract of land which united the now most eastern part of Brazil to the most western part of Africa . . . It is also the belief of Abbe Clavigero that the most westerly part of America was formerly united by means of a smaller continent to the most easterly part of Tartary, and perhaps America was united also by Greenland with the northern countries of Europe. . . .

The opinion of Foster was founded on the probability that all the high islands in the middle of the sea are of volcanic origin, as it is evident, with respect to Iceland and the Faro islands in the north sea; the Azores, Teneriffe, Madeira, the Cape de Verds, St. Helena, and Ascension in the Atlantic; the Society Islands, Otabeite, Easter, the Marquesas, and other islands in the Pacific.

Abbe Molina observes that the Chileans say their ancestors came from the north or the west. That they came from the west he thinks is not so extravagant an opinion as at first view might appear.

The discoveries of the english navigators in the South sea, have established, that between America and the southern point of Asia, there is a chain of innumerable islands, the probable remains of some vast tract of land, which in that quarter, once united two continents, and rendered the communication between Asia and the opposite shore of America easy. Whence it is very possible as Abbe Molina concludes, that while North America has been peopled from the north-west, the south has received its inhabitants from the southern parts of Asia . . .

[p. 82] The presumption of such a union forms also the basis of an elaborate inquiry by Dr. McCulloh. He supports the probability of the ancient existence of the Atlantis of Plato, and the identity of the Antilles and Hesperides of the Spanish author Oviedo. In maintenance of his theory of the lost Atlantis, he refers to authors, by whose views or details it is supported, and to traditions and geological observations tending to show that the intermediate islands between this, and other continents are the shattered remains of those which once existed, and that a continent stood where the Pacific now rolls its ten thousand miles waste of waters. . . .

[pp. 89-91] That America had received emigrants from other parts of the globe before Columbus, we have no doubt; and were we disposed to theorize, without possessing that indubitable evidence from authentic history, observation, and analysis, which would be necessary in order to sustain a bold hypothesis, we should say, that in the remotest ages of the world, this continent was connected with the old continents by others which have sunk. Between the north-west of this, and the north-east of Asia, the mountainous remains of this union, are the islands that are discoverable in the strait which now divides them. Between the northeast of this, and the north-west of Europe, Greenland, the submerged island of Friesland and Iceland, were parts of the connexion with the European continent. Between the eastern part of Brazil, and the western part of Africa, and between the most western part of America, and the most eastern part of Tartary, (or southern Asia in the range of those numberless islands that seem to have been the highlands of a connecting continent) territorial unions existed between this continent and those of Africa and Asia. In obedience to the will of the Creator, the earth was filled with living creatures, and in the progress of multiplication and dispersion anterior to the deluge, no reason can be assigned, why this vast continent should have been exempted from the operation of this general law. The deluge (which is traditionary on this continent) impaired, but did not destroy all these connexions. The earth was again replenished, and this continent remained sufficiently connected to receive once more the vivifying influence of this second birth of men and animals. In the slow round of age after age, the chemical combination and effecting of the elements, the constant agitation and conflict of the fluids and solids, the tremendous agency of volcanoes and earthquakes, have combined to complete the destruction of those connexions, which the deluge had impaired. In the meantime, however, men and animals had spread over the surface of this continent, and they gradually became naturalized in habit, to the varieties and changes of its climate, and to the resources which were found to sustain life. Accessions to this original population, were made in the succession of ages since the separation, by the various means which we may imagine have contributed to disperse animal life in every habitable part of the world. Navigation in some ages, has been in a higher stage of improvement than in others. The commercial enterprise of some nations far transcended that of others. An ancient knowledge of the magnet may have occasioned its adaptation to maritime purposes, in those remote ages of the world, of the advents of which we have neither profane nor sacred record. But independently of this conjectural assistance, the spirit of bold and fearless adventure may have occasionally impelled men to trust themselves from land, or men less fearless, may have been driven to sea by storms, and in either case, they may have accidentally arrived on this continent. In this manner, individuals from different parts of the world, and even from the middle latitudes of the old continents, may have been conveyed in this, and , consequently, have introduced the peculiar traits of their respective national characteristics. Nevertheless, since the separation, the facilities of intercourse in modern ages, having remained at the north from Asia, far superior to those elsewhere, the predominant race of the aborigines has consequently been Asiatic, of the Tartar and Malay stocks. . .

**1824 C[onstantine] S[amuel] Rafinesque *Ancient History, or Annals of Kentucky; with a Survey of the***

***Ancient Monuments of North America.*** Frankfort, KY, 1824.

Dan Vogel writes:

Rafinesque believes that America was populated some time after the Flood via the lost continent of Atlantis (10-13). He also mentions the discovery of mammoth bones in Ohio (9)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(125)

**1824 C[onstantine] S[amuel] Rafinesque "Ancient History of North America" Parts 1-6, in the *Cincinnati***

*Literary Gazette*, Vol. 1, Feb. 21-May 29, Cincinnati, 1824

Dan Vogel writes:

Maintains that the Indians came to America via the lost continent of Atlantis, and describes mounds and fortifications of Ohio (59-60, 107-8, 116-17, 146-47, 155, 170).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144. \*(134)

**1824 Thomas Robbins *A View of All Religions; and the Religious Ceremonies of all Nations***

*at the Present Day*. Hartford, 1824.

Dan Vogel writes:

Robbins includes a section, "The Religion and Ceremonies of the North American Indians," which discusses the Indian-Israelite theory of James Adair and Elias Boudinot (158-163)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144. \*(126)

**1824-5 *Columbian Historian*. vol. 1, May 13, June 17, Aug. 13. New Richmond, Ohio, 1824-25**

Dan Vogel writes:

The May 13 issue discusses the problems of when and how early man reached America, favoring the opinion that both men and animals crossed the Bering Strait from Asia some time after the Flood (1-7)

The June 17 issue exhorts readers to have faith in God's power to cause men and animals to migrate from the Old to the New World (9)

The Aug. 13 issue describes several fortifications and states that they are the work of "a people far more civilized than our Indians. (60)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144. \*(135)

**1825 James G. Carter ed. *United States Literary Gazette*, Vol. 1, Jan. 15, Boston, 1825.**

Dan Vogel writes:

Reviews James Buchanan's *Sketches* (1824) (292-94). In addition, the periodical also mentions various theories on Indian origins, expresses doubt that any ancient record would ever be discovered to solve the mystery, and states that the mounds and fortifications were built by a people superior to the Indians who had been driven southward and probably became the Mexicans and Peruvians.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(142)

**1825 *Utica Christian Repository*, vol. 4, May 1825, Utica, New York, p. 149.**

Dan Vogel notes that in 1825 the *Utica Christian Repository* in New York published an article in which the reviewer of Ethan Smith's 1823 *View of the Hebrews* suggested that the second edition (published in 1825) should separate the Indian traits which were Jewish in origin from those that were considered patriarchal. This would clarify and strengthen the case for Israelilite origin.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 43, 90n49.

**1825 E. B. Grandin ed. *Wayne Sentinel*, Vol. 3, Palmyra, NY, 11 Oct. 1825**

**Pomeroy Tucker ed.**

Dan Vogel writes:

The speech of Mordecai N. Noah delivered at the dedication of the City of Ararat (situated on Grand Island in the Niagara River) as a refuge for world Jewry, and begun in the previous (4 Oct) issue, is concluded in this issue. Noah claims that the Indians are the lost ten tribes of Israel and disputes the idea that the natives are indigenous. He also argues against the idea that the Indians are savages or inherently uncivilized.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

**1825^ Josiah Priest *The Wonders of Nature and Providence, Displayed*. Albany, 1825.**

In Part 1, "Origin of the Book of Mormon/ Schroeder-Roberts' Debate" we find the following:

[p. 367] Josiah Priest, in his "Wonders of Nature and Providence" (1824), quotes over forty authors, half of whom are Americans, and all of whom, prior to 1824, advocated an Israelitish origin of the American Indian. Some of these dated as far back as Clavigaro, a Catholic priest in the seventeenth century.

Dan Vogel writes:

This book was published twice in 1825 and once in 1826. The first edition contained no plates, but the second and third editions were enlarged and included ten plates. . . . This work, a compilation of many previously published works, includes an extract from Francisco Clavigero's *History of Mexico* recounting the ancient Mexican traditions of idolatry and human sacrifice (569-93) and a portion from Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* detailing evidence that Indians were of Hebrew origin (297-332).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

According to Dan Vogel, By the time the second edition of Ethan Smith's book *View of the Hebrews* appeared in 1825, dozens of passages from Smith's book were appearing in another book, *The Wonders of Nature and Providence, Displayed*, published in New York and written by Josiah Priest, an uneducated harness-maker and peddler of chap-books. Priest also quoted from Clavigero.

Note\* Priest's book was listed in the Manchester Library under accession number 208.

Note\* In B. H. Roberts' *Defense of the Faith and The Siants-Vol II*, p. 367 (Provo: Maasai Publishing, 2002) we find: "Josiah Priest, in his "wonders of Nature and Providence" (1824) quotews over forty authors, half of whom are Americans and all of whom, prior to 1824, advocated an Israelitish origin of the Ameriacan Indian. Some of these dated as far back as Clavigaro, a Catholic priest in the seventeenth century.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 35-44, 48

Note\* *The Wonders of Nature and Providence Displayed* is a 600-page series of about 140 short accounts or stories concerning people and cultures and lands from various parts of the world. For example, we have the "Adventure of a sailor in the river Congo," or an account "Of the inquisition at Spain," or a "Description of a Poison Tree and its effects." The following excerpts are from "Northern and Western Indians" (p. 297-331):

*Proofs that the Indians of North America are literally descended from the ancient Hebrews.*

In the following remarks proofs are adduced which are thought sufficient to identify the Aborigines of our country as the descendants of the ancient ten tribes of Israel who were carried into captivity 2500 years ago. This branch of the Hebrew family have long been "outcasts" out of sight; or unknown as Hebrews . . .

1. It has been clearly ascertained in the preceding chapter, that the ten tribes, as the Israel of God, are in the last days to be recovered, and restored with the Jews. The valley of dry bones and the two sticks



becoming one in the prophet's hand, have been seen clearly to ascertain this: See Ezek. xxxix as well as the many other passages noted in that chapter. . . .

When the restoration of the Hebrews is predicted, in Isaiah xi. that God will in the last days set up an ensign for the nation; it is to "assemble the outcasts of Israel; and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth." . . . Accordingly, when Israel are recovered, and united with the Jews at last; the Jews express their astonishment, and inquire *where they had been!* They had utterly lost them, as is the fact. See Isaiah xlix. 18-22. The Jews here, while "removing to and fro" through the nations, in their dispersed state, had been "*left alone,*" i.e. of the ten tribes. . . .

2. It inevitably follows, that the ten tribes of Israel must now have, somewhere on earth, a distinct existence in an *outcast* state. And we justly infer, that God *would*, in his holy providence, provide some suitable place for their safe keeping, *as his outcast tribes*, though long unknown to men as such. There is no avoiding this conclusion. . . .

3. . . . In 2 Esdras, xiii. 40, and on, we read; "Those are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land, in the time of Osea, the king, whom Salmanezer, the king of Assyria, led away captive; and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land." Here is the planting them over the Euphrates, in Media. The writer adds; "But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never man dwelt; that they might there keep their statutes which they never kept (i.e. uniformly as they ought) in their own land. *There was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half.*" . . .

Their journey then, was to the north, or northeast. This writer says, "They entered into the Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river." . . . and hence must have taken their courses between the Black and Caspian seas. . . . God indeed determined to separate them from the rest of the idolatrous world, and banish them by themselves in a land where no man dwelt since the flood.

4. Let several suppositions now be made. Suppose an extensive continent had lately been discovered, away north-east from Media, and at the distance of "a year and a half's journey;" a place probably destitute of inhabitants, since the flood, till the time of the "casting out" of Israel. Suppose a people to have been lately discovered in that sequestered region, appearing as we should rationally expect the nation of Israel to appear at this period, had the account given by the writer in Esdras been a fact. Suppose them to be found in tribes, with heads of tribes; but destitute of letters, and in a savage state. . . . Would you not say, we have just such kind of evidence, as must at last bring that people to light among the nations? . . .

5. . . . But you enquire, where or who are the people thus described? They are *the aborigines of our own continent!* Their place, their language, their traditions, amount to all that has been hinted. . . .

**The North American** Reviewers, in reviewing a sermon of Doct. Jarvis, on this subject . . . add; "To the testimonies here adduced by Doctor Jarvis, (i.e. that the Indians are the ten tribes of Israel) might have been added several of our New England historians, from the first settlement of the county." Some they proceed to mention; and then add, that the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Sewall, fellow of Harvard College, and Samuel Willard, vice president of the same were of opinion, that "the Indians are the descendants of Israel." Doct. Jarvis notes this as an hypothesis, which has been a favourite topic with European writers; and as a subject to which it is hoped the Americans may be said to be waking up at last.

Manasses Ben Israel, in a work, entitled "The Hope of Israel" has written to show that the American Indians are the ten tribes of Israel. But as we have access to his authors, we may consult them for ourselves. The main pillar of his evidence is James Adair, Esq. Mar. Adair was a man of established character, as appears from good authority. He lived a trader among the Indians, in the south of North America, for forty years. He left them and returned to England in 1774, and there published his "History of the American Indians;" and his reasons for being persuaded that they are the ten tribes of Israel. . . .

Mr. Adair gives his opinion, that the ten tribes, soon after their banishment from the land of Israel, left Media, and reached this continent from the north-west, probably before the carrying away of the Jews to Babylon.

A summary will be given of the arguments of Mr. Adair, and a number of other writers on this subject. As the evidence given by Mr. Adair appears in some respects the most momentous and conclusive, I shall adduce a testimonial in his behalf. In the "Star in the West," published by the Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL.D. upon this subject, that venerable man says; "The writer of these sheets has made a free use of Mr. Adair's history of the Indians . . .

From various authors and travellers, among the Indians, the fact that the American Indians are the ten tribes of Israel, will be attempted to be proved by the following arguments:

1. The American natives have one origin.
2. Their language appears to have been Hebrew.
3. They have had their imitation of the ark of the covenant in ancient Israel.
4. They have been in the practice of circumcision.
5. They have acknowledge one and only one God.
6. Their variety of traditions, historical and religious, go to evince that they are the ten tribes of Israel.
7. The celebrated William Penn gives accounts of the natives of Pennsylvania, which go to corroborate the same point.
8. Their having a tribe, answering in various respects, to the tribe of Levi, sheds further light on this subject.
9. Several prophetic traits of character given of the Hebrews, do accurately apply to the aborigines of America.
10. The Indians being in tribes, with the head and names of tribes, affords further light upon this subject.
11. Their having an imitation of the ancient city of refuge, evinces the truth of our subject; and
12. Other Indian rites, and various other considerations, go to evince the fact, that this people are the ten tribes of Israel.

**1825 J. B. Hyde "Letters to Rev. Ethan Smith" in *View of the Hebrews*, Vermont, 1825.**  
(ISRAELITISH)

**1825 Dr. Proudfit "Letters to Rev. Ethan Smith" in *View of the Hebrews*, Vermont, 1825.**  
(ISRAELITISH )

**1825 Mordecai M. Noah *Wayne Sentinel*, 4 Oct. and 11 Oct. 1825.**

Dan Vogel writes that in the fall of 1825,

The *Wayne Sentinel* published another story about the Indian issue, printing a speech by Mordecai M. Noah, a prominent New York Jew who purchased Grand Island in the Niagara River and there dedicated the city of Ararat as a refuge for oppressed Jews around the world. In the dedicatory speech, Noah

proclaimed that the Indians were "in all probability the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel." Noah further remarked that the research of antiquarians showed the Indians to be "the lineal descendants of the Israelites" and "my own researches go far to confirm me in the same belief. He invited the Indians to join with their brother Jews on the Island.

H. Michael Marquardt and Wesley Walters write:

The newspaper [Wayne Sentinel] ran stories on the Hebrew origin of the American Indians, a topic subsequently discussed by Joseph Jr. Mordecai M. Noah had embraced this popular theory, and on 11 October 1825 the *Sentinel* reprinted an address by him detailing his opinion: "Those who are conversant with the public and private economy of the Indians, are strongly of [the] opinion that they are the lineal descendants of the Israelites, and my own researches go far to confirm me in the same belief. He then lists a number of reasons for his belief:

The Indians worship one Supreme Being as the fountain of life, and the author of all creation. Like the Israelites of old, they are divided into tribes. . . . their language and dialect are evidently of Hebrew origin. They compute time after the manner of the Israelites. . . . They have their prophets, High Priests, and their sanctum sanctorium. . . . They have their towns and cities of refuge. . . .

After concluding his list of evidences, he reflects:

If the tribes could be brought together, could be made sensible of their origin, could be civilized, and restored to their long lost brethren, what joy to our people, what glory to our God, how clearly have the prophecies been fulfilled, how certain our dispersion, how miraculous our preservation, how providential our deliverance.

Vogel notes that Noah's speech was published in two issues of the *Wayne Sentinel*, 4 Oct. and 11 Oct. 1825. Noah's remark on the Israelite origin of the Indians comes from the later issue. The Ararat address was widely printed in New York newspapers and finally published under the title *Discourse on the Evidences of the American Indians Being Descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel* (New York, 1837). A 22 October 1825 letter Noah wrote from New York indicates that he was influenced by the Indian-Israelite theories of Manasseh ben Israel Source: [1652], James Adair Source: [1775], and Elias Boudinot Source: [1816].

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 35-44, 48 See also H. Michael Marquardt and Wesley P. Walters (*Inventing Mormonism, Tradition and the Historical Record*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Smith Research Associates, Distributed by Signature Books inc., 1994, pp. 44-45)

Note\* Anti-Mormon researchers H. Michael Marquardt and Wesley P. Walters stress that,

With opportunities for formal education limited, the Smith family, like others on the frontier, relied on other avenues of instruction and information. One source of wide-ranging information was the newspaper, which the Smiths received weekly in Palmyra.

After they moved to their Manchester farm, the Smith family received the *Wayne Sentinel*, a successor to the *Register* and the *Herald*. A notice giving the subscription cost and the published amount of Joseph Sr.'s delinquent bill suggest that the Smiths received the paper for more than two years. The *Sentinel* cost \$2.00 per year if picked up at the office. The 11 August 1826 issue listed 'Joseph Smith' among

delinquent subscribers with the amount due \$5.60." (*Inventing Mormonism, Tradition and the Historical Record*. Salt lake City, Utah: Smith Research Associates, Distributed by Signature Books inc., 1994, p. 44)

**1826**                    ***Susquehanna Register***, Montrose, PA, 18 Jan. 1826.

Dan Vogel writes that in January of 1826,

the *Susquehanna Register*, a newspaper published in Pennsylvania not far from where Joseph Smith would later translate most of the Book of Mormon reprinted the prospectus for a paper arguing that the Indians with few exceptions are "the literal descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." . . .

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 35-44, 48

Dan Vogel writes:

States that "the Indians-aborigines of America-are with a few Tartar exceptions, the literal descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (3).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

**1826^**    **J. C. Pritchard**                    ***Researches into the Physical History of Mankind***, 3-vols., 2nd. ed,  
London, 1826

J. C. Pritchard's 3-volume work deals extensively with the races of the world. Volume 2 of this 3-volume set goes into extensive detail on the various tribes of both North and South America and their linguistic and physical attributes. It pulls from the most informative and historical sources--See the notation in the External Evidences section.

In volume 2, Book VIII, Part VI. We find the "History of the Native Races of America." In Chapter 1 ("Introductory and General Observations) under Section 1 ("General Remarks on the Nations of America in comparison with each other") we find the following:

Much has been written on the population of the New Continent, and a variety of conjectures have been proposed as to the origin of its inhabitants. Some writers have derived them from Europe, some from Africa: of late it has been the most general opinion that the American nations came originally into the continent they now inhabit, from the north-eastern extremity of Asia. It is not my design to enter full into this inquiry at present: the facts which are most calculated to throw light upon it will develop themselves in the course of the following pages: but in order that the bearing of these facts may be evident, it will be

requisite, before we enter into the history of particular races, to make some general observations on the native people of America collectively.

We shall first inquire whether all the races discovered by Europeans in the New World are people of a similar description, and appear to belong to the same stock, or on the contrary constitute distinct families or classes of mankind, which may be though, with probability, to have had their origin in different parts. In his inquiry we shall survey, briefly, the most striking facts connected with the physical structure and constitution of the American races, and with the history of their languages. In the second place we shall point out what races in the eastern hemisphere have been supposed, with the greatest probability, to be related to the people of America, and to be the stock from whence they derived their origin. [pp. 336-337]

In a section titled "On the Physical Characters of the American Aborigines" Pritchard concludes:

it is evident that their physical characters, in different parts of the continent, have that sort of general resemblance, which is strongly favourable to the opinion, that all these nations are of one stock. But, of this, the reader will, perhaps, be more fully convinced, after he has gone through the description of particular nations. [p. 341]

In concluding a section titled "Relations between the American Languages," Pritchard writes the following:

The foregoing considerations on the languages of the American nations, tend obviously towards the same conclusion as the remarks previously offered on their physical characters. How far either, or both, are conclusive, the reader is enabled to judge. [p. 349]

In Section 2 ("Remarks on the American Languages, and on the Physical Characters of the People, in comparison with those of other Races") commenting "On their Languages," Pritchard writes:

It may be seen, from the remarks on the last paragraph, that the Hebrew dialects have many of the peculiarities belonging to the Indian languages; as the conjugation of verbs, giving rise to a modification in the sense, the use of affixes and suffixes; the feminine forms, etc.: but all these are in so inferior and limited a degree in Hebrew, that the analogy is very distant. . . . On the whole, it does not appear that any mode of speech, as yet known in the eastern hemisphere, can with certainty be classed, in respect to its laws of structure, with the polysynthetic idioms of the New World. . . .

The only American language detected with certainty in Asia, is that of the Esquimaux, which is spoken by the Tschuktschi, but this fact is of itself of importance, though it should be allowed that the Tschuktschi are a colony from America, since it proves that a communication and interchange of inhabitants has really existed between the two continents. [pp. 350-352]

In the section titled "On their Physical Characters" Pritchard writes:

It is in the idioms of Northern Asia, that the most numerous analogies have been discovered to those of the Western Continent, and to the people of the same region, the physical structure of the American races displays by far the nearest resemblance.

We have had occasion to observe in a former part of this work, that the form of the skull prevalent among the Mongolian, and other races of Eastern Asia, bears a near analogy to that of the American nations. . . . The analogy between them," says Von Humboldt, "is particularly evident in the colour of the skin and hair, in the want of beard, the shape of the cheek-bones, and the direction of the eyes. . . ." . . . In comparing the Mongole physiognomy with the American, the observer has opportunity enough to find traces of the series of developments, through which the Eastern Asiatic had to pass, under the influence of the climate, in order at length to be transformed into an American. [354-357]

Note\* Franklin Harris writes that J.C. Pritchard's 1826 book, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, detailed some of the theories concerning the idea that the American Indians were of the Lost Tribes of Israel. ( ^Franklin S. Harris, Jr. *The Book of Mormon: Message and Evidences*, 2nd ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1961, p. 55.--see the note on the 1831 notation) However, I find his explanations very distant from any assertions such as this.

**1827^ David Cusick      *Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations*.** Lewistone, New York, 1827.

Dan Vogel writes:

Cusick records Indian fables which he believes support the mound builder myth. One fable, for example, speaks of the descendants of two brothers continually at war with the other until one group is finally destroyed in North America. These fables, according to Cusick, explain the remains of fortifications and burial mounds in New York state, including those near Canandaigua (about ten miles south of the Joseph Smith, Sr., farm).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.

**1827 John Ranking      *Historical Notions of the Conquest of Peru and Mexico in the Thirteenth Century by the Mongols*.** London, 1827

Justin Winsor writes:

The Mongol theory of the occupation of Peru, which John Ranking so enthusiastically pressed in his *Historical researches on the conquest of Peru, Mexico, Bogota, Natchez, and Talomeco, in the thirteenth century, by the Mongols, accompanied with elephants; and the local agreement of history and tradition, with the remains of elephants and mastodontes found in the new world* [etc] (London, 1827), implies that in the thirteenth century the Mogol emperor Kublai Khan sent a fleet against Japan, which, being scattered in a storm, finally in part reached the coasts of Peru, where the son of Kublai Khan became the first Inca\* (\*Bancroft, *Nat. Races*, v 44, with references, p. 48, epitomizes the story)

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 82.

John Ranking writes:

Thus it does not seem probable that America contained any inhabitants from Africa or Europe.

"The Esquimaux and Greenlanders are considered as Samoyeds, and the Chipewas, who fill a vast space extending to the river Columbia, by their own traditions, are from Siberia."

"It is impossible," says Pennant, "with the lights we have, to admit that America could receive the bulk of its inhabitants from any country but eastern Asia. A few proofs may be added of customs common to both.

An image was found among the Calmucs, of a Tartarian deity, mounted on a horse, with human scalps pendant at the breast. . . .

The general resemblance of the natives is to the Siberians, and to the Mongols in particular.

The invaders of Japan were probably a mixed army, which may account for some difference of features and complexions; but still they are Eastern Asiatics. . . .

From what appears in this volume, there is every probability that the inscriptions throughout America, are Mongol or Tartar. . . .

Thus we find everywhere in America, proofs, traditions, and conjectures that the natives are descended from the rude Asiatics, north of the latitude of China; until the conquest of Peru and Mexico, at which period China was governed by those rude Tartars, who had attained to a knowledge of several of the arts and handicraft trades of Celestial Empire, but not to the literature.

The probability of this being the true solution of this interesting question is supported by many eminent authorities, Robertson, Humboldt, Pennant, Carver, Barton. Added to this, any one who casts his eye on the Map of the World, will at once allow the geographical question to favour this theory.

To attempt to ascertain the epoch when accidents or emigrations first supplied America with eastern Asiatics, would be a vain task. Any one who is desirous to inquire into this point, will have no remains of the works of man, no progress in civilization, no numbers of population, or any other fact as far as is now known, to warrant the conclusion of a very ancient population.

There were no traces found of European or African arts, architecture, or people who inhabit those portions of the globe, except the Greenlanders, who were from Lapland or Iceland. (pp. 460-464) . . .

The Wampum of the Canadians is exactly the Quipos of the Peruvians, as described by a good authority. The Quipos have been used in China and Mexico till the seventh century, and in Peru long before the arrival of Mango Capac. . . .

If, to the foregoing reasons for supposing the population of America to be of Mongol and Tartar origin, we add the other details contained in his volume, we shall be constrained to acknowledge, that those who have so learnedly, and some so wildly, contended for the Americans being descended from the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Welsh, Irish, or Africans, as a general question, have no chance of probability being on their side. If stragglers have ever been wrecked from either of those countries, they would soon lose their original language and colour by amalgamating with the general mass. . . .

"The languages of Tartary are very imperfectly known to Europeans; and between Moskow and Pekin, more than fifty dialects are spoken. . . . As far as researches have been made regarding the American languages, they are in favour of the origin now contended for. Of one hundred and seventy words, the roots of which are the same, three-fifths resemble the Mongol, Mantchu, Tongouse, and Smoyede; and two-fifths, the Tschoud, Celtic, Biscayan, Coptic, and Congo. In this list, one hundred and fifteen words out of one hundred and seventy are recognized as Siberian. As this examination of the languages was made between two and three centuries after the conquest by the Spaniards, . . . (pp. 466-471)

Source: ^H. Alvah Fitzgerald, "Progressive Opinion of the Origin and Antiquity of the American Indian: A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Department of Religious Education," (In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science), Brigham Young University, 1930, pp. 74-78

In his 1883 book, Bancroft has a number of things to say about John Ranking and his ideas regarding the population of Peru by people from China. The following concern giants and elephants:

[pp. 49-50]

1828<sup>^</sup>      The Lord                      D&C 3:16-20, Harmony, Pennsylvania, July 1828

This is a revelation given to Joseph Smith at Harmony, Pennsylvania, July 1828. The revelation was given through the Urim and Thummim. (HC 1:21-23). It tends to imply that some sort of literal descent for Book of Mormon peoples had continued to exist up until the times of Joseph Smith.

16. Nevertheless, my work shall go forth, for inasmuch as the knowledge of a Savior has come unto the world, through the testimony of the Jews, even so shall the knowledge of a Savior come unto my people--

17. *And to the Nephites, and the Jacobites, and the Josephites, and the Zoramites*, through the testimony of their fathers--

18. And this testimony shall come to the knowledge of *the Lamanites, and the Lemuelites, and the Ishmaelites*, who dwindled in unbelief because of the iniquity of their fathers, whom the Lord has suffered to destroy their brethren the Nephites, because of their iniquities and their abominations.

19. And for this very purpose are these plates preserved, which contain these records--that the promises of the Lord might be fulfilled, which he made to his people;

20. And that the Lamanites might come to the knowledge of their fathers, and that they might know the promises of the Lord . . .

**1828      John Ranking                      *Remarks on the Ruins at Palenque, in Guatemala, and on the Origin of the American Indians.* London, 1828**

Dan Vogel writes:

Ranking describes the ruins at Palenque as reported by Antonio del Rio and discusses the origin of the Indians.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.



Note\* I couldn't find this book in the BYU Library catalogue.

**1828^ Frederick Butler *Elements of Geography and History Combined*, 4th ed., Wethersfield, Conn.:**

Deming and Francis, 1828.

North America

History:

Q. What is the history of North America?

A. North America was first discovered by John Cabot in the year 1496. . . . About the year 1517, the Spaniards, from their settlements on the island of Cuba, explored the shores of the gulf of Mexico as far west as the isthmus of Darien . . . At this time the whole continent of North America was possessed by numerous tribes of Indians, who were all in a state of nature, of an olive complexion, savage in their manners and habits, and without the arts, or even the use of iron. The Mexicans were in some respects an exception to this general character. . . . [pp. 19-20]

Mexico

. . . *Remarks:*

Q. What ancient nations upon the eastern continent did the Mexicans resemble, in their government, and religious rites?

A. The Mexicans resembled the Phoenicians and Egyptians. These were regular governments, had the arts, and in their religious rites worshipped the sun, and offered human sacrifices to their gods; the Egyptians built pyramids, and embalmed their dead. They also adorned their temples with the image of the sun, or golden suns.

Q. What other evidence have we that the Mexicans sprang from the Phoenicians, and these from the Persians or Chaldeans?

A. Their knowledge of astronomy which so exactly corresponded.

Q. Will you illustrate this remark?

A. The Chaldean shepherds, on the plains of Babylon, began the study of astronomy soon after the flood; from thence it passed into the west and became the great object of attention among the Phoenicians and Egyptians, and they regulated their navigation by the heavenly bodies; calculated eclipses and became learned in astronomy; and from thence the science passed into Mexico with the first adventurers.

Q. What evidence have we of this?

A. The Abbe Clavigero, in his history of Mexico states that they had discovered, that the year did not consist of 365, nor of 366 days, but of some intermediate number, which they supplied by adding 13 days to every 52 years; which exactly answers to our leap year.

Q. How could the Phoenicians and Egyptians reach Mexico?

A. They had ships, were the first commercial people; and before the mariners compass was discovered, had sailed round the continent of Africa. If any of these adventurers had been blown off the coast of the eastern continent, the trade winds would have conveyed them into the gulf of Mexico.

Q. Wherein do the Mexican rites of sepulture resemble those of the Egyptians?

A. The Egyptians built their pyramids as their mausolea of stone, but the Mexicans built their's in the same form, of brick, and of earth; remains of the latter are not only found in Mexico, but throughout the interior of all the western states, and in the western parts of the states of Pennsylvania and New York, as far north as the lakes; and a female mummy has been found in a cave in Kentucky.

Q. Are the ancient Mexicans supposed to have been the authors of all those ancient monuments of art?

A. Those people undoubtedly attempted to settle the rich basin of the Mississippi, and western interior, and were overpowered by the natives; as were many of the first settlements of the English. . . .

Q. What corroborative evidence is there is this?

Inscriptions have been found upon large, flat rocks, in Kentucky and Ohio, supposed to be of the Phoenicians character; but as that language is lost, the inscriptions cannot be decyphered. . . .

Q. At what age of the world could the Phoenicians, or Egyptians, or Mexicans, have made these settlements?

A. It might have been 2,000 years since; because it is more than that length of time since the Phoenicians were conquered by the Grecians; the Egyptians were conquered by the Romans 31 years after Christ. Supposing the settlements to have been made within the period of the first thousand years after Christ, even that distance of time will fully account for the growth of timber upon those ancient mounds and the total loss of tradition among the natives. [pp. 178-180]

#### Natives of North America

. . . The religion of the Indians corresponds with the religion of all the ancient heathen nations, as well as the more modern. They believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, who made and governs all things, whom they call the Great Spirit. Him they consider as the author of all good. They believe also in an evil deity, whom they consider as the author of all evil. the first, they worship as the object of their love; and the other, as the object of their fear. . . .

The resemblance of the natives of America, in form and feature, as well as in manners and customs, to the northern Asiatics, has led to a general belief, that they migrated from that continent, across Beering's straits; a distance of only 41 miles, which may often be passed upon the ice.

It has become a very fashionable opinion, that the natives of North America are descendants of the ten tribes of Israel and has the following authority of William Penn: "For their origin (the natives) I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons, First, they were to go to a land not planted nor known, (2 Esdras xiii 39-50) which to be sure *Asia* and *Africa* were, and even *Europe*; and he that intended that extraordinary judgment, might make their passage easy to them, as it is not impossible to cross from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost parts of America. In the next place, I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively a resemblance, that a man could think himself in Duke's place, or Berry street, London, where he seeth them. But this is not all: they agree in rites, they reckon by moons, they offer their first fruits, they have a kind of feast of tabernacles, they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones, their mourning a year, the customs of women, &c." [pp. 184-185]

Language, Public Festivals, Religious Rites, and Traditions: Shewing Them  
To Be the Descendants of The Ten Tribes of Israel. By Israel Worsley.  
London, 1828.

The Contents of this 185-page volume are as follows:

Preface

Chapter 1. "On the Origin of Mankind: plan of the work

Chapter 2. "On the Prophecies"

Chapter 3. "The general character of the American Indians"

Chapter 4 "The Religion and Religious Rites of the Indians"

Chapter 5 "Their Public Festivals"

Chapter 6 "The Language of the Indians"

Chapter 7 "The Indian Traditions"

Chapter 8 " On the Passage from one Continent to the other"

Chapter 9 "On the Arts and the Science of the Indians"

Chapter 10 "The Hebrew Testimony"

Chapter 11 "On the Invasion of America by Cortes"

Chapter 12 "Retrospective View and closing Remarks"

In the Preface Israel Worsley writes:

The subject that is treated of in these pages engaged the attention of the Inhabitants of the United States but too late, to obtain that clear investigation which is necessary for a full understanding of any subject. References to it and statements of facts which afford us an early light, are found in some of the public prints, and in Letters and Travels previous to the year 1816, when a volume was published at Trenton, New Jersey, by the Rev. Dr. Elias Boudinot, which bears for its title, *A Star in the West, or a humble attempt to discover the long lost Ten Tribes of Israel*. He gives the following account of himself and of his work:

This subject has occupied the attention of the writer, at times, for more than forty years. He was led to the consideration of it, in the first instance, by a conversation with a very worthy and reverend clergyman of his acquaintance, who, having an independent fortune, undertook a journey, in company with a brother clergyman, who was desirous of attending him, into the wilderness between the Alleghany and Mississippi rivers, some time in or about the years 1765 or 6, before the white people had settled beyond the Laurel Mountain. His desire was to meet with native Indians, who had never seen a white man, that he might satisfy his curiosity by knowing from the best source, what traditions the Indians yet preserved relative to their own history and origin. This, these gentlemen accomplished with great danger, risque and fatigue. On their return one of them related to the writer the information they had obtained, what they saw and what they heard.

This raised in the writer's mind such an idea of some former connection between these aborigines of our land and the Jewish nation, as greatly to increased a desire for further information on so interesting a curious a subject.

Soon after, reading (quite accidentally) the 13th chapter of the 2nd apocryphal book of Esdras, supposed to have been written about the year 100 of the Christian era, his ardour to know more of, and to seek further into the circumstances of these lost tribes, was in no wise diminished. He has not ceased since to improve every opportunity afforded him, by personal interviews with Indians, reading the best histories relating to them, and carefully examining our public agents resident among them, as to facts reported in the several histories, without letting them know his object; so as not only to gratify his curiosity, by obtaining all the knowledge relating to them in his power, but also to guard against misrepresentation as to any account he might thereafter be tempted to give of them. . . .

In the year 1825 appeared another volume, written by Ethan Smith, Pastor of a Church in Poultney, 2nd Edn. entitled, *View of the Hebrews or the Tribes of Israel in America*. The great objection to these works, and especially the last, is their lengthiness, the profusion of matter which they contain, frequent repetitions, much of it foreign to the subject, and the disposition shewn to intermix religious views and party zeal, which cannot be offensive to many readers.

The object of the present work is to extract from these and from other sources, as well as from the incidental remarks of our historians, Josephus, Prideaux, Gibbon, Robertson and others, such materials as bear directly upon the point in question, and to arrange them in a clear and concise manner, so as to give a short but conspicuous view of the subject. This has been found by no means an easy task, and may no doubt be improved if another edition should be called for; the materials of a work not being seen in a clear light until they have appeared in a connected form. The Author esteems himself particularly happy in having obtained a sight of a little Hebrew volume, the contents of which are given in the tenth Chapter. They furnish a most satisfactory support and form a valuable conclusion to the materials offered before them.

One of the most respectable authorities, for the manners and customs of this people since the time that they have become the object of attention to the moderns, is Mr. Adair's who wrote a History of the Indians about the year 1775. He appears to have paid much attention to them, lived forty years domesticated with the Southern Indians, was a man of great respectability and learning, and left the States soon after he had prepared his manuscript, and escaped to England . . . This work was afterwards examined by a member of the Congress, who had acted as Indian Agent to the Southward, without his knowing the design of enquiring his opinion of it, and by him found to be correct in all its leading facts. Of this Mr. Boudinot made much use. . . .

It has been thought desirable to give in the first place a general outline of the character of the aborigines of America; which, to form a just opinion of them, should be taken from what was said or written about them by those persons who were acquainted with them in their original and pure state . . .

. . . No tyrant's law could restrain the wandering tribes in a country without inhabitants, capable of supporting hundreds of millions of people. But this very circumstance, of the wide range they were at liberty to take, was the cause of their being soon very widely scattered, as the tribes grew large and their families thickened, and of their losing that character of one people which marked them in the land of their captivity. . . .

. . . If I am correct in the point I have to establish, what more probable, than that the larger proportion of these rambling tribes would hold the belief in One God, whom they might with a striking truth and beauty call, The Great Spirit: while one body of them, retaining the Idolatrous impressions of their Assyrian master, would in the spirit of fear offer sacrifice to a Molock, the evil being, whom they had learned to regard as the Author of Evil and the power that had contaminated the beautiful creation and scattered curses over it . . .

And it will further be shewn, that although the Indians have great and striking varieties in their language, yet all of them bear strong marks of being derived from one root. . . .

In Chapter 1 ("On the Origin of Mankind. Plan of the Work") we find:

. . . I shall produce much more than mere conjecture, many circumstances which amount to a strong presumptive proof, and an abundance of corroborating facts . . . in support of the interesting fact, that-- The immense population with which the continent of America was found to be inhabited on its first discovery, were the direct lineal descendants of the nine tribes and a half, or a large part of them, that were carried captive by the Assyrian King, and since their banishment from their own country have been lost to their brethren the Jews and to all the historians of later times. . . .

It is quite certain that in the captivity, both the Jews and the people of Israel, the whole body of them was not included. Some were left behind, not worthy the captor's attention, others escaped before they were mustered to submit to their fate. Many, of those perhaps who had money at command, fled into Egypt. When Ptolemy, long after, obtained from the High Priest the copy of the holy writings, in order to have them translated into Greek, they were accompanied by a letter from Eleazar in which he wrote, "I have sent you six elders out of every tribe, with the law to attend your pleasure." some of all the ten tribes must therefore have been at Jerusalem at that time: perhaps the holy city was never entirely without a few of every tribe.

The plan to be pursued in the present work is the following. We shall first take a view of the prophecies relative to the Tribes of Israel, both as to their dissolution and their recovery--then show the general character of the Inhabitants of the American Continent, the degenerate state to which they have been reduced, and the immense sacrifice of life they have sustained through the cupidity and licentiousness of the Europeans; their manners, customs and religious ceremonies; the traditions still found among them of their original settlement in that country, the people from whom they descended and the quarter at which their ancestors entered; the hopes and expectations which have been kept alive among them--and lastly, we shall attempt to trace the course which the ten tribes may be supposed to have taken, in order to arrive at this uninhabited but rich and luxuriant country. . . .

. . . must it not be thought that, though these histories relate to the same people yet great and incalculable changes must have taken place among them, and that we are not to expect to find many clear and distinctive marks by which it may be made to appear, that the American Tribes are the offspring of the captivated and cast-out tribes of Israel.

In Chapter 2 we find a scriptural discussion of "The Prophecies" concerning the dispersion and gathering of Israel. The scriptures cited are:

"The passages in Isaiah which have a reference to God's people are numerous, I need not repeat them all" . . .

Isaiah 9:8-19; 10:5-6; 11:11; 16; 18; 43; 49

Ezekiel 20:35-- ; 37:16, 21

In the book of Ezekiel 37:16 we have this striking passage, "Moreover, thou son of man, take thee a stick and write upon it, 'for Judah and for the children of Israel, his companions.'" And then another stick and write upon it, 'For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim and for all the house of Israel, his companions.' And the fact has been as the prophet intimated: for at the captivity some of the people of Israel were intermixed with those of Judah and taken away with them, while the greater part were carried captive at a different time and place in a country to the north of Babylon.

*[Note\* This is a different interpretation for this verse in Ezekiel than the traditional LDS interpretation.]*

Amos 8:11

Zech. 8:7

In Chapter 10 ("The Hebrew Testimony") Worsley writes the following:

On the 18th of August, in the year 1644, a very small Book was published in Amsterdam, with the title, *The Gathering of Israel*, first written in Dutch by Manasseh Israel, and afterwards in Hebrew by Jacob, leader of the Synagogue of that City, for the benefit of the Jews generally. The Hebrew copy fell by mere accident lately into my hand; the contents of which I acquired by the assistance of a learned Jew of Plymouth. The writer was a man held in high esteem by the Hebrew people, and he gives a very good account of the person from whom he received the intelligence which occasioned his publishing the book, as a man worthy of credit, who did not appear to have any motive for giving a false account of his travels. This man's name was Aaron Levi, a Portuguese Jew. He was travelling on business, and came to the capital of Holland a short time before the publication made its appearance. His account is as follows. He had been at Honduras from whence he proceeded to Papuan, perhaps Popayan, that is, he says, to Quito, where he hired mules of a Spaniard to go into the Country, and took with him a guide who was called Francisco. With him he proceeded towards the Cordilleras. Falling into conversation with his guide, he found him to be one of the original natives of America, who had much violence and injustice to charge the Spaniards with. He complained bitterly of their cruelties, and expressed not only a hope, but even a persuasion, that his countrymen would one day have the satisfaction of a revenge through the means of a people that were then concealed. Aaron's curiosity was much excited to know more of these people; and learning from his guide that some of them wore very long beards, others short ones, and that they observed the rite of circumcision, his anxiety greatly increased to see them, and he begged his guide to accompany him to the place where they resided. His guide consented, and he gave him three dollars to buy provisions, with a part of which money he purchased canvas shoes, and they began their journey. As they proceeded Francisco made many enquiries about Aaron's friends and origin. He asked him if he knew who was his original ancestor; to which Aaron replied yes, his name was Abraham, and added that he believed in one God that is in Heaven, and that all else that is said about God is false. Francisco then bound the stranger by an oath, that he would not betray him, either as to any thing he saw or any thing he heard, and that he would do as he directed him. Having travelled two days the Indian made him put on the canvas shoes, take a staff and follow him.--He does not assign his reasons for this change; probably they were climbing the mountains, and the staff and the shoes were useful in their progress.--The Indian carried with him three measures of wheat and two ropes, in one of which were many knots and at the ends of them were short iron spikes, to throw (he says) among the rocks as they climbed up. On the Sabbath day they rested, and after two days journey more they arrived at the bank of a large river, much larger than the Douro. His guide then said to him, "here you will see your brethren." Having made a kind of flag with two pieces of cotton cloth, he waved it backward and forward, when a great smoke arose on the other side the river. "That smoke," said the Indian, "is a sign that they know we are here," he then gave another sign, and three men and a woman came over in a little boat. Aaron did not understand the language in which these persons spoke, but his guide understood them: they looked hard in his face, expressed great pleasure at seeing him, and jumped about, and embraced, and kissed him. They said to him, and it was explained by Francisco, The Lord is our God, the Lord is One. see Deut. 6.4. They used signs which the guide explained; they evidently knew that he was a Jew. They said Joseph dwells in the midst of the Sea, and held up two fingers, first joined together and then held apart, to intimate that they were two families descended from one head--Manasseh and Ephraim--and added, there will be a day on which we shall all meet: and you will tell our brethren, that you were the first that came here to us: no one of them has been here before you.

Upon this Aaron made a motion to get into the boat, but they checked him, and, struggling with them, he fell into the water; they took him out, but refused to let him go over with them. For three successive days the boat continued to move to and fro across the water, bringing always four persons at a time; so that he supposed he saw about three hundred of them. His account of the people is, that their countenances were much burned by the sun, that they were of a fine tall straight figure, many with beards, and that they wore on their heads a kind of turban. They gave directions to the Indian to tell him more about them, and then took their leave: on which the Jew and his guide returned to Quito.

On their way Aaron said to his guide, "now since you know a good deal about these people, you must tell me all you know, for they ordered you to tell me." The guide's answer was, "I will tell you the truth, and if you are not satisfied with what I tell you, and want to know more, I shall tell you false: what I know I learned from my ancestors, and it was handed down to them by tradition. The Almighty brought the children of Israel into this country by great miracles and wonderful works; if I told you all, you would think them contrary to nature. When we came into this country we had great battles with the people that lived here before us, and the wizards, of whom there were many among us, advised us to go to the place where these people whom you have just seen are, and make war against them; which we did, and all our army was destroyed. Then we gathered a larger army and fought with them; and that army was also cut off. A third time we collected all our men of war together, and none of them returned alive. We then thought that the wizards had given this advice through spite; and they that remained rose against them and killed a great many of them: the others begged for their life, which was granted, on condition of their telling them the truth. Then the old men taught us, that the God of the children of Israel is the true God, and that his commandments are true; and that a time will come when these people will have rule over the whole earth. Peace was then made between us all, on condition that we should never pass over the river to them, but that every seventeen moons one of their people should come amongst us, to make us a visit and enquire about our prosperity, and that the secret of their concealment should not be revealed to any one who was not three hundred moons old; that it should never be revealed in any house, but in the field in the open air, that none might overhear. There has been communication between them and us only three times; the first when the Spaniards came over into the country, the second when ships came into the sea of Zur, and the third time is the present of your coming."

The above historical circumstances are related in the preface to the little book, which forms a comparatively large portion of it: after which the Author proceeds to make remarks on the Narrative of Aaron Levi. He says that before this time it was quite out of his power to obtain any satisfactory information of the ten tribes. He had read several accounts of them, but could rely upon none. He quotes some of these accounts, giving the particulars, and his reasons for discrediting them. . . .

Upon the whole this writer appears fully satisfied, that by some means or other a considerable portion of the ten tribes went over into America; and thinks it probable, that Reuben, Gad and Manasseh, which were taken away in the first captivity, and placed among the Mountains of Media, by the King of Ashur, were the earliest to go there. And that they were afterwards followed by the men of the second captivity.

Here is evidence, coming in an oblique direction, which carried with it, as I conceive, great conviction, that it was known to the learned among the Jewish people two hundred years ago, scarcely half a century after the conquest of Peru, that some of their brethren, of whom they had long lost sight, were safely settled in the continent of America; that the fate of these people had engaged the attention of many of their writers, who had solicitously enquired after their destination; and that at last, one who held a high rank among them, published in his own language a little book, for the express purpose of declaring, that, although he had hitherto been ignorant of their fate, he was then satisfied, by evidence which he saw no reason to discredit, that at least a part of them were safely established as a separate people among the vast range of the Cordilleras. . . .

The Indian, who acted as interpreter on this occasion, spoke of people who were in the country when his ancestors arrived in it; which may lead some to suppose, that these Hebrew tribes were not the first to colonize the American continent, or at least that part of it which lies below the Cordilleras towards the sea. it is not clear however from this man's relation, that they carried on war against any but those on the other side the river, nor is any motive assigned for their attempting to disturb them in their settlement. If the supposition of this learned Jew be correct, it will appear, that he first persons who came there were the descendants of Manasseh and Ephraim who stationed themselves beyond the river, and that some other wanderers of the same migration afterwards settled in Peru, and having skirmished awhile with their neighbours, ultimately formed the kingdom which sprang up and was consolidated under the Incas; a peaceful and happy nation.

The term Wizard used by the Indian is, in this little book, the same word as is found in the Hebrew Bible and translated Wizard in ours; an order of men for whom the degenerate Israelites had a high

regard, and to whom they applied habitually for advice in all difficult cases; as appears from many denunciations of the Prophets. And as Moses in his law guarded them against their impositions, and forbade the people to apply to them, it would appear; that they brought with them some of this order into the land of promise, who had learned their magic arts in Egypt; that they retained them in the land of Canaan, where they recovered their plenary power under the Idolatrous Kings of Israel; and that they still preserved that power after they had emigrated to the new world. Their ancient priests had been long neglected; but wizards and necromancers were still in esteem. . . .

When we find that the Jewish nation had entirely lost sight of their brethren, the Children of Israel, and had not been able before the period in which this little book was written to obtain any information as to what had become of them, we need not wonder that Christian writers were at an utter loss to account for their entire disappearance; that Prideaux should unhesitatingly declare, that they were merged and lost in the Asiatic tribes; and that Gibbon should give himself no trouble to account for the total destruction of a nation once so peculiar in their habits, so deeply rooted in national prejudice, and so distinguished as these descendants of the Hebrew people were. His proud and unbelieving spirit would perhaps grudge the labour of research after them. The ruler of the Synagogue at Amsterdam had been interested in the question of their final destiny; he could not be satisfied that they had been abandoned by their Almighty Friend, and had taken pains to search into every thing that had been written concerning them; but without success. . . .

Dan Vogel writes:

Worsley relies heavily on Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* but adds additional information, including Manasseh ben Israel's account of Antonio de Montezinos's discovery of the ten tribes in Peru (147). Worsley believes that the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim arrived in America first and that the other tribes followed after (150-52). He describes mounds and iron tools (137-44) and explains that the mound builders had been destroyed by the Indians (144). He also mentions the discovery of large stone crosses in Central America (161-62) and records the Indian tradition of a lost book of God (182).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144. See also ^Franklin S. Harris, Jr. *The Book of Mormon: Message and Evidences*, 2nd ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1961, p. 55. (see the note on the 1831 notation)

**1828 [Mark?] Beaufoy Tour though Parts of the United States and Canada.** London, 1828.

Dan Vogel writes:

Beaufoy, a British subject, visited entrenchments and burial mounds in Ohio (104). "Some insist they are the remains of a civilized people, exterminated by the Indian hordes from Asia," he wrote. He also mentions the pyramids of Mexico and the Welsh theory of Indian origins.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\* (107)



**1828 Timothy Flint (1780-1840) *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States for***

***the Mississippi Valley.* 2 vols. Cincinnati, 1828.**

Dan Vogel writes:

Flint, missionary and author of several works, describes the mounds of New York and Ohio (1:192-95). He too adopts the theory that the mounds were built by people more industrious and numerous than the Indians but rejects the notion that the mound builders used iron tools (1:193-94, 2:164, 314). He also mentions the discovery of mammoth bones in North America (1:197)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(112-113)

**1829 James H[aines] McCulloh, Jr. *Researches, Philosophical and Antiquarian, Concerning the Aboriginal***

(ATLANTIS) ***History of America.* Baltimore, 1829.**

Justin Winsor writes:

The man first to attract attention for his grouping of ascertained results, unaided by personal explorations, however, was Dr. James H. McCulloh, who published his *Researches on America* at Baltimore in 1816 [see the 1817 notation]. This book passed to a second edition the next year, but received its final shape in the *Researches, philosophical and antiquarian, concerning the aboriginal history of America* (1829), a book which Prescott\* praised for its accumulated erudition, and Haven\*\* ranked high for its manifestations of industry and research, calling it encyclopaedic in character. McCulloh examines the native traditions, but can evolve no satisfactory conclusion from them as to the origin of the Americans. The public mind, however, was not ripe for scholarly inquiry, and there was not that in McCulloh's style to invite attention; and greater popularity followed upon the fanciful and dogmatic confidence of John Haywood [1823], upon the somewhat vivid if unsteady speculations of C S. Rafinesque [1824], and even upon the itinerant Josiah Priest [1833], who boasted of the circulation of thousands of copies of his popular books.

Source: Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1889, p. 372.

Dan Vogel writes:

McCulloh reviews most of the material covered in his earlier book [see the 1817 notation]. He describes temples in Mexico and Peru (249-371) and mounds and fortifications in North America (501-22), discusses various theories about Indian origins, rejecting the pre-Adamite theory (418-64), mentions problems for animals migrating through the Bering Strait (428), and ultimately favors the Atlantis theory. He again discusses the theory that the mound builders were a white race far superior to the Indians (501-22).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Bibliography" in *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 105-144.\*(121)

**1829**            **"Aborigines of America," pt. 2, in *American Monthly Magazine*, vol. 1, May 1829,**  
pp. 80-81.

In 1829, the Boston *American Monthly Magazine* printed an article on the "Aborigines of America," in which was argued that the first settlers of America had crossed the Bering Strait and traveled to the warmer climates of Mexico and then Peru before building their mighty cities. Only later did they migrate to the Great Lakes region seeking more fertile lands.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1986, pp. 46, 91.

**1829**    **Barbara Anne Simon    *Hope of Israel; Presumptive Evidence that the Aborigines of the Western Hemisphere are Descended from the Ten Missing Tribes of Israel.* London, 1829.**

According to Franklin Harris, Barbara Anne Simon's 1829 *Hope of Israel* gave evidences for the idea that the American Indians were of the Lost Tribes of Israel

Source: ^Franklin S. Harris, Jr. *The Book of Mormon: Message and Evidences*, 2nd ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1961, p. 55. (see the note on the 1831 notation)

Note\* See the Simon 1836 notation.