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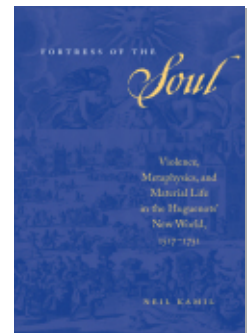
Fortress of the Soul

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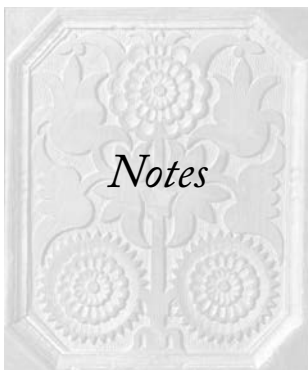


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Introduction

1. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (1635), introduction by Rosemary Freeman; bibliographical notes by Charles S. Hensley (Columbia: Published for the Newberry Library by the University of South Carolina Press, 1975), 1: 19. I am grateful to Nancy Zey for bringing this reference to my attention.

ONE ➤ A Risky Gift

EPIGRAPH: Louis-Étienne Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du pays d'Aulnis*, 2 vols. (La Rochelle: René-Jacob Desbordes, 1756–57), 1: 345, 350. I am indebted to Marie-Aline Irvine for her help in reviewing my translations of certain passages in Arcère.

1. There are three excellent full length studies of the tour from political, social, and cultural perspectives, Pierre Champion, *Catherine de Médicis présente à Charles IX son royaume* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1937); Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries, 1564–6* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); and esp. Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, and Daniel Nordman, *Un Tour de France royal: Le Voyage de Charles IX (1564–1566)* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1984), 61–63.

2. Still useful among the many general histories that are concerned with these well-known events placed within the overall political and social context of the sixteenth-century French wars of religion is J. H. M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), see esp. 146–95; see also R. G. Asch and A. M. Birke, eds., *Princes, Patronage, and Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, circa 1540–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). For the seventeenth-century context, see Ronald G. Asch, *The Thirty Years War: The Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618–48* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Nicolas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European Monarchy* (London: Longman, 1992); and John A. Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). On the synthesis of religious and political discourse and the dialogical nature of confessional conflict that informed such events during the French Reformation, see Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); see also Euan Cam-

eron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), and *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). On the formation of political thought and practice and Calvinist theories of resistance—particularly in England and France—from the late thirteenth through the late sixteenth century, see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 2: *The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), esp. 234–358; see also P. Collinson, *The Religion of the Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

3. See esp. Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2: 243–44.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Judith Pugh Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle: Tradition and Change in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1568* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1996), 114.

7. “Either by charter or by custom, the most important section of . . . a town’s inhabitants, those who bore the title of *bourgeois* of the place in question, formed a body that was endowed with a legal personality and was represented by a group of magistrates and municipal officers, *le corps de ville*, an organ that expressed its common will”; Roland Mousnier, *The Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598–1789: Society and State*, trans. Brian Pearce (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 564.

8. Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 114; for the standard sixteenth-century local history of these events, see Amos Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle depuis l’an 1199 jusques en 1575*, ed. Denys d’Aussy, *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l’Aunis* 17 (1889): 200–203.

9. Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, 206–7, and Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 114.

10. The monastery of Sainte-Marguërite was the Oratorians “house” (including living quarters) in La Rochelle after their return from banishment in 1628. The community expanded the monastery after 1652, when they built “a few secondary structures” on the same site. See Louis Pérouas, *Le Diocèse de La Rochelle de 1648 à 1724: Sociologie et pastorale* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), 191 n. 1.

11. The Congregation of the Oratory, or Oratorians, a secular teaching order of priests that did not follow monastic orders, had its origins in sixteenth-century Rome and then diffused to Paris. There was a “house” in La Rochelle—an offshoot of the Paris oratory—by the early seventeenth century. The Oratorians proliferated throughout France, where fifty-eight Oratorian houses were recorded by the late eighteenth century. Their “Cartesian” teaching methods were influential in the universities beginning in the late seventeenth century. See Paul and Marie-Louise Biver, *Abbayes, monastères, et couvents de Paris, des origines à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Éditions d’histoire et d’art, 1970), 495–514 (I am indebted to Ann W. Ramsey for this reference and for her insights into the Oratorian movement); and Mousnier, *Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy*, 343, 348–54, 714–15.

12. For an excellent study of the social effects of the catastrophic demographic reversal in La Rochelle after 1628, see Katherine Louise Milton Faust, “A Beleaguered Society: Protestant Families in La Rochelle, 1628–1685” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1980); the most recent general study of Protestant demographic patterns in France in the seventeenth century is in Philip Benedict, *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600–1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 81, pt. 5 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991). The classical text for French international Protestantism in the North American context in general and La Rochelle / Aunis-Saintonge in

particular remains Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 2 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1885). This has been augmented recently from a number of different perspectives by a greatly expanded bibliography on the subject, including Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 121–292; Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in a New World Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983); J. F. Boshier, *The Canada Merchants, 1713–1763* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); id., “Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 52 (January 1995): 77–102; David Ormrod, “The Atlantic Economy and the ‘Protestant Capitalist International,’ 1651–1775,” *Historical Research* 66 (1993): 197–207; and Neil D. Kamil, “Hidden in Plain Sight: Disappearance and Material Life in Colonial New York,” *American Furniture, 1995*, ed. Luke Beckerdite and William N. Hosley Jr. (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1995): 191–249.

13. Arcère, *Histoire*, p. xix.

14. *Ibid.*, 1: dedication (unpaginated), v–vi.

15. On the “artisanal culture” of *gloire* perpetuated by the Bourbon court historians of the early modern period, see Orest A. Ranum, *Artisans of Glory: Writers and Historical Thought in Seventeenth-Century France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

16. Arcère, *Histoire*, 1: v.

17. *Ibid.*, i.

18. *Ibid.*, 1: xiv–xv. The “judicious and elegant author” was G.-H. Bougeant (1690–1743). *Arcère cites vol. 3, p. 316*, in Bougeant’s *Histoire des guerres et des négociations qui précédèrent le Traité de Westphalie (1727)*.

19. Mousnier, *Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy*, 342–49, 353–55, 714–19. It is important to reiterate that the “Cartesian” movement within the French Oratorian order was a late seventeenth-century phenomenon and not always uniform. Under its founder Pierre de Berulle in 1602, the order was decidedly Christocentric and spiritually ardent, with particular communities displaying powerful mystical zeal at certain moments. Since the Oratorians were founded as small cells of secular priests, each cell might have a specific religious style or character and might respond idiosyncratically. In 1659, for example, Rochelais Oratorians such as Père de Launay were strongly associated with the Port-Royal movement; see Pérouas, *Diocèse de La Rochelle*, 261–62.

20. Mousnier, *Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy*, 354.

21. Pérouas, *Diocèse de La Rochelle*, 128.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

23. Arcère, *Histoire*, 1: xi. For the publication history of Barbot’s *Histoire de La Rochelle* see n. 28 below.

24. Arcère, *Histoire*, 1: vi.

25. *Ibid.*, 1: xvi.

26. *Ibid.*, 1: x.

27. *Ibid.*, 1: xi.

28. A nineteenth-century edition of Barbot’s original unpublished manuscript is to be found in Amos Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle: 1199–1575, publiée par M. Denys d’Aussy*, 3 vols. (Paris: A. Picard; Saintes: Mme. Z. Mortreuil, 1886–90); see also Publications de la Société des archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l’Aunis, vols. 14, 17–18. Arcère probably used the original man-

uscript (2 folio volumes, 771 pages), which is in Barbot's handwriting, although it also has a cover page dated 1732 that states that the manuscript was given to the Bibliothèque nationale that year (Fonds français no. 18,968), i.e., over twenty years before the publication of Arcère's *Histoire*. Père Jaillot had a copy of Barbot's manuscript transcribed—in 1732?—which may have served Arcère's purposes, perhaps prompting the donation of the original manuscript to the B.N. The title page of the original manuscript reads "Histoire de La Rochelle depuis l'an 1199 jusques en 1575, par Amos Barbot, écrite de sa main. Originale." Although the manuscript is undated, a tentative date of ca. 1613 is suggested in the introduction to the 1886 edition.

29. Arcère, *Histoire*, 1: xi. I assume "Caurian" refers to Philippe Cauriana, *Histoire du siege de la Rochelle 1573*, trans. Leopold-Gabriel Delayant (La Rochelle: A. Siret, 1856).

30. Abel Jouan, *Recueil et discours du voyage du roy Charles IX de ce nom a persent regnant, accompagnedes choses dignes de memoire faictes en chacun endroit faisant sondit voyage en ses paiset provinces de Champaigne, Bourgoigne, Daulphine, Provence, Languedoc, Gascoigne, Baionne, et plusieurs autres lieux, suivant son retour depuis son partement de Paris jusques a son retour audit lieu, es annees mil cinq sens soixante quatre et soixante cinq. Faict et recueilly par l'un des servoiteurs de sa Majeste* (Paris: Jean Bonfons, 1566). The *Recueil* was also published at Lyon, Toulouse, and Angoulême in 1566, and at Lyon in 1567. These were all places the king visited during his tour. I have consulted the edition of Jouan included in Graham and Johnson, *Royal Tour of France*.

31. My translation from Boutier et al., *Tour de France royal*, 13–16.

32. Arcère, *Histoire*, 1: xvi.

33. *Ibid.*, 1: xxii–xxiii.

34. *Ibid.*, 1: 344.

35. Arcère, *Histoire*, 1: 344.

36. *Ibid.*, 1: 345

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.* On the attempted coup d'état in 1563, see Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 115.

39. Arcère, *Histoire*, 1: 346

40. I have consulted the annotated edition of Jouan's *Recueil* in Graham and McAllister, *Royal Tour of France*, 123.

41. Jouan, *Recueil*, 123. The most recent (and reliable) source for biographical data on Palissy's journey and stay in Paris is Leonard N. Amico, *Bernard Palissy: In Search of Earthly Paradise* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996); see esp. 32–40.

42. Jouan, *Recueil*, 124.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*, 125.

45. For more on Montmorency's role, see N. M. Southerland, "Anthoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre and the French Crisis of Authority," in *French Government and Society 1500–1850: Essays in Memory of Alfred Cobban*, ed. J. F. Bosher (London: Athlone Press, 1973), 13. On the augmentation of military forces recruited when the tour reached heavily Protestant regions, see Boutier et al., *Tour de France royal*, 113–14.

46. Arcère, *Histoire*, 1: 348.

47. *Ibid.*, 1: 346–47.

48. Quoted (my translation) in Boutier et al., *Tour de France royal*, 64; see also 65–69 for a provocative discussion of the allegory of Hercules and its emblematic function on the tour.

49. Arcère, *Histoire*, 1: 349.

50. On the presidial and the extension of royal courts during the Valois dynasty, see Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, 72–73.
51. Arcère, *Histoire*, I: 349.
52. Michael P. Fitzsimmons, “Privilege and Polity in France, 1786–1791,” *American Historical Review* 92, no. 2 (April 6, 1982): 270.
53. David Parker, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy: Conflict and Order in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980), 34–35. See also Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 19–30; and Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MSS 7285–7286: “Privileges accordez aux habitans de . . . La Rochelle.” On the towns called communes and the rapid removal of their privileges by the state beginning in the early seventeenth-century, see Mousnier, *Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy*, 564–65.
54. Parker, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy*, 7.
55. Arcère, *Histoire*, I: xxiii–xxv.
56. Ibid.
57. On the politicization of La Rochelle’s Calvinist elites in the 1560s, see Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 113–52.
58. I: Arcère, *Histoire*, I: 347
59. Quoted in *ibid.*, I: 348.
60. *Ibid.*, I: 347–48
61. Graham and Johnson, *Royal Tour of France*, 8.
62. For an example of the fashionable form of an engraved silver and gold (parcel gilt) basin, almost certainly made by a Huguenot silversmith in London as an English royal gift celebrating dynastic history, see the extremely rare survival of an engraved commemorative basin (19¹¹/₁₆ inches in diameter) and ewer, ca. 1567–68, currently in the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (accession numbers: 1979. 261–262), and illustrated and discussed brilliantly in Ellenor M. Alcorn, “‘Some of the Kings of England Curiously Engraven’: An Elizabethan Ewer and Basin in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,” *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 5 (1993): 66, fig. 1; see also 81, fig. 23, and 83, fig. 25. For Germanic examples that may have provided contemporary sources for French silversmiths in both London and La Rochelle, see *ibid.*, 81, fig. 23, and the basin by the Nuremberg goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer, ca. 1550–60, now in the Louvre Museum, Paris, illustrated in Daniel Alcouffe et al., *Les Objets d’art: Moyen Age et Renaissance* (Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1993), 133.
63. Arcère, *Histoire*, I: 350.
64. See esp. Graham and Johnson, *Royal Tour of France*, 12–66.
65. Arcère, *Histoire*, I: 351.
66. Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, 17: 85–226; see also Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 115.
67. Barbot, 17: 225–26; Meyer, 115.
68. Of his many works on the subject of the anthropology of gifts, see esp. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 190–93.
69. Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 93–152.
70. Quoted in François de Vaux de Foletier, *Le Siège de La Rochelle* (1931; La Rochelle: Éditions Quartier Latin et Rupella, 1978), 148–51.
71. See Jean Petit, “Descartes et trois poètes au siège de La Rochelle,” *Cahiers de l’Ouest*, 42 (January–February 1958): 48–49.
72. C.-F. Menestrier, *La Source glorieuse du sang de l’august maison de Bourbon* (Paris, 1687).

73. Jean Troncon, *L'Entrée triomphante de leurs majesties* (Paris, 1622), n.p.; quoted in Jean-Marie Apostolides, *Le Roi-Machine: Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Minuit, 1981), 15.

74. "Relation du siège de La Rochelle sous le tres chrestian et invincible Roy Louis XIII," in *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1838), 37–137 (my translation).

75. For an excellent discussion of the *désert* experience, see Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 11–37.

76. Section epigraph from *The Admirable Discourses of Bernard Palissy*, trans. Aurele La Rocque (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957), 243. See chapter 10, n. 92, below for full citation of Palissy's *Discours admirables*.

77. This story is well told and interpreted in Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1–50 et passim; see also Carlos Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship From Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 189–93; and Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, 77–120.

78. See Schwartz, *French Prophets*, 11–37, 251–79.

79. For an inventory and detailed description of all the ceramic medallions discovered by archeologists in the latrines of Palissy's house next to his workshop under the cour du Carrousel, as well as the French and Italian bronze sources, see Jean-Robert Armogathe et al., *Bernard Palissy, mythe et réalité* (Saintes, Niort, and Agen, France: Coédition: Musées d'Agen, Niort, Saintes, 1990), 76–79, figs. 83–84. In addition to the ceramic medallion of Montmorency, others were recovered that depicted Isabelle of Portugal (wife of Charles V, 1526–39); three of Mary Stuart (queen of France in 1559, widow of François II in 1560); three of Henri II (king of France, 1547–59); two plaque fragments depicting Antoine de Bourbon (king of Navarre, 1555–63); Charles IX (king of France, 1560–74); Hippolyte de Gonzague (1535–63); Iosina de Matanca (?); two of Louis de Gonzague (son of Frederick II de Gonzague, duke of Mantua); and Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–98).

80. For a useful discussion of the ubiquity of the culture of patronage and its dominance of the politics and society of early modern France, see Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

81. On the extensive scientific culture that supported gifts and gift giving, see Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Age of Absolutism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Recent laboratory tests on Palissy's glazes found on survivals from the Tuileries have been the basis for the reattribution of several objects formerly thought to have been made by Palissy to anonymous contemporaries, showing how influential and widespread his new artisanal paradigm had become in France by the 1570s. No doubt many of the potters in his gift factory learned their trade secrets from the master. See Isabelle Perrin, *Les Techniques céramiques de Bernard Palissy*, 2 vols. (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2001).

82. This theme runs through a large body of Palissy's work; it is encapsulated in James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990).

83. For more on display of ceramic medallions worn near the heart as emblems of loyalty during the Renaissance, including a group of terra-cotta medallions associated with the patronage of Cosimo de' Medici that were gilded to resemble precious medal, see Arne R. Flaten,

“Identity and the Display of *metaglie* in Renaissance and Baroque Europe,” *Word and Image* 19, nos. 1 and 2 (January–June 2003): 61, fig. 1, and 65, n. 25.

TWO ❧ Palissy’s Fortress

1. Except where otherwise indicated, the edition of Palissy’s *Recepte véritable* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton, 1563) from which I quote is that found in *Oeuvres complètes de Bernard Palissy*, ed. Paul-Antoine Cap (Paris: J.-J. Dubochet, 1844; reprint with an avant-propos by Jean Orcel, Paris: A. Blanchard, 1961). *Recepte*, or *recette*, can have multiple meanings in this context. I have settled loosely on “recipe,” inasmuch as it corresponds to the *recettes de métier*, or “tricks of the trade,” that were the artisanal contribution to the “Book of Secrets” tradition, popular during the early modern period. However, given Palissy’s dual purpose of settling debts in print with both old enemies and old friends in the *Recepte véritable*, the receipt (as in the collection of a debt) may also be considered active.

2. Berton’s press published several dramatic pamphlets by La Rochelle writers on the royal siege of 1572–73 under the command of the duc d’Anjou, the first of several the fortress withstood prior to succumbing in 1627–28. After Berton’s death, his interest in the publishing house was inherited by his widow Françoise Pierres (probably the daughter of Jean Pierres, who was sieur de la Jarne in Saintonge and lieutenant general of La Rochelle). Françoise Pierres Berton formed a partnership with Jean Portau that lasted from 1573 to 1589. See E. Droz, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, vol. 1: *Barthélemy Berton, 1563–1573*; vol. 3: *La Veuve Berton et Jean Portau, 1573–1589*, *Travaux d’humanisme et Renaissance*, 34 (Geneva: E. Droz, 1960).

3. Evidence suggests that Palissy was known in Limoges and familiar to the town’s artisans. See Leonard N. Amico, *Bernard Palissy: In Search of Earthly Paradise* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), 16.

4. The specifics of Paul Berton’s punishment remain unclear. Droz, *Barthélemy Berton*, 10–12. On Lyon’s printers and heterodoxy, see the two seminal essays by Natalie Zemon Davis, “Printing and the People,” and “The Sacred and the Body Social in Lyon,” in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1975).

5. Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* [hereafter, *Cotgrave’s Dictionarie*] (London, 1611; reprinted Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1971) defines Pons as: “Ponts. The name of a Towne in Saintonge, called so of the many Bridges about it.”

6. Alexandre Crottet, *Histoire des églises réformées de Pons, Gemozac et Mortagne en Saintonge, précédée d’une notice étendue sur l’établissement de la réforme dans cette province, l’Aunis et l’Angoumois* (Bordeaux: A. Castillon, 1841), 101–11; on Louis XIII’s southern campaign of 1620–21, see A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII, the Just* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 112–36.

7. Bernard Palissy, *Les Oeuvres de Maistre Bernard Palissy*, ed. B. Fillon and Louis Audiat (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1888), 1: xvi.

8. Droz, *Barthélemy Berton*, 22.

9. See Emmanuel Rodocanchi, *Une Protectrice de la Réforme en Italie et en France: Renée de France, duchesse de Ferrare* (Paris, 1896; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970); and anon., *Some Memorials of Renée de France, Duchess of Ferrara* (London, 1859); for a discussion of the surviving architecture and interiors of the court, see Loredana Olivato, *Il palazzo di Renata di Francia* (Ferrara, Italy: Corbo, 1997).

10. John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 44–45.
11. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 18.
12. Crottet, *Histoire des églises réformées*, 82–86. Marie de Monchenu was unsympathetic to the Protestant cause, unlike her fervent predecessor, and her influence over Antoine prompted de Bèze to insult Marie, as “l’une des plus diffamées desdemoiselles de France.”
13. Bernard Palissy, *The Admirable Discourses*, trans. Aurele La Rocque (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957), 24–5.
14. Théodore de Bèze, *Histoire ecclésiastique* (1559), 1: bk. 2; quoted in Palissy, *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: xvii.
15. *Ibid.*, xx.
16. The short Latin title of 1536 was *Institutio christianae religionis*; for its publication history, see Jean Calvin, *On the Christian Faith: Selections from the Institutes, Commentaries, and Tracts*, ed. John T. McNeill (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957), vii–viii.
17. Palissy, *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: xx–xxii.
18. Jean-Daniel Sauvin, *Philibert Hamelin, martyr huguenot (1557)* (Geneva: University of Geneva, 1957), 9–41; and Droz, *Barthélemy Berton*, 22.
19. The first book by Yves Rouspeau published by Berton was entitled *Traite de la Preparation à la Sainte Cene de Nostre Seul Sauveur et Redempteur Jesus Christ, Propre pour tous ceux qui veulent dignement s'approcher a sa sainte Table du Seigneur, Plus un Dialogue contenant les poincts principaux, que ceux qui veulent recevoir la Cene, doivent savoir & entendre* (La Rochelle: Barthélmy Berton, 1563).
20. *Architecture, et ordonnance de la grotte rustique de Monseigneur le duc de Montmorancy, pair, & connestable de France* (La Rochelle: Barthélmy Berton, 1563). See Droz, *Barthélemy Berton*, 14–15, 22–25.
21. The full text can be found in Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 232, doc. XII.
22. See Droz, *Barthélemy Berton*, 24–25. The full text of the contract of September 3, 1563, is available in the original document at La Rochelle (ADCM, 3E 2148); it has also been reprinted in G. Musset, “La ‘Recette véritable’ de Bernard Palissy,” *Recueil de la Commission des arts and monuments de la Charente-Inférieure* 17 (1906): 319–21, and in Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 230–31.
23. An abridged copy of this inventory is in Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 231, doc. VIII.
24. *Ibid.*, 238, doc. XL.
25. See Martin Luther, “*Treatise on Christian Liberty*” (*The Freedom of a Christian*), in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1961), 53, 58–63, 67–69. The classic formulation of the medieval tradition of man’s “twofold nature” can be found in Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957).
26. *Oeuvres complètes de Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné*, ed. Eugène Réaume, François de Causade, and A. Legouëz, 6 vols. (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1873–92), 6: 248, and also 1: 56, 2: 526, 3: 432, 4: 201. For biographical information on Agrippa’s multiple roles during the civil war era, see Jacques Bailbé, *Agrippa d'Aubigné, poète des “Tragiques”* (Caen: Association des publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Caen, 1968), iii–102; Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie*.
27. See Esther Cohen, “The Animated Pain of the Body,” *American Historical Review* 105 (February 2000): 36–68.

28. For influential recent work on this subject, see Judith Perkins, *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (New York: Routledge, 1995), and Brent D. Shaw, “Body/Power/Identity: Passions of the Martyrs,” *Journal of Early Christianity* 4 (1996): 269–312. For a classic overview of the subject, see Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); for studies of the intimate relationship between Neostoicism, art, and the representation of warfare and politics in England and on the Continent during the early modern era, see Andrew E. Shifflett, *Stoicism, Politics, and Literature in the Age of Milton: War and Peace Reconciled* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), and David G. Halsted, *Poetry and Politics in the Silesian Baroque: Neo-Stoicism in the Work of Christophorus Colerus and His Circle* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 1996).

29. Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, 2 vols. (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1978).

30. See esp. Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 1–14.

31. Paul Seaver finds persuasive evidence of deep religious motivations behind the London wood turner Nehemiah Wallington’s personal despair, leading to what appear to have been multiple suicide attempts. There is implicit evidence that the turner’s family and guild may have had an informal social safety net in place for Wallington, suggesting that suicide was not unexpected in Puritan London. See Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington’s World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985).

32. *Winthrop Papers, vol. 1: 1498–1628* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 161–64, 193.

33. Luther, *Treatise on Christian Liberty*, 66.

34. *Ibid.*, 53. On Menocchio, see Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

35. Luther, *Treatise on Christian Liberty*, 70–71.

36. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 182.

37. Luther, *Treatise on Christian Liberty*, 67–8.

38. *Ibid.*, 53, 67.

39. *Ibid.*, 60, 58.

40. For a clear discussion of the function of astral bodies in Neoplatonic theology and their implications for Paracelsian science, see Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 27–29, and *passim*.

41. See Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), *A Map of Misreading* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), and *Agon: Towards a Theory of Revisionism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

42. For a trenchant critique of modern historians’ attempts to reconstruct authorial intentionality from the past, see Nancy S. Struever, *Theory as Practice: Ethical Inquiry in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), x–xii.

43. Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

44. Ernest Dupuy, *Bernard Palissy: L’Homme, l’artiste, le savant, l’écrivain* (1894; rev. ed., 1902; reprint of rev. ed., Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 17–18; Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie* defines *portrait*

generally as “A pourtrait, image, picture, counterfeit, or draught of” virtually anything. The verb *pourtraire* meant “To pourtray, draw, delineate, paint, counterfeit.”

45. Luther, *Treatise on Christian Liberty*, 84–85.

46. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, 113–14. Translations of the *Recepte* are my own except where otherwise noted.

47. J. R. Hale, “To Fortify or Not to Fortify? Machiavelli’s Contribution to a Renaissance Debate,” in H. C. Davis et al., eds., *Essays in Honour of John Humphreys Whitfield: Presented to Him on His Retirement from the Serena Chair of Italian at the University of Birmingham* (London: St. George’s Press, 1975), 99–100. On changes in the technology and tactics of siege warfare in response to the effective use of gunpowder against fortified walls, especially in late fifteenth-century France and Italy, see Ivy A. Corfis and Michael Wolfe, *The Medieval City Under Siege* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1995), 227–75.

48. Quoted in Hale, “To Fortify or Not to Fortify,” 100–101.

49. *Ibid.*, 101.

50. See chapter 12 below.

51. Quoted in Hale, “To Fortify or Not to Fortify,” 103–4.

52. Here, a play on words, translated from *garnisons*, hence also garrisons.

53. Théodore Agrippa d’Aubigné, *Oeuvres*, ed. Henri Weber et al. (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), 36–37, lines 659–72.

54. *Oeuvres complètes de Théodore Agrippa d’Aubigné*, ed. Réaume et al., 2 (1877): 351. D’Aubigné’s source and didactic intention in this dramatic bit of apocrypha—very much a part of a large, interesting, and relatively unexplored apocryphal tradition in Huguenot historiography of the civil wars—is clarified in his “Confession du sieur de Sancy” (in *ibid.*, 3: 350), where the protagonist declares: “Voyez l’imprudence de ce belistre; vous diriez qu’il aurait lu as vers de Seneque, *Qui mori scit cogi necit*, on ne peut contraindre celui qui sait mourir.” When D’Aubigné’s dying Palissy paraphrases Seneca in *L’Histoire*, d’Aubigné is forging a didactic link between Stoic death and the Huguenot ideal of Christian martyrdom. A second, competing martyrological narrative exists of Palissy’s last days in the Bastille. This one, an almost exact contemporary to that of d’Aubigny, was written by Pierre de L’Estoile, who signed the privilege to publish the *Discours admirables* in 1580. It is far more elaborate, containing lengthy interviews. For copies of two documents (ca. 1589–90), related to L’Estoile’s narrative, see Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 237–38, docs. XXXVIII and XL. The second document (1590) contains elements in common with d’Aubigny’s narrative; the first plays on Palissy’s mastery of fire. Threatened by an inquisitor with the stake, L’Estoile’s Palissy responds, “Monsieur, do you presume that I am afraid of this fiery material? No, no, I am much more fearful of the Eternal fire, which was prepared by the Devil and his Angels.”

55. John Calvin, *On the Christian Faith: Selections from the Institutes, Commentaries, and Tracts*, ed. John T. McNeill (New York: Bobbs-Merrill), 31.

56. Hale, “To Fortify or Not to Fortify?” 116.

57. Palissy, Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 138–39.

58. The maintenance and constant expansion of La Rochelle’s walls during the building boom of the late sixteenth century to meet the perceived military threat to religious and economic autonomy was an enormous financial strain on the city’s economy. One example of this strain was the La Rochelle Consistory’s inability to raise the funds to complete the Grand Temple in less than twenty-four years.

59. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, 114. For images of du Cerceau's two plans, see Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 184, figs. 167–8.

60. Cotgrave's *Dictionarie*

61. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, 114.

62. For the classic period text on the life of the *compagnon*, albeit highly embellished by its autobiographer and protagonist and written exactly two centuries later (1764) than the *Recepte*, see Jacques-Louis Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, ed. Daniel Roche, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

63. Luther's "hidden and revealed" dialectic may also be at work here. Note the relationships to the Neoplatonic theology of Palissy's near contemporary and co-religionist Moise Amyraut. Both Palissy and Amyraut were denounced by Huguenot scholastics for devaluing the covenant of laws. Both were committed to the covenant of grace that fueled their adherence to the Neoplatonic doctrine of the animate soul's triumph over corrupted flesh, and both paraphrase 2 Corinthians as an authority for the primacy of inner strength that identified with the humility of Christ's suffering. See Brian G. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1969), 148–49.

64. Problems in the beleaguered "nature-culture opposition" as formulated by Noam Chomsky and Claude Lévi-Strauss have not generated much interest on the part of anthropologists or historians since the critique of structuralism in the late 1970s, esp. by Bourdieu in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 27–32. Structuralist logic, supported by a hermetic reading of Chomsky's mentalist linguistics and leavened by E. P. Thompson on the English working class, has endured among some folklorists whose subject is American artisanry and material culture. Others have turned recently to the fluid strategies inspired by literary and cultural interpretation. For examples of both approaches in the work of one influential scholar, see Robert Blair St. George, "'Set Thine House in Order': The Domestication of the Yeomanry in Seventeenth-Century New England," in Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, vol. 2: Mentality and Environment* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 159–88, and Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

65. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 132–33.

66. Geerat J. Vermeij, *A Natural History of Shells* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 13, 83. The specimen in Palissy's "De la ville de forteresse" was probably the common snail—a member of the largest molluscan class called the Gastropoda. This class possesses a univalve shell with a spiral posterior and has an anterior opening covered by a door (operculum) in times of danger.

67. Cotgrave's *Dictionarie*, s.vv. "Limace," "Limaçonner."

68. For illustrated examples, see Peter Kenny, "Flat Gates, Draw Bars, Twists and Urns: New York's Distinctive, Early Baroque Oval Tables with Falling Leaves," *American Furniture, 1994*, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994): 113, figs. 11–13; for evidence of unmediated transmission to New World by French artisans, see Jean Palardy, *The Early Furniture of French Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963), 269, fig. 366.

69. Vermeij, *Natural History of Shells*, 11–13, 40–41; for a diagram of the gastropod shell, see 13, fig. 2.2; for images of shells glazed inside and out, see plates 1–21.

70. Ibid., 4, 32, 61. Vermeij reminds us that “ecology” is derived from the Greek *oikos*, meaning house.
71. Ibid., 95.
72. Ibid., 99.
73. Ibid., 83, 99–147.
74. Ambroise Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels*, trans. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 91.
75. Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 185.
76. In this context, if the snake in the basin referred to one particular iconographical meaning inferred by Palissy (which I am not suggesting), it may have been “wisdom” rather than the devil, the former a meaning from the Latin *anguis*. The root *ang* (or *angu*) commonly appears in Latin words referring to angles, corners, or narrow physical spaces, all specific to Palissy’s *portrait* of the fortress town, as well as snakes. In astronomy, the snake appears in the constellation Draco.
77. Calvin, *On the Christian Faith*, 37–38.
78. Such as the one depicted by Lucas Cranach the Elder, in a wing panel of the Wittenberg Altar (1547), in the Stadtkirch, Wittenberg; panel reproduced in Oskar Thulin, *Die Lutherstadt Wittenberg und ihre reformatorischen Gedenkstätten* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968), fig. 30.
79. Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1979), 158–59.
80. A platter with a salamander turning back toward his own tail attributed to Palissy or his workshop is reproduced in Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 114, fig. 98.
81. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 2.16, trans. D. W. Robertson Jr. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958), 50–51, as quoted in Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 40–41.
82. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 133.
83. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, 115, 120.
84. I am thinking here especially of Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), and id. and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); *Process, Performance and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbolology* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1979); and *The Drama of Affliction: A Study of Religious Processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981). The term “limen” was introduced by Arnold van Gennep in *The Rites of Passage* (1908), trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffé (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960); see also id., *Manuel du folklore français contemporain*, 7 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1938–58).
85. See esp. Caroline Walker Bynum, “Women’s Stories, Women’s Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner’s Theory of Liminality,” in *Anthropology and the Study of Religion*, ed. Robert L. Moore and Frank E. Reynolds (Chicago: Center for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1984), 105–24.
86. Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 249–250.
87. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 133.
88. Ibid., 1: 135–36.
89. The mollusk *Purpurellus* was found off West Africa in the sixteenth century, though it

also has a Mediterranean fossil record; see Vermeij, *Natural History of Shells*, 171. Cotgrave's *Dictionarie* translates *pourpre* as "the Purple Shellfish."

90. *Industrie* is also defined in Cotgrave's *Dictionarie* as "diligence; vigilancie; active carefullnesse; indeavor; aptnesse unto, readinesse in, any thing."

91. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 136.

92. *Ibid.*, 136–37.

93. *Ibid.* 137.

94. *Ibid.* This is suggestive of a level of access to Leonardo da Vinci's drawings after Vitruvius.

95. *Ibid.*, 137–38.

96. Jean-Robert Armogathe et al., *Bernard Palissy, mythe et réalité* (Saintes, Niort, and Agen, France: Coédition: Musées d'Agen, Niort, Saintes, 1990), 38.

97. Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 235, doc. XXIX (my translation unless otherwise noted).

98. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 138.

99. *Ibid.*

100. *Ibid.*

101. *Ibid.*, 139.

102. *Ibid.*, 140.

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*

105. *Ibid.*, 141.

106. *Ibid.*

THREE ➤ Personal History and "Spiritual Honor"

1. Jean Calvin, *Excuse de Jehan Calvin, à messieurs les Nicodemites, sur la complaincte qu'ilz font de sa trop grand' rigueur* (Zurich: Zentralbibliothek, 1544), in *Three French Treatises*, ed. Francis M. Higman (London: Athlone Press of the University of London, 1970), 131–53.

2. *Ibid.*, 42–43.

3. No place of publication is given for any of the three editions of Crespin's *Actes* (subsequently *Histoire des Martyrs*). The actual title of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (1563), first published in Latin at Basle in 1554 as *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum . . . commentarii*, is *Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable, Happening in the Church, with an Vniuersall History of the Same. Wherein Is Set Forth At Large the Whole Race and Course of the Church, from the Primitiue Age to These Latter Times of Ours, with the Bloudy Times, Horrible Troubles, and Great Persecutions, Against the True Martyrs of Christ, Sought and Wrought As Well by Heathen Emperours, As Now Lately Practised by Romish Prelates, Especially in This Realme of England and Scotland*. Tieleman Janszoon van Bracht, or Braght (1625–64), wrote *Martyrer Spiegel* (1660), translated by Joseph F. Sohm as *The Bloody Theater: Or, Martyr's Mirror of the Defenseless Christians Who Baptized Only Upon Confession of Faith, and Who Suffered and Died for the Testimony of Jesus, Their Saviour, from the Time of Christ to the Year . . . 1660: Compiled from Various Authentic Chronicles, Memorials and Testimonies* (7th ed., Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1964). On the relative ineffectiveness of martyrologies as tools for discipline in the countryside, see Euan Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 224; see also Robert Kingdon, *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572–1576* (Cam-

bridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), on martyrdom and witness; and Natalie Z. Davis, “The Rites of Violence,” in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1975), 152–87.

4. Calvin, *Excuse de Jehan Calvin, à messieurs les Nicodemites*, 147–48.

5. *Ibid.*, 135, 137.

6. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 1: 56–58; Calvin constructs this argument in cha. 5 sec. 5, around a long excerpt from Vergil’s *Aeneid* (6: 724–30).

7. *Ibid.*, 54.

8. *Ibid.*, 51.

9. Calvin, *Excuse de Jehan Calvin, à messieurs les Nicodemites*, 139.

10. *Ibid.*, 150.

11. Martin Luther, *Treatise on Christian Liberty*, 45.

12. Calvin, *Excuse de Jehan Calvin, à messieurs les Nicodemites*, 132.; the 1558 edition lacks all the quotations.

13. Gerrard Winstanley, *Fire in the bush: The spirit burning, not consuming but purging mankind, or, the great battell of God Almighty between Michaell, the seed of life, and the great red dragon, the curse fought within the spirit of man: with severall other declarations of the power of life* (London: Giles Calvert, 1650); see also John Rogers, *The Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry and Politics in the Age of Milton* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).

14. On Palissy and Agen, see H. Patry, “L’Origine de Bernard Palissy,” 370–72; and Leonard N. Amico, *Bernard Palissy: In Search of Earthly Paradise* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), 13–14; a number of *pirogue monoxyle* have been excavated from the Charente River bottom where they sank carrying pottery to Atlantic ships for export; see esp. Jean Chapelot, ed., *Potiers de Saintonge: Huit siècles d’artisanat rural: Musée national des arts et traditions populaires, 22 novembre 1975–1^{er} mars 1976*, exhibition catalogue (Paris: Éditions des Musées nationaux, 1975), 110–13; and Jean Chapelot and Eric Rieth, *Navigation et milieu fluvial au XI^e s.: L’Épave d’Orlac (Charente-Maritime)*, Documents d’archéologie française, no 48 (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 1995).

15. Ernest Dupuy, *Bernard Palissy: L’Homme, l’artiste, le savant, l’écrivain* (1894; rev. ed., 1902; reprint of rev. ed., Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 13; Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 13–14.

16. Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 13.

17. See Jan Craeybeckx, *Un Grand Commerce d’importation: Les Vins de France aux anciens Pays-Bas, XIII^e–XVI^e siècle* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1958).

18. Dupuy, *Bernard Palissy*, 17; on Menetra’s travels in the glass trade with his *compagnons*, see his personal account in Jacques-Louis Ménétré, *Journal of My Life*, ed. Daniel Roche, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); Palissy quote in Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 16.

19. A reproduction of a typical *portrait* may be seen in *Inventaire général des monuments et des richesses artistiques de la France, Île de Ré: Inventaire topographique* (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Direction du patrimoine, 1979), 443, fig. 459; on the technology of glass painting, see Barbara Butts, Lee Hendrix, et al., *Painting on Light: Drawings and Stained Glass in the age of Dürer and Holbein* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum; St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis Art Museum, 2000), 57–65.

20. Quoted in Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 16.

21. Dupuy, *Bernard Palissy*, 17–19. François I formally signed the edict establishing the *gabelle* in 1542; Palissy is thought to have been employed beginning sometime after May 1543.
22. Dupuy, *Bernard Palissy*, 18–19; Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 18–19, speculates on various dates for the ceramic glaze experiments.
23. Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, 224.
24. John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 125–46.
25. Bernard Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Les Oeuvres de Maistre Bernard Palissy*, ed. B. Fillon and Louis Audiat (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1888), 1: 115–16.
26. Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), 2 vols., 1: 72. Palissy knew the *Institutes* in Hamelin's edition, distributed in Saintonge by colporters.
27. For theoretical and methodological discussions of these problems, see Jon R. Snyder, *Writing the Scene of Speaking: Theories of Dialogue in the Late Italian Renaissance* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989); Michel de Certeau, "L'Ethnographie, l'oralité, ou l'espace de l'autre: Léry," in id., *L'Écriture de l'histoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 215–48; and Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982).
28. Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1966); Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Natalie Z. Davis, "Printing and the People," in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1975).
29. Jean-Daniel Sauvin, *Philibert Hamelin, martyr huguenot (1557)* (Geneva: University of Geneva, 1957), 11.
30. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 115–17. Palissy leaves the names anonymous in the *Recepte* and calls Robert "Robin," probably for reasons of security. The names of the monks and their orders have been identified by Henri Patry and Nathaniel Weis in "Frère Nicolle Maurel, apostat celestin, dit le predicant," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 61 (1912): 193–203.
31. Sauvin, *Philibert Hamelin*, 13–15; Alexandre Crottet, *Histoire des églises réformées de Pons, Gemozac et Mortagne en Saintonge, précédée d'une notice étendue sur l'établissement de la réforme dans cette province, l'Aunis et l'Angoumois* (Bordeaux: A. Castillon, 1841), 16.
32. *LA BIBLE, Qui est toute la sainte Escriture, en laquelle sont contenuz. le vieil Testament, & le Nouveau, translatez en Francois, & reueuz: le vieil selon Hebrieu, & le nouveau selon le Grec* (Geneva: Philibert Hamelin, 1552). The 1552 edition of the Bible is in five volumes ("petit in-12°"), and the 1556 edition in two volumes ("petit in-quarto"). Most of the runs were intended for distribution in war-torn Saintonge, so surviving copies are rare. Copies of each edition are to be found in the Bibliothèque de Geneve (incomplete) and the library of the Société Protestante in Paris (complete).
33. Several copies of the *Oraisons* are available in libraries. Hamelin's edition of *L'Institution* is also located in the Société Protestante and was not attributed to his press until 1902. See also Sauvin, *Philibert Hamelin*, 35.
34. Sauvin, *Philibert Hamelin*, 17–24.
35. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 120.
36. Crottet, *Histoire des églises réformées*, 16–25.

37. Sauvin, *Philibert Hamelin*, 30–31.
38. *Ibid.*, 38; Palissy, *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 120–21.
39. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 120–21; Sauvin, *Philibert Hamelin*, 38–41; order of the *parlement* of Bordeaux, April 12, 1557, in Archives départementales de la Gironde (Bordeaux). Hamelin was made to run the gauntlet, sealed in a pit for eight days with heavy leg irons dangling from his feet, and publicly tortured in unspecified ways on the day of his execution.
40. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 121; the provost marshal was the local informer, judge, and executioner combined in rural France, a hated and feared figure for Saintongeais Huguenots during the civil wars.
41. *Ibid.*, 121–22.
42. *Ibid.*, 114.
43. *Ibid.*, 124.
44. *Ibid.*, 120–23; Sauvin, *Philibert Hamelin*, 38.
45. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 124.
46. *Ibid.*, 126.
47. Dupuy, *Bernard Palissy*, 30–35.
48. Or “lords of particular jurisdictions.”
49. Quoted in Dupuy, *Bernard Palissy*, 34–35.
50. The warrant of 1558 was dated September 25, Archives départementales de la Gironde (Bordeaux), 1B 195, fol. 177; see H. Patry, “Un Mandat d’arrêté du Parlement de Guyenne contre Bernard Palissy et les premiers fideles des eglises de Saintes et de Saint-Jean d’Angély (1558),” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 51 (1902): 77–78, and Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 229, doc. II.
51. Archives départementales de la Gironde (Bordeaux), 1B 256, fol. 146; see H. Patry, “La Captivité de Bernard Palissy pendant la première guerre de religion,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 69 (1920): 21–25; and Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 229–30, docs. IV–V.
52. Foremost among the royal officials whom Palissy claimed supported his release, along with Montmorency in 1563, was Guy de Jarnac, governor of La Rochelle, whose support for the monarchical faction was paramount during the visit of Charles IX two years hence. This may be a signal of Palissy’s removal to Paris to work for Catherine de Médicis as early as 1563. For a discussion of Palissy’s prison letter, see Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 32.
53. Quoted in Dupuy, *Bernard Palissy*, 35; see also 62.
54. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 127.
55. *Ibid.*, 127–28.
56. *Ibid.*, 129.
57. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1950). My reading of Weber has been deepened by Alexandra Owen, *Magic and Modernity: Occultism and the Culture of Enchantment in Fin-de-Siècle Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming), particularly chapter 7, “Magic and the Ambiguities of Modernity” (I am grateful to Professor Owen for the opportunity to read her book in manuscript); see also Guenther Roth and Wolfgang Schluchter, *Max Weber’s Vision of History: Ethics and Methods* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Donald N. Levine, “Rationality and Freedom: Weber and Beyond,” *Sociological Inquiry* 51, no. 1 (1981): 5–25; Rogers Brubaker, *The Limits of Rationality: An Essay on the Social and Moral Thought of Max Weber* (London: George

Allen & Unwin, 1984); and Scott Lash and Sam Whimsler, eds., *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

58. Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 249–50.

59. Caroline Walker Bynum, “The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (Autumn 1986): 435; see also id., “Women’s Stories, Women’s Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner’s Theory of Liminality,” in *Anthropology and the Study of Religion*, ed. Robert L. Moore and Frank E. Reynolds (Chicago: Center for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1984), 105–24.

60. Martin Luther, “Treatise on Christian Liberty” (*The Freedom of a Christian*), in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1961), 56, 64.

61. *Salut* defies simple translation in this context. In the sixteenth century, according to Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie*, *salut* meant not only “salutations” but also “health” and “safety” as well. Given my argument above, and that of the poem to follow, this greeting should be understood as having multiple meanings.

62. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 10.

63. *Secret de l’histoire naturelle contenant les merveilles et choses memorables du monde* [Secret of Natural History Containing the Marvels and Memorable Things of the World] (Paris: Jehan Kerver, n.d., but probably ca. 1580–1600); Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MS Fr. 22791, fol. 60 verso; image also reproduced in Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 182–83, fig. 165. However, Amico’s interpretation of the image was limited to a few lines and his intention was to use it merely as an illustration of shells *qua* fortresses. My interest here is to interpret the image as part of a larger historical problem.

64. “Qui omnia secum portat, non indiget alieno auxilio,” as translated in Pamela H. Smith, *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 52.

FOUR ➤ War and *Sûreté*

1. Étienne Trocmé, “L’Eglise reformée de La Rochelle jusqu’en 1628,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 98 (July–September 1952), 133 (hereafter cited as ERLR). See also id., “De Gouverneur à l’intendant: L’Autonomie rochelaise de Charles IX à Louis XIII,” in *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel, membre de l’Institut, directeur honoraire de l’École des chartes, par ses amis, collègues et élèves* (Paris: Société de l’École des chartes, 1955), 1: 616–32, and id., “Reflexions sur le separatisme rochelais,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 122 (July–September 1976): 203–10; More recent work on pre-1628 La Rochelle is found in Judith Pugh Meyer, “La Rochelle and the Failure of the French Reformation,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 15, no. 2 (1984): 169–83; id., “The Success of the French Reformation: The Case of La Rochelle,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 84 (1993): 242–75; id., *Reformation in La Rochelle: Tradition and Change in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1568* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1996); David Parker, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy: Conflict and Order in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980); and Kevin C. Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea, La Rochelle, 1530–1650: Urban Society, Religion, and Politics on the French Atlantic Frontier* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997).

2. ERLR, 133–34.

3. Resources at the Archives départementales de la Charente Maritime, Archives municipales, and Bibliothèque municipale, La Rochelle, and the Bibliothèque nationale and Archives nationales, Paris, currently available for La Rochelle for the period 1550–1628, are inventoried in Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 165–67.
4. ERLR, 135–36. Meyer has mined La Rochelle’s notarial registers to good effect; see her *Reformation in La Rochelle*, appendix D, 164–65. As Arcère discovered in 1756, Amos Barbot’s history still remains a most useful resource for archival material.
5. ERLR, 137–38.
6. Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 139; see also Mark Greenglass, *The French Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 48–50.
7. Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 141.
8. *Ibid.*, 138–44.
9. Étienne Trocmé and Marcel Delafosse, *Le Commerce rochelais de la fin du XV^e siècle au début du XVII^e* (Paris: A Colin, 1952); and Marcel Delafosse and Claude Laveau, *Le Commerce du sel de Brouage aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: A Colin, 1960).
10. Arcère, *Histoire*, 1: 310.
11. Étienne Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628: État sanitaire des Rochelais et des assiégés, mortalité, morbidité” (M.D. thesis, Université de Bordeaux II, June 26, 1979), 5.
12. ERLR, 137–38; see also Nathanaël Weiss, *La Chambre ardente: Étude sur la liberté de conscience en France sous François I^{er} et Henri II* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1889), 1–50; Paul Louis and Georges Musset, *Un Parlement au petit pied: Le Présidial de La Rochelle, étude historique* (La Rochelle, 1878).
13. ERLR, 137.
14. Philip Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 49.
15. In addition to the Aunis, the provinces of Champagne, Brie, Île de France, Picardie, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, Angoumois, Beauce, Orléanais, Sologne, Berry, Nivernais, Lyonnais, Morvan, Forez, Auvergne, Bourbonnais, and Mâconnais were also included in the domain of Paris. Weiss, *Chambre ardente*, lxxii–lxxiii.
16. *Ibid.*, lxxviii. Blois in particular was targeted by the *parlement* of Paris as a center of Huguenot recruitment in the mid sixteenth century.
17. See chapter 1, pp. 39–40.
18. Weiss, *Chambre ardente*, lxxiii–lxxiv. Weiss includes transcripts of all surviving *procès* recorded in Paris of heretics transported there from the provinces, among them several from Aunis-Saintonge; a general discussion of the structure of *parlements* may be found in Roland E. Mousnier, *The Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598–1789: Society and State*, trans. Brian Pierce (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 160–63, 278–79, 388, 431–42, and 609–27.
19. François Vaux de Foletier, *Le Siège de La Rochelle* (1931; La Rochelle: Éditions Quartier Latin et Rupella, 1978), 166.
20. Louis Pérouas, *Le Diocèse de La Rochelle de 1648 à 1724: Sociologie et pastorale* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), 81.
21. *Ibid.*, 96.
22. *Ibid.*, 86.
23. Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 141.

24. Kevin C. Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea*, 107–427; on Toulouse, see Robert A. Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse 1463–1789* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).

25. ERLR, 187–93.

26. *Ibid.*, 191.

27. Leonard N. Amico, *Bernard Palissy: In Search of Earthly Paradise* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), 229, docs. II, IV, V; 236–37 docs. XXXV–XXXIX.

28. *Ibid.*, 232–36, docs. XVI, XXIII–XXIV, XXVI, XXX–XXXII.

29. During his years in Sedan, Palissy's presence in La Rochelle can be documented only once, when he attended the baptism of Jehan, son of his daughter Margerite Palissy and Pierre Morysseau, in the Temple Sainte-Yon on April 17, 1575; *ibid.*, 234, doc. XXI.

30. Epigraph to this section from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, trans. John and Doreen Weightman (New York: Pocket Books, 1977), 76, 34.

31. ERLR, 167; on Pierre Richier, see Olivier Reverdin, *Quatorze calvinistes chez les Topinambous: Histoire d'une mission genevoise au Brésil, 1556–1558* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1957), and Frank Lestringant, "Calvinistes et cannibales: Les Écrits Protestants sur le Brésil français 1555–1560," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, 1–2 (1980): 9–26, 167–92; for the edition of Léry I use in the analysis to follow, see Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America: Containing the Navigation and the Remarkable Things Seen on the Sea by the Author; the Behavior of Villegagnon in that Country; the Customs and Strange Ways of Life of the Various Savages; Together with the Description of Various Animals, Trees, Plants, and Other Singular Things Completely Unknown over Here*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

32. Frank Lestringant, "The Philosopher's Breviary: Jean de Léry in the Enlightenment," in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 129.

33. Especially in *Tristes tropiques*, and *The Savage Mind*. In regard to Léry's influence on the anthropologist's earliest work on Brazil, it is noteworthy that Lévi-Strauss devoted much of the latter portion of his career to an anthropology of artisanal culture, specifically potters and pottery; see Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Jealous Potter*, trans. Benedicte Chorier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

34. Paolo Rossi, *Philosophy, Technology and the Arts in the Early Modern Era* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 1–2, et passim; an overview of historians of science who investigate the circularity of learned and artisanal culture as fundamental to early modern epistemological inquiry would include Edgar Zilsel, "The Sociological Roots of Science," *American Journal of Sociology* 47 (1941–42): 544–62; Walter E. Houghton Jr., "The History of Trades: Its Relation to Seventeenth-Century Thought," in Philip P. Weiner and Aaron Noland, eds., *Roots of Scientific Thought: A Cultural Perspective* (New York: Basic Books, 1957), 354–81; J. A. Bennett, "The Mechanics' Philosophy and the Mechanical Philosophy," *History of Science* 14 (1986): 1–28; Alexander Keller, "Mathematics, Mechanics and the Origins of the Culture of Mathematical Invention," *Minerva*, 23 (1985): 348–61; Lisa Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 17–58; Pamela O. Long, "The Contribution of Architectural Writers to a 'scientific' Outlook in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 15, no. 2 (1985): 265–98; R. Hooykaas, *Humanisme, science et réforme: Pierre de la Ramée (1515–1572)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958); William Eamon, "Technology as Magic in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance," *Janus* 70, nos. 3–4 (1983): 171–212;

and Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

35. Jean de Léry, *Histoire Memorable de la Ville de Sancerre contenant les Entreprises, Assaux et autres efforts des assiegans: les resistances, faits magnanimes, la famine extreme et delivrance notable des assiegez. Le nombre des coups de Canons oar journées distngyuees. Le catalogues des morts et blesses a la guerre, sont a la fin du livre. Le tout fidelement recueilly sur le lieu, par JEAN DE LÉRY* (Rouen: Richard Petit, 1573); I have used the account given in Géralde Nakam, *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barthélemy: Guerre civile et famine* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1975).

36. See Janet Whatley's strong archival evidence for Léry's status as a practicing shoemaker in Léry, *History of a Voyage*, 225, nn. 2, 4, and xvi.

37. Nakam, *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barthélemy*, 68.

38. For Theodore de Bry, see his fourteen-volume *Grands voyages* (Frankfurt, 1590–1634); for Urbain Chauveton, *Histoire nouvelle du Nouveau Monde: Contenant en somme ce que les Hespagnols ont fait jusqu'a present aux Indes Occidentales, et le rude traitement qu'ils font a ces povres peuples-la* (Geneva, 1579). Marcel Bataillon introduced the notion of a "Huguenot corpus on America," see his "L'Amiral et les 'nouveaux horizons' français," in *Actes du colloque "L'Amiral de Coligny et son temps"* (Paris, 24–28 octobre 1972) (Paris: Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français, 1974), 41–52; on Calvin's role in Brazil, see Léry, *History of a Voyage*, 41–45, and David S. Lovejoy, *Religious Enthusiasm in the New World: Heresy to Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 6–8.

39. See Frank Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555–1589)* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de livres / Klincksieck, 1990); and id., "Philosopher's Breviary, 127–28.

40. Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 64; for alternative views of the origins of Protestant and Catholic Reformations of the sixteenth century, see John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 89–171.

41. Kelley, *Beginning of Ideology*, 64.

42. Léry, *History of a Voyage*, 53.

43. Ibid.; see also Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1885), 1: 63–77 (hereafter cited as Baird); for a general discussion of the context of Coligny's colonization program, see Charles-André Julien, *Les voyages de découverte et les premiers établissements (XVe–XVIe siècles)* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1948).

44. See the medal in Tessa Murdock et al., *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots, 1685–1985* (London: Museum of London, 1985), 30, fig. 13.

45. It is well known that the peopling of New France had a significant Calvinist component. For example, for an excellent discussion of the role played by the Rochelais Huguenot mercantile community in the society and economy of New France, see J. F. Boshier, *The Canada Merchants, 1713–1763* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987); for insights into Calvinist culture among the largely Saintongeais "peasantry" in New France, see Leslie Choquette, *Frenchmen into Peasants: Modernity and Tradition in the Peopling of French Canada* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 129–36.

46. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 29–35. Marl (*marne* in French) is a naturally occurring fertilizer composed of clay and calcium carbonate applied to

lime-deficient soils. Bernard Palissy, *The Admirable Discourses of Bernard Palissy*, trans. Aurele La Rocque (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957), 204–32 (204 quoted).

47. Léry, *History of a Voyage*, 35.

48. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 154–55.

49. Léry, *History of a Voyage*, 51–52.

50. Richard J. Tuttle, “Against Fortifications: The Defense of Renaissance Bologna,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41, no.1 (March 1982): 189–201; see also Ivy A. Corfis and Michael Wolfe, *The Medieval City Under Siege* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1995).

51. Léry, *History of a Voyage*, 52.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., 50.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., 50, 53.

57. Ibid., 51.

58. Ibid., xx–xxi.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., xlvi.

61. Ibid., xlvii.

62. Ibid.

63. ERLR, 140; see also Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628,” 5.

64. E. Droz, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, vol. 1: *Barthélemy Berton, 1563–1573*, Travaux d’humanisme et Renaissance, 34 (Geneva: E. Droz, 1960), 22–24; Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 96–98, 116, 141.

65. Yves Rouspeau, *Traité de la préparation à la sainte Cène de Notre seul Sauveur et Rédempteur Jésus Christ . . . plus un Dialogue contenant les poincts principaux que ceux qui veulent recevoir la Cène doivent savoir et entendre* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton, [1563]), preface; and Droz, *Barthélemy Berton*, 24.

66. Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 142; see Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 30–35; and Virginia Reinburg, “Popular Prayers in Late Medieval and Reformation France” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1985).

67. ERLR, 138.

68. Meyer, “La Rochelle and the Failure of the French Reformation,” 171–83.

69. Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, 142–43.

70. ERLR, 151.

71. Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628,” 5.

72. Catholic services were held at Sainte-Marguélite, next to the place du Château, in January 1571–September 1572, September 1576–December 1576, December 1577–1585, August 1599–May 1621, January 1624–Spring 1625, and Spring 1626–late September 1627.

73. ERLR, 139.

74. Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion*, 140–45; Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea*, 287–92.

75. Heretics were still executed in La Rochelle as late as 1534.
76. ERLR, 144.
77. *Ibid.*, 138.
78. *Ibid.*, 142. Catholic numbers estimated from attendance at Sainte-Margu rite. For population figures, see Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628,” 152; for a more conservative tally of La Rochelle’s population before and after 1628, see Philip Benedict, *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600–1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 81, pt. 5 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991), 51.
79. Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628,” 52–53. Between November and March 1627, 1,500 Catholics, “strangers,” and “rich” evacuated the fortress. In addition, 250 sailors were accepted into the king’s protection to serve in the royal navy, and 50 inhabitants escaped. For lower figures, see Benedict, *Huguenot Population of France, 1600–1685*, 51. Benedict counts La Rochelle’s total population at 17,000 in 1610, and places the death toll in the siege at “close to 10,000 people.” He does not cite the city census taken by Jean Godefroy in 1627 or Guibert’s “La Rochelle en 1628,” however.
80. Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628,” 45–55.
81. *Ibid.*, 45; Trocm  and Delafosse, *Commerce Rochelais*, 116–25.
82. Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628,” 57.
83. Pierre Mervault, *Le Journal des Choses les plus memorables qui se sont passe au dernier siege de La Rochelle* (Rouen: J. Lucces, 1671), 312, 576, 577, 582; see also Arc re, *Histoire*, 1: 614, as quoted in Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628,” 58. Guibert argues that the Rochelais were suffering from “hypoprotidemie, hypoglycemia, hypolipemia et acedocetose et des modifications des compartiments corporels.”
84. Vaux de Foletier, *Si ge de La Rochelle*, 270.
85. Ari s, *Western Attitudes Towards Death*, 39–46. *Transi* may be understood as bodily purgatory, hence as the liminal state par excellence.
86. Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, *The Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu*, trans. Henry Bertram Hill (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 91.
87. For the most detailed description of cannibalism within the family in besieged Sancerre, see L ry’s account of Simon and Eug nie Potard and their daughter in Nakam, *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barth lemy*, 290–96. That La Rochelle’s was a seafaring culture is significant as well, since cannibalism was traditionally overlooked in cases of shipwreck.
88. As quoted in Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628,” 46.
89. See Nakam, *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barth lemy*, esp. 290–96.
90. *Ibid.*, 295.
91. L ry, *History of a Voyage*, ch. 25: “How the Americans Treat their Prisoners of War and the Ceremonies They Observe Both in Killing and in Eating Them,” 122–33.
92. *Ibid.*, 131–33.
93. Nakam, *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barth lemy*, 136–38. See also G rard Defaux, “Un Cannibale en haut de chausses: Montaigne, la diff rence et la logique de l’identit ,” *Modern Language Notes* 97, no. 4 (May 1982): 919–57.
94. Nakam, *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barth lemy*, 136–38.
95. On ordeal and purification, see Henry Charles Lea, *The Ordeal* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1973).

96. Lionel Rothkrug, “The ‘odour of sanctity,’ and the Hebrew Origin of Christian Relic Veneration,” *Historical Reflections / Reflexions historiques* 8, no. 2 (Summer 1981): esp. 112–16.
97. Quoted in *ibid.*, 113.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.*, 114–15.
100. On Sancerre, see Léry, *Memorable History*, ch. 10.
101. Léry, *History of a Voyage*, 132.
102. *Winthrop Papers, vol. 1: 1498–1628* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 359–60.
103. Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628,” 49.
104. Guibert is convincing in his assertion there was no evidence of plague in La Rochelle prior to 1628. After the capitulation, however, disease was carried into the fortress by the conquering army, which was afflicted, as was Louis XIII himself, from the very beginning of the siege. See “La Rochelle en 1628,” 70.
105. *Ibid.*, 16. This category of “gentleman-merchant” included *banquiers, changeurs, arma-teurs, titulaires, bourgeois, negociants, corsaires*, and *artisans parvenus* (artisans who rose to bourgeois status, escaping the stigma of manual labor).
106. Guibert, “La Rochelle en 1628,” 75.
107. See Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea*; also J. G. Clark, *La Rochelle and the Atlantic Economy*, esp. ch. 1 on the Rochelais economy and the relationship of intendants and merchants to municipal and central government; chs. 3–5 on dynastic merchant families and kinship; and p. 45, table 3.1, on the statistically predominant position of port families among important Rochelais families in the eighteenth century. For a case study of one such family, see Robert Forster, *Merchants, Landlords, Magistrates: The Depont Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980). On the evolution of La Rochelle’s Huguenot population after 1628, see Pérouas, *Diocèse de La Rochelle*, appendix, 475.
108. Katherine Louise Milton Faust, “A Beleaguered Society: Protestant Families in La Rochelle, 1628–1685” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1980), 114–24.
109. *Ibid.*, 10–20; Benedict, *Huguenot Population of France*, 51.
110. Faust, “Beleaguered Society,” 13–14.
111. Joseph Bergin, *Cardinal Richelieu: Power and the Pursuit of Wealth* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), 46–61; see also *id.*, *The Rise of Richelieu* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1991), vii–115. Compare Bergin’s analysis of Richelieu’s financial interests with an early anecdotal treatment of the same in Aldous Huxley, *Grey Eminence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1941), 164–77.
112. Bergin, *Cardinal Richelieu*, 55, 58.
113. *Ibid.*, 59–60.
114. *Ibid.*, 64.
115. *Ibid.*, 61–2, 66.
116. Faust, “Beleaguered Society,” 143–363.
117. Elie Brakenhoffer quoted in *ibid.*, 237, 244; Philippe Vincent, *Paraphrase sur les Lamentations du Prophète Jérémie* (La Rochelle: Jean Chuppin, 1646), 7.
118. Classically, the word “parasite,” from the Greek *parasitos*, means “one who eats at the table of another, hence one who lives at another’s expense by flattery or diversion” (*Oxford English Dictionary, s.v.*); biologically, it means “an organism living in or on another living organ-

ism, obtaining from it part or all of its organic nutriment, and commonly exhibiting some degree of adaptive structural modification” (*Webster’s New World Dictionary, s.v.*). And in seventeenth-century French, according to Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie, it meant*: “a trencher-friend, or bellie-friend, a smell-feast, and buffoone at feasts; a clawback, flatterer, soother, smoother for good cheer sake.”

119. ERLR, 147–49.

120. *Ibid.*, 97. Synods were held at Jarnac (1560); La Rochelle (1562); Saint-Jean d’Angély (1563); Châteauneuf-s/Char (1570); Lignerès (1572); La Rochefoucauld (1581); Taillebourg (1591); La Rochelle (1592); Saint-Jean d’Angély (1593); Pons (1594); La Rochelle (1597); Saint-Jean d’Angély (1598); Pons (1599); Saujon (1600); Jarnac-Charente (1601); Taillebourg (1602); Saint-Jean d’Angély (1604 and 1605); and Pons (1606).

121. *Ibid.*, 148.

122. *Ibid.*, 146. Amos Barbot’s *Histoire de La Rochelle* (Saintes, 1886), 1: 359, claims 76,000 persons—three times La Rochelle’s population in 1627—flooded into the fortress after the Huguenot defeat at Moncontour in 1562.

123. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 122–23.

124. Archives départementales de la Gironde (Bordeaux), 1B 195, fol. 177, reprinted in Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 229, doc. II. There was no record that Palissy was arrested in 1558 as were other members named in his group. Perhaps Montmorency or Pons also gave Palissy noble protection then, as well as in 1563?

125. See chapter 15, n. 44. Guillemete’s surname was probably Bodet, like her son’s. “Patronne” undoubtedly referred to her status as owner of The Noble Vine.

126. Léry, *History of a Voyage*, 135.

127. *Ibid.*, 134–35.

FIVE • Scenes of Reading

EPIGRAPH: Hans Jakob Christoph von Grimmelshausen, *The Adventures of Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1668), trans. and ed. George Schulz-Behrend (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1993), ch. 18, “Simplicius Takes His First Leap into the World, and Has Bad Luck,” 28.

1. Hohenheim himself probably coined the name “Paracelsus” (“Beyond Celsus”) by appending the Greek prefix *para* to the name of the patrician Roman physician Aulus Cornelius Celsus (ca. 1st century A.D.), whose reputation as one of the foremost medical writers in Latin was reestablished during the Renaissance when his *De medicina*—a medical treatise that contained chapters on agriculture, military strategy and fortifications, rhetoric, philosophy, and law—was published in 1478. This book was translated into vernacular editions for use as the standard medical textbook in the university lecture halls that Paracelsus would reject in print as inadequate. He thereby also claimed symbolically to be a superior teacher outside the lecture hall than his illustrious predecessor, by using his own books to supplement the great Book of Nature and confirm the centrality of experience over ancient and scholastic precedents.

2. For a lucid analysis of the significance of the Paracelsian movement in the early modern period, see H. R. Trevor-Roper, “The Paracelsian Movement,” in *id.*, *Renaissance Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 149–99.

3. See Wayne Shumaker, *The Occult Science in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 16, 53, 202–5; see also Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus*:

An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance (Basel: Karger, 1982); Paul Oscar Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. Virginia Conant (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943); Ardis B. Collins, *The Secular as Sacred: Platonism and Thomism in Marsilio Ficino's Platonic Philosophy* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974); André Chastel, *Marsile Ficin et l'art* (Geneve: E. Droz, 1954); on Ficino in sixteenth-century France, André-Jean Festugière, *La Philosophie de l'amour de Marsile Ficin et son influence sur la littérature française au XVIe siècle* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1941); and Jean Dagens, "Hérmetisme et Cabale en France de Lefèvre d'Étaples à Bossuet," in *Revue de Littérature comparée*, no. 1 (January–March 1961): 5–16.

4. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 203–40.

5. John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 108.

6. Nigel Hiscock, *The Wise Master Builder: Platonic Geometry in Plans of Medieval Abbeys and Cathedrals* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), 274.

7. *Ibid.*, 97–101, 274–75.

8. Trevor-Roper, "Paracelsian Movement," 156. For the classic discussion of this doctrine as practiced by early modern alchemists, see Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and The Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 22–57.

9. Trevor-Roper, "Paracelsian Movement," 156.

10. Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton: Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 3–4.

11. Kurt Goldammer, *Paracelsus: Natur und Offenbarung* (Hanover: Theodor Oppermann, 1953), and "Paracelsische Eschatologie," *Nova Acta Paracelsica* 6 (1952): 68–102; see also Trevor-Roper, "Paracelsian Movement," 156–57.

12. Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton*, 15–17, 21, 24–29.

13. On Joachim and the wide diffusion of his prophesies, see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), and Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 107; on the influence of Joachimism on the adepts, see Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1978), 35; and Trevor-Roper, "Paracelsian Movement," 157; on prophesy among the Paracelsians, see Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton*, 15–47.

14. On the status of the operator and the relation between operators and philosophers, see William R. Newman, *Gebennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), xi–xiv; on smallness and purity, see 160–69.

15. Hannaway, *Chemists and the Word*, 6–7.

16. See D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958), "Paracelsus and Jacques Gohory," 96–106.

17. *Ibid.*, 97.

18. *Ibid.*, 96 and 105.

19. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 100.

20. Alexandre de La Tourette, *Bref discours des admirable vertus de l'orpotable: auquel sont traictez les principaux fondemens de la médecine, l'origine & cause de toutes maladies, & quels sont les medicamens plus propres a leur guerison, & a la conservation de la sante humaine . . . Avec une apologie de la tres utile science d'Alchimie, tant contre ceux qui la blasment, qu'aussi contre les faulsaies, lar-*

rons & trompeurs qui en abusent . . . (Lyon, 1575); for further discussion, see Wallace Kirsop, “The Legend of Bernard Palissy,” *Ambix* 9, no. 3 (October 1961): 148, an article that extends Walker’s research on Gohory into a convincing analysis of Palissy’s association with Gohory’s scientific community.

21. Jacques Gohory, *Discours responsif a celuy d’Alexandre de la Tourete, sur les secrets de l’art Chymique & confection de l’Orpotable, faict en la defense de la Philosophie & Medecin antique, contra la nouvelle Paracelsique* (Paris, 1575). For the definition of “chymistry” as “the total of chemical/alchemical terminology and theory as it existed in early modern Europe,” see William R. Newman, *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), xii–xiii.

22. Kirsop, “Legend of Bernard Palissy,” 148; Kirsop argues that Palissy would have been aware of all the works by Paracelsus and his followers available in Paris in the mid to late sixteenth century, as well as the work of other medieval and modern alchemists, through his access to Gohory’s community.

23. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 23–24.

24. *Ibid.*, 81.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Pagel, *Paracelsus*, 241–71.

27. Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, 93–94.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, 94–95

30. *Ibid.*, 95–99.

31. See Frances Yates, “The Art of Ramon Lull: An Approach to It Through Lull’s Theory of the Elements,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17, no. 1–2 (1954): 115; and Mark D. Johnston, “The Reception of Lullian Art, 1450–1530,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 12, no. 1 (1981), 31–48.

32. Kirsop, “Legend of Bernard Palissy,” 147.

33. *Ibid.*; Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, 103. The original work is Jean de (de Valenciennes) La Fontaine, Jean de Meung, Jean Clopinel, dit, *De la transformation métallique, trois anciens tractez en rithme françoise, asçavoir: la Fontaine des amoureux de science, auteur: J. de La Fontaine; les Remonstrances de Nature à l’alchymiste errant, avec la Response dudit alchy., par J. de Meung; ensemble un tracté de son Romant de la Rose concernant ledict art; le Sommaire philosophique de N. Flamel, avec la défense d’iceluy art et des honestes personages qui y vaquent . . .* (Paris: G. Guillard & A. Warancore, 1561).

34. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, 99–101; and Kirsop, “Legend of Bernard Palissy,” 149.

35. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, 100.

36. Ambroise Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels* (1573), trans. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), xv–xxxii.

37. Ambroise Paré, *Journies in Diverse Places*, trans. S. Paget, in *Scientific Papers: Physiology, Medicine, Surgery, Geology*, vol. 38 (New York: Collier, 1910).

38. Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels*, 3.

39. *Ibid.*, 3–4.

40. For examples of monstrosity created out of lack of self-discipline and immorality, see esp. *ibid.*, 74–84 (chs. 21–26).

41. *Ibid.*, xxvi–xxvii; Jean Céard, *La Nature et les prodiges: L'Insolite au 16e siècle, en France* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1977), 290–320; see also Katharine Park and Lorraine F. Daston, “Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England,” *Past and Present*, no. 92 (August 1981): 21–54; and Lorraine F. Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).

42. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 154–155; *Oeuvres complètes de Bernard Palissy*, ed. Paul-Antoine Cap (Paris: J.-J. Dubochet, 1844; reprint with an avant-propos by Jean Orcel, Paris: A. Blanchard, 1961), 271; and Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels*, xxiii.

43. Thomas C. Allbut, “Palissy, Bacon, and the Revival of Natural Science,” in *Proceedings of the British Academy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1913–1914), 224–47.

44. Bernard Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Les Oeuvres de Maistre Bernard Palissy*, ed. B. Fillon and Louis Audiat, *Les Oeuvres de Maistre Bernard Palissy* (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1888), 1: 11–12, 13–14.

45. *Ibid.*, 19.

46. On the relation between Washington and Cincinnatus, see Garry Wills, *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984); on Agricola and his influence, see William Emerton Heitland, *Agricola: A Study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Greco-Roman World from the Point of View of Labor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921); Cotton Mather, *Agricola. Or, the Religious Husbandman: The main intentions of religion, served in the business and language of husbandry; and commended therefore by a number of ministers to be entertained in the families of the country* (Boston: D. Henchman, 1727); Samuel Fisher, *Rusticus ad Academicos, or the Country correcting the Clergy* (London, 1660); John Robertson, *Rusticus ad Clericum, or, the Plow-Man rebuking the Priest* (Aberdeen?, 1694); and Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

47. On the relation between Cato and Addison, see Julie K. Ellison, *Cato's Tears and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

48. Bernard Palissy, *The Admirable Discourses of Bernard Palissy*, trans. Aurele La Rocque (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957), 113–14; *Paracelsus: Selected Writings*, ed. Jolande Jacobi, trans. Norbert Guterman, Bollingen ser. 28 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958). On Paracelsians and the primacy of experience, see Hannaway, *Chemists and the Word*, 4, 59–62. See also n. 1 above on the name “Paracelsus.”

49. See n. 1 above.

50. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 1: 52.

51. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 10–13.

52. *Ibid.*, 113–14.

53. On English skepticism, see Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550–1720* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000), 1–7. On the book trade in France in the sixteenth century, see E. Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, vol. 1: *Barthélemy Berton, 1563–1573*, *Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 34 (Geneva: E. Droz, 1960); Lucien Febvre and H. J. Martin, *L'Apparition du livre* (Paris, 1958); Annie Parent, *Les Métiers du livre à Paris au XVIIe siècle (1535–1560)* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1974); David T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Regime, 1500–1791* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); Natalie Z. Davis, “Printing and the People,” in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University

Press, 1975), 189–206; and Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).

54. *Désert* territory is well mapped and defined in similar terms for Protestant culture in southeastern France in two excellent and now classic studies: Philippe Joutard, *La Légende des Camisards: Une Sensibilité au passé* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977); and Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California, 1980). For the *désert* as metaphor, see esp. Schwartz, 11–36.

55. For a complete list of texts one can infer Palissy knew from hints in his writing, see Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 10–13.

56. Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626–1660* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1975); and, for a concise version of the Webster thesis, see id., *From Paracelsus to Newton*.

57. On publication of scientific secrets and their association with both commerce and personal power, see William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3–90, 168–233.

58. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), xii–xiii.

59. *Ibid.*, xxiv.

60. *Ibid.*, xxii–xxiii.

61. *Ibid.*, xxiii; for the most sustained critique in English of this and other problems in Ginzburg's oeuvre, see John Martin, "Journeys to the World of the Dead: The Work of Carlo Ginzburg," *Journal of Social History* 25, no. 3 (Spring 1992): 613–27.

62. Ginzburg, *Cheese and the Worms*, 127–28; on Bruno, see Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

63. Jakob Böhme, *Aurora . . . that is, the root or mother of philosophie, astrologie, & theologie from the true ground*, trans. John Sparrow from the first German ed., Görlitz, 1612 (London: Giles Calvert, 1656), 48; for Böhme's intellectual biography, see Alexandre Koyré, *La Philosophie de Jacob Boehme* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1929); for Böhme's influence in England and America, see Schwartz, *French Prophets*, 8; Richard Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence Among Seventeenth-Century Quakers* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1990), 3–5; Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences, 1600–1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin: 1957), 31, 224, 226, 677 n. 2; A. G. Roeber, "The Origin of Whatever Is Not English Among Us: The Dutch-speaking and the German-speaking Peoples of Colonial British America," in Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 250; F. Ernest Stoeffler, "Mysticism in the German Devotional Literature of Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* 14 (1949): 1–18; and Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 99, 186, 225–32.

64. Böhme, *Aurora*, 96–98, 196.

65. *Ibid.*, 98.

66. Luther's open schism with the enthusiasts is usually dated to 1524; see Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 107; and see also a useful overview of the violent quarrels following the rapid rise of Lutheran sectarianism during the sixteenth century in Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 2: 73–81.

67. Böhme, *Aurora*, 159, 162.
68. *Ibid.*, 160–61.
69. *Ibid.*, 146–47.
70. *Ibid.*, 596–98
71. *Ibid.*, 270, 403, 411, 472–73.
72. Peter James Klassen, *The Economics of Anabaptism, 1520–1560* (The Hague: Mouton, 1964), 14–16.
73. G. H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962); *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers: Documents Illustrative of the Radical Reformation*, edited by George Huntston Williams, and Evangelical Catholicism as represented by Juan de Valdés, ed. Angel M. Mergal, Library of Christian Classics, vol. 25 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957); Steven E. Ozment *Mysticism and Dissent* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973); and C. P. Clasen, *The Anabaptists: A Social History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972).
74. “An Open Letter from Wolfgang Brandhuber to the Church in Rattenberg” (1529), trans. in Klassen, *Economics of Anabaptism*, appendix D, 128–33.
75. Böhme, *Aurora*, “Note,” n.p.
76. Jean Seguy, “Religion and Agricultural Success: The Vocational Life of French Anabaptists from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries,” trans. Michael Schank, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 47 (July 1973): 209–17.
77. Böhme, *Aurora*, 402–4.
78. Seguy, “Religion and Agricultural Success,” 209–17.
79. Klassen, *Economics of Anabaptism*, appendix D, 128–33; on the term “Family of Love,” see John Canne, *A Necessitie of separation from the Church of England, provided by the nonconformist Principles* (London, 1634), 132; and Ephraim Pagitt, *Heresiography: Or a Description of the Hereticks and Sectaries of these Latter Times* (London, 1645), 105.
80. Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 106.
81. *Ibid.*
82. John Martin, *Venice’s Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 121–2, 99–112.
83. Böhme, *Aurora*, “Note.”
84. On the Essenes and the early Judeo-Christian sectarian tradition, competition, and confluence, see Gunther Sternberger, *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes*, trans. Allan W. Mahnke (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995); Eric M. Meyers, ed., *Galilee Through the Centuries: A Confluence of Cultures*, Duke Judaic Series, vol. 1 (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1999); and Eric M. Meyers and Michael L. White, “Jews and Christians in a Roman World,” *Archaeology* 42, no. 2 (March–April 1989): 26–32.
85. Grimmelshausen, *Adventures of Simplicius Simplicissimus*, 250–52. This disciplined description is, in effect, a reversal of Palissy’s dark vision of Saintes in chaos over the mouth of Hell after occupation by Counter-Reformation forces, with unmastered children, the violent heirs of their demonic heritage, divided by loathing into forces of mimetic opposition within the formerly unified community.
86. *Ibid.*, 250, 252.
87. Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 109–10.
88. Grimmelshausen, *Adventures of Simplicius Simplicissimus*, 113–18.

89. Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 110–11.
90. For examples of what I call the southeastern prophetic “style,” see Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981); Joutard, *Légende des Camisards*; and Schwartz, *French Prophets*; on the theatricality of the southeastern prophets, see Schwartz, *ibid.*, 251–78.
91. Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 110.
92. Quoted in Frederick J. Powicke, *The Cambridge Platonists: A Study* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1971), 99.
93. Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few*, 1–32.
94. Roeber, “Origin of Whatever Is Not English,” 250–51; Carter Lindberg, *The Third Reformation? Charismatic Movements and the Lutheran Tradition* (Macon, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 55–178; Hannaway, *Chemists and the Word*, 9–11. Evidence of Grimmelshausen’s sophisticated occult, astrological, and natural-philosophical interests is found throughout the text of *Simplicissimus*; see Helmut Rehder, “Planetenkinder: Some Problems of Character Portrayal in Literature,” [University of Texas] *Graduate Journal* 3 (1968): 69–97; Günther Weydt, *Nachahmung und Schöpfung im Barock: Studien um Grimmelshausen* (Bern: Francke, 1968), pt. 4; and for a contrary perspective, Blake Lee Spahr, “Grimmelshausen’s *Simplicissimus*: Astrological Structure?” *Argenis* 1 (1977): 7–29.
95. Canne, *Necessities of Separation*, 132.
96. On the sociology of “front and back,” see Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1972).
97. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 115–17.
98. *Ibid.*
99. For one anonymous depiction of Peter’s deliverance from prison, painted in eighteenth-century New York, see Ruth Piwonka, Roderic Blackburn, et al., *A Remnant in the Wilderness: New York Dutch Scripture History Paintings of the Early Eighteenth Century* (Albany, N.Y.: Bard College Center and Albany Institute of History and Art, 1980), 56, fig. 28 (note the eyes of the guard sitting on a bench in the right foreground).
100. Böhme, *Aurora*, 224–25.
101. *Ibid.*, 438–39.
102. *Ibid.*, 572.
103. *Ibid.*, 411–12.
104. *Ibid.*, 227–28.
105. *Ibid.*, 441, 452.
106. Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie*.
107. Jan Craeybeckx, *Un Grand Commerce d’importation: Les Vins de France aux anciens Pays-Bas, XIIIe–XVIe siècle* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1958), 78–206; Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power* (New York: Viking, 1985).
108. Jean Chapelot, ed., *Potiers de Saintonge: Huit siècles d’artisanat rural: Musée national des arts et traditions populaires, 22 novembre 1975–1^{er} mars 1976*, exhibition catalogue (Paris: Éditions des Musées nationaux, 1975), esp. 108–13 and 119–21.
109. Schwartz, *French Prophets*, 11. The geographic origin of these artisans is obscure.
110. *Ibid.*; Joutard, *Légende des Camisards*; and Jacob, *Radical Enlightenment*.
111. Lynn White Jr., “The Iconography of *Temperantia* and the Virtuousness of Technology,”

in *Medieval Religion and Technology: Collected Essays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 182–83.

112. Ibid.

113. Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 11.

114. Ibid., 10–11.

115. Kathleen Basford, *The Green Man* (New York: D. S. Brewer, 1998); Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952); William Anderson, *Green Man: The Archetype of Our Oneness with the Earth* (San Francisco: HarperCollins 1990); Hamish Henderson, “The Green Man of Knowledge,” *Scottish Studies* 2, no. 1 (1958): 47–85; J. R. L. Highfield, “The Green Squire,” *Medium Aevum* 22 (1953): 18–23; Lady Raglan, “The Green Man in Church Architecture,” *Folklore* 50, no. 1 (1939): 45–57; R. O. M. Carter and H. M. Carter, “The Foliate Head in England,” *Folklore* 78 (1967): 269–74; James Clarke Holt, *Robin Hood* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1982); and Christian Jacq, *Le Message des bâtisseurs de cathédrales* (Paris: Plon, 1980).

116. Anderson, *Green Man*, 20–30; Holt, *Robin Hood*.

117. Arnold van Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain* (Paris: A. Picard, 1943–66), I: 1488–1502.

118. Anderson, *Green Man*, 26; Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix, *Painting of Light: Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), 312.

119. For photographs of these two ceramic pieces, see Amico, *Bernard Palissy*, 26, fig. 14; and Chapelot, ed., *Potiers de Saintonge*, 73, fig. 229. A full discussion of the plaque’s attribution and source is found in Amico, 37, and Alan Gibbon and Pascal Faligot, *Céramiques de Bernard Palissy* (Paris: Librairie Segquier/Vagabondages, 1986), 42–45; on Palissy’s Italian influences, see Gibbon and Faligot, 16–26.

120. Anderson, *Green Man*, 14, 33.

121. On Wisdom and Fortuna in Renaissance humanism, see Charles Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 184–85.

122. For close discussions of the *Simplicissimus* frontispiece, see Ellen Leyburn, *Satiric Allegory: Mirror of Men*, Yale Studies in English, 130 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1956), 7; and esp. Karl-Heinz Habersetzer, “‘Ars Poetica Simpliciana’: Zum Titelkupfer des *Simplicissimus Teutsch*,” *Daphnis* 3 (1974): 60–82, and 4 (1975): 57–78.

123. For the relation between the carving of eyes wide open and eschatology in seventeenth-century New England Calvinist mortuary art, see David H. Watters, *With bodilie eyes: Eschatological Themes in Puritan Literature and Gravestone Art* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981); on the widespread use of figures emanating vegetation in the frontispieces and title-page borders of British-American and Continental books in the early modern era, see R. B. McKevrow and F. S. Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England and Scotland, 1485–1640* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1932); and Alfred F. Johnson, *German Renaissance Title- Borders* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1929).

124. Böhme, *Aurora*, 114–15.

125. See Anderson, *Green Man*, 24, 80–88, 134; and esp. Basford, *Green Man*, 15–16. There is no mention of this program in Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Program of Chartres Cathedral* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1954).

126. See Eugène Canseliet, “Les Écoinçons des stalles de la cathédrale de Poitiers et leur in-

terprétation alchimique,” *Atlantis*, 332 (1984): 291–308; C. J. P. Cave, *Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), and *Medieval Carvings in Exeter Cathedral* (London: Penguin Books, 1953); Roland Sheridan and Anne Ross, *Grotesques and Gargoyles in the Medieval Church: Paganism in the Medieval Church* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975); G. L. Remnant, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); and James Jerman and Anthony Weir, *Images of Lust: Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1986).

127. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “misericord.”

128. Anderson, *Green Man*, 135–36.

129. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, 2.

130. The two chests of drawers are located in the collections of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, and Historic Deerfield, Deerfield, Massachusetts. See also Brian P. Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland, and the Union, 1603–1707* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

131. On the social history of witchcraft, see Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 1–98; id., *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches’ Sabbath* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991); Brian P. Levack, ed., *Articles on Witchcraft, Magic, and Demonology: A Twelve Volume Anthology of Scholarly Articles* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), esp. vols. 1–3, 12; id., *The Witch Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (London: Longman, 1995); Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, 4.

132. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, 1–9.

133. *Ibid.*, 7–12.

134. *Ibid.*, 12–20.

135. *Ibid.*

136. Grimmelshausen, *Adventures of Simplicius Simplicissimus*, 30–31; these chapters show certain similarities to the medieval German epic *Der Busant*, which itself may have been derived from the French story *Peter of Provence*.

137. *Ibid.*, 30.

138. *Ibid.*, 34.

139. *Ibid.*

140. The ideal form of the society of orders—a rather static model—is exemplified by Roland Mousnier, *The Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598–1789*, trans. Brian Pearce (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), and *Les Hiérarchies sociales de 1450 à nos jours* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1969). Critiques have developed from Mousnier’s Marxist contemporaries, Pierre Goubert, *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1960), and id., *Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen*, trans. Anne Carter (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970); and A. D. Lublinskaya, *French Absolutism: The Crucial Phase, 1620–1629*, trans. Brian Pearce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); as well as gender studies, see Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park, Pa.: Penn State University Press, 1998); Sarah Hanley, “Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France,” *French Historical Studies* 16 (Spring 1989), and id., “The Monarchic State in Early Modern France: Martial Regime Government and Male Right,” in *Politics, Ideology, and the Law in Early Modern Eu-*

rope: *Essays in Honor of J. H. M. Salmon*, ed. Arianna Bakos (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1994).

141. The word *verds* is read here as a variant of the verb *verdir*, “to turn green.” I have chosen to translate *verds* as “verdure” or “greenery” because the use of vegetation seems to capture the sense of the passage most accurately.

142. Böhme, *Aurora*, 405–6.

143. *Ibid.*, 406–7.

144. *Ibid.*, 407.

145. *Ibid.*, 409–10.

146. The historiography of torture in early modern France is dominated by Roland Mousnier, *The Assassination of Henri IV: The Tyrannicide Problem and the Consolidation of the French Absolute Monarchy in the Early Seventeenth Century*, trans. Joan Spencer (New York: Scribner, 1973); a transcript of Ravailac’s torture is found in Edmund Goldsmid, *The Trial of Francis Ravailac for the Murder of King Henri the Great, Together with an Account of His Torture and Execution, Extracted and Translated from the Registers of the Parliament of Paris, 1610* (Edinburgh: Privately printed, 1885); see also John H. Langbean, *Torture and the Law of Proof: Europe and England in the Ancien Regime* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1977); William T. Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist: Theology, Politics, and the Body of Christ* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); and Darius M. Rejali, *Torture and Modernity: Self, Society, and State in Modern Iran* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1994).

147. Jacob, *Radical Enlightenment*, 22.

148. *Ibid.*, 47.

149. Quoted in François de Vaux de Foletier, *Le Siège de La Rochelle* (1931; La Rochelle: Éditions Quartier Latin et Rupella, 1978), 279.

SIX • American Rustic Scenes

1. Ronald Sterne Wilkinson, “The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676) and His Descendants in Colonial America, Part I,” *Ambix* 11, no. 1 (February 1963): 33.

2. *Ibid.*, 34.

3. *Ibid.*; and Ronald Sterne Wilkinson, “The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676) and His Descendants in Colonial America, Part II,” *Ambix* 13, no. 3 (October 1966): 139; see also John W. Streeter, “John Winthrop, Junior, and the Fifth Satellite of Jupiter,” *Isis* 39 (August 1948): 159–63; Ronald Sterne Wilkinson, “John Winthrop, Jr., and America’s First Telescopes,” *New England Quarterly* 35 (December 1962): 520–23; Silvio A. Bedini, “The Transit in the Tower: English Astronomical Instruments in Colonial America,” *Annals of Science* 54, no. 2 (March 1997): 161–96; and Robert C. Black III, *The Younger John Winthrop* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 55, 169–71, 307–19.

4. Wilkinson, “Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr., Part II,” 174, cat. no. 196.

5. Estate Inventory, John Winthrop Jr., Boston, 1676: Connecticut State Library, Hartford District, file 6151; Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, vol. 2: Mentality and Environment* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 217; and William N. Hosley Jr., ed., *The Great River: Art and Society in the Connecticut Valley, 1635–1820* (Hartford, Conn.: Wadsworth Antheneum, 1985), 192–93.

6. Fairbanks and Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, 2: 217–18.
7. Ibid., and Robert F. Trent, “The Spencer Chairs and Regional Chair Making in the Connecticut River Valley,” in *Bulletin of the Connecticut Historical Society* 49, no. 4 (Fall 1984), 191.
8. Trent, “Spencer Chairs,” 191–92; Hosley, ed., *Great River*, 192–93.
9. Peter M. Kenny, Frances Gruber Safford, and Gilbert T. Vincent, *American Kasten: The Dutch-Style Cupboards of New York and New Jersey* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 11–12, 36–39; Robert F. Trent, “New Insights on Early Rhode Island Furniture,” *American Furniture*, 1999, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999): 209–15; Robert A. Leath, “Dutch Trade and Its Influence on Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake Furniture,” *American Furniture*, 1997, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997): 21–39; and Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 132–33.
10. Peter Follansbee, “A Seventeenth-Century Carpenter’s Conceit: The Waldo Family Joined Great Chair,” *American Furniture*, 1998, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England): 209–10.
11. Quoted in *ibid.*, 210.
12. *Ibid.*, quoted on 211.
13. Elderkin’s greetings are conveyed in Roger Williams to John Winthrop Jr., October 23, 1650, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 4th ser., 4 (Boston: Printed for the Society, 1863), 284. An early, popular widely disseminated illustration of “The Copernican System” was known to New Englanders from *An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for the Year of the Christian Epocha, 1675* (fig. 6.4), but this woodcut was only printed in Boston by John Foster (1648–81) some sixteen years after the chair was made. A second edition of the 1675 *Almanack* appeared in 1681. See Fairbanks and Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, 2: 147–48, 329–30.
14. Foster graduated from Harvard in 1667 and his press in Cambridge printed all New England’s almanacs until 1676. *Ibid.*, 147–48.
15. For a list of Robert Fludd titles in Winthrop’s library, see Ronald Sterne Wilkinson, “The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1607–1676) and His Descendants in Colonial America, Part IV: The Catalogue of Books,” *Ambix* 13, no. 3 (October 1966): 155–56, nos. 86–95.
16. *Ibid.*, 155, nos. 89 and 89a.
17. Robert Fludd, *Integrum morborum mysterium: Sive medicinae catholicae . . . [and] Katholikon [Gr.] medicorum katoptron [Gr.] . . . [and] Pulsus seu nova et arcana pulsuum historia, e sacro fonte radicaliter extracta, nec non medicorum ethnicorum dictis auctoritate comprobata*, three works, forming the complete tractate 2 of vol. 1 of the *Medicina catholica* in one vol. (Frankfurt: Wolfgang Hofmann for Willem Fitzer, 1631), 343; Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1979), 65, fig. 77.
18. Robert Fludd, *Katholikon [Gr.] medicorum katoptron [Gr.]*: *In quo, Quasi Speculo Politissimo Morbi praesentes mor demonstrativo clarissime indicantur, & futuri ratione prognostica aperte cernuntur, atque prospiciuntur* (Frankfurt: [Willem Fitzer?], 1631), 255; Godwin, *Robert Fludd*, 64, fig. 76.
19. The seven-part color wheel is illustrated in Robert Fludd, *Medicina catholica* (Frankfurt: Willem Fitzer, 1629), 154.
20. See Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill & Wang, 1981), 26–27: “it is this element which rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me. A Latin word exists to designate this wound, this prick, this mark made by a pointed instrument: the word suits me all the better in that it also refers to the

notion of punctuation, and because the photographs I am speaking of are in effect punctuated, sometimes even speckled with these sensitive points; . . . I shall therefore call [such a point a] *punctum*.”

21. On the metropolitan aspect of the significance of the Doric order on seventeenth-century American chairs, see esp. Benno M. Forman, *American Seating Furniture, 1630–1730: An Interpretative Catalogue* (New York: Norton, 1988), 182–83, 200–201, 276–77, and 304–5; see also Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, vol. 3: *Style* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 522–24.

22. Milo M. Naeve and Lynn Springer Roberts, *A Decade of Decorative Arts: The Antiquarian Society of the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago: Art Institute, 1986), 54–56; Ann Smart Martin, *Makers and Users: American Decorative Arts, 1630–1820, from the Chipstone Collection* (Madison, Wis.: Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1999), 16.

23. Jakob Böhme, *Aurora . . . that is, the root or mother of philosophie, astrologie, & theologie from the true ground*, trans. John Sparrow (from the first German ed., Görlitz, 1612 [London: Giles Calvert, 1656]), 598.

24. *Ibid.*, 599.

25. *Ibid.*, 472.

26. *Ibid.*, 157–58.

27. *Oxford English Dictionary*

28. Including *Architectura* (Antwerp, 1578), and *Perspective* (Amsterdam, 1628). See also Alexandre Koyré, *Metaphysics and Measurement* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).

29. Fairbanks and Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, 3: 514–15.

30. Benno M. Forman, “Continental Furniture Craftsmen in London: 1511–1625,” *Furniture History* 7 (1971): 94–120.

31. This is to exclude, of course, beds and bedrooms where, cross-culturally and at various moments in history, visitors have been “publicly” received. This custom is especially noteworthy among noble families and the king in ancien régime France, but it can also be observed in England and America.

32. Fairbanks and Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, 2: 348–49.

33. Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 38.

34. “Oswaldus Crollius [D.O.M.A. Osualdi Crollii Veterani Hassi Basilica Chymica Continans], 4 to, should be [16], 283, [25], Pp. but title and first leaf of preface is missing. Followed by ‘Oswaldi Crollii Trectatus De Signaturis Internis Rerum, Seu De Vera Et Viva Anatomia Majoris et minoris mundi’ and ‘De Vera Antiqua Philosophica Medicina’ (1608 or 1609).” Quoted from inventory provided by Wilkinson, “Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676), Part II,” 150.

35. Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 28 and 31.

36. Böhme, *Aurora*, 130–31, 147–49.

37. *Ibid.*, 148–49.

38. On the phenomena of “absorption” by artists into their work through the media of their tools, see Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). I benefited greatly from participation in Fried’s

“Eye and Mind” seminar as a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University. See also Robert S. Woodbury, *History of the Lathe to 1850: A Study in the Growth of a Technical Element of an Industrial Economy* (Cleveland: Society for the History of Technology, 1961); on lathes used by seventeenth-century American turners, see Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercizes: Or the Doctrine of Handy-Works*, ed. Benno M. Forman (New York: Praeger, 1970 [London, 1677 edition]), pls. 12–18. For a discussion of Elderkin as a carrier of books, see chapter 11, p. 000

39. See Ellen Griffith, *The Pennsylvania Spice Box: Paneled Doors and Secret Drawers* (West Chester, Pa.: Chester County Historical Society, 1986). The “vine and berry” inlay that often decorates the doors, Griffith argues, was brought to England by French or Flemish artisans, whence it was diffused from the West Country to Chester County.

40. Martha H. Willoughby, “Patronage in Early Salem: The Symonds Shops and Their Customers,” in *American Furniture, 2000*, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2000), 169–84.

41. Luther Samuel Livingston, *Franklin and His Press at Passy: An Account of the Books, Pamphlets, and Leaflets Printed There, Including the Long-Lost Bagatelles* (New York: Grolier Club, 1914).

42. *Oeuvres de Bernard Palissy, revues sur les exemplaires de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, ed. Barthélemy Faujas de Saint Fond and Nicolas Gobet (Paris: Ruault, 1777), vij–viii. This edition reprints the 1563 text but the editors also refer to a first edition published at Lyon in 1557, which remains unestablished. The consensus of Palissy’s biographers and critics is that the first edition was the one printed at La Rochelle in 1563.

43. Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), 10, 62, 64, 146, 152.

44. For a full-length study of Paracelsianism in relation to the republican tradition in early modern Europe, see Jacob, *Radical Enlightenment*.

45. The Saint-Aubin engraving is pictured in Charles Coleman Sellers, *Benjamin Franklin in Portraiture* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962), appendix, p. 10.

46. *Ibid.*, 96–108, appendix, p. 9.

47. *Ibid.*, 105. “Several intact cases of these medallions, each pair packed back to back in paper, were discovered in a Bordeaux warehouse in 1885, ‘as fresh as the day when they were first baked’” (*Franklin in France. From Original Documents, Most of Which Are Now Published for the First Time, by Edward E. Hale and Edward E. Hale, Jr.* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1887–88; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 1: xvi).

48. *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert Henry Smythe (New York: Macmillan, 1907), 7: 23–26.

49. Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), 4–6.

50. Michel René Hilliard d’Auberteuil, quoted in Alfred Owen Aldridge, *Franklin and His French Contemporaries* (New York: New York University Press, 1957), 43.

51. Jacques-Louis Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, ed. Daniel Roche, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 73; see also Lisa Jane Graham, “A Quest for Autonomy: Jacques Louis Ménétra, Glazier in Eighteenth-Century France” (Department of History European Seminar, Johns Hopkins University, April 21, 1988), 31, and René Moulinas, *Les Juifs du pape en France: Les Communautés d’Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin aux 17e et 18e siècles* (Paris: Privat, 1981).

SEVEN ➤ The River and Nebuchadnezzar's Dream

1. Frederick J. Powicke, *The Cambridge Platonists: A Study* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1971), 99–100.
2. Ibid.
3. Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 44–45.
4. *Paracelsus: Selected Writings*, ed. Jolande Jacobi, trans. Norbert Guterman, Bollingen ser. 28 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), 4–6.
5. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), xxiii.
6. Bernard Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres complètes de Bernard Palissy*, ed. Paul-Antoine Cap (Paris: J.-J. Dubochet, 1844; reprint with an avant-propos by Jean Orcel, Paris: A. Blanchard, 1961), 43.
7. Jean Chapelot and Éric Rieth, *Navigaton et milieu fluvial au XIe siècle: L'Épave d'Orlac (Charente-Maritime)*, Documents d'Archéologie française, no. 48 (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1995), 9–93.
8. Bernard Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Les Oeuvres de Maistre Bernard Palissy*, ed. B. Fillon and Louis Audiat (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1888), 1: 23–25.
9. Translated from original text reproduced in Mathieu Augé-Chiquet, *Les Amours de Jean-Antoine de Baïf* (Paris: Hachette, 1909), 149. For a description of Baïf's Ficinian academy, which was more universalist in nature than Gohory's, see D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958), 96–106.
10. W. H. Herendeen, "The Rhetoric of Rivers: The River and the Pursuit of Knowledge," *Studies in Philology* 68, no. 2 (Spring 1981), 107–8.
11. For a world history of this phenomenon, see Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Knopf, 1995), "Water."
12. See Max F. Schultz, "The Circuit Walk of the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden and the Pilgrim's Circuitous Progress," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 15, no. 1 (Fall 1981), esp. 1–5.
13. Leon Wencelius, "Musique et Chant Sacré," in *L'Esthétique de Calvin* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937), 285.
14. Quoted in Augé-Chiquet, *Amours de Jean-Antoine de Baïf*, 150, lines 70–87; and 154, lines 25–30.
15. Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1947), 84; id., "The Art of Raymond Lull: An Approach to It Through Lull's Theory of the Elements," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17 no. 1–2 (1954): 136 n. 1; Ramon Llull, *Libre de meravelles, a cura de mn. Salvador Galmés*, 4 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1931–34); and see also Josep Maria Ruiz Simon, *L'art de Ramon Llull i la teoria escolàstica de la ciència* (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1999).
16. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, 4.
17. For an account of the translation of the *Hypnerotomachia* into French, see Benjamin Filion, "Le Songe de Poliphile," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 20 (July–December 1879): 60–64.
18. The most recent English translation is Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream*, trans. Joscelyn Godwin (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999); see also Anthony Blunt, "The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in Seventeenth-Century France," *Jour-*

nal of the Warburg Institute 1 (1937–38): 117–37; Giovanni Pozzi in vol. 2 of *Francesco Colonna, biografia e opera*, ed. Maria Teresa Casella (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1959); Emanuela Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *Les Jardins du songe: "Poliphile" et la mystique de la Renaissance* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1986); and Alberto Perez Gomez, *Polyphilo, or, The Dark Forest Revisited: An Erotic Epiphany of Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

19. Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, trans. Robert Dallington as *Hypnerotomachia: The Strife of Love in a Dream* (London, 1592); reprint (New York: De Capo Press, 1969), 11.

20. *Ibid.*, 11–14.

21. *Ibid.*, 14.

22. *Ibid.*, 15.

23. *Ibid.*, 16; see also fig. 2, 13.

24. Yates, *French Academies*, 46; Wencelius, *Esthétique de Calvin*, 280–83.

25. Clément Marot, "L'Épître aux Dames de France" (August 1, 1543), quoted in Wencelius, *Esthétique de Calvin*, 282–83.

26. See D. P. Walker, "Orpheus and Theologian and the Renaissance Platonists," *Warburg Journal* 16 (1953); *id.*, "The Prisca Theologia in France," *ibid.* 17 (1954); for a fine study of Ficino's Neoplatonic system in early modern music and song, and its effect on the body, see Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 67–228; see also *id.*, *Metaphysical Song: An Essay in Opera* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999).

27. Pontus de Tyard, *Solitaire premier, ou Prose des muses e de la fureur poétique* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1552); *Solitaire premiere, ou Discours des muses, e de la poétique* (Paris: Galiot du Pré, 1575); *Solitaire second, ou Discours de la musique* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1552); *Solitaire second, ou Prose de la musique* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1555).

28. M. J. B. Allen, "Ficino's Theory of the Five Substances and the Neoplatonists," in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1982), 19.

29. Quoted in *ibid.*, 20.

30. Jakob Böhme, *Aurora . . . that is, the root or mother of philosophie, astrologie, & theologie from the true ground*, trans. John Sparrow (from the first German ed., Görlitz, 1612 (London: Giles Calvert, 1656), 504–6.

31. Psalm 104 was not only identifiable with the doxology of Protestantism. The Catholic apologist Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie transposed the hymn nearly intact to serve as centerpiece for his *La Galliade* (1578), "Cercle IV." *La Galliade* is a celebration of the glory of Gaulle, for its composer the wellspring of music, and by extension, also of the harmonizing effects of the music of the spheres. Of course, from Palissy's point of view, one man's harmony was another's discord. See Simone Maser, *La Galliade* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1979), 11–12, 31–32.

32. Böhme, *Aurora*, 571.

33. *Ibid.*

34. For a discussion of this psalm, see Patrick Boylan, *The Psalms: A Study of the Vulgate Psalter in the Light of the Hebrew Text* (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1948), 2: 177–88.

35. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Cap, 9.

36. For a comparative discussion of tensions between the aural and the written text in early modern England, see D. R. Woolf, "Speech, Text, and Time: The Sense of Hearing and the Sense of the Past in Renaissance England," *Albion* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 159–93.

37. Gordon L. Davies, *The Earth in Decay: A History of British Geomorphology, 1578–1878* (New York: American Elsevier, 1969), is a good general survey of the subject.
38. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 45.
39. Classical interpretation ran parallel to biblical in its rejection of an aging earth; see James Dean, “The Earth Grows Old: The Significance of a Medieval Idea” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1971), 5–10.
40. Davies, *Earth in Decay*, 9.
41. Thomas Robinson, *A Vindication of the Philosophical and Theological Exposition of the Mosack System of the Creation* (London, 1709), 54.
42. See Davies, *Earth in Decay*, for numerous examples of persecution for questioning the dogma that “all was made in the beginning of the Creation of the world.”
43. Northrup Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), 138.
44. Bernard Palissy, *Discours admirables de la nature des eaux et fontaines . . .* (Paris: Martin Le Jeune, 1580), 90, 103. For Paracelsus on the *quinta essentia*, see *Paracelsus: Selected Writings*, ed. Jacobi, 28–29.
45. Hannaway, *Chemists and the Word*, 28–29; also Walter Pagel, “Paracelsus and the Neoplatonic and Gnostic Traditions,” *Ambix* 8 (1960): 127–32.
46. Bernard Palissy, *The Admirable Discourses of Bernard Palissy*, trans. Aurele La Rocque (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957), 125–28.
47. Böhme, *Aurora*, 162–63.
48. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 42.
49. Dean, “World Grows Old,” 12.
50. *Ibid.*, 143.
51. *Ibid.*, 142–43.
52. *Ibid.*, 143–44.
53. See Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), 12.
54. Dean, “World Grows Old,” 143–44.
55. *Ibid.*, 180–84.
56. *Ibid.*, 185–88.
57. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 254, 301, 47, 199, 228, 378.
58. *Paracelsus: Selected Writings*, ed. Jacobi, 141–43.
59. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 93.
60. Epigraph to this section from H. J. C. von Grimmelshausen, *The Adventurous Simplicissimus: Being the Description of the Life of a Strange Vagabond Named Melchior Sternfels von Fuchshaim*, trans. A. T. S. Goodrick (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1962), 339.
61. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 46.
62. *Ibid.*, 48.
63. On the hermaphrodite and *conjunctio*, see esp. *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, Bollingen ser. 20 (New York: Pantheon Books / Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953–83), vol. 12: *Psychology and Alchemy* (1953), 329; vol. 13: *Alchemical Studies* (1967), 123, 136, 139, both trans. R. F. C. Hull.
64. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Cap, 39.
65. *Ibid.*, 41; for a more complete discussion of these issues comparatively, see Charles Web-

ster, “Water as the Ultimate Principle of Nature: The Background to Boyle’s Skeptical Chemist,” *Ambix* 13, no. 2 (June 1966): 96–107; and D. R. Oldroyd, “Some Neo-Platonic and Stoic Influences on Mineralogy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Ambix* 21, nos. 2 and 3 (July–November 1974): 128–56.

66. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Cap, 41–42.

67. *Ibid.*, 53–54.

68. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 52–56.

69. *Ibid.*, 50.

70. Böhme, *Aurora*, 153, 440.

71. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 56.

72. *Ibid.*

73. Alexandre Koyré, *La Philosophie de Jacob Boehme* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1929), 169–301.

74. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 57.

75. *Ibid.*, 59.

76. *Ibid.*, 59–60.

77. *Ibid.*, 62–63.

78. *Ibid.*, 63–64.

79. *Ibid.*, 56–57.

80. See Ernst Kris, “Der Stil ‘Rustique’: Die Verwendung des Naturabgusses bei Wenzel Jamnitzer und Bernard Palissy,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. (Vienna: A. Scholl, 1926), 108–138; Klaus Pechstein, “Wenzel Jamnitzer’s Silberglöckchen mit Naturabgüssen,” *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (Nuremberg, 1967), 39ff.; and Erich Egg, *Veröffentlichungen des Museum Ferdinandeum* 40 (Innsbruck: Universitäts-Verlag, 1960), for references to the direct bronze casting done by the Austrian sculptor Casper Gras (ca. 1584–1674).

81. Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 215. See also G.-H. Bougeant, *Les Quakres français, ou les nouveaux trembleurs . . .* (Utrecht, 1732). I am grateful to Peter Dreyer for calling this reference to my attention.

EIGHT • The Art of the Earth

EPIGRAPH: Tale collected in Robert Colle, *Legendes et contes d’Aunis et Saintonge* (La Rochelle: Éditions Quartier Latin et Rupella, 1975), 127–31, my translation.

1. The report of Chapelot and his team is contained in Jean Chapelot, Claudine Cartier, Jean Cartier, Odette Chapelot, Serge Renimel, Eric Reith, et al., “L’Artisanat céramique en Saintonge (XIIIe–XIXe siècles): Essai d’archéologie extensive terrestre et sub-aquatique, rapport préliminaire (typescript, Musée national des arts et traditions populaires, École pratique des hautes études, 5th sec., 1972). See also Jean Chapelot et al., eds., *Potiers de Saintonge: Huit siècles d’artisanat rural: Musée national des arts et traditions populaires, 22 novembre 1975–1^{er} mars 1976*, exhibition catalogue (Paris: Éditions des musées nationaux, 1975); and Jean Chapelot, “La Céramique exportée au Canada français: Trafic maritime et commerce de la céramique aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles,” in *Dossiers de l’archéologie*, no. 27 (March–April 1978): 104–13; as well as Jean Chapelot, “Vaisselle de bord et de table à Saint-Malo–Saint-Servan du XIVe au XIXe siècles” (typescript, n.d., on deposit in the Archives départementales de la Charente-Maritime).

2. For the classic article on Saintongeais pottery from the earlier British perspective, see

G. C. Dunning, Cyril Fox, and C. A. Raleigh Rodford, “Kidwelly Castle, Carmarthenshire: Including Survey of the Polychrome Pottery Found There and Elsewhere in Britain. With an Inventory of the Polychrome Pottery Found in Britain,” *Archaeologia* 83, 2d ser., no. 33 (1933): 93–138.

3. Chapelot, “L’Artisanat céramique en Saintonge,” 2; id., “La Céramique exportée au Canada français,” 104–13; and id., “Vaisselle de bord et de table,” 156–63 (note esp. chart, “Les Principaux groupes céramiques à Saint Servan–Saint Malo: XIV^e–XIX^e siècles,” located on 161, for evidence of diffusion of ceramics from southwestern France’s principal trading partners).

4. For maps of the sites, see Chapelot et al., *Potiers de Saintonge*, 58, 68, 84, 89, 90–1; also id., “L’Artisanat céramique en Saintonge,” 41, 48.

5. Ibid.; and Chapelot, *Potiere*, 44–48.

6. Chapelot et al., “L’Artisanat céramique en Saintonge,” 47.

7. Aumier was originally from Ecoyeux, a tiny village near La Chapelle-des-Pots; see Chapelot, “Céramique exportée au Canada français,” 112.

8. Bernard Palissy, *The Admirable Discourses of Bernard Palissy*, trans. Aurele La Rocque (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957), translator’s introduction, 8–9.

9. “Numero extraordinaire: Maisons et meubles Poitevins, Vendéens, Saintongeais,” *La Vie à la Campagne*, no. 5, Exceptionnels, xxx (Paris: Hachette, 1924; reprint, Paris: Librairie Guénégaud, 1976).

10. See n. 2 above.

11. Dunning et al., “Kidwelly Castle, Carmarthenshire,” 118.

12. I learned this in a personal interview in 1981 with Bernard Demay, a native of La Rochelle and director of the Bibliothèque municipale de la Rochelle. I also sat in on a local *collège* (high school) class in La Rochelle, where I saw firsthand the impressive mnemonic skills required of local *écoliers*, especially in the ritualistic repetition of homework responses and the memorization of poetry and prose from French literature and history. It was clear from this experience that the Palissy stories would be remembered in substantially the same way by most members of the same cohort group.

13. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 188. The La Rocque translation of this and the following passages from “On the Art of the Earth” has been somewhat modified.

14. Ibid., 188–89.

15. Ibid., 189–90.

16. Ibid., 190.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 191.

19. Ibid., 192.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., 192–93.

22. See Jerah Johnson, “Bernard Palissy, Prophet of Modern Ceramics,” *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 14, no. 4 (1983): 401.

23. *A discourse wrytten by M. Theodore de Beza, conteyning in briefe the historie of the life and death of Maister Iohn Caluin, with the testament and laste will of the saide Caluin, and the catalogue of his bookes that he hath made.* Turned out of Frenche into Englishe by I. S. (London, H. Denham for L. Harrison, 1564; facsimile, Amsterdam, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; New York, Da Capo Press, 1972).

24. Ibid.; Elaine K. Bryson Siegel et al., *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages* (exhibition catalogue; Cambridge, Mass.: Busch-Reisinger Museum, 1975), 1–35.
25. Bernard Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Les Oeuvres de Maistre Bernard Palissy*, ed. B. Fillon and Louis Audiat (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1888), 1: 52–53.
26. Bernard Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres complètes de Bernard Palissy*, ed. Paul-Antoine Cap (Paris: J.-J. Dubochet, 1844; reprint with an avant-propos by Jean Orcel, Paris: A. Blanchard, 1961), 151.
27. This is probably a cryptic reference to “the jovial character,” commonly used by alchemists in reference to the coordination of matter with Jupiter.
28. Quoted in Alexandre Koyré, *La Philosophie de Jacob Boehme* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1929), 19 (my translation), see also 19, no. 2.
29. Ibid., 20.
30. G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, vol. 15 of *Werke* (Berlin, 1836), 301, et passim.
31. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 193.
32. Ibid., 193–94.
33. Ibid., 194.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 195.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., 196.
39. Ibid., 200.
40. Ibid., 200–201.
41. Ibid., 200.
42. Ibid., 195–96, 198.
43. Mireille Laget, “Childbirth in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France: Obstetrical Practices and Collective Attitudes,” in Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds., *Medicine and Society in France: Selections from the Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations, volume 6*, trans. Elborg Forster and Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 139–57.
44. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 220; Thomas Laquer, “Orgasm, Generation, and the Politics of Reproductive Biology,” *Representations* 14 (Spring 1986): 1–41.
45. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 198, 200–201.
46. Jakob Böhme, *Aurora . . . that is, the root or mother of philosophie, astrologie, & theologie from the true ground*, trans. John Sparrow (from the first German ed., Görlitz, 1612 [London: Giles Calvert, 1656]), 168: 49.
47. Ibid., 363: 27 and 28.
48. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 197. See also *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “countenance.”
49. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 199–200.
50. Ibid., 196.
51. Ibid., 201.

52. Ambroise Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels*, trans. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
53. *Ibid.*, 6.
54. Böhme, *Aurora*, 185:46.
55. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 201–2.
56. Benvenuto Cellini, *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, abridged and adapted from the translation by John Addington Symonds by Alfred Tamarin (London: Macmillan, 1969), 133–37, and Robert Goldwater and Marco Treves, eds., *Artists on Art: From the XIV to the XX Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 93.
57. Palissy, *Admirable Discourses*, 203.
58. Chapelot et al., *Potiers de Saintonge*, 79–82.
59. *Ibid.*, 80.
60. See Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1978), 49–56, and figs. 1, 8, 26a.
61. Yvonne Hackenbroch, “Wager Cups,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 26, no. 9 (May 1968): 381–87. On the goldsmith trade in Augsburg, see Reinhold Baumstark, Helmut Selting, et al., *Silber und Gold: Augsburger Goldschmiedekunst für die Höfe Europas* (Munich: Hirmer, 1994); Cesare Vecellio, *Vecellio’s Renaissance Costume Book: All 500 Woodcut Illustrations from the Famous Sixteenth-Century Compendium of World Costume* (New York: Dover Publications, 1977), 29, 68–70, 73–74.
62. Bernard Palissy, *A Delectable Garden*, trans. and ed. Helen Mortenthau Fox (Falls Village, Conn.: Herb Grower Press, 1965), section epigraph quoted from 16, 26, and 50. This translation, which I modify, uses old English to approximate Palissy’s sixteenth-century French.
63. *Ibid.*, 1.
64. *Ibid.*
65. See Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (New York: Norton, 1963).
66. Palissy, *Delectable Garden*, 3–4.
67. *Ibid.*, 4–5. For a series of engravings of such locations, where the town of Plurs in Switzerland is represented at the foot of an “apocalyptic” mountain, in response to a natural disaster in 1618 when half of the town was lost (“sa ruine terrible arrivée en 1618”), see Gunther Kahl, “Plurs: Zur Geschichte der Darstellungen des Fleckens vor und nach dem Bergsturz von 1618,” in *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 41, no. 4 (1984), cover illustration, 249–73, and figs. 28 and 29.
68. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “grotto.”
69. Palissy, *Delectable Garden*, 6–7.
70. Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie*.
71. Palissy, *Delectable Garden*, 8–11.
72. *Ibid.*, 11–16.
73. *Ibid.*, 20–21.
74. *Ibid.*, 21.
75. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 60–61.
76. Palissy, *Delectable Garden*, 21. See George Edwards and Matthew Darley, *A New Book of Chinese Designs* (London, 1754), pl. 86, for an eighteenth-century design of such a rustic chair.

77. Section epigraph: Serge Renimel, “4.2.3.2. Les Sites XV^eme–XVI^eme siècles,” in Jean Chapelot, Claudine Cartier, Jean Cartier, Odette Chapelot, Serge Renimel, Eric Reith, et al., *L’Artisanat céramique en Saintonge (XIII^e–XIX^e siècles): Essai d’archéologie extensive terrestre et sub-aquatique, rapport préliminaire* (typescript, Musée national des arts et traditions populaires, École pratique des hautes études, 5th sec., 1972), 46.

78. *Ibid.*, 78–80.

79. Chapelot, *Potiers de Saintonge*, 72.

80. *Ibid.*, 74; Musée national céramique de Sèvres accession no. 53951.

81. *Ibid.*, 76. See also a recently discovered vessel from La Chapelle-des-Pots of the same form with a molded image of the young Louis XIII on the side, now in the Musée régional Dupuy-Mestreau in Saintes. This establishes a probable date of ca. 1610 for this vessel and shows that courtly patronage for the green molded forms was available in the seventeenth century. For an illustration, see *Revue du Louvre: La Revue des musées de France* (Paris: Conseil des musées nationaux) 51, no. 5 (December 2001): 83, fig. 18.

82. Louvre accession no. OA 3989.

83. Charles Webster, “Water as the Ultimate Principle of Nature: The Background to Boyle’s Skeptical Chemist,” *Ambix* 13, no. 2 (June 1966): 96–97.

84. Quoted in *ibid.*, 102.

85. Quoted in D. R. Oldroyd, “Some Neo-Platonic and Stoic Influences on Mineralogy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Ambix* 21, nos. 2 and 3 (July–November 1974): 135.

86. Chapelot et al., *L’Artisanat céramique en Saintonge*, 80.

87. *Ibid.*, 80–81.

88. Chapelot, *Potiers de Saintonge*, 73–74.

89. The classic account of this relationship between war, Rosicrucianism, and political language is Frances A. Yates’s *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, an ultimately enthusiastic but also pioneering and erudite book, the important and far-reaching implications of which have been extended though not necessarily superseded in a less subjective fashion by the historian of science Margaret C. Jacob, in *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981).

90. Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum sapientia aeternae solius verae Christiano-kabalisticum, divino-magicum, nec non, physico-chymicum, tertriumum, catholicum* (Magdeburg: Levinum Brauns Bibliopolam, 1608); Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 38, 49–50.

91. *Ibid.*, 38–39. Yates published a complete reprint of the manifestos in an appendix, 235–60.

92. Arthur E. Waite, *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1961), unpaginated eleventh image and caption. Although this text is definitely the work of a devout believer, it is accepted as a valuable and accurate source of basic information about Rosicrucian imagery and arcana.

93. Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 49.

94. *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, Bollingen ser. 20, vol. 12: *Psychology and Alchemy* (New York: Pantheon Books / Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953), trans. R. F. C. Hull, 393, fig. 214.

95. Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1979), 71.

96. Ambroise Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels*, trans. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 26.

97. I am most grateful to Joe Marino for bringing this important reference to my attention.
98. James Nohrnberg, *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), 16.
99. Ibid., quoting *On the Cave of the Nymphs*, 13, trans. Thomas Taylor, in *Select Works of Porphyry* (London, 1823), 194f.; slightly modified here. Böhme calls man “either a vessel of honour or dishonour” in *Aurora*, 99: 4.
100. Plato, *Timaeus*, trans. H. D. P. Lee (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), 66–69.
101. Ibid., 67–68.
102. Ibid., 68–69.
103. On the sword as symbol of alchemic separation, see H. J. Sheppard, “Gnosticism and Alchemy,” *Ambix* 6, no. 2 (December 1957): 98–101.
104. Samuel Norton, *Alchymiae complementum, et perfectio, seu, Modus et Processus argumendi: sive multiplicandi omnes lapides, & elixera in virtute . . .* (Frankfurt: Typis Caspari Rotelii, Impensis Guiliemi Fitzeri, 1630). For a fuller discussion of Van Helmont’s “Willow Tree Experiment,” see Charles Webster, “Water as the Ultimate Principle of Nature: The Background to Boyle’s Skeptical Chemist,” *Ambix* 13, no. 2 (June 1966): 96–99. Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), 135–38, contends the return of the tree and water of life “lost” after Genesis, in Revelation, signifies the typological relation between the two books.
105. See also Salomon Trismosin, *La Toison d’or: ou, La Fleur des trésors*, commentaires des illustrations par Bernard Husson; étude iconographique du manuscrit de Berlin par René Alleau (Paris: Retz, 1975).
106. Böhme, *Aurora*, 117: 55, 56.
107. Ibid., 347–48: 49–52.
108. Musée Marmattan (Wildenstein Collection); William Wells, “French Fifteenth-century Miniature Painting a New Hypothesis: Jean Perréal: From René to the Bourbon Master,” *Apollo*, July 1986, 17.
109. On this aspect of Ficino’s ideas, see Wayne Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 129–30.

NINE ❧ “In Patientia Sauvitas”

EPIGRAPH: Jakob Böhme, *Aurora . . . that is, the root or mother of philosophie, astrologie, & theologie from the true ground*, trans. John Sparrow, from the first German ed., Görlitz, 1612 (London: Giles Calvert, 1656), 185.

1. *Patientia* can also connote endurance or resignation in this context. I wish to acknowledge Donna Evergates for her help with translations from the Latin and Arnt Bohm for his help with the German.

2. Maurice Ricateau, *La Rochelle 200 ans huguenots: 1500–1700* (La Rochelle: Imprimerie de la Charente-Maritime, 1978), 6–8; Adrien Blanchet, *Les Souterrains-refuges de la France: Contribution a l’histoire de l’habitation humaine* (Paris: Picard, 1923), 253–82; J. R. Colle, “Les Souterrains-refuges en Saintonge,” *Bulletin de la Société géographique de Rochefort*, 2d ser., 2 (1968): 87–91; Paul Cantaloube, “Souterrains-refuges,” *Recherche de la Commission des arts et monuments de Charente-Inférieure* 14 (1897): 102–6; Pierre-Amedée Brouillet, “Inscriptions, tombeaux, statues, lanternes des morts, souterrains-refuges de Haut Poitou” (Bibliothèque municipale, Poitiers, MS

865, nineteenth-century typescript); Jérôme Triolet and Laurent Triolet, *Les Souterrains: Le Monde des souterrains-refuges en France* (Paris: Érance, 1995); and Nicolas Faucherre et al., *Les Fortifications du littoral: La Charente-Maritime* (Paris: Éditions Patrimoines et Médias, 1996), 67–81.

3. *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 1: 1498–1628 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 194–96.

4. Fludd, of course, was not alone in this preoccupation. See esp. Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1979), 82–83.

5. Bernard Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Les Oeuvres de Maistre Bernard Palissy*, ed. B. Fillon and Louis Audiat (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1888), 1: 46.

6. Böhme, *Aurora*, 196–97; see esp. 196: 107.

7. *Ibid.*, 168: 52; 169: 57; 163: 23, 24; 164: 28, 29; and 162–63: 21; 112: 25.

8. Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Fillon and Audiat, 1: 40–41.

9. See Pamela H. Smith, *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 152, fig. 7.

10. On digging up bones of martyred dead by pilgrims in search of the sweet smell of sanctity, see Lionel Rothkrug, “The ‘odour of sanctity,’ and the Hebrew Origin of Christian Relic Veneration,” *Historical Reflections / Reflexions historiques* 8, no. 2 (Summer 1981).

11. For an informative essay on this cycle of engravings, see Priscilla L. Tate, “Patentiae Triumphus: The Iconography of a Set of Eight Engravings,” in Gerald J. Scheffhorst, ed., *The Triumph of Patience: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Orlando: University Presses of Florida, 1978), 106–138.

12. Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 161–65; id., “Les ‘Hymnes ou cantiques sacrez’ d’Elie Neau: Un Nouveau Manuscrit du ‘grand mystique des galères,’” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 124 (July–September 1978): 416–23; Émile G. Léonard, *L’Histoire générale du protestantisme* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964), 3: 61–64; Charles Read, “Un Confesseur de la R. P. R. sous Louis XIV: Elie Neau, ‘Martyr sur les galères et dans les cachots de Marseille,’” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 23 (1874): 529–44; Sheldon S. Cohen, “Elias Neau, ‘Instructor to New York Slaves,’” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 55 (1971): 7–27; Frank J. Klingberg, *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1940), 124–39.

13. Elias Neau, *An Account of the Sufferings of the French Protestants, Slaves on Board the French Kings Gallies* (London: Richard Parker, 1699), 2.

14. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 162.

15. “Mémoire pour servir d’instruction à Monsieur le comte de Frontenac sur l’entreprise de la Nouvelle-York, 7 juin 1689,” *Rapport de l’Archiviste de la Province de Québec* 8 (1927–28): 12–16; quoted in J. F. Boshier, “Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (January 1995): 89.

16. Böhme, *Aurora*, 368: 48.

17. Elias Neau, *Account of the Sufferings*, 8–9.

18. *Ibid.*, 9–11.

19. Cotton Mather, *A Present from a farr country* (Boston: Green & Allen for Perry, 1698), 13–14.

20. Ibid., 17–18.
21. Ibid., 17–19.
22. Ibid., 13.
23. Ibid., 20–21.
24. Quoted in Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 165.

TEN ❖ Being “at the Île of Rue”

EPIGRAPHS: Edward Howes, letter dated March 25, 1633, *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 3: 1631–1637 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 114–15. Edward Howes, letter dated January 22, 1627, *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 1: 1498–1628 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 374–75. John Winthrop, “Experientia” (1616–18), written while mourning the death in childbirth of his second wife, Thomasine Clopton Winthrop (1583–1616), *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 191.

1. On the military and political significance of La Rochelle’s offshore islands Ré and Oléron, see David Parker, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy: Conflict and Order in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980), 14.

2. *Winthrop Papers*, 3: 114–15.

3. Robert C. Black III, *The Younger John Winthrop* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 17–22; and Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958), 21–27. On Ireland as a “variation” on the English model and a precursor for American colonization in the seventeenth century, see Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 101–23.

4. Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 21–23.

5. Ibid., 124.

6. Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626–1660* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1975), 65.

7. Ibid., 66–67.

8. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 278–79 (April 26, 1622).

9. Ibid.

10. Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1978), 103–4.

11. Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 26–7.

12. Ibid., 25–27.

13. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 338, n. 35.

14. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 337–38.

15. Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 43–4.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 44.

18. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 347–48.

19. Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 28–31.

20. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 352–53.

21. Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 87–88, 113–14.

22. Webster, *Great Instauration*, 388–91.

23. Ibid., 390.
24. Ibid.
25. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 359–60.
26. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 374–75 (undated, but probably December 1627).
27. On the prolongation of life, see Webster, *Great Instauration*, 249–323.
28. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 374–75 (January 22, 1627).
29. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 374–75. For a useful discussion of the general analogy between Christ's passion, the redemption of postlapsarian mankind, and the transmutative action of the philosopher's stone on fallen matter, see Wayne Schumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 189–90.
30. *Winthrop Papers*, 3: 206.
31. Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 118–39, and Webster, *Great Instauration*, 39.
32. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 374, n. 13; and "The Winthrop Papers," *North American Review* 105, no. 217 (October 1867): 608–13.
33. *The Wisdom of Solomon*, trans. and ed. David Winston (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1979), 172–77, vv. 15–22. Winston argues the translation of "artificer" in the final line probably refers to a joiner, as a figure of the woodworker as metaphysical joiner of microcosm and macrocosm; as in Proverbs 8:30: "I was with him as one working as a joiner" (176).
34. David Winston, *Logos and Mystical Theology in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Hebrew Union College Press, 1985), 36.
35. I am grateful for Professor Janet Meisel's insights into the translation of this aphorism.
36. Winston, *Logos and Mystical Theology*, 14.
37. Ibid., 58.
38. Webster, *Great Instauration*, 45.
39. Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, fig. 24a, for an image of "Alchemy and Geometry."
40. See similar pictographs of horoscopes in Hieronymus Cardanus (Jerome Cardan), *Libelle quinque* (Nuremberg, 1547), sig. 109v, 113v.
41. *Wisdom of Solomon*, trans. and ed. Winston, 177.
42. Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr., January 22, 1627, *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 374–75.
43. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 392–94.
44. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 385 (April 7, 1628).
45. Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 36–9.
46. Ibid., 38.
47. Romolo Quazza, *La guerra per la successione di Mantova e del Monferrato (1628–1631) da documenti inediti*, 2 vols., Pubblicazioni della Reale Accademia Virgiliana, 2d ser., Miscellanea, 5–6 (Mantua: G. Mondovi, 1926); see also *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 2: 1623–1630 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 73, n. 1.
48. *Winthrop Papers*, 2: 72–73 (to Emmanuel Downing, dated March 9, 1629), and 75–76 (to John Freeman, dated March 28, 1629).
49. *Winthrop Papers*, 2: 150–51.
50. For example, see *Winthrop Papers*, 2: 226–27 (Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr., March 31, 1630).
51. Malcom Freiberg, ed., *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 6: 1650–1654 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1992), 57–58 (August 26, 1650).
52. Ibid., 58.

53. *Winthrop Papers*, 3: 72.

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Winthrop Papers*, 3: 94

56. The inscription is reprinted in its entirety in *Winthrop Papers*, 3: 94–5, n. 2.

57. There is a huge bibliography by English ceramic historians on the relationship between the production of Bernard Palissy and his imitators in early seventeenth-century London, particularly concerning the “Palissy dishes”: see Rhoda Edwards, “London Potters circa 1570–1710,” *Journal of Ceramic History*, no. 6 (1974): 10, 121; Michael Archer, *Delftware: The Tin-glazed Earthenware of the British Isles: A Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: H.M. Stationery Office in Association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1997), 109–12; Louis L. Lipski, *Dated English Delftware: Tin-glazed Earthenware, 1600–1800*, ed. Michael Archer (London and Scranton, Pa.: Sotheby Publications, 1984), nos. 90–94, 99, 104–6, 110–13, 118–21, 125–26; Frank Britton, “Bernard Palissy and London Delftware,” *English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 14, pt. 2 (1991): 172–73; Lionel Burman, “Motifs and Motivations: The Decoration of Some Seventeenth-Century London Delftware—Part 2: Images and Emblems,” *ibid.* 15, pt. 1 (1993): 105; Graham Slater, “English Delftware Copies of the Fécondité Pattern Dishes Attributed to Palissy,” *ibid.* 17, no. 1 (1999): 47–67; and Leslie B Grigsby, “Dated English Delftware and Slipware in the Longridge Collection,” *Antiques* 155, no. 6 (June 1999): 877–79.

58. Charles Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 95. For an illustration of the *Danaë* by Rosso, see Slater, “English Delftware Copies of the Fécondité Pattern Dishes,” 48, fig. 3.

59. Grigsby, “Dated English Delftware and Slipware in the Longridge Collection,” 879.

60. “The Lord created me at the beginning of his work, the first of his acts of old. / . . . when he marked out the foundations of the earth, / then I was there beside him, like a master workman; and I was daily his delight, rejoicing before him always, / rejoicing in his inhabited world and delighting in the sons of men. / . . . Happy is the man who listens to me, watching daily at my gates, waiting beside my doors.” Proverbs 8:22, 29–31, 34.

61. Winston, *Logos and Mystical Theology in Philo of Alexandria*, 15–16, 20–21.

62. Theophrastus Paracelsus, *The Prophecies of Paracelsus: Occult Symbols, and Magic Figures with Esoteric Explanations*, trans. and ed. Paul M. Allen (Blauvelt, N.Y.: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1973), 67.

63. *Ibid.*

64. For a discussion of the putto and *spiritello* and how they inform medieval and Renaissance concepts of body and spirit, see Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto*, 86 et passim.

65. Paracelsus, *Prophecies of Paracelsus*, 86.

66. Robert Fludd, *Philosophia sacra et vere christiana seu meteorologia cosmica* (Frankfurt: Officina Bryana, 1626).

67. *Winthrop Papers*, 3: 96–98 (November 24, 1632).

68. Robert Fludd, *Medicina catholica* (Frankfurt: Willem Fitzer, 1629) and *Integrum morborum mysterium* (Frankfurt: Willem Fitzer, 1631) respectively; on their survival in Winthrop’s library, see Roland Sterne Wilkinson, “The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676) and His Descendants in Colonial America, Part IV: The Catalogue of Books,” *Ambix* 13, no. 3 (October 1966): 155, nos. 89 and 90, in the New York Academy of Medicine.

69. This prayer and response are from Psalms 31:16 and 91:10–11.

70. For a brilliant exegesis of Philo's sources for this verse, which I have summarized here, see *Wisdom of Solomon*, ed. Winston, 175–76, verse 20.

71. Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1979), 56.

72. Job 6:4.

73. *Winthrop Papers*, 2: 91–92.

74. *Ibid.*, 179 (Isaac Johnson to John Winthrop Sr. at Groton, December 17, 1629).

75. For the words quoted, see *Les Oeuvres de Maistre Bernard Palissy*, ed. B. Fillon and Louis Audiat (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1888), 2: 3, dedication of *Discours admirables* to Palissy's patron Antoine de Ponts in 1580; and see also the motto "Povrete Empeches les Bons" (fig. 14.34) in the frontispieces to both of Palissy's books. I have translated "les bons" as "happiness and safety."

76. Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 86–87.

77. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630–1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 221–66.

78. *Winthrop Papers*, 3: 76 (April 3, 1632).

79. *Ibid.*, 100 (November 28, 1632).

80. *Ibid.*, 95 (November 23, 1632).

81. Quoted in Kupperman, *Providence Island*, 225. On Comenius and Harvard, see Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 273.

82. Pamela H. Smith, *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 231–40.

83. *Ibid.*, 231–34.

84. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "parterre," definition 3.

85. Smith, *Business of Alchemy*, 232, fig. 25.

86. *Ibid.* 244.

87. *Winthrop Papers*, 3: 292 (September 3, 1636).

88. Robert Blair St. George, "Bawns and Beliefs: Architecture, Commerce, and Conversion in Early New England," *Winterthur Portfolio* 25, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 277.

89. *Ibid.*, 273–74. Charles Estienne, *Maison Rustique, or, The COUNTRY FARM*, compiled in the French tongue by Charles Steuens and Iohn Liebault . . . and translated into English by Richard Surflet . . . (London: Edm. Bollifant for Bonham Norton, 1600).

90. *Ibid.*, 273.

91. *Winthrop Papers*, 3: 112 (March 18, 1633); see also Howes's lament of "Rochell," 114–15.

92. The full original title page of the *Discours admirables* reads: *Discours Admirables, De La Nature Des Eaux Et Fontaines, Tant Naturelles Qu'Artificielles, des metaux, des sels & salines, des pierres, des terres, du feu & des emaux. Avec Plusieurs Autres Excellens secrets des choses naturelles. Plus Un Traite' De La Marne, Fort utile & necessaire, pour ceux qui se mellent de l'agriculture. Le Tout Dresse' Par Dialogues, Esquels sont introduits la theorique & la pratique. Par M. Bernard Palissy, inventeur des rustiques figulines du Roy & de la Royne sa mere. A Treshaut, Et Trespuissant sieur le sire Anthoine de Ponts, Chevalier des ordres du Roy, Capitaine des cents gentils-hommes, et conseiller tres fidele de sa majeste. A Paris, Chez Martin le Jeune, a l'enseigne du Serpent, devant le college de Cambray. 1580. Avec Privilege Du Roy.* Winthrop's copy is currently in the collections of the New-York Society Library, and is listed as catalogue number 196 in Roland Sterne Wilkinson, "The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676) and His Descendants in Colonial America, Part IV: The Catalogue of Books," *Ambix* 13, no. 3 (October 1966): 174. The history of this

volume and of the large segment of Winthrop the Younger's original alchemical library that descended through the Winthrop and Bayard families to the Society in December 1812 is told in Helen T. Farah, "The Winthrop Collection," New-York Society Library typescript LS K6011X, December 1965; Samuel Eliot Morison, "Statement on the Winthrop Collection," New-York Society Library typescript, Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 22, 1935; Herbert Greenberg, "Some Aspects of the Winthrop Library," New-York Society Library typescript, January 1935; id., "The Authenticity of the Library of John Winthrop the Younger," *American Literature* 8, no. 4 (January 1937): 448–52; Austin Baxter Keep, *History of the New-York Society Library* (Boston: Gregg Press, 1972), 266–69; and *The Minute Book of the Trustees of the New-York Society Library* 2: 150–51, entry for December 4, 1812.

ELEVEN ❖ The Geography of "Your Native Country"

1. Roland Sterne Wilkinson, "The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676) and His Descendants in Colonial America, Part IV: The Catalogue of Books," *Ambix* 13, no. 3 (October 1966): 139–86; see esp. 174–75, cat. nos. 198–202, for the complete bibliographical annotation of each book and its current location.

2. *Ibid.*, 150–51, 174–75.

3. Ronald Sterne Wilkinson, "The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676) and His Descendants in Colonial America, Part I," *Ambix* 11, no. 1 (February 1963), 36–39.

4. Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton: Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 5; Wilkinson, "Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. . . . Part IV," 150, 182; these volumes are numbers 55, 251, and 247–49, respectively, in Wilkinson's catalogue. The volume by Severinus was originally in Dee's library and was also annotated in his hand.

5. Wilkinson, "Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. . . . Part IV," 182, cat. no. 247.

6. For indispensable insights into the symbiosis between monistic cosmology, manual experience (as "praxis") and biblical exegesis in the mental and material world of early modern natural philosophers, particularly for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Paracelsians such as John Winthrop Jr., Edward Howes, and Bernard Palissy, see Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and the Word: The Didactic Origins of Chemistry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 1, 22–74; The full title of Croll's book is *Basilica Chymica, continens philosophicam propria laborum experientia confirmatam descriptionem & usum remediiorum chymicorum selectissimorum e lumine gratiae et naturae desumptorum. In fine libri additus est eiusdem Autoris Tractatus novus de Signaturis Rerum Internis* (Frankfort, 1609).

7. John Winthrop Jr. in London to John Winthrop in Groton, April 11, 1628, *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 1: 1498–1628 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 386–87.

8. *Ibid.*, 389–90; John Winthrop in Groton to John Winthrop Jr. in London, April 15, 1628. On John Winthrop's use of his left hand, see 390, n. 3.

9. *Ibid.*, 390.

10. *Ibid.*, 390–91; John Winthrop Jr. in London to John Winthrop in Groton, April 18, 1628.

11. John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, ed. James Savage (Boston: Phelps & Farnham, 1825–26), 2: 20.

12. Wilkinson, "Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. . . . , Part I," 33.

13. Letter from Starkey to Winthrop dated August 2, 1648, in *Massachusetts Historical Society*

Collections, 5th ser. (Boston, 1871), 1: 150. In a letter of 1651 to Robert Boyle, Starkey used the word “key” (as in “the right key to this cabinet, which I have worked seven years to unlock”) in a metaphorical sense; he offered Boyle the “key” to philosophical mercury and the philosophers’ stone; letter quoted in William R. Newman, *Gebennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), 67.

14. Wilkinson, “Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. . . . Part IV,” 183, cat. nos. 253 and 254.

15. For more on “Nicolas Flamel,” see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan, 1923–58), 2: 165–66; *Hieroglyphicall Figures* is cat. no. 85 in Wilkinson, “Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. . . . Part IV,” 155.

16. Newman, *Gebennical Fire*, 42–43.

17. *Ibid.*, 42–44; see also Wilkinson, “Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. . . . Part I,” 46–48.

18. Quoted in Robert C. Black III, *The Younger John Winthrop* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 126.

19. See Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America: Containing the Navigation and the Remarkable Things Seen on the Sea by the Author; the Behavior of Villegagnon in that Country; the Customs and Strange Ways of Life of the Various Savages; Together with the Description of Various Animals, Trees, Plants, and Other Singular Things Completely Unknown over Here*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), xx–xxi, xxxi.

20. George Lyman Kittredge, “Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant,” *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts: Transactions*, 1919: 124.

21. Joyce E. Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 20.

22. Cary Carson et al., “Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies,” in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America, 1600–1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 113–58.

23. Ivor Noël Hume, *Martin’s Hundred* (1982; reprint, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 101–10.

24. For an introduction to the scope and influence of alchemy in early modern European imperial courts, see Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 7; Rudolf Hirsch, “The Invention of Printing and the Diffusion of Alchemical and Chemical Knowledge,” *Chymia* 3 (1950): 115–41; R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 196–274; and Pamela Smith, *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

25. Julius F. Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania, 1694–1708* (Philadelphia: P. C. Stockhausen, 1895); E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985); Walter C. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel, Mystic and Martinet, 1690–1768* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942); James E. Ernst, *Ephrata: A History* ([*Yearbook of*] *the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* 25 [1961]; Allentown, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1963); Gillian L. Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967); Jacob J. Sessler, *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians* (New York: Holt, 1933); Elizabeth W. Fisher, “Prophecies and Rev-

elations': German Cabbalists in Early Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 109 (1985): 299–333; Jon Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600–1760," *American Historical Review* 84 (April 1979): 317–46; Ernest L. Lashlee, "Johannes Kelpius and His Woman in the Wilderness: A Chapter in the History of Colonial Pennsylvania Religious Thought," in *Glaube, Geist, Geschichte: Festschrift für Ernst Benz*, ed. Gerhard Müller and Winfried Zeller (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 327–38; Dennis McCort, "Johann Conrad Beissel, Colonial Mystic Poet," *German-American Studies* 8 (Fall, 1974): 1–26; and Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 123–31. The transaction in which Logan paid £2.2.9 for the alembic is recorded in the Account Book of Simon Edgell, George Vaux Papers, the American Philosophical Society, as discussed in Jay Robert Stiefel, "Simon Edgell (1687–1742): 'To a Puter Dish' and Grander Transactions of a London-trained Pewterer in Philadelphia," *Pewter Collectors Club of America, Inc.: The Bulletin* 12, no. 8 (Winter 2002): 353–88, and id., "Simon Edgell, Unalloyed," *Catalogue of Antiques and Fine Art* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 170.

26. Hume, *Martin's Hundred*, 62–83, 185–298; John Noble Wilford, "Jamestown Fort, 'Birthplace' of America in 1607, Is Found," *New York Times*, September 13, 1996: A1, A12; and Beverly Straube, "European Ceramics in the New World: The Jamestown Example," in *Ceramics in America, 2007*, ed. Robert Hunter (Milwaukee: Chipstone Foundation, 2007; distributed by the University Press of New England), 49, fig. 4.

27. Judah Throckmorton to John Winthrop Jr. in Venice, April 17 1629, *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 2: 1623–1630 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 80.

28. Wilkinson, "Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. . . . Part 1," 42–43; Winthrop's copy of this volume is now at Yale.

29. *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New York: Scribner, 1901), 3: 264, 266; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727–1795* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962), 130–57, 376–403. Smalt is a potassium glass colored blue by cobalt oxide and ground into a powdered pigment. See Jonathan L. Fairbanks, "Portrait Painting in Seventeenth-Century Boston: Its History, Methods, and Materials," in Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, vol. 3: *Style* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 451.

30. In the *Literary Diary*, 3: 266, Stiles identifies Erkelens as "being a Projector."

31. John Winthrop Jr. served as governor of Connecticut Colony in 1657, and again from 1659 until his death in 1676.

32. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 3: 266. Transatlantic connections are explored in Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626–1660* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1975); id., *From Paracelsus to Newton: Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981); id., *The Cultural Meaning of the Scientific Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1978), David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 3–116; John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology 1644–1844* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Newman, *Gebennical Fire*, 39–52.

33. Benjamin Tompson elegy, printed at Boston by John Foster, 1676. On Tompson, see

David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 130, 236, 280; and Thomas Franklin Waters, *A Sketch of the Life of John Winthrop the Younger: Founder of Ipswich, Massachusetts in 1633* (Ipswich, Mass.: Ipswich Historical Society, 1899), 2: 77, n. 1.

34. Morgan, *Gentle Puritan*, 169.

35. Quoted in *ibid.*, 174; see also 176.

36. *Ibid.*, 171, 175; on the work of William Perkins, see Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 40, 50, 108, 273, 59, 198–204. Recent research argues that Edwards was closer to Stiles's natural-philosophical thought than previously imagined; see Avihu Zakai, *Jonathan Edwards's Philosophy of History: The Reenchantment of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003).

37. Quoted in Morgan, *Gentle Puritan*, 175.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Webster, *Great Instauration*, 507.

40. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 58–61, 198–201.

41. Morgan, *Gentle Puritan*, 173.

42. Webster, *Great Instauration*, 276–79.

43. Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, 1–3.

44. Quoted in *ibid.*, 66.

45. Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 233–34.

46. Janice Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts: Rereading American Puritanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994); see also Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

47. John L. Brooke, *The Heart of the Commonwealth: Society and Political Culture in Worcester County, Massachusetts, 1713–1861* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1–13; on the pluralism of frontier material culture, see *id.*, “‘For Honour and Civil Worship to any Worthy Person’: Burial, Baptism, and Community on the Massachusetts Near Frontier, 1730–1790,” in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America, 1600–1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 463–86; see also religious and cultural pluralism tied to demand for seasonal labor, in Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

48. Ezra Stiles, *A Discourse on Saving Knowledge* (Newport, R.I.: Solomon Southwick 1770), 42.

49. Books in quarto (also abbreviated 4to, or 4) usually measure about 9½" × 12". Inventories of Stiles's manuscripts taken between 1787 and 1793, when he wrote his will, are published in the appendix to Morgan, *Gentle Puritan*, 465–67.

50. Winthrop's appointment took place when the independent river towns and New Haven were united; he acquired the colony's royal charter from Charles II on April 23, 1662. Before then individual Connecticut settlements chose their own governors. Trumbull served as governor from 1769 to 1784; see Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 206–31.

51. Schwartz, *French Prophets*, 243. The original Kabbala is thought to have been written in medieval Spain.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Letter from Stiles to Isaac Karigal, July 19, 1773, quoted in Morgan, *Gentle Puritan*, 144.

54. See Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1979), for reproductions of Fludd's renderings of the microcosm and macrocosm.

55. Ezra Stiles to Professor John Winthrop of Harvard (1714–79), one of the foremost American natural philosophers of the late eighteenth century, April 2, 1759, quoted in Morgan, *Gentle Puritan*, 153; and see also 151–57. Intellectual differences are evident; although a direct descendant of the adept, Professor Winthrop, a Newtonian, was unsympathetic to Stiles's Neoplatonic spiritualism. See also *Winthrop Papers*, 1: ix; and Perry Miller, "The End of the World," in *Errand into the Wilderness* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1956), 232–33.

56. Samuel King's portrait of Stiles is now at the Yale University Art Gallery (accession number 1955.3.1).

57. Ezra Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 2: August 1, [1771], as quoted in Josephine Setze, "Ezra Stiles of Yale," *Antiques* 72, no. 4 (October 1957): 349–50.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 3: 1631–1637 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 206.

60. Webster calls Sir Kenelm Digby a "rehabilitated Catholic" in *Great Instauration*, 303, but simply a Catholic without qualification on 503–4. Digby is called a "proselytizing Catholic" in Richard S. Dunn, *Puritans and Yankees: The Winthrop Dynasty of New England, 1630–1717* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), 59. See also Bruce Jenacek, "Catholic Natural Philosophy and the Revivification of Sir Kenelm Digby," in *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*, ed. Margaret J. Osler (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 89–118; and John Henry, "Atomism and Eschatology: Catholicism and Natural Philosophy in the Interregnum," *British Journal of the History of Science* 15, no. 51 (November 1982): 211–39.

61. Betty Jo Dobbs, "Studies in the Natural Philosophy of Sir Kenelm Digby," *Ambix*, 20, no. 3 (November 1973), pt. 2: 150–51.

62. See Digby's *Observations upon Religio Medici* (London: Printed by R.C. for Daniel Frere, 1643); and *Observations on the 22. Stanza in the 9th Canto of the 2d. Book of Spencers Faery Queen* (London: Printed for Daniel Frere, 1643).

63. *An Unhappy View of the Whole Behavior of my Lord Duke of Buckingham, at the French Island, called Isle of RHEE. Discovered by . . . an unfortunate commander in that untoward service* (London: Printed for R. Smith, 1648). The "Unfortunate commander" was named Colonel William Fleetwood.

64. See the *Articles of agreement made betweene the French King and those of Rochell, upon the rendition of the towne, the 24 of October last, 1628. According to the French coppies printed at Rochell and at Roan. Also a relation of a brave and resolute sea-fight, made by Sr. Kenelam Digby (on the Bay of Scandarone the 16 of June last past)*. (London: Printed for N. Butler, 1628).

65. R. T. Petersson, *Sir Kenelm Digby: The Ornament of England, 1603–1665* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), 322–23; on the effect of Venetia's death on Digby's natural philosophy, see Jenacek, "Catholic Natural Philosophy and the Revivification of Sir Kenelm Digby."

66. *Ibid.*

67. Dobbs, "Studies in the Natural Philosophy of Sir Kenelm Digby," pt. 2: 150. The patent was opposed by the local glass workers and their guild. The guild knew that Digby was the true "inventor" of the improved glass bottles and that Colnett was his operator and front man.

68. A narrative of these well-known events is in Maurice Ashley, *England in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), 84–90.

69. *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (London: Secker & Warburg, 1949), 98; see also Peterson, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, 212–22.
70. Beverley C. Southgate, "Covetous of Truth": *The Life and Work of Thomas White, 1593–1676* (Boston: Kluwer, 1993); Dorothea Krook, *John Sergeant and His Circle: A Study of Three Seventeenth-century English Aristotelians*, ed. Beverley C. Southgate (New York: E. J. Brill, 1993), ix–xv, 41–66.
71. Two editions of Digby's *Discourse, Concerning Infallibility in Religion* were published simultaneously in English in Paris and Amsterdam in 1652.
72. Krook, *John Sergeant and His Circle*, x–xi; and Petersson, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, 223–26.
73. Matthew Poole, *Nullity of the Romish Faith* (Oxford, 1666), 39, as quoted in Krook, *John Sergeant and His Circle*, xi.
74. On Cromwell's international Protestant alliance against France, see Jakob N. Bowman, *The Protestant Interest in Cromwell's Foreign Relations* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1900).
75. Ashley, *England in the Seventeenth Century*, 99–104. On Cromwell's Huguenot policy, see Bowman, *Protestant Interest*, 17–92.
76. Krook, *John Sergeant and His Circle*, xi; Holden quoted in Petersson, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, 224–25, also see 251–58.
77. Schwartz, *French Prophets*, 254–78.
78. Ernst Cassirer, *The Platonic Renaissance in England*, trans. James P. Pettegrove (New York: Gordian Press, 1970), 66–67.
79. Digby knew Bacon personally when both were at the court of James I. For an Aristotelian interpretation of Digby, see Krook, *John Sergeant and His Circle*.
80. Betty Jo Dobbs, "Studies in the Natural Philosophy of Sir Kenelm Digby," *Ambix* 18, no. 1 (March 1971) [hereafter cited as Dobbs, pt. 1]: 13–14.
81. Webster, *Great Instauration*, 503–4. See also Jenacek, "Catholic Natural Philosophy and the Revivification of Sir Kenelm Digby," and Henry, "Atomism and Eschatology."
82. Krook, *John Sergeant and His Circle*, see esp. Beverley Southgate's critique of Krook's insistence on Digby's Aristotelianism, "Editor's Introduction," xiii. See also T. Sorell, ed., *The Rise of Modern Philosophy: The Tension Between the New and Traditional Philosophies from Machiavelli to Leibniz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Peter Galison, *Image and Logic: A Material Culture of Microphysics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
83. See Southgate's "Editor's Introduction" in Krook, *John Sergeant and His Circle*, xi–xii.
84. Keith Hutchinson, "What Happened to Occult Qualities in the Scientific Revolution?" *Isis* 73, no. 267 (June 1982): 233–53; I am indebted to Elizabeth Hedrick for drawing this article to my attention.
85. Petersson, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, 241–45.
86. *Ibid.*, 242–43.
87. Dobbs, pt. 1, 2; also E. W. Bligh, *Sir Kenelm Digby and his Venetia* (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., 1932); Thomas Longueville, *The Life of Sir Kenelm Digby by One of His Descendants* (London: Digby, Long & Co., 1896); H. M. Digby, *Sir Kenelm Digby and George Digby, Earl of Bristol* (London: Digby, Long & Co., 1912); John F. Fulton, "Sir Kenelm Digby," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 15, no. 1 (July 1960): 199–210; and Petersson, *Sir Kenelm Digby*. Digby wrote two autobiographical essays: *Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby, Gentleman of the Bedchamber of Charles I* (London: Saunders & Otle, 1827) and *Journal of a Voyage into the Mediterranean in 1628* (Westminster: Printed for the Camden Society, 1868). An analysis of

Digby's writings will appear in a forthcoming book by Elizabeth Hedrick. Professor Hedrick has generously shared three unpublished conference papers, "Science/Fiction in the Restoration: Sir Kenelm Digby and the Weapon-Salve"; "Gender, Matter, and the Latitudinarian Mind: The Case of Sir Kenelm Digby"; and "Prenatal Imprinting and the Female Imagination in the Seventeenth Century," which have helped form my discussion of the courtly and intellectual context of Digby's natural philosophy.

88. Two relatively recent studies in the history of science to consider the role of natural philosophers as courtiers are Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); and Smith, *Business of Alchemy*.

89. See Robert Fludd, *Doctor Fludds answer unto M. Foster: or, The squeezing of Parson Fosters sponge, ordained by him for the wiping away of the weapon-salve. Where-in the sponge-bearers immodest carriage and behauiour towards its brethren is detected; the bitter flames of his slanderous reports, are by the sharpe vinegar of truth corrected and quite extinguished: and lastly, the virtuous validity of his sponge, in wiping away of the weapon-salve, is crushed out and cleane abolished . . .* (London: Nathaniel Butler, 1631); see also Allen G. Debus, "Robert Fludd and the Use of Gilbert's *De Magnete* in the Weapon Salve Controversy," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 19 (1964): 389–417.

90. Dobbs, pt. 1, 1–2; Hedrick, "Science/Fiction in the Restoration: Sir Kenelm Digby and the Weapon-Salve," 2–3.

91. Hedrick, "Science/Fiction in the Restoration," 3; and Dobbs, pt. 1, 6 n. 19.

92. Dobbs, pt. 1: 4 and n. 17.

93. *Ibid.*, 5–6, 9.

94. Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (Basel: Karger, 1982), 126–49.

95. The complete title is John Woodall, *The surgions Mate, or A Treatise Discovering faithfully and plainley the due contents of the Surgions Chest, the uses of the Instruments, the virtues and operations of the Medicines, the cures of the most frequent diseases at Sea: Namely Wounds, Apostumes, Ulcers, Fistulaes, Fractures, Dislocations, with the true manner of Amputation, the cure of the Scurvie, the Fluxes of the belly, of the Collica and Illiaca Passio, Tenasmus, and exitus Ani, the Callenture; With a brief Explanacion of Sal, Sulphur, and Mercury; with certaine Characters, and tearmes of Arte. Published chiefly for the benefit of young Sea-Surgions, imployed in the East-India Companies Affaires* (London, 1617); see Dobbs, pt. 1: 7, 10.

96. On the importance of Buckingham's physical beauty to James I, see Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592–1628* (New York: Longman, 1981), 3–289.

97. Digby, *Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby*.

98. Dobbs, pt. 1: 6.

99. Hedrick, "Science/Fiction in the Restoration," 11–12.

100. Dobbs, pt. 1: 5.

101. Dobbs, pt. 1: 9; Pagel, *Paracelsus*, 117–21.

102. Digby, *Late Discourses*, 153–99, quoted in Dobbs, pt. 1: 11–12; see also Henry, "Atomism and Eschatology."

103. Cassirer, *Platonic Renaissance in England*; see also C. A. Patrides, ed., *The Cambridge Platonists* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); Frederick J. Powicke, *The Cambridge Platonists: A Study* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1971); on the Platonic argument, see

Ben Lazare Mijuskovic, *The Achilles of Rationalist Arguments: The Simplicity, Unity, and Identity of Thought and Soul from the Cambridge Platonists to Kant: A Study in the History of an Argument* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974).

104. Ashley, *England in the Seventeenth Century*, 111–12.

105. Sir Kenelm Digby, *A Choice Collection of Rare Chymical Secrets and Experiments in Philosophy. As also Rare and unheard-of Medicines, Menstrums, and Alkabeasts; with the True Secret of Volatilizing the fixt Salt o Tartar. Collected And Experimented by the Honourable and truly Learned Sir Kenelm Digby, Kt. Chancellour to Her Majesty the Queen-Mother. Hitherto kept secret since his Decease, but now Published for the good and benefit of the Publick, by George Hartman* (London: Printed for the Publisher, and are to be Sold by the Book-Selars of London, and at his own House in Hewes Court in Black-Fryers, 1682), 1–4. The other five occult writers mentioned were Agrippa, Villanova, Millius, Mayerus, and Isaac Holland.

106. On “simplicity” and its relation to Neoplatonism, see Mijuskovic, *Achilles of Rationalist Arguments*, 1–93.

107. Betty Jo Dobbs, “Studies in the Natural Philosophy of Sir Kenelm Digby, Part III: Digby’s Experimental Alchemy—The Book of Secrets,” *Ambix* 21, no. 1 (March 1974): 1–28. Digby’s book of *Secrets* went through at least seven different editions in English, German, and Dutch; see also William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

108. Webster, *Great Instauration*, 303.

109. The Harvard fire of 1764 destroyed the Digby gift of 1655, except for one volume: *John Cassiani Opera* (Antwerp, 1578); see *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser., 10: 16 and 4th ser., 6: 116; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), 267–68; John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London; with the Lives and Characters of More Than a Thousand Contemporary Divines and Other Persons of Literary Eminence* (London: J. Nichols, 1818), 1: 115; and Petersson, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, 243.

110. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser., 10 (1849): 5–6.

111. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony*, 281.

112. *Ibid.*, 281–82.

113. Quoted in Thomas Franklin Waters, *A Sketch of the Life of John Winthrop the Younger* (Ipswich, Mass.: Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, 1899), 2: 44.

114. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony*, 281.

115. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser., 10 (1849): 15.

116. “Some Correspondence of John Winthrop, Jr., and Samuel Hartlib,” ed. G. H. Turnbull, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 72, no. 1 (October 1957–December 1960): 46; letter from John Winthrop Jr. to Thomas Lake, April 15, 1661, in “Winthrop Papers, Part IV,” *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 5th ser., 8 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1882): 73–74; Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 54, 74–75, 119.

117. “Some Correspondence of John Winthrop, Jr., and Samuel Hartlib,” 42–43.

118. *Ibid.*, 54.

119. The full title of Winthrop’s copy is *Enchiridion Physicae Restitutae, In quo verus Naturae concentus exponitur, plurimique antiquae Philosophiae errores, per canones & certas demonstrationes dilucide aperiuntur. Tractatus alter inscriptus, Arcanum Hermeticae Philosophiae opus, In quo occulta*

Naturae & Artis circa Lapidus Philosophorum materiam & operandi modum canonice & ordinate sunt manifesta. Utrumque opus eiusdem Authoris Anonymi. Spes Mea Est In Agno. Tertia editio emendata & aucta (Paris: Apud Nicolaum de Sercy, in Palatio, in Porticu Delphinaea, sub signo Fidei Coronatae, 1642). This volume is currently in the New York Academy of Medicine Library; see Roland Sterne Wilkinson, “The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676), . . . Part IV,” 153, cat. no. 73. Quotation from Jean d’Espagnet, *Enchyridion physicae restitutae, or The Summary of Physicks recovered, wherein the true harmony of nature is explained . . .* (London: Printed by W. Bentley, 1651), 2–3.

120. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., “anagram,” definition 2.

121. Edward Howes, quoted in *North American Review* 105, no. 217 (October 1867): 611–12.

T W E L V E ➤ La Rochelle’s Transatlantic Body

1. Mary Forth, John Jr.’s natural mother, died in childbirth in 1615; as did his father’s second wife, Thomasine Clopton, in 1616.

2. *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 2: 1623–1630 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 58–59. Dating this undated letter ca. February 4, 1628, is discussed on 58, n. 3. A strong case has also been made for a date in late 1629. John Winthrop’s letter of May 15, 1629, cited below, may have been written in direct response to this one.

3. Edmund S. Morgan writes that of all the arguments for emigration, the fates of La Rochelle and the Palatinate were “the most compelling . . . on his list”; see *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958), 40. Despite the significance assigned to this event in the colonial historiography, it has not been studied closely from the transatlantic perspective.

4. *Winthrop Papers*, 2: 91–92. For the relationship between millennial thought, perceptions of corruption, and motives behind the Puritan migration to New England, see Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

5. Morgan, *Puritan Dilemma*, 40. See also Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom*.

6. Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington’s World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), 104.

7. *Ibid.* Bradshaw’s relation was written on October 30, 1628.

8. Quoted in *ibid.*, 81.

9. On eucharistic piety, self-denial and the construction of the Christian body in the culture of late medieval religious women, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), and *id.*, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body* (New York: Zone Books, 1991).

10. *Winthrop Papers*, 2: 291.

11. *Ibid.*, 288, 291.

12. *Ibid.*, 288.

13. *Ibid.*, 288–89.

14. *Ibid.*, 289.

15. *Ibid.*, 290.

16. *Ibid.*, 292.

17. *Ibid.* On the Waldensian heresy, see Euan Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); and Alexis Muston, *The Israel of the Alps: A Complete History of the Waldenses and Their Colonies*, 2 vols. (London: Blackie & Son, 1875).

18. Seaver, *Wallington's World*, 144.

19. *Ibid.*, 104, 143–44, 192.

20. Morgan, *Puritan Dilemma*, 15–21.

21. See S. L. Adams, “Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624,” in Kevin Sharpe, ed., *Faction and Parliament: Essays on Early Stuart History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 152–53; on Louis XIII’s campaigns against the Huguenots in 1620–29 and the rise of Richelieu beginning in 1621, see A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII, the Just* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 116–36.

22. J. G. A. Pocock, “England,” in Orest Ranum, ed., *National Consciousness: History and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 103.

23. Daily transcripts of the Commons debates of 1628 are to be found in Robert C. Johnson, Mary Frear Keeler, Maija Jansson Cole, and William B. Bidwell, eds., *Commons Debates, 1628*, 4 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977–78). The debates on the Île de Ré and La Rochelle that occurred from June 3 to June 11, 1628, are located in vol. 4, 28 May–26 June 1628: 60–276; the Remonstrance of June 14, 1628, is transcribed in 4: 310–17.

24. See *ibid.*, 4: 310. This number was announced in Parliament by Sir Edward Giles on June 14, 1628, when he asserted that of the 30,000 who had sailed with Buckingham: “There were 7,000 lost. When they returned home notice was taken how many came, and of those that returned sundry died [of “a great sickness amongst them”] as soon as they landed.” Dr. Laud disputed this number and Buckingham’s responsibility for all the deaths in his proposed reply to the Remonstrance presented to the king on June 17, 1628: “Nor was our loss of men such in that service as is voiced or near the number. Many indeed were lost since their return, for want of necessaries, which was not so taken to heart by them which should have supplied the necessaries of the state as was fitting.” See Mary Frear Keeler, Maija Jansson Cole, and William B. Bidwell, *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628*, vol. 6: *Appendixes and Indexes* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983), 54.

25. The first edition of William Fleetwood’s *An Unhappy View of the Whole Behavior of my Lord Duke of Buckingham, at the French Island, called Isle of RHEE* was published in late 1627 (it does not mention Buckingham’s assassination); I have used a slightly later edition here (London: Printed for R. Smith, 1648).

26. The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of “effeminate” (1625) cites the K. Long translation of Barclay’s *Argenis* (4.22.319): “But a soldier’s death shall make amends for thy effeminate life.” See also ca. 1430: “It is . . . the most perilous thyng A prince to been of his Condicion Effeminate”; 1555: “The sclenderesse of theyr capacitie and effeminate hartes”; 1609: “The soules of the effeminate shal be hungrie” (Douay Bible, Prov. 7:8); 1611: “His chiefest Consorts were effeminated persons, Ruffians and the like”; and 1619: “her effeminated king Basely captive, make him doe any thing.” After the fact, but summary, is Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776): “Rome was humbled beneath the effeminate luxury of Oriental despotism.”

27. Fleetwood, *Unhappy View*, 2–9.

28. *Ibid.*, 9–14. For a rare apology for the duke's performance at the Île de Ré, see the anonymous pamphlet: *A Continued Journall of All the Proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace, in The Isle of Ree since the last of July With the names of Those Noblemen as were Drowned and taken in going to releev the Fort* (London: Thomas Walkley Printer, August 30, 1627).

29. N. R. N. Tyacke, "Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution," in Conrad Russell, ed., *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London: Macmillan, 1980); see also Nicolas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, 1590–1690* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

30. In this context, "patent" is to be understood in the 1597 sense of "Abuses practiced by Monopolies and Patents of priviledge" (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., ex. 2).

31. Johnson et al., eds., *Commons Debates, 1628*, 4: 130–31.

32. *Ibid.*, 151.

33. *Ibid.*, 313.

34. *Winthrop Papers, vol. 1: 1498–1628* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 195–96. On "heated speech" in colonial New England and perceptions of the physicality of the language of attack among seventeenth-century Calvinists, see Robert Blair St. George, "Heated' Speech and Literacy in Seventeenth-Century New England," in David D. Hall and David Grayson Allen, eds., *Seventeenth-Century New England*, Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications, 63 (Boston: The Society, 1984), 275–322.

35. Keeler et al., eds., *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628*, 6: 218.

36. On Buckingham and Parliament, see Kevin Sharpe, "The Earl of Arundal, His Circle and the Opposition to the Duke of Buckingham, 1618–1628," in *id.*, ed., *Faction and Parliament*, 209–44; and Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592–1628* (New York: Longman, 1981), 89–124, 419–58.

37. Keeler et al., eds., *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628*, 6: 235. See also P. Clark, "Thomas Scott and the Growth of Urban Opposition to the Early Stuart Regime," *Historical Journal* 21, no. 1 (1978): 1–26.

38. Keeler et al., eds., *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628*, 6: 236.

39. On October 24, 1628; see the early translation: *Articles of Agreement Made Betweene the French King and those of Rochell, upon the Rendition of the Towne, the 24. of October last. 1628: According to the French Coppies Printed at Rochell and at Roan* (London: Printed for Nathaniell But-ter, 1628).

40. On Eliot's role in the late 1620s and his relationship to Buckingham, see J. N. Ball, "Sir John Eliot and Parliament, 1624–1629," in Kevin Sharpe, ed., *Faction and Parliament*, 173–208; for a full-length biography of Eliot, see Harold Hulme, *The Life of Sir John Eliot, 1592–1632: Struggle for Parliamentary Freedom* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957).

41. Johnson et al., eds., *Commons Debates, 1628*, 4: 60.

42. J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Norton, 1967), 30–69, 125–26.

43. The rhetorical term "true English heart," was used often by Eliot and other M.P.'s during the debates of 1628, as, for example, by Eliot on June 3; see Johnson et al., eds., *Commons Debates 1628*, 4: 62.

44. The most authoritative account of the beginnings of such historical thought and language is Pocock, *Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*, 1–90.

45. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 31–69.

46. Johnson et al., eds., *Commons Debates, 1628*, 4: 60–62; transcripts for June 3, 1628.
47. *Ibid.*, 62.
48. Hugh Trevor-Roper, “Our First Whig Historian: Paul de Rapin-Thoyras,” in id., *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 250. I am indebted to Mauricio Tenorio for drawing this reference to my attention.
49. Pocock, *Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*, 6–7.
50. *Ibid.*
51. See Pocock, “The French Prelude to Modern Historiography,” in id., *Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*, 16–27, 65.
52. Paul de Rapin-Thoyras, *The History of England: As Well Ecclesiastical as Civil*, 28 vols. (London: Printed for James and John Knapton, 1726–47).
53. For the influence of 1688 on English religious culture, see Nicolas Tyacke, *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
54. David Hume, *The History of England*, 6 vols. (London: Printed for A. Millar, 1754–62); Trevor-Roper, “Our First Whig Historian,” 250, 264–65.
55. Ball, “Sir John Eliot and Parliament,” 180–87.
56. *Ibid.*, 198–99.
57. J. G. A. Pocock, “British History: A Plea for a New Subject,” *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975): 601–21; cf. Pocock’s debate with Michael Hechter on 625–28; see also Pocock, “The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject,” *American Historical Review* 87 (April 1982): 311–36.
58. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957).
59. Johnson et al., eds., *Commons Debates, 1628*, 4: 311.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*, 311–12.
63. *Ibid.*, 312.
64. *Ibid.*, 312–13.
65. *Ibid.*, 313.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.* 4: 188–89. Maynard was Buckingham’s loyal creature until this speech of June 7, and as a result of his remarks about Machiavelli, he drew a strong rebuke from the duke, see 188, n. 55.
68. *Ibid.*, see also 164.
69. *Ibid.*, 315.
70. Cal Winslow, “Sussex Smugglers,” and John G. Rule, “Wrecking and Coastal Plunder,” in Douglas Hay et al., *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 119–88.
71. *Ibid.*
72. Johnson et al., eds., *Commons Debates, 1628*, 4: 147.
73. Keeler et al., eds., *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628*, 6: 219–20.
74. *Ibid.*, 314. In the original transcripts, “dispersed” is sometimes used interchangeably with “depressed” (see 314, n. 35). I have used “dispersed” in this context because this word—classically

associated with the Huguenot diaspora—approaches the original intention of the writers of the Remonstrance, who referred to La Rochelle in the text as exemplifying the destruction of “all the reformed churches in Christendom.”

75. Ibid. The Commons appended to the end of the Remonstrance “A calendar or schedule of the shipping of this kingdom which have been taken by the enemy and lost at sea within the space of three years last past,” naming the ships lost, as well as their tonnage and value, see 317ff.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid., 315–16.

78. Ibid., 316–17.

79. Ibid., 317.

80. Geoffrey Keynes, *The Life of William Harvey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 146–47. The duke testified that the plaster contained London treacle and the juice of citrons (*Theriaca Londinensis* was prepared with thirty-two ingredients, including stag-horn and opium); and the potion was “plain posset with hartshorn in it.”

81. Johnson et al., eds., *Commons Debates, 1628*, 4: 143–44. The “commission for a toleration” to which Coke refers derisively was presented by Sir John Savile on March 24, 1628.

82. Keynes, *Life of William Harvey*, 143–48.

83. Ibid., 152.

84. Ibid., 154–57, 178.

85. William Harvey, *Exercitatio anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus* (Frankfurt, 1628). I quote the dedication from William Harvey, *On the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals*, ed. Alexander Bowie and Mark Graubard (Chicago: Gateway Editions, 1962), 26–27. The first (Frankfurt) edition of *De motu cordis* was published in Latin by Willem Fitzer. Fitzer was the son-in-law of Johann Theodore de Bry, of the well-known Protestant publishing family, originally of Liège, who fled as refugees to Frankfurt and Oppenheim when Liège fell under Catholic control in the late sixteenth century. Johann Theodore de Bry was responsible for the publication of the important Paracelsian alchemical works of Robert Fludd and Michael Maier. He was the son of Theodore de Bry (d. 1598), made famous for the remarkable engravings that accompanied his publication of a series of volumes on sixteenth-century European voyages of discovery. Fitzer married Johann Theodore’s daughter in 1625, and when his father-in-law died a year later, he became head of the family business. It is thought that Fludd, a friend and confidant of Harvey’s, recommended the de Bry–Fitzer press for *De motu cordis*. For more on the de Bry family, see Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1978), 70–90; and Keynes, *Life of William Harvey*, 176.

86. Johnson et al., eds., *Commons Debates, 1628*, 4: 317.

87. The most important of these is Sir John Eliot, *The Monarchie of Man*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 2 vols. (London: Chiswick Press, 1879).

88. Ball, “Sir John Eliot and Parliament,” 204–5.

89. Keeler et al., *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628*, 6: 52–57: “17 June 1628 Bishop Laud’s proposed reply to the remonstrance presented to the King.”

90. Johnson et al., eds., *Commons Debates, 1628*, 4: 139.

91. See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., “effeminate” (1534), and n. 26 above.

92. *Winthrop Papers*, 1: 161, 163, 193.

93. Johnson et al., eds., *Commons Debates, 1628*, 4: 132 (June 5, 1628).

THIRTEEN • “Fraudulant father-Frenchmen”

1. On native English resistance to Huguenots, see Joseph P. Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 138–42; Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); L. Williams, “Alien Immigrants in Relation to Industry and Society in Tudor England,” *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society in London* 19 (1952–58): 146–69; E. S. de Beer, “The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and French Public Opinion,” *ibid.* 18 (1947–52): 292–310; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 85–100; M. R. Thorp, “The Anti-Huguenot Undercurrent in Late-Seventeenth-Century England,” *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society in London* 22 (1970–76): 569–80; H. T. Dickinson, “The Tory Party’s Attitude to Foreigners,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 40 (1967): 153–65; M. Priestly, “Anglo-French Trade and the ‘Unfavorable Balance’ Controversy,” *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 4 (1951–52): 37–52; Richard M. Dunn, “The London Weavers’ Riot of 1675,” *Guildhall Studies in London History* 1, no. 1 (January 1973): 13–23; Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 60–129; Catherine Swindlehurst, “‘An unruly and presumptuous rabble’: The Reaction of the Spitalfields Weaving Community to the Settlement of the Huguenots, 1660–90,” in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 366–74; and Joseph P. Ward, “Fictitious Shoemakers, Agitated Weavers and the Limits of Popular Xenophobia in Elizabethan London,” in *ibid.*, 80–87. Ward has questioned the standard xenophobia model of reception in the English trades, though his interpretation remains in the minority at present.

2. Count Lorenzo Magalotti, *Travels of Cosimo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England, during the Reign of Charles the Second* (1669, London, 1821), 398.

3. This is not to say that the mid sixteenth century saw the first foreign weavers in England. Between 1337 and 1360, a substantial group of Flemish weavers had been invited to work at their trade in England and established an early industrial community at York. This instance, however, is in no way analogous to the depth, breadth, and duration of the influx of immigrants experienced in England as a result of the continental wars of religion in France and the Netherlands.

4. C. W. Chitty, “Aliens in England in the Sixteenth Century,” *Race: A Journal of Race and Group Relations* 8, no. 2 (October 1966): 134–36.

5. On the new draperies, see N. J. Williams, “Two Documents Concerning the New Draperies,” *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 4, no. 3 (1952); and C. W. Chitty, “Aliens in England in the Sixteenth Century,” *Race: A Journal of Race and Group Relations* 8, no. 2 (October 1966): 133–35.

6. R. H. Tawney and E. Power, eds., *Tudor Economic Documents* (London: Longmans, 1924), 3: 212; Ward, “Fictitious Shoemakers, Agitated Weavers,” 81.

7. Warren C. Scoville, *The Persecution of the Huguenots and French Economic Development, 1680–1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 435–45.

8. In the sixteenth century when it was introduced into England from France and the Netherlands, “bays,” or baize, was an unusually fine, soft, lightweight fabric, usually a woolen or “penistone,” but sometimes a cotton or a woolen and linen mix, commonly used in the manu-

ufacture of clothing. “Says,” on the other hand, were similarly light, but resembled serge. In the sixteenth century, says were occasionally composed of wool mixed with silk; by the seventeenth century, they were usually all wool.

9. See P. J. Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Macmillan, 1962).

10. Williams, “Two Documents Concerning the New Draperies”; and Chitty, “Aliens in England in the Sixteenth Century,” 134.

11. Simonds D’Ewes, *A Complete Journal of the Votes, Speeches, and Debates both of the House of Lords and House of Commons throughout the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1708), 505–9.

12. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion* (1709; new ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), vol. 4, no. 108: 234–36; also Chitty, “Aliens in England in the Sixteenth Century,” 141–22.

13. On the centrality of the culture of politeness in early modern England and the movement to domesticate *politesse*, see Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

14. On the London silk industry, see esp. Peter Thornton and Natalie Rothstein, “The Importance of the Huguenots in the London Silk Industry,” *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 20 (1958–64): 60–88; and W. H. Manchee, “Some Huguenot Smugglers: The Impeachment of London Silk Merchants in 1698,” *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 15 (1934–37): 406–27; on the revolution in style wrought by the “French bed” in England, see Tessa Murdoch, “Worthy of the Monarch: Immigrant Craftsmen and the Production of State Beds, 1660–1714,” in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 151–59.

15. Benno M. Forman, “Continental Furniture Craftsmen in London: 1511–1625,” *Furniture History* 7 (1971): 95. The ordinance of 1483 was reconfirmed in the *Statutes* of 1523, 1524, and 1530.

16. Forman, “Continental Furniture Craftsmen in London,” 97; for occupations of foreign tradesmen during the later seventeenth century, see W. Durrant Cooper, *List of Foreign Protestants and Aliens Resident in England, 1618–1688* (London: John Camden Hatten, 1862).

17. Victor Chinnery, *Oak Furniture The British Tradition: A History of Early Furniture in the British Isles and New England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Baron Publishing, 1979), 125–6; see n. 29 below for full citation of the 1603 edition of Stow’s *Survey of London*.

18. Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978); see also Tessa Murdoch et al., *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots, 1685–1985* (London: A. H. Jolly, 1985), 199–204, 289–312.

19. Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman, 1747* (reprint, Newton Abbot, UK: David & Charles, 1973), 169–72.

20. Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor’d: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–42* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1981), 136–45, 215.

21. The classic text on Inigo Jones and the Stuarts remains Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); see also Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967); id., *The Illusion of Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); and Parry, *Golden Age Restor’d*, 146–64.

22. Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592–1628* (New York: Longman, 1981), 53.

23. See Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*.

24. Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 213–15; Chinnery, *Oak Furniture*, 431–34.

25. Parry, *Golden Age Restor'd*, 215.

26. For Buckingham's massive building program and the cycle of income and debt, see Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 53–76, 210–13.

27. For a general study of this phenomenon see Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), esp. 21–29.

28. See Lawrence Klein, "The Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Progress of Politeness," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1984–85): 186–214; and Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness*. See also, J. G. A. Pocock's formulation of the civic humanist tradition in terms of a tension between virtue and commerce in *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), 386–505; id., "The Varieties of Whiggism from Exclusion to Reform," in *Virtue, Commerce, and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); id., "Civic Humanism and Its Role in Anglo-American Thought," in *Politics, Language and Time* (New York: Atheneum, 1973), 80–103; and Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, 2 vols. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978, 1982); id., *The Court Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983); Marvin Becker, *Civility and Society in Western Europe, 1300–1600* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); and Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989). Richard L. Bushman explores general themes in the social history of American "polite" or "genteel" material culture in *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1992), 30–99.

29. John Stow, *A Survey of London. Conteyning the originall, antiquity, increase, modern estate, and description of that city, written in the yeare 1598, by John Stow citizen of London. Since by the same author increased, with divers rare notes of antiquity, and published in the yeare 1603. Also an Apologie (or defence) against the opinion of some men, concerning that citie, the greatnesse thereof* (London: John Windet, printer, 1603), 562–63.

30. Neil McKendrick et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 9–33; Joyce Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978); T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (N.Y.: Oxford, 2004); and Klein, "Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Progress of Politeness," 187.

31. Robert F. Trent, "The Concept of Mannerism," in Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, vol. 3: *Style* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 375.

32. The most reliable general history of this period remains J. M. H. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1975).

33. For the most recent attempt at demographic synthesis, but one with estimates that are arguably very conservative, see Philip Benedict, *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600–1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 81, pt. 5 (1991), 3–5; see also Robin D. Gwynn, "The Arrival of Huguenot Refugees in England, 1680–1705," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 21 (1969): 366–73; id., "The Distribution of Huguenot Refugees in England, 2: London and Its Environs," *ibid.* 22

(1976): 523 et passim; id., *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 35 et passim; Bernard Cottret, *Terre d'exil: L'Angleterre et ses réfugiés français et wallons, de la Réforme à la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, 1550–1700* (Paris: Aubier, 1985); and on the role of London, see Bertrand van Ruymbeke, “Le Refuge atlantique: La Diaspora huguenote et l'Atlantique anglo-américain” (paper delivered to the American Historical Association, January 1999).

34. J. Bulteel, *A Relation of the Troubles of the Three Foreign Churches in Kent* (London, 1645), 21–22; C. W. Chitty, “Aliens in England in the Seventeenth Century to 1660,” *Race: A Journal of Race and Group Relations* 11, no. 2 (October 1969): 194–98.

35. Irene Scouloudi, “Alien Immigration Into and Alien Communities in London, 1558–1640,” *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 16, no. 1 (1938): 35 et passim; Chitty, “Aliens in England in the Sixteenth Century,” 136–37, 140. On the “urban graveyard effect,” see Benedict, *Huguenot Population of France*, 46; evidence of the effect was also reported by Joyce Goodfriend, in “Huguenots in Colonial New York City: A Demographic Profile” (conference paper delivered at “Out of New Babylon: The Huguenots and Their Diaspora,” Program in the Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World, College of Charleston, May 14–17, 1997).

36. Benedict, *Huguenot Population of France*, 45, table 11.

37. For a discussion of *friperie* and the task of the *fripier* in early modern France, see Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 345–87.

38. For the phrase “declining minority,” see Philip Benedict’s *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600–1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority*, “Part 1: A Declining Minority,” 7–79.

39. Forman, “Continental Furniture Craftsmen in London,” 97.

40. *Ibid.*, 96–97.

41. Quoted in *ibid.*, 97.

42. *The Complete State Papers Domestic: Series One, 1547–1625* (Hassocks, U.K.: Harvester Press, 1977–81), James I, 1608–17, SP 14/41–14/94–pt. 9; Chitty, “Aliens in England in the Seventeenth Century to 1660,” 190.

43. Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958), 21.

44. The disease metaphor may be found in a document dated 1654, quoted in Chitty, “Aliens in England in the Seventeenth Century to 1660,” 190.

45. The literature on refugee gold- and silversmiths in England and its colonies is enormous and growing. For an introduction and bibliography, see Tessa Murdoch, comp., *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots, 1685–1985* (London: Museum of London, 1985), 229–42; see also Charles Oman, *English Engraved Silver, 1150–1900* (Boston: Faber & Faber, 1978); Philippa Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England: A Social History and Catalogue of the National Collection, 1480–1660* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990); and, for a case study of the late sixteenth-century context for Huguenot silver and goldsmiths in London court circles, see Ellenor M. Alcorn, “‘Some of the Kings of England Curiously Engraven’: An Elizabethan Ewer and Basin in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,” *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* 5 (1993): 66–103.

46. Quoted in Chitty, “Aliens in England in the Seventeenth Century to 1660,” 190.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Chitty, “Aliens in England in the Sixteenth Century,” 135–36.

49. Klein, “Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Progress of Politeness,” 211, 213.
 50. *Ibid.*, 198.
 51. Quoted in *ibid.*, 199. Bushman also perceives “ambivalence” over the theatrical performance of politeness in American society, see *Refinement of America*, 181–203.
 52. Klein, “Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Progress of Politeness,” 207. Note the convergence of Shaftesbury’s Lockean critique of politesse, based on a call for “transparency,” with a similarly anti-absolutist, anti-theatrical critique by the French philosophes of French fashion—and in particular clothing styles—during the 1770s; see Daniel Roche, *Culture of Clothing*, 516–19.
 53. Arnold Hauser, *Mannerism: The Crisis of the Renaissance and the Origin of Modern Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1986), 50.

FOURTEEN • “The destruction that wasteth at noonday”

EPIGRAPH: Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year: being observations or memorials of the most remarkable occurrences, as well public as private, which happened in London during the last great visitation in 1665. Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London. Never been made public before* (London, 1722), ed. Anthony Burgess and Christopher Bristow (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 34.

1. Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times* (New Haven, Conn.: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (London) by Yale University Press, 1971), 1: 80–81; Sean Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983), 105. On the Eglise des Grecs, see Robin D. Gwynn, “The Huguenots in Britain, the ‘Protestant International’ and the Defeat of Louis XIV,” in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 413. Unfortunately, unlike the excellent archive surviving for the French Church of London in Threadneedle Street, the oldest and earliest of England’s forty-seven Huguenot churches in 1700, records for the Savoy Church and its annex, the Eglise des Grecs, were apparently lost in 1717.

2. Tessa Murdoch, comp., *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots, 1685–1985* (London: Museum of London, 1985), 193–98.

3. Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works*, 3d rev. ed. (London: Print Room, 1989), 14–16; W. H. Manchee, “Hogarth and His Friendship with the Huguenots,” *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 12 (1917–23): 134–38.

4. Now in the collection of Grimsthorpe and Drummond Castle. Hogarth completed the painting ca. 1736, and engraved and published the set two years later, on May 4, 1738. See Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works*, 1: 179–80; 2: pl. 165; see also Murdoch, comp., *Quiet Conquest*, 5, 112, cat. no. 149.

5. Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works*, 2: 178; Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition*, 132–33.

6. On interiority of noonday demons in Roman mythology, see Charles Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 145; and Giorgio Agamben, *Stanze: La Parola e il fantasma nella cultura occidentale* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), 1–14.

7. This metaphor is elucidated in Otto Mayr, *Authority, Liberty and Automatic Machinery in*

Early Modern Europe (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), esp. xv–xviii; William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753), ed. Joseph Burke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 86–87.

8. See Mayr, *Authority, Liberty and Automatic Machinery*, 98–101, for a summary of the early eighteenth century debate between Newton’s spokesman, Samuel Clarke, a young courtly theologian, and the clockwork position argued by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, historian and librarian for Georg Ludwig, elector of Hanover.

9. Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Burke, 41–43.

10. *Ibid.*, 22.

11. See Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Minuit, 1979). Many of these ideas appear with greater clarity and practical purpose in Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 57, 178, 195 and passim; see also *id.*, “What Makes a Social Class? On the Theoretical and Practical Existence of Groups,” *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 32 (1987): 1–17. Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Burke, 85.

12. W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997). Hogarth writes of painting different races, including “dark brown, the mulatto;—black, the negro,” in *Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Burke, 126.

13. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Paris, 1784), in Adrienne Koch and William Peden, eds., *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Modern Library, 1944), 256–62.

14. For an introduction to the study of Robert Fludd with emphasis on the occult, see Serge Hutin, *Robert Fludd (1574–1637), Alchimiste et philosophe rosicrucien*, Collection Alchimie et alchimistes, no. 8 (Paris: Éditions de l’Omnium littéraire, 1971); Allen G. Debus, in *The English Paracelsians* (London: Oldbourne, 1965), 104–27; and *id.*, “The Chemical Debates of the Seventeenth Century: The Reaction to Robert Fludd and Jean Baptiste van Helmont,” in M. L. Righini Bonelli and William R. Shea, eds., *Reason, Experiment and Mysticism in the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Science History Publications, 1975), 19–47; “The Paracelsian Compromise in Elizabethan England,” *Ambix* 8 (1960): 71–97; and “Renaissance Chemistry and the Work of Robert Fludd,” *Ambix* 14 (1967): 42–59; see also Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1978), 70–90; and *id.*, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1966); and Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1979). For Flood in Winthrop’s library, see Ronald Sterne Wilkinson, “The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676) and His Descendants in Colonial America, Part IV: The Catalogue of Books,” *Ambix* 13, no. 3 (October 1966), 156–57.

15. Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 216–92.

16. For a cogent analysis of Joachimism’s great influence on reformed millennial experience, see John Martin, *Venice’s Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 16, 98–99, 113–18.

17. William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty: Written With a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (London: Printed by J. Reeves for the Author: 1753), frontispiece.

18. Daniel Marot, *Oeuvres: Contenant plusieurs penssées utile aux architectes, peintres, sculpteurs, orfevres et jardiniers, et autres; le toutes en faveure de ceux qui s’appliquerent aux beaux arts* (The Hague: P. Husson, 1702).

19. Brock Jobe, “The Boston Furniture Industry, 1720–1740,” in *Boston Furniture of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill, Jonathan Fairbanks, and Brock Jobe (Boston: Colo-

nial Society of Massachusetts, 1974), 3–48 ; Benno M. Forman, “Delaware Valley ‘Crookt Foot’ and Slat-Back Chairs,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 41–64; and Deborah Dependahl Waters, “Wares and Chairs: A Reappraisal of the Documents,” in *Winterthur Portfolio* 13, *American Furniture and Its Makers*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1979), 161–73.

20. For an analysis of the analogy between parts of the human anatomy and furniture components in colonial America, see Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, “Furniture as Social History: Gender, Property, and Memory in the Decorative Arts,” *American Furniture, 1995*, ed. Luke Beckerdite and William N. Hosley (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1995): 42–52.

21. Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Burke, 14, 70, 27.

22. Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works*, 9 and figs. 66–81.

23. Hogarth observed in *Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Burke, 152: “our most common movements are seldom performed in such absolutely mean lines, as those of jointed dolls and puppets.” For a classic study of mechanistic optics from Leonardo to Newton, with optical diagrams, see A. C. Crombie, “The Mechanistic Hypothesis and the Scientific Study of Vision,” in *Science, Optics and Music in Medieval and Early Modern Thought* (London: Hambleton Press, 1990), 175–284, and figs. 1–38.

24. Robert Fludd, *Tomi secundi tractatus secundus: De praeternaturali utriusque mundi historia* (Frankfurt: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1621), 11.

25. As in definitions 6 and 8 for “wing” in the *Oxford English Dictionary*; or definition 2 for “winged”: To summarize, two identical halves of a symmetrical artifact joined at center were called “wings” in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century parlance. For example, what we now commonly call “leaves” on the top of a hinged drop-leaf table might have been part of a “winged” table, and an iron hinge joined at its center with two symmetrical appendages might have been called a “winged” hinge.

26. C. H. Josten, “Robert Fludd’s Theory of Geomancy and His Experiences at Avignon in the Winter of 1601 to 1602,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 327.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*; see also Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan, 1923–58), vol. 2, ch. 39; the detailed compendium of geomantic techniques reviewed in the treatises contained in *Fasciculus geomanticus in quo varia variorum opera geomantica continentur: opus maxime curiosum, a multis hactenus desideratum, nunc vero magno studio correctum & ex parte jam prima vice editum* (Verona, 1687, 1704); Robert Jaulin, *La Géomancie: Analyse formelle* (Paris: Mouton, 1966); and Nigel Permkick, *The Ancient Science of Geomancy: Man in Harmony with the Earth* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979).

29. The English translation was of Agrippa’s *De incertitudine et vanitate omnium scientiarum et artium* first published in 1531.

30. Josten, “Robert Fludd’s Theory of Geomancy,” 328.

31. Godwin, *Robert Fludd*, 6–7.

32. Josten, “Robert Fludd’s Theory of Geomancy,” 331.

33. “Tractatus secundi, pars XI. De geomantia. in quartour libros divisa,” in Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi majoris scilicet et minoris metaphysica, physica atque technica historia in duo volumina secundum cosmi differentiam divisa . . . tomus primus De macrocosmi historia* (Oppenheim: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1617), 715–83; and “Tractatus primi. Sectionis II. De animae intellectualis scientia seu geomantia hominibus appropriata, quorum radii intellectuales extrinsecus, hoc est,

circa negotai mundana versates, & a centro dissipati in centrum recolliguntur,” in Robert Fludd, *Tomi secundi tractatus primi sectio secunda, De technica microcosmi historia, in portiones VII* (Oppenheim: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1619), 37–46; see n. 28 above for the full citation of *Fasciculus geomanticus*. I use C. H. Josten’s translation of major portions of these two texts; see “Robert Fludd’s Theory of Geomancy,” 328–31, hereafter, cited as Fludd, “Geomantia.”

34. Fludd, “Geomantia,” 328–29.

35. *Ibid.*, 328–29.

36. *Ibid.*, 329.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, 329.

39. Godwin, *Robert Fludd*, 6.

40. Fludd, “Geomantia,” 329.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Allen G. Debus, “The Paracelsian Aerial Niter,” *Isis* 55 (1964): 43–61, and *id.*, “Robert Fludd and the Use of Gilbert’s *De magnete* in the Weapon-Salve Controversy,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and the Allied Sciences* 19 (1964): 389–417.

43. Fludd, “Geomantia,” 329.

44. *Ibid.*, 329.

45. *Ibid.*

46. Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi majoris*, 4–5.

47. *Ibid.*, 7–8.

48. Fludd, “Geomantia,” 329.

49. Robert Fludd, *De naturae simia seu technia macrocosmi historia* (Nature’s Ape, or History of the Macrocosmic Arts) (Oppenheim: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1618; 2d ed., Frankfurt; *id.*, 1624). On Thoth and *De naturae simia*, see W. H. Janson, “Apes and Ape Lore,” *Studies of the Warburg Institute* 20 (1952): 305. On blacks as *simia*, see Winthrop P. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 29–32, 222–32.

50. Fludd, “Geomantia,” 331.

51. *Ibid.*, 330.

52. Sir Hugh Platt, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature: conteining diuers rare and profitable inuentions, together with sundry new experimentes in the art of husbandry, distillation, and moulding, faithfully and familiarly set downe, according to the auths owne experience, by Hugh Platte* (London: Printed by Peter Short, dwelling on Breadstreet-hill, at the signe of the star, and are to be solde in Paules Church-yard, by William Ponsonby, 1594), 88.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Fludd, “Geomantia,” 330.

55. William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 315–16.

56. Fludd, “Geomantia,” 330.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, 330–31.

59. *Ibid.*, 331.

60. *Ibid.*

61. The complex biographical, aesthetic and political conflicts surrounding Hogarth’s pro-

duction of “The Bathos” are discussed extensively in Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, 2: 400–22.

62. *Ibid.*, 413.

63. *Ibid.*, 409.

64. *Ibid.*, 409–11. While the print itself reads in the plate that it was “Published according to Act of Parliam’t March 3’d 1764,” it is probable that it was quickly altered after April 1 in response to the eclipse. A preliminary drawing exists for “Tail Piece” in which the dying sun and its chariot are conspicuously absent (*ibid.*, 410, fig. 313a.). I assume that this and other subtle changes (including the placement of the sundial) were made in response to the eclipse.

65. Fludd, “Geomantia,” 331.

66. The Eglise des Grecs was the first temple annex built in London after 1685, specifically for the overflow of refugees of the Revocation.

67. The full titles of the two source texts are: Robert Fludd, *Tomi secundi tractatus primi sectio secunda, De technica microcosmi historia, in portiones VII divisa* (Oppenheim: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1620), 55; and Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze, *Les Psaumes mis en rime Françoise* (Paris: Par François Perrin pour Antoine Vincent, 1562).

68. On the dialogue in British Huguenot culture between “the wild and the walled [garden],” see Schwartz, *French Prophets*, 251–78.

69. Depending on the image, *porte* could mean “doorway” or “gateway,” as well as “arch.”

70. Fludd, *De naturae simia*, 160–61.

71. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 320–67.

72. On Hogarth’s intense involvement with the London Grand Lodge, and his habitual use of masonic themes and debates in his art, see Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works*, 52–54.

73. Jacobs locates French refugees at the center of the origins of European Freemasonry. After 1717, Jean Theophile Desaguliers is described as “the guiding force in British Freemasonry” (122); Margaret C. Jacobs, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), ch. 4.

74. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 304–5; Bernard Edward Jones, *Freemasons’ Book of the Royal Arch* (London: G. G. Harrap, 1957).

75. See *sectio* 2, 48.

76. *Ibid.*, quoted in Yates, *Art of Memory*, 327.

77. *Ibid.*, 339–40.

78. *Philothei Iordani Bruni Nolani recens et completa Ars reminiscendi et in phantastico campo exarandi: ad plurimas in triginta sigillis inquirende, disponendi, atque retinendi implicitas novas rationes & artes introductiones* (London: J. Kingston and J. Charlewood, 1583).

79. Fludd was only nine when Bruno arrived in England in 1581 and thus could not have witnessed the lectures (Fludd entered in 1592, so some at St. John’s College, Oxford, would have attended them). This was a period of the growth of skepticism in English learned culture; see Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550–1720* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

80. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 263, 340.

81. *Ibid.*, 207–8.

82. *Ibid.*, 206.

83. The relationship between trapezoids and circles has been established mathematically by the trapezoidal rule, a numerical method for evaluating the area between a curve and an axis by approximating the area with the areas of trapezoids.

84. Nigel Hiscock, *The Wise Master Builder: Platonic Geometry in Plans of Medieval Abbeys and Cathedrals* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), 274.

85. Nicolas Faucherre et al., *Les Fortifications du littoral: La Charente-Maritime* (Paris: Éditions Patrimoines et Médias, 1996), 160–82.

86. This was the case, for example, with the Blockhouse Church, erected in Fort Orange, New Netherlands, as a church and a “place of safety”; the cornerstone was laid on June 2, 1656. See Maud Esther Dilliard, *An Album of New Netherland* (New York: Bramhall House, 1963), fig. 49.

87. See, e.g., Edward Howes to John Winthrop Jr., March 26, 1632, in *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 3: 1631–1637 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 73–74.

88. Platt, *Jewell House*, 81.

89. This controversy is explained in Yates, *Art of Memory*, 266–86.

90. Platt, *Jewell House*, 85.

91. *Ibid.*, 84–85.

92. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 285.

93. The second definition of “clog” in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (in use from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries) is: “A block or heavy piece of wood, or the like, attached to the leg or neck of a man or beast [usually with a chain], to impede motion or prevent escape.”

94. Platt, *Jewell House*, 82–83.

95. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 305.

96. *Ibid.*

97. *Ibid.*, 305–6.

98. *Ibid.*, 328–29.

99. Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, vol. 3: *Style* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 530–32, entry 488; Trent’s attribution of this group of artifacts to a joiner named John Emery of Newbury was retracted in Robert F. Trent, Peter Follansbee, and Alan Miller, “First Flowers of the Wilderness: Mannerist Furniture from a Northern Essex County, Massachusetts, Shop,” in *American Furniture, 2001*, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2001), 1–12.

100. Fairbanks and Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, 3: 532.

101. *Ibid.* Trent et al. locate Parisian sources in “The Second School of Fontainebleau, ca. 1591–1600,” see “First Flowers,” 1, 52–53.

102. See Ulrich, “Furniture as Social History,” 52–59; see also 53, fig. 16, for a color photograph of the Hannah Barnard Cupboard.

103. A legal distinction was usually made between “dower” (“the part of or interest in the real estate of a deceased husband given by law to his widow during her life”) and “dowry” (“the money, goods, or estate that a woman brings to her husband in marriage”). In most of colonial America, by law and custom, the husband returned the dowry to his wife’s line in his will; see Benno M. Forman, “German Influences in Pennsylvania Furniture,” in Scott T. Swank et al., *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: Norton, 1983), 140, n. 94.

104. Platt, *Jewell House*, 81.

105. Quoted in Yates, *Art of Memory*, 214.

106. See Leslie B. Grigsby, *English Slip-Decorated Earthenware at Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1993), 28–37; Alison Grant, *North Devon Pottery:*

The Seventeenth Century (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 1983), 2–15, 35–116; and Linda Blanchard, ed., *Archaeology in Barnstaple, 1987–8* (Barnstaple, UK: North Devon District Council, 1988), 16–19. On the Windsor shops, see Joshua W. Lane and Donald P. White, “The Woodworkers of Windsor: A Connecticut Community of Craftsmen and their World, 1635–1715,” *Catalogue of Antiques and Fine Art* 4, no. 2 (Early Summer 2003): 135–39; and Carol Sims, “Woodworkers of Windsor,” *Antiques and the Arts Weekly* (Bee Publishing Co. Newtown, Conn.), May 23, 2003, 1, 40–41. For illustrations of Germanic examples, see Bernard Deneke, *Bauernmöbel: Ein Handbuch für Sammler und Liebhaber* (Munich: Keyserische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1979), figs. 88, 89, 138, 146–49, 162, 212, 214; and Gisland M. Ritz, *Altegeschnitzte Bauernmöbel* (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey, 1978), figs. 13, 15, 19, 48, 52, 74, 173, 222, 226, 229, 250.

107. Brock W. Jobe et al., *American Furniture with Related Decorative Arts, 1630–1830: The Milwaukee Art Museum and the Layton Art Collection* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1991), 37; the Peter Blinn oral history is recounted in Jane Blinn, “Blinn Genealogical Manuscript,” on deposit in the Connecticut Historical Society.

108. While Palissy was self-consciously Paracelsian, La Tour was a Caravaggist, a direct follower of Caravaggio’s great Netherlandish disciples, Honthorst and Terbrugghen.

109. See Philip Conisbee et al., *Georges de La Tour and His World* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996), 13–148, 183–232; René Tavenaux, *Le Jansenisme en Lorraine 1640–1789* (Paris: Vrin, 1960); Alexander Sedgewick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France: Voices From the Wilderness* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977); and esp. Elizabeth Vickers, “The Iconography of Georges de La Tour,” *Marsyas* 5 (1950): 105–17.

110. William Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry* (London, 1772; Alexandria, Va.: Cotton & Stewart, 1804), 45. The 1804 edition is one of the earliest from an American Press, after ten English editions.

111. On the relation between masonry and material culture in colonial Williamsburg, see F. Carey Howlett, “Admitted into the Mysteries: The Benjamin Bucktrout Masonic Master’s Chair,” *American Furniture, 1996*, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University of New England Press, 1996): 195–232.

112. Quoted in Yates, *Art of Memory*, 216.

113. *Ibid.*

114. Quoted in *Ibid.*, 217.

115. Fludd, “Geomantia,” 331.

116. John Foster’s “Man of Signs” was titled “The Dominion of the Moon in Man’s Body” when it appeared in *An Almanack of Coelestial Motions* (Boston: Printed by John Foster for John Usher, 1678); see Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, vol. 2: Mentality and Environment* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 346–47, fig. 363. For more on Franklin’s use of the image in *Poor Richard Improved*, see Frank H. Sommer, “German Language Books, Periodicals, and Manuscripts,” in Scott T. Swank et al., *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: Norton, 1983), 276–77.

117. Wayne Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 110.

118. *Philo: The Embassy to Gaius*, trans. F. H. Colson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 10.424–25.

119. Jacob, *Radical Enlightenment*, 120.

120. Godwin, *Robert Fludd*, 89.
121. For a discussion of the place of Jason's ship in the early history of Rosicrucianism in the Palatinate, see Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, fig. 3 (a) and 10.
122. Julius S. Held, *Rembrandt and the Book of Tobit* (Northampton, Mass.: Gehenna Press, 1964).
123. See *The Book of Tobit*, trans. and ed. Frank Zimmermann (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), an edition that pays special attention to folkloric scholarship; see also Randolph Runyon, *Fowles/Irving/Barthes: Canonical Variations on an Apocryphal Theme* (Columbus: Published for Miami University by the Ohio State University Press, 1981), esp. 4–6.
124. *Book of Tobit*, trans. Zimmerman, 5:10–11.
125. Roland Mousnier, *The Institutions of France Under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598–1789: Society and State*, trans. Brian Pearce (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 676; see also Sylvester Jenks, *A Short Review of the Book of Jansenius* (London [?]: n.p., 1710); *Philippe de Champagne et Port-Royal: Musée national des Granges de Port-Royal, 29 avril–28 août 1995* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995); Richard M. Golden, *The Godly Rebellion: Parisian Curés and the Religious Fronde, 1652–1662* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); Alexander Sedgwick, *The Travails of Conscience: The Arnauld Family and the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); and Jacques M. Gres-Gayer, *Le Jansénisme en Sorbonne, 1643–1656* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1996).
126. *Book of Tobit*, trans. Zimmerman, 6:1–10.
127. Ernest Jones, "The Symbolic Significance of Salt in Folklore and Superstition," in id., *Essays in Applied Psycho-analysis* (1923; London: Hogarth Press, 1951), 29 et passim.
128. Yates, *Art of Memory*, 326–27.
129. William Hogarth, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius, and Criticisms on His Works, Selected from Walpole, Gilpin, J. Ireland, Lamb, Phillips and Others. To Which are Added a Catalogue of His Prints; Account of Their Variations, and Principal Copies; Lists of Paintings, Drawings, &c.* (London: J. B. Nichols & Son, 1833), 1–67.
130. *Ibid.*, 2–3.
131. *Ibid.*, 3.
132. *Ibid.*
133. *Ibid.*, 3–4.
134. *Ibid.*, 4.
135. *Ibid.*, 13.
136. See how this ambivalence plays itself out poetically in the glazier Jacques-Louis Ménétra's "Epistle to My Mind," in id., *Journal of My Life*, ed. Daniel Roche, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 239–40.
137. Hogarth, *Anecdotes*, 48–49.
138. *Ibid.*, 4–5.
139. *Ibid.*, 76–77.
140. *Ibid.*
141. *Ibid.*, 5–6.
142. *Ibid.*, 36–37.
143. *Ibid.*, 48.
144. *Ibid.*, 46–47.
145. *Ibid.*, 47.

146. Ibid., 8.
 147. Ibid.
 148. Ibid., pp. 9–10.
 149. Ibid.
 150. Ibid., 8–9.
 151. Ibid., 11.
 152. Ibid.
 153. Ibid., 12.
 154. Ibid.
 155. Schwartz, *French Prophets*, 216–78.
 156. See Lars Tharp, *Hogarth's China: Hogarth's Paintings and Eighteenth-Century Ceramics* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1997). This is a ceramic pitcher, probably redware of the Staffordshire type; similar ceramic pitchers appear in several of Hogarth's paintings and prints; see, e.g., 90, figs. 77–8; 103, fig. 88.
 157. Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, 2: 420–21. The final letter arrived shortly after Franklin sent word to Hogarth that the Library Company of Philadelphia intended to purchase a complete set of his engravings. An illustration of *Gin Lane* may be found in Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 370, fig. 186; the pitcher hangs in the middle ground to the right, over the establishment of “Kilman Distiller,” a comment on Hogarth's distaste for the vice of drunkenness.
 158. See E. Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, vol. 1: *Barthélemy Berton, 1563–1573*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 34 (Geneva: E. Droz, 1960), esp. 1: 26–9, et passim.
 159. Berton's title page shows this emblematically as a block of matter in “mixed composition.”
 160. Pamela H. Smith, *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 89.
 161. Ibid., 89–91.

FIFTEEN ❁ Hidden in Plain Sight

EPIGRAPH: *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710–1719*, ed. Edward Porter Alexander (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), 115.

1. These issues are explored in Richard Archer, “New England Mosaic: A Demographic Analysis for the Seventeenth Century,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (October 1990): 477–502, and David Grayson Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), and Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); the pioneering study of the intense, specific localism of seventeenth-century transferal remains Sumner Chilton Powell, *Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1963); for the problem of pluralism and diffusion in seventeenth-century New England material culture, see Robert Blair St. George, *The Wrought Covenant: Source Material for the Study of Craftsmen and Community in Southeastern New England, 1620–1700* (Brockton, Mass.: Brockton Art Center / Fuller Memorial, 1979), and Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), esp. vol. 1, *Migration and Settlement*. The dissenting voice

in recent historiography comes from David Hackett Fischer, who maintains the primacy of East Anglian “hearth culture” transferred to colonial New England in *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 13–205. Fischer’s synchronic position has been aggressively challenged on both sides of the Atlantic; see Jack P. Greene, Virginia De John Anderson, James Horn, Barry Levy, Ned C. Landsman, and David Hackett Fischer, “Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America—A Symposium,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (April 1991): 224–308.

2. On pluralism in early New York, see Thomas L. Purvis, “The National Origins of New Yorkers in 1790,” *New York History* 67, no. 2 (April 1986): 133–50; Nan A. Rothschild, *New York City Neighborhoods: The Eighteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1990); Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664–1730* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992); and David S. Cohen, “How Dutch Were the Dutch of New Netherland?” *New York History* 62, no. 1 (January 1981): 43–50. On woodworking artisans, pluralism, and creolization, see Neil Duff Kamil, “Of American Kasten and the Mythology of ‘Pure Dutchness’: A Review Article,” *American Furniture*, 1993, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1993): 275–82; Lonny Taylor and Dessa Bokides, *New Mexican Furniture, 1660–1940: The Origins, Survival, and Revival of Furniture Making in the Hispanic Southwest* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1987); and Lonny Taylor, “Hispanic Cabinetmakers and the Anglo-American Aesthetic,” *Antiques* 136, no. 3 (September 1989): 554–67.

3. Elizabeth Paling Funk, “Netherlands’ Popular Culture in the Knickerbocker Works of Washington Irving,” in *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609–1776*, ed. Roderic H. Blackburn and Nancy A. Kelley (Albany, N.Y.: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1987), 83–94; and Kamil, “Of American Kasten,” 275–82.

4. Benno M. Forman, *American Seating Furniture, 1630–1730: An Interpretive Catalogue* (New York: Norton, 1988), 229–356; for a dissenting view, see Roger Gonzales and Daniel Putnam Brown Jr., “Boston and New York Leather Chairs: A Reappraisal,” *American Furniture*, 1996, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1996): 175–94. Unfortunately, whereas Forman draws on painstaking archival research to support his artifactual analysis, Gonzales and Brown present virtually no documentary evidence to support their argument beyond willful assertions of the inherent righteousness of their very personal application of connoisseurship.

5. These inventories represent nearly the total of those known to survive in English from early New York City and Queens and Kings Counties on western Long Island and in northern Brooklyn. Inventories taken in English begin in 1664. The majority of original documents are currently on deposit in the New York State Archives in Albany, as well as in the Klapper Library, Queens College; the New-York Historical Society Library; and the H. F. DuPont Winterthur Museum, Joseph Downs Manuscript Collection.

6. R. W. Symonds, “The English Export Trade in Furniture to Colonial America, Part I,” *Antiques* 27, no. 6 (June 1935): 216. The majority of such reports to Parliament (most authored by English merchants and the London guilds), appeared in the 1760s on the heels of the huge debt British taxpayers accumulated after the end of the Seven Years’ War in 1763, prompting the Parliamentary Reform Acts; see John J. McCusker and Russel R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 190.

7. McCusker and Menard, *Economy of British America*, 92–93.
8. *Ibid.*, 96–110.
9. Richard H. Randall Jr., “Boston Chairs,” *Old-Time New England* 54, no. 1 (Summer 1963): 12–16; Brock Jobe, “The Boston Furniture Industry, 1720–1740,” in *Boston Furniture of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1974), 40; Robert F. Trent, *Hearts and Crowns: Folk Chairs of the Connecticut Coast, 1720–1840: As Viewed in the Light of Henri Focillon’s Introduction to “Art Populaire”* (New Haven, Conn.: New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1977), 32–35; see also the inventory of James Nappier of New York City, taken March 26, 1754, in which “6 Boston made leather chaires” are recorded, Joseph Downs Manuscript Collection, Winterthur Museum, acc. 53.190; and on March 28, 1701, Her Majesty’s Custom’s Clerks recorded that Benjamin Faneuil of New York City was to pay duty on “12 leather chairs [lately arrived on the sloop Rachell from] Boston where the above goods were made,” in *An Account of Her Majesty’s Revenue in the Province of New York, 1701–1709: The Customs Records of Early Colonial New York*, ed. Julius M. Block, Leo Hershkowitz, Kenneth Scott, and Constance D. Sherman (Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1966), 35. On the significance of talk among consumers about novel items available in the colonial marketplace in the process of anglicization beginning in the 1680s, see Timothy H. Breene, “An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690–1776,” *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 4 (October 1986): 470–99.
10. William Smith Jr., *The History of the Province of New-York*, vol. 1: *From the First Discovery to the Year 1732*, ed. Michael Kammen (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1972), 226; first edition published as William Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York From the First Discovery to the Year MDCCXXXII. To Which is annexed, A Description of the Country, with a short Account of the Inhabitants, their Trade, Religious and Political State, and the Constitution of the Courts of Justice in that Colony* (London: Printed for Thomas Wilcox, 1757).
11. Thomas Fitch Letterbook, microfilm M-1422, Joseph Downs Library, Winterthur Museum. The original letterbooks are now located in the American Antiquarian Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society respectively. For the Faneuil genealogy and the family’s transatlantic trading and patronage network, see J. F. Boshier, “Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 52, no. 1 (January 1995): 84–92. For the Atlantic trading society of La Rochelle’s mercantile community in Canada, see *id.*, *The Canada Merchants, 1713–1763* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 3–46, 109–90; and “The Imperial Environment of French Trade with Canada, 1660–1685,” *English Historical Review* 108 (January 1993): 50–81.
12. Robert J. Gough, “The Myth of the ‘Middle Colonies’: An Analysis of Regionalization in Early America,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 103 (July 1983): 394–95. Gough borrows the term “human region” from Lewis Mumford.
13. Fitch Letterbook.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Population figures from Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 178–80. The middle colonies was among the fastest-growing regions between 1660 and 1710 (in large part due to the “push factor” caused by the continental wars of religion). The concerns of the Board of Trade were focused initially on woolens manufactured on Long Island; see letters from Lord Cornbury to Secretary Hodges in 1705; Caleb Heathcote

to the Board of Trade on August 3, 1708; and Governor Hunter to the Board of Trade on November 12, 1715, in E. B. O’Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, 4 vols. (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, & Comp., 1849–51), 1: 711–14.

16. See Neil Kamil, “Discursive Things: Language, Form, and Context in British America” (*American Historical Review*, forthcoming); for a detailed reconstruction of Faneuil’s Sain-
tongeais craft network in New York, see chapter 16.

17. For population figures based on census and tax records from 1695 and 1703, see Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 151–2. The English made up 26.4 percent of New York’s merchants in 1695; ethnicity was largely determined by surname alone in the study Butler quotes, hence the qualifier “arguably.”

18. David Ormrod, “The Atlantic Economy and the ‘Protestant Capitalist International,’ 1651–1775,” *Historical Research* 66, no. 160 (June 1993): 197–207. See also Bosher, “Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century,” 77–100.

19. Fitch Letterbook.

20. Trent, “The Endicott Chairs,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 114, no. 2 (April 1, 1978): 17–18.

21. Queens College, Klapper Library, Historical Documents Collection, Albany, II, fol. 2–84. When appraisers referred to condition, “old” was often accompanied by specific qualifiers such as “broken” or “much abused.”

22. The armchair was sold at the Litchfield Auction Gallery in Litchfield, Connecticut, on January 6, 1991. The consignors reportedly purchased it from an unremembered “dealer in Greenwich, Connecticut about forty years ago.” I am grateful to the Litchfield Auction Gallery for providing this information. On the Parisian “grand” chair, see Peter Thornton, “Upholstered Seat Furniture in Europe, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Upholstery in America and Europe from the Seventeenth Century to World War I*, ed. Edward S. Cooke Jr. (New York: Norton, 1987), 33, fig. 8.

23. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, “escritoire” first appears in English in 1611. The migration pattern of the Cortelyou family is typical of the “old” (pre-Revocation) Huguenot diaspora, which usually made its way to New Amsterdam / New York by way of the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Jacques Cortelyou was the first of the family to settle in New Amsterdam, where he was surveyor-general for the Dutch West India Company by 1660. It was in this capacity that Cortelyou executed his axiometric view of New Amsterdam in 1660, which served as the model for the well-known Castello Plan of 1670 (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence). For more on the Cortelyou and Castello plans, see Roderick H. Blackburn and Ruth Piwonka, *Remembrance of Patria: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America 1609–1776* (Albany: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1988), 93. Cortelyou was born in Utrecht around 1625, according to Jasper Dankers’s observations recorded in his *Journal of a Voyage to New York* (September 1679): “Jacques is a man advanced in years. He was born in Utrecht, but of French parents as we could readily discover from all his actions, looks, and language. He studied philosophy in his youth [at the University of Utrecht] and spoke Latin and good French. He was a mathematician and sworn land-surveyor. He had also formerly learned several sciences, and had some knowledge of medicine” (quoted in Maud Esther Dilliard, *Old Dutch Houses of Brooklyn* [New York: Richard R. Smith, 1945], n.p.). It was in this function as surveyor-general that, on February 16, 1660, Cortelyou laid out twenty-two house lots to establish the town of Bushwick

(Bos Wyck, or “Town in the Woods”). This was a Huguenot settlement, which began when fourteen refugees removed to Brooklyn from New Amsterdam (*ibid.*).

24. *Journal of John Fontaine*, 114–5. Fontaine’s father was born in 1658, in Jenouille, Saintonge.

25. For an early map of Kings County roads, see Dilliard, *Old Dutch Houses of Brooklyn*, ix. For an analysis of Kings County and New York City kasten, see Peter M. Kenny, Frances Gruber Stafford, and Gilbert T. Vincent, *American Kasten: The Dutch-Style Cupboards of New York and New Jersey, 1650–1800* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 16–21; and cat. no. 8. For the story of the Flushing Remonstrance, see Henry D. Waller, *History of the Town of Flushing* (1899; West Jordan, Utah: Stemmons Publishing, 1988), 44; Haynes Trebor, *The Flushing Remonstrance* (Flushing, N.Y.: The Bowne House Historical Society, 1957), 3–4; and Neil D. Kamil, “‘Like a house without a door and lock’: Reflections on Religion, Popular Culture and Material Life in Early America: The Middle Colonies and the Upper South, 1650–1800,” keynote address, in *Religion, Popular Culture and Material Life in the Middle Colonies and the Upper South, 1650–1800*, ed. Neil Duff Kamil and John J. McCusker, 34–36 (College Park, Md.: Maryland Colloquium on Early American History, 1990).

26. See John T. Kirk, *American Furniture and the British Tradition to 1830* (New York: Knopf, 1982), 235, fig. 752.

27. Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978), 180–82. The Huguenot settlement at Manakin, Virginia, located twenty miles above the fall line on the James River (or perhaps other Huguenot settlements in southeastern Virginia) is a second, less likely point of origin for this armchair. I am grateful to Luke Beckerdite for bringing this important example to my attention, and for sharing his insights into the role of the large population of French refugee artisans in the furniture production of both Virginia and South Carolina. For an introduction to the history of the Manakin settlement, see James L. Bugg, “Manakin Town in Virginia: Its Story and its People” (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1950). For a photograph and discussion of the South Carolina chair’s Huguenot influences, see Ronald Hurst and Jonathan Prown, *Southern Furniture 1680–1730: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997), 52–54; see also John Bivins Jr., “The French Connection,” *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 28, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 128–35.

28. Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 198–202. For an illustration of a British version of a sgabello, ca. 1626, see *Western Furniture 1350 to the Present Day in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London*, ed. Christopher Wilk (London: Philip Wilson, 1996), 52–53.

29. On the “double poire” see Forman, *American Seating Furniture*, 226.

30. The Van Cortlandt leather armchair was probably made for the original manor house around the time it was built, in 1697, by Stephanus Van Cortlandt (1643–1700). Stephanus died just three years later, when the chair passed to Philip Van Cortlandt (1683–1748). The chair might also have been made for Philip, since it could date as late as 1720. Upon Philip’s death, it was willed to Pierre Van Cortlandt (1721–1814). With the death of Pierre, the armchair passed to Pierre Van Cortlandt II (1762–1843). It then descended to Pierre III. With the passing of Pierre’s wife, Catherine Beck, in 1895, the chair was willed to her daughter, Catherine T. R. Van Cortlandt (1838–1921), who married John Rutherford Mathews (1835–1898). Finally, the chair passed to their daughter, Isabel Rutherford Mathews (May 1, 1878–July 24, 1909). When the Van Cortlandt Manor’s furnishings were auctioned by Parke Bernet in New York on February 6–8, 1941, and March 7, 1942, the chair was one of the few items held out and it was sold privately to John

D. Rockefeller Jr., who displayed it in the Beekman Wing of Philipsburg Manor, Tarrytown, New York, the first of the properties that he purchased and had conserved for the present museum complex, Historic Hudson Valley. The Van Cortlandt Manor House was sold by Catherine Van Cortlandt Mason Browne, the last of the Van Cortlandt line to live in the ancestral home, in 1945. In 1953, Rockefeller purchased it for Sleepy Hollow Restorations (now Historic Hudson Valley), and in 1959, he returned the Van Cortlandt leather armchair to the second story hall, where it remains today. See Joseph T. Butler, *The Family Collections at Van Cortlandt Manor* (Tarrytown, N.Y.: Sleepy Hollow Restorations, 1967), 20, 42–3; “The Ancestral Record of the Family of Van Cortlandt” (holograph), Library, Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, New York; and auction catalogues, Parke Bernet New York, February 6–8, 1941, and March 7, 1942. I am most grateful to Joseph T. Butler, director and curator emeritus of collections at Historic Hudson Valley, for his assistance with this genealogy.

31. The chair was in the Bybee Collection, Dallas, Texas, when it was nearly destroyed by fire in the 1970s. The remains of the scorched frame are now in storage at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

32. This construction evidence should further discredit the tenacious argument that the New York leather chair was in fact produced either in Boston or, an even more remote possibility, the fledgling Piscataqua region of New Hampshire. The logic of the latter argument, first advanced by some dealers and antiquarians in the 1960s because a number of such chairs were supposedly “found” there, and now revived (along with the Boston thesis) on the basis of extremely tenuous physical evidence and no documentary evidence by Roger Gonzales and Daniel Putnam Brown Jr. (see n. 4 above), is particularly difficult to accept because of “Piscataqua’s” close proximity to insurmountable competition from Boston, the region’s indisputable entrepôt where a number of upholsterers plied their trade in an urban setting appropriate to their commercial and production needs, and where New Hampshire’s elites went to purchase their leather chairs. Even a brief survey of the literature on seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century southeastern New Hampshire indicates that by no stretch of the imagination could an urban upholstery network such as ones in Boston and New York have been supported by the limited population and resources available there during this period. Finally, the Piscataqua leather chair “thesis” has failed even to attract notice, let alone support, in a plethora of the most recent research and publication on the early New Hampshire furniture industry. For the latter, see Brock Jobe, ed., *Portsmouth Furniture: Masterworks from the New Hampshire Seacoast* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1992); Gerald W. R. Ward, “Three Centuries of Life Along the Piscataqua River,” *Antiques* 142, no. 1 (July 1992): 60–65; and Gerald W. R. Ward and Karin E. Cullity, “The Furniture,” *Antiques* 142, no. 1 (July 1992): 94–103.

33. I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909* (New York: R. H. Dodd, 1922), 4: 422. The historian Charles W. Baird argued that Jean was probably born in Saint-Lô, Normandy, because that was the ancestral seat of the family name Chevalier (Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 2 vols. [New York: Dodd, Mead, 1885], 2: 280). However, I discovered many Chevaliers in the archives for Saintonge, where it was a common Huguenot name. Like many Huguenots from the northwest coast of France, Jean’s branch of Le Chevaliers may have moved to the southwest during the civil wars. Strong evidence of a Saintongeais origin for the Le Chevaliers of New Amsterdam / New York, may be found in “*Recueil de manuscrits sur les églises reformées de France reunie par les soins de Mr. Alexandre Crottet, ancien Pastur des églises Reformées de Pons, Gemozac et Mortagne en Saintonge*,” in *Huguenot*

Records, 1578–1787, reproduced by the South Carolina Historical Society in 1981 from records at the Charleston [S.C.] Library Society (SCHS-51-31-1). There were also numerous Jean Chevaliers recorded in the birth, marriage, death, and burial registers of Aunis in the seventeenth century, where they were located predominantly on the coast, particularly on the Île de Ré and in La Rochelle; see “Table des Baptemes faits a St. Martin isle de Re par M. Barbault, le pere, ministre en 1685, jusques et compris le mois de Septembre. Copiee sur le Registre de la dite Egise de 1685,” in *Notes et collections d’érudits*, Archives préfectoraux de La Rochelle, files J. 102 and 103, handwritten manuscripts by J. Pandin de Lussaudiere, n.p. See also Edward Elbridge Salisbury, *Family Memorials: A Series of Genealogical and Biographical Monographs*, 2 vols. (privately printed, 1885), 2: 540–44. Salisbury also argues on the basis of the unique Chevalier coat of arms that Jean Le Chevalier Sr. probably came from Brittany, not Normandy, but he does admit that the family was fragmented early into separate branches, which moved to other areas in France. All the evidence suggests that the Le Chevaliers of New York originated in Normandy and that a branch moved to Saintonge. After the Revocation, Jean Le Chevalier’s family moved to London. On April 9, 1687, they appeared on a list of refugees who were issued a warrant for naturalization at Whitehall. John Jr., the eldest child, would then have been about seventeen. There may have been a branch of this mobile family in Charleston during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as well. Joiner Pierre Le Chevalier’s property is listed in *A Compleat Description of the Province of Carolina*, published by Edward Crisp and printed ca. 1711 (I thank Luke Beckerdite for this information).

34. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration*, 2: 212. *New York Historical Manuscripts Dutch: The Register of Salomon Lachaire Notary Public of New Amsterdam, 1661, 1662*, trans. E. B. O’Callachan, ed. Kenneth Scott and Kenneth Stryker-Rodda (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1978), xii, xvi. Salomon La Chair was baptized in Amsterdam’s Walloon Church on January 30, 1628. For Jean Chevalier’s City Hall contract, see Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 4: 305.

35. *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 15, no. 1 (January 1884): 36. Valenciennes entered the maelstrom of Reformation confessional conflict as early as the 1560s, when public singing of Marot’s psalms and other “impious songs” was deemed threatening enough to warrant an official interdiction of similar heretical activities. See Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 99.

36. See Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration*, 2: 80. For Le Chevalier’s involvement in the Eglise français, see *Collections of the Huguenot Society of America*, 1 (New York, 1886). For a longer discussion of the significance of Le Chevalier’s dual church allegiances, see Kamil, “Of American Kasten,” 278. For more on Joshua Delaplaine’s artisanal activity, see J. Steward Johnson, “New York Cabinetmaking Prior to the Revolution” (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1964), 23–24.

37. *New York State Calendar: English, 1664–1776*, 15 (Albany, N.Y.: Office of the Secretary of State, 1865–66), 247; *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (New York: Printed for the Society, 1886), 58; John Chevalier vs. Duie Hungerford, Mayor’s Court, June 11, 1700; and Albany I, fol. 1–11; and Queens College, Klapper Library, Historical Documents Collection, Mayor’s Court Papers, 1. In an indenture dated June 1, 1700, the New York joiner Edward Burling agreed to “Give to his Said Apprentice a good Sett of Carpenters Tools & Shall learn him to write Read

& Cypher” (*Collections of the New-York Historical Society* [1886]: 585). On Jean Bouyer, see Morgan H. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches and Index of the Huguenot Settlers of New Rochelle, 1687–1776* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Huguenot and Historical Association of New Rochelle, 1941), 15.

38. See payments by Thomas Weaver, Customs House, June 25–September 25, 1701, in *Account of Her Majesty’s Revenue*, ed. Block et al., 34.

39. As a communicant in New York’s first Trinity Church, the wealthiest and most politically powerful Anglican congregation in the city, Ellison’s status was assured when he was awarded the prestigious contract to build its first pulpit. See *First Recorded Minutes Regarding the Building of Trinity Church in the City of New York: 1696–1697*, Trinity Church: Office of the Parish Archives, entry for October 5, 1696; and *Corporation of Trinity Church Minutes of the Vestry*, Trinity Church: Office of the Parish Archives, 1: 1697–1791, 221–22, 229. As of November 16, 1725, Ellison’s outstanding debts totaled £8165.1.1½, and Jean Le Chevalier was among the debtors. See the inventory and “Book Debts from the Ledger of John Ellison, in the Hands of John Ellison, Jr.” (also a joiner), Albany I, fol. 2–94, Queens College, Klapper Library, Historical Documents Collection; and the inventory of John Ellison Jr., October 6, 1730, New-York Historical Society Manuscript Division.

40. Fitch Letterbook. See also *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 87. Richard Lott “upholsterer” became a freeman on September 30, 1707. The mayor’s court referred to him as a “chairmaker” in a suit for nonpayment of debts (Richard Lott vs. Johannes Cuyler and John Cruger, October 21, 1707, Queens College, Klapper Library, Historical Documents Collection, Mayor’s Court Papers.)

41. Fitch Letterbooks. On the notion of “unintended performance,” see J. G. A. Pocock, *The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 31; and Peter Sahlin, “Fictions of a Catholic France: The Naturalization of Foreigners, 1685–1787,” *Representations*, no. 47 (Summer 1994): 97.

42. By 1720, New York hardware merchants began stocking British upholstery materials in response to their declining availability from Boston merchants. Abraham Brock, lately a “merchant of Bristol,” offered a tremendous quantity of textiles and yardgoods, woodworkers tools, a variety of hinges, latches, and standard upholstery materials including “7/8 of a gross of girth webb att 1:0:3,” “41 bosses [probably boss-nails or metal studs] 0:3:5,” and “3 Doz Tufting nails 0:3:5” (Inventory of Abraham Brock, May 4, 1720, Queens College, Klapper Library, Historical Documents Collection, fol. 2–37).

43. A. V. Phillips, *The Lott Family in America* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edward Brothers, 1942), 1–2; see also *Collections of the St. Nicholas Society of the City of New York: Genealogical Record 4* (1934): 185. On patterns of Huguenot migration, see Warren C. Scoville, *The Persecution of the Huguenots and French Economic Development, 1680–1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 6. For example, George and Monwers Lott of New Utrecht were both carpenters active in the 1750s.

44. Archives départementales de la Charente-Maritime (hereafter ADCM), B 1325; 1350; 1417; 1492; 1568 and E suppl. 297; 317; 364; 800; 906; 907; 913; also E suppl. 317; 369, 1746–48.

45. On Suire’s Saintongeais background, see Seacord, *Biographical Sketches and Index of the Huguenot Settlers of New Rochelle*, 50. Inventory of Jean Suire, Queens College, Klapper Library, Historical Documents Collection, Albany II, fol. 2–256.

46. Although the tools, materials and skills involved in saddlery, shoemaking, and leather

upholstery are related, Suire is unusual in having worked as a joiner and shoemaker. However, as we have seen, the Suires of La Rochelle ran a public house that shoemakers frequented with enough regularity to merit the attention of local police.

47. Some early Louisiana furniture was undoubtedly made by creole slaves and freedmen working in distinctive French regional idioms; see Jessie J. Poesch, *Early Furniture of Louisiana, 1750–1830* (New Orleans: Louisiana State Museum, 1972), 18–9, 33. New York artisans also exploited slave labor, a fact clearly evidenced by Jean Suire’s “1 Negro about 8 years . . . 12:0:0” (Inventory of Jean Suire). On African-American artisans in early New York, see Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991). On the church of Saint-Étienne, see *Inventaire général des monuments et des richesses artistiques de la France, Commission régionale de Poitou-Charentes, Charente-Maritime, Cantons Île de Ré* (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Direction du patrimoine, 1979), 153, 184–85.

48. Given this regional association, it is not surprising that the carved crest and front stretchers of the chair also recall Italianate architectural models and designs carried into southwestern France from northern Italy during the late sixteenth century. As we have seen, elite elements of southwestern Protestant culture—including local Saintongeais nobility and such churchmen as the young Jean Calvin—made the pilgrimage south to seek patronage in northern Italy. Some varieties of London caned chairs also evidence this turning sequence.

49. In 1685, John Thomas of Hempstead, Queens County, owned “6 Cane Chars 3/0/0 [and] 6 Black Chars 1/4/0” (inventoried in order to signify a full “set” of twelve), but no leather chairs (inventory of John Thomas, 1685, Queens College, Klapper Library, Historical Documents Collection, Albany 1: 1–124).

50. Variants of the *cloture*’s carved floral panels also relate to coastal Connecticut carved and painted furniture. Compare particularly with carved work on case furniture traditionally associated with Blin and examples of painted furniture usually associated with Charles Guillam on the Connecticut shore, including the chest of drawers illustrated in figure 5.8 and, among many other examples, two painted chests in Winterthur Museum, illustrated in Dean A. Fales Jr., *American Painted Furniture, 1660–1880* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1986), 26–27, figs. 24–25. For evidence of these and other important Huguenot woodworking networks dispersed to the Long Island Sound region, see Robert F. Trent, “A Channel Islands Parallel for the Early Eighteenth-Century Connecticut Chests Attributed to Charles Guillam,” *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 2, no. 1 (Fall 1994): 75–91; and Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, “Connecticut Sunflower Furniture: A Familiar Form Reconsidered,” *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, Spring 1989: 21–38; Schoelwer makes the case here that the sunflower is in fact a “Huguenot marigold.” On Ezekial Carré, see Forman, *American Seating Furniture*, 226.

51. For the southwestern French backgrounds of the Durand and Coutant families, see Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration*, 2: 21, 61, 332, 1: 306. See also Jacqueline Calder, “Westchester County, New York Furniture,” *Antiques* 121, no. 5 (May 1982): 1195–98; Benno M. Forman, “The Crown and York Chairs of Coastal Connecticut and the Work of the Durands of Milford,” in *Pilgrim Century Furniture: An Historical Survey*, ed. Robert F. Trent (New York: Main Street / Universe Books, 1976), 158–65; Trent, *Hearts and Crowns*, 29–59; and Kathleen Eagen Johnson, “The Fiddleback Chair,” in *Early American Furniture from Settlement to City: Aspects of Form, Style, and Regional Design from 1620 to 1830*, ed. Mary Jean Madigan and Susan Colgan (New York: Billboard Publications, 1983), 92–97. See also Trent, “Channel Islands Parallel,” and Schoelwer, “Connecticut Sunflower Furniture.”

52. What I call creolization is well documented as an art historical process in England and the Low Countries in Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*.

53. Forman, “Crown and York Chairs,” 158, fig. 1. On Pierre Durand, see Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration*, 2: 332.

54. “The life of form” is borrowed from Henri Focillon’s seminal essay of the same name, *La Vie des formes* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1934). Forman, *American Seating Furniture*, 292–94.

55. Forman, *American Seating Furniture*, 292–94. In different examples using the same artifactual language, truncated columns, vases, twists, and other lapidary forms stacked symmetrically between and above the balusters are also commonly found. The Van Cortlandt leather armchair is exceptional in that it does not possess a slit under the crest rail. The term “french hollow” was never acknowledged by Forman, although he did carefully note this formal idiosyncrasy in relation to Boston models.

56. *Ibid.*, 293–94.

57. *Ibid.*, 293, caption for fig. 162. See esp. the London cane armchair illustrated in Peter M. Kenny, “Flat Gates, Draw Bars, Twists, and Urns: New York’s Distinctive, Early Baroque Oval Tables with Falling Leaves,” *American Furniture, 1994*, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994): 120, fig. 25. The posts of this chair are nearly the same as the leather armchair illustrated in fig. 15.24. In a recent discussion of the London high-back Turkey-work chair illustrated in fig. 15.36, Margaret Swain argues that the slit in the chair’s crest rail may have been to accommodate varying, pre-cut sizes of Turkey-work upholstery exclusively, and that “many” surviving New York chairs now covered in leather were probably originally Turkey-work (Margaret Swain, “The Turkey-work Chairs of Holyroodhouse,” in *Upholstery in America and Europe*, ed. Cooke, 56–57). This theory is undermined by several chairs with this construction technique and original leather upholstery, including the “European” leather chair and a New York leather chair at the Van Alen House in Kinderhook, New York (Collections of the Columbia County Historical Society), as well as evidence that leather panels may also have been pre-cut. More likely, the slit was simply a sturdy, efficient, and economical way to upholster both Turkey-work and leather chairs. Two similar twist-turned and carved London cane chairs descended in the Wright family of Oyster Bay, Long Island and the Smith family of New York City and Setauket, Long Island. Both are illustrated in Dean F. Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation: The Decorative Arts and Craftsmen, 1640–1830* (Setauket, N.Y.: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1976), 24, figs. 19, 20.

58. Forman, *American Seating Furniture*, 293, fig. 162. Daniel Marot’s contribution to the Anglo-French and Dutch court style is discussed at length in Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 40–96.

59. *Inventaire général*, 153. There is a local tradition that the choir screen may have originally been made for the Jesuit chapel in Saintes, the principal Gallo-Roman city in Saintonge, but there is no evidence to support this assertion. It probably dates from 1629, but its present overall form is the result of restoration campaigns undertaken in 1845 and 1891, when the screen, which had been separated into three distinct sections during the eighteenth century, was re-assembled.

60. Forman, *American Seating Furniture*, 152–53. This chair may have been made by Jean Le Chevalier’s paternal grandfather, “Jan Cavelier,” who framed and repaired the royal arms on New York’s city hall in 1675, or by a contemporary New York joiner and carver. Most significantly, as

the subject of diffusion of motifs, a cherub with goat feet appears as a central motif in the design book of John Berger (working ca. 1718–32), a Boston Huguenot painter-stainer whose family originated in La Rochelle. See Robert A. Leath, “Jean Berger’s Design Book: Huguenot Tradesmen and the Dissemination of French Baroque Style,” *American Furniture, 1994*, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994): 138, 145.

61. As quoted in Sahlins, “Fictions of a Catholic France,” 85. State sponsored suppression of heresy did not end officially in France until the Edict of Toleration in November 1787.

62. The use of this method and language of assimilation is exemplified by Jon Butler in his otherwise excellent *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983); see pt. 2, “The Disappearance of the Huguenots in America,” 69–198. For Butler’s argument that “no significant stylistic differences separate the work of Huguenot from non-Huguenot silversmiths in the colonies,” see 178–81. As quoted in Arthur Herman, “The Saumur Assembly, 1611: Huguenot Political Belief and Action in the Age of Marie de Medici,” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1985), 36.

63. For a discussion of the interaction in social history methodology of folklore, linguistics, creolization, and pluralistic cultural convergence, see Charles Joyner, “A Single Southern Culture: Cultural Interaction in the Old South,” in *Black and White Cultural Interaction in the Antebellum South*, ed. Ted Ownby (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 11–17. For two classic formulations of this methodology, see Dell Hymes, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), and William Labov, *The Social Stratification of English In New York City* (New York: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966), esp. 7–15.

64. Jack P. Greene, *Imperatives, Behaviors, and Identities: Essays in Early American Cultural History* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 9–11.

65. The term “French-turned” refers to an inward spiral turning brought to London by Huguenot turners. Spiral turning, when reduced to two dimensions, appears either as a series of serpentine lines or concentric circles; see R. W. Symonds, “Charles II Couches, Chairs and Stools 1660–1670,” *Connoisseur* 93, no. 389 (January 1934): 19–20. The anthropologist Edward T. Hall suggests that, in general, “French handling of public and private space is sociopetal,” whereas the English is “sociofugal” (Edward T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension* [New York: Anchor Books, 1969]), 146–48.

66. Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,” *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1969): 48.

67. Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Intentions in Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965), 29. Alfred Schutz, *Collected Papers*, vol. 1: *The Problem of Social Reality*, ed., Maurice Natanson (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 229–30. Mary Douglas, *Risk and Blame: Essays in Cultural Theory* (London: Routledge, 1992), esp. 19: “In cognitive theory . . . the psyche is . . . primarily social. The social preoccupations of the person, infant or adult, would be like control gates through which all information has to pass. . . . News that is going to be accepted as true information has to be wearing a badge of loyalty to the particular political regime which the person supports; the rest is suspect, deliberately censored or unconsciously ignored.”

68. Jean-François Nicéron, *La Perspective curieuse, ou, Magie artificielle des Effets merveilleux de l’optique. . . la catoptrique . . . l’adioptrique . . .* (Paris: Pierre Billaine, 1638), quotations from the title page. I am grateful to Orest Ranum for bringing this important reference to my attention.

69. See the epigraph to this chapter.

70. In this context, perhaps the best evidence of the instability of convergence was the inability of New York's artisans to respond effectively to the more complex symbolic language that accompanied Boston's new-fashioned "crook'd back" chair with "horsebone feet"—the artifact that finally supplanted the Boston and New York plain leather chair after it first appeared in the city around 1722. This chair was defined by *both* its upholstery *and* its frame. For more on the Boston "crook'd back" chair, see Forman, *American Seating Furniture*, 296–356. For the classic text on the mechanically reproduced artifact, see Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 217–52. See also Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991), ix–xxii.

71. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York*, 3: 259–62.

72. *Ibid.*, 260.

73. *Ibid.*, 262. The mayor's council met with Cornbury on March 4, 1708, and dismissed the charges "unanimously."

74. Meschinet de Richemond, "La Liberté de conscience dans la Marine à partir de 1685 d'après les archives navales de Rochefort," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français* 51 (February 15, 1902): 88.

75. Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1885), 2: 218–20; 220 n. 1.

76. *Ibid.*, 209.

77. de Richemond, "Liberté de Conscience," 92.

78. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration*, 1: 281.

SIXTEEN • Fragments of Huguenot-Quaker Convergence in New York

1. Robert Fludd, *De naturae simia seu technia macrocosmi historia* (Nature's Ape, or History of the Macrocosmic Arts) (Oppenheim: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1618; 2d ed., Frankfurt; id., 1624), 718–20; I quote the English translation of the original Latin text by C. H. Josten, "Robert Fludd's Theory of Geomancy and His Experiences at Avignon in the Winter of 1601 to 1602," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 332.

2. Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1979), 7.

3. Robert Fludd, *Of the Internal Principle of Terrestrial Astrology or Geomancy*, trans. Josten in "Robert Flood's Theory of Geomancy," 332.

4. Alfred Baudrillart, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1930), 5: col. 1134.

5. Fludd, *Of the Internal Principle*, 332.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, 332–33.

8. *Ibid.*, 333.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, see also n. 19: "After 1590, the vice-legates were the actual governors of the papal estates at Avignon, while the office of legate, usually held by a relative of the pope, became purely nominal."

12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., 334.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. On repetition and the task of Bourbon court historians, see Orest A. Ranum, *Artisans of Glory: Writers and Historical Thought in Seventeenth-Century France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).
18. Fludd, *Of the Internal Principle*, trans. Josten in “Robert Flood’s Theory of Geomancy,” 334.
19. Ibid. The translation of *petitor* as “seeker” seems appropriate and readable in this context.
20. Ibid., 334–35.
21. “John and Samuel Bowne Account Book, 1649–1703,” New York Public Library, Main Branch, Manuscript Division, n.p., n.d. The next series of notations are from the year 1690.
22. “The Minutes of the Flushing Yearly Meeting, Later Called the New York Yearly Meeting, from its First Session in 1696 to 1702 Inclusive,” 2, New York Friends Library; “copied from original by John Cox, Jr., and George W. Cocks, engrossed by James Close (1895–1898).”
23. On the renovation campaigns on the Flushing meetinghouse, see Henry Onderdonk Jr., *The Annals of Hempstead, 1643 to 1832; also, The Rise and Growth of the Society of Friends On Long Island and in New York, 1657 to 1826* (Hempstead, N.Y.: Lott Van de Water, 1878), 94–95; and Ann Gidley Lowry, *The Story of the Flushing Meeting House* (Flushing, N.Y.: Flushing Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1969), 5–6, 19–26. New York was not deterred by the poverty that saved Massachusetts houses. The city’s seventeenth-century sites are mostly hidden underground, buried in the wake of expansion.
24. See R. Peter Mooz, “Robert Feke,” in *American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1971), 181–92.
25. See “The Feake Family of Norfolk, London and Colonial America,” *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 86, no. 3 (July 1955): 132–48.
26. “John and Samuel Bowne Account Book, 1649–1703.”
27. Ibid., n.p., entry dated “3. day 3 mo 1696.”
28. Ibid., “19th: of ye: 2d: mo: 1680”; see also other references to Clay in 1680, though of unspecified date and unpaginated.
29. Mayor’s Court Papers, 1, September 9, 1732, Queens College, Klapper Library, Manuscript Division. Blake pleaded *non assumpsit* to the charge. “John Blake, Shipwright,” was declared a freeman of the City of New York on December 9, 1718; see *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 98. On March 24, 1732, Blake sued Zebediah Hunt for £6.10s. owed (and £10 damages) on “1 main mast 1 foremast and 1 boom,” see Mayor’s Court Papers, 1, March 24, 1732. On Blake’s Irish descent, see “Blake Family,” vertical file in the New York Public Library, Genealogy Division, and Samuel W. Eager, *A History of Orange County, New York* (New York, 1846), on the Blakes who were early settlers of Neeleytown.
30. “John and Samuel Bowne Account Book,” n.p., under “31th: 11th mth of 1680.” Frames of the few surviving early western Long Island houses were commonly made of hard pine, whereas the framed houses of Massachusetts Bay were usually oak. See Abbott L. Cummings, James Sexton, and Christopher Nevins, “A Walking Tour of Ogdon House, Fairfield, Connecticut,” in *The Impact of New Netherlands upon the Colonial Long Island Basin: Report of a Yale-*

Smithsonian Seminar . . . May 3–5, 1990 (New Haven, Conn., and Washington, D.C.: The Yale and Smithsonian Seminar on Material Culture, 1993), ed. Joshua W. Lane, 27; and Abbott Lowell Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625–1725* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979). Hard pine was often used as a secondary wood in colonial New Amsterdam / New York furniture as well.

31. “John and Samuel Bowne Account Book,” n.p., found under “3d: of ye 6th month 1684.”

32. See Van Santvoord Merle-Smith, *The Village of Oyster Bay: Its Founding and Growth from 1653 to 1700* (New York: Doubleday, 1953); Dean F. Failey, *Long Island Is my Nation: The Decorative Arts and Craftsmen, 1640–1830* (Setauket, N.Y.: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1976), 291–92; original woodwork recovered from the west room of the Oyster Bay house (ca. 1667) of Job Wright, possibly Peter’s son, has survived in the collections of Winterthur Museum. The room displays very typical southeastern New England framed construction. The progenitor of the Wright Family of Oyster Bay was Peter Wright, a New England Quaker who immigrated in 1653. Many Wrights were woodworkers.

33. On the Andrews Family of Flushing and New York City, see Mary Powell Bunker, *Long Island Genealogies: Being Kindred Descendants of Thomas Powell of Bethpage, Long Island, 1688* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1976), 170–71; and Charles F. Cochran, *From Seven Generations of the Ancestry of Captain Abram Piatt Andrew* (New York: privately printed, n.d.), see genealogical chart. Cochran raised the possibility that the Long Island Andrews were lowland Scots. There is no dispute from any quarter that the family was “British.”

34. Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 96.

35. *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 3d ser., 10 (1849): 27–28; similarly, on December 10, 1675, Williams wrote Winthrop: “You have always bene noted for tendernes toward mens soules, especially for conscience sake to God. You have always bene noted for tendernes toward the bodjes & infirmities of poor mortels.” (*ibid.*, 4th ser., 6 (1863): 305–6).

36. Bunker, *Long Island Genealogies*, 170–71.

37. Collections of the *New-York Historical Society: Burghers and Freemen, 1675–1866; Apprentices, 1694–1707* (1885): 92.

38. The probate inventory of “Germanicus Andrew, Upholsterer of New York City” was appraised by Lancaster Symms and Edward Pennant on May 29, 1718: Queens College, Albany II, folder 2–7.

39. See Queens College, Klapper Library, Archival Division, Mayor’s Court Papers, 1: December 13, 1718, Joseph Howard vs. Edward Burling; March 19, 1727, Edward Burling vs. Barent Deforeest (De Forest); May 1, 1727, Edward Burling vs. Barent Defreest (De Forest).

“Anthony Chishull, Upholsterer,” named freeman January 28, 1702, *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 76; see also Philadelphia Wills, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library, Joseph Downs Manuscript Collection, 73/1702 (made Jamaica, W.I., May 31, 1702; entered at New York City August 10, 1702); the geographic mobility of this upholsterer may be gleaned from the following excerpt from his will: “I give and bequeath unto my loving brother John Chiswell in London and [my wife Ann] Chiswell in New York all my real & personall Estate of what nature and quality or condition soever whereof I now posses’d or any way Invested in England New York Pennsylvania or Elsewhere.” (I am grateful to Ellen Rosenthal for bringing the latter reference to my attention.) “Thomas Wenman, Upholsterer”; “John Schultz, Upholsterer,” named freemen, *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1885): 99, 136; on Wileman, see *New York Gazette*, no. 278, February 16–23, 1730; Vestry Minutes of Trinity Church in

New York, Trinity Church Archives, May 1, 1711, July [?], 1719, July 9, 1727, May 10, 1732, and August 23, 1749.

Chiswell, who settled in New York in 1701—by way of London and Philadelphia—died just one year later, while trading on the island of Jamaica. Thomas Wenman and John Schultz appear in the records once only, when named freemen of the city, on November 10, 1719, and June 27, 1738, respectively. After that both men simply disappear from the records. This in itself was unusual for active upholsterers. As high-level artisans, merchants, middlemen, and designers, upholsterers were recorded in transactions more frequently than other craftsmen, and they commonly appear in the accounts of both producers and consumers. Since upholsterers' customers were elite, the survival rate for documentation is also unusually high.

Henry Wileman had a somewhat longer, albeit checkered, career. Early in his working life, Wileman was an active member of Trinity Church (Anglican), where the vestry minutes recorded his donation of £1.10s toward a new church steeple in 1711. Wileman was elected a vestryman of Trinity in 1719. In 1727, he purchased a patent for “whole” pew number 108, toward the back of the opulent new building, but still potent proof of Wileman's success and high social aspirations. After this, there is no mention of Wileman the upholsterer, and it would appear that he diversified unsuccessfully into mercantile ventures and land speculation. He may also served as an attorney for other artisans. Three times between 1718 and 1727, one “Mr. Wileman” was recorded as an attorney in the mayor's court, where he represented Edward Burling, a New York Quaker joiner with Flushing family ties and strong connections to the city's Huguenot community (more will be said about him below). However, on May 10, 1732, the Trinity vestry minutes reported that “Mr. Henry Wileman late of this city but now residing in the Country,” had petitioned to be relieved of payment for the pew he purchased so proudly in 1727 if he agreed to relinquish his claim to the patent. On the same day, the vestry agreed to arrange all the details of this settlement. On August 23, 1749, the next time Wileman's name was mentioned, it was merely to record his death, although the vestry had distanced itself by then and was uncertain of the exact date.

40. Letter of June 15, 1730, from Thomas Fitch to Madame Renaudet, Thomas Fitch Letter Book, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library, Joseph Downs Manuscript Collection (M-1422).

41. This process of artisanal convergence between Huguenots and Quakers was already under way in the London refugee ghetto of Spitalfields and the other eastern out parishes; see Catherine Swindlehurst, “‘An unruly and presumptuous rabble’: The Reaction of the Spitalfields Weaving Community to the Settlement of the Huguenots, 1660–90,” in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 369.

42. Louis Effingham, *The De Forest, Dommerich, Hall and Allied Families* (New York: privately published, 1924), 26.

43. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 21.

44. “New York Marriages, from the Friends' Records of Philadelphia,” *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 3, no. 1 (January 1872): 51. The name Caspar Huet is spelled in a francophone manner, but it does not appear in any other context, so it is difficult to draw conclusions as to his ethnicity. Huet may also represent a phonetic spelling of Hewett. On the other hand, several of the twenty witnesses had strong Huguenot connections. For example, John Delavall

was probably a member of the De la Cheval family of Marennes, Saintonge, where most were active in the shoemaking trades. The De la Chevals were closely allied with the DuBois family, also from Marennes, who had early connections with the Cressons and Delaplaines in Staten Island and Esopus (later Kingston); see Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1885), 2: 28, n. 2.

45. John E. Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany: Data Relating to the Settlers and Settlement of New York and New Jersey* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970), 1: 150–56; Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 1: 186–200; James Riker, *Harlem: Its Origins and Early Annals* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Literature House, 1970), 301; *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 12 no. 4 (October 1881): 188. For the ethnicity of individuals in 1706 Staten Island census, see Field Horne, “The Social Historical Context of the Voorlezer’s House at Richmondtown, Staten Island, New York” (on file at Richmondtown Restoration, Staten Island Historical Society, 1986), 135–52. On the Waldenses of seventeenth-century Staten Island, see John Romeyn Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper, 1853–71), 1: 631–32, 692.

46. Horne, “Social Historical Context of the Voorlezer’s House,” 140. At his death in 1714, for example, the inventory of Mark du Sauchoy’s possessions on his Richmondtown farm recorded 1,000 sheaves of flax worth £3.5s.; 20 bushels of flax seed (£1.10s.); a “break for flax” (5s. 9d.), and a “hatchill” (£1.3s.). Du Sauchoy’s father, who came to New Netherlands from Picardy in 1657, typifies the northern French origin of numerous pre-1664 refugees.

47. Sung Bok Kim, *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York: Manorial Society, 1664–1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), frontispiece, 37–71, 284–351; see also the map and reconstruction of “Dutch and English Land Grants, 1629–1708,” in Roderick H. Blackburn and Ruth Piwonka, *Remembrance of Patria: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609–1776* (Albany, N.Y.: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1988), 64–65, esp. nos. 22, 24.

48. When the new fighting erupted in 1663, Pierre Cresson joined an expedition of soldiers from Staten Island that successfully defended Wiltwyck. In this military capacity, Cresson may have encountered Underhill, himself involved in similar land-grabbing expeditions not far away.

49. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 1: 190–200; *ibid.*, 65, no. 24. The original recipients of the New Paltz land grant in 1677 were Louis DuBois, Abraham Hasbrouck, Andreis LeFebre, Jean Hasbrouck, Peter Deyo, Lewis Bevier, Antoine Crispel, Abraham DuBois, Hugo Frere, Isaac DuBois, and Simon LeFevre. The DuBois family of New Paltz originated in Marennes, Saintonge, see *ibid.*, 2: 28, n. 2.

50. See Peter M. Kenny, “Flat Gates, Draw Bars, Twists, and Urns: New York’s Distinctive, Early Baroque Oval Tables with Falling Leaves,” *American Furniture, 1994*, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England / Chipstone Foundation, 1994): 106–35.

51. The four staircases in Saint-Martin-de-Ré are in the Arsenal of the Citadel (1681–85; the best documented), Les Glandiers (ca. 1695), La Croix-Blanche, and no. 11, quai Job-Foran, a private house (both late 1600s–early 1700s?); see *Inventaire général des monuments et des richesses artistiques de la France, Commission régionale de Poitou-Charentes, Charente-Maritime, Cantons Île de Ré* (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Direction du patrimoine, 1979), 292–304, 312–41, 433–506, 437–535.

52. See Guillaume Janneau, *Pour discerner les styles dans le mobilier—Les Arts décoratifs: Les Meubles de l’art antique au style Louis XIV* (Paris: Librairie d’Art R. Ducher, 1929), 30–31, figs. 28–31.

53. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1892): 450; see also J. Stewart Johnson, “New York Cabinetmaking Prior to the Revolution” (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1964), 25. This master’s thesis contains the most complete transcription to date of Joshua Delaplaine’s account books. The exact date of Joshua’s death is uncertain, although his will was dated October 2, 1771.

54. Thomas Story, *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story: Containing, an account of his remarkable convincement of, and embracing the principle of truth, as held by the people called Quakers; and also, of his travels and labours in the service of the Gospel: with many other occurrences and observations* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Isaac Thompson, 1747), 249.

55. Jon Butler, “Thinking About Dutch-English Religious Interaction in New York and Connecticut,” in *Impact of New Netherlands upon the Colonial Long Island Basin*, ed. Lane, 53.

56. The Burling-Delaplaine accounts for 1721–27 are transcribed in full in Johnson, “New York Cabinetmaking Prior to the Revolution,” appendix E.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, appendix F.

59. *New York Gazette*, August 26–September 2, 1728, and August 23–30, 1731.

60. Denis J. Maika, “Slaves and Slaveholding in New York’s Philipse Family, 1660–1750” (on file at Historic Hudson Valley Library, Tarrytown, New York, September 1997), 1–53.

61. Mayor’s common council minutes, May 5, 1736, Municipal Archives file 369. On the maritime and mercantile social geography of the East Ward during the early eighteenth century, see Thomas J. Archdeacon, *New York City, 1664–1710: Conquest and Change* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976), 92–93.

62. An illustration of the face-grain plug technique used on New York Colony furniture may be found in Peter M. Kenny, “New York’s Distinctive, Early Baroque Oval Tables with Falling Leaves,” 128, fig. 33. Variations of the concealed or invisible pin appear in canoes built in the Dutch East Indies. The words “pin” and “deck” (under which the pins were concealed) were Dutch words unknown in Indonesia before they were adopted by the Moluccan language to describe this construction method on local cora-cora, or war vessels, so it is logical to assume the joint was a Dutch innovation in the colonized culture; see Paul Michael Taylor, “New Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies,” in *Impact of New Netherlands upon the Colonial Long Island Basin*, ed. Lane, 62–63.

63. John Gardner, “The Dutch Influence on Colonial American Small Craft,” in *Impact of New Netherlands upon the Colonial Long Island Basin*, ed. Lane, 75.

64. For Burling’s genealogy and transatlantic Quaker associations, see Lawrence Buckley Thomas, *The Thomas Book: Giving the Genealogies of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., the Thomas Family Descended from Him, and of Some Allied Families* (New York: Henry T. Thomas Co., 1896), n.p.; “Records of the Society of Friends of the City of New York and Vicinity: 1640–1800,” *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 3, no. 4 (October 1872): 111–12; and William A. Eardeley, “Notes on Flushing Quaker Families” (Long Island Historical Society, MS, file 234), n.p.

65. “John and Samuel Bowne Account Book,” 29, 1st mo, 1681.

66. *Ibid.*, 1681 and 1687.

67. *Ibid.*; see also *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 52.

68. See J. W. Wallace, *Address at the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of William Bradford* (Albany, N.Y., 1863).

69. Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 12–14.

70. William Penn, *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, Lately Granted by the King, Under the Great Seal of England, To William Penn* (London: Benjamin Clark, 1681); and William Penn, *A Brief Account of the Province of East-Jersey in America, Published by the Present Proprietors Thereof, viz, William Penn et al, For Information of all such Persons who may be Inclined to Settle Themselves, Families and Servants in that Country* (London: Benjamin Clark, 1682).

71. “John and Samuel Bowne Account Book,” n.d. (ca. 1690), n.p., records land transactions valued at £50 involving a transfer of ownership in Philadelphia and Chester County to Bowne’s son Samuel. Bowne knew Penn well enough by 1683 to record Penn’s debt for £13.10s. “for cyder & hay”; and his account book also notes (by Samuel) for “the 7 mo/ 1700: then dis-borsed at [Jamaica, Long Island,] on ye account of entertainment for William penn & other friends: 1= 10: 00.” See John Bowne Account Book, entries for “1683,” and “7 mo/ 1700.”

72. John Bowne Account Book, entry by Samuel Bowne, “11 of ye 2nd mo 96.”

73. William Wade Hinshaw, *The Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy: New York City and Long Island* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1940), 3: 117; Floyd Ferris, *The Jeffrey Ferris Family Genealogy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: privately published, 1963), 5–6; and Henry R. Stiles, *The History of Ancient Wethersfield*, 2 vols. (Somersworth, N.H.: New Hampshire Publishing Co., 1904), 2: 320.

74. Story, *Journal*, 221.

75. *Ibid.*, 256–57.

76. The Townsends, a large Quaker family of woodworking artisans, often attended these meetings to hear Story and his friends speak. They followed much the same pattern of land acquisition as the Ferrises, but began their penetration of the Sound region from Oyster Bay rather than Flushing. As a result, most of their landholdings were in Oyster Bay and Newport, not Westchester. Oyster Bay remained mostly a mix of Quaker migrants who converged on the new town from Flushing and Wethersfield. There were many exceptions, however. When Daniel Townsend, a carpenter, died in his hometown of Oyster Bay in 1732, he was credited with several land grants in what was then called Westchester County. We also know the Feke family had interests in both Flushing and Oyster Bay, as well as Westchester Town and Newport. For a nearly complete list of the woodworking Townsends of Oyster Bay, ca. 1660–1776, see Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation*, 260. I would add to that list the probable father of Daniel Townsend (d. 1732), also named Daniel Townsend, a carpenter and turner of “Cedar Swamp” (Oyster Bay), who died in 1722, when his probate inventory was taken; see his inventory on file at the New-York Historical Society, taken on May 2, 1722.

77. Lloyd Ultan, *The Bronx in the Frontier Era: From the Beginning to 1696* (The Bronx, N.Y.: Bronx County Historical Society, 1993), 70–80, 127–28, 150–56; David William Voorhees, “Jacob Leisler and the Huguenot Network in the English Atlantic World,” in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 322–25.

78. On the specifics of this “land grab” for the lower Hudson Valley and the pressures English settlers placed on New Amsterdam between 1654 and 1664, see Ultan, *Bronx in the Frontier Era*, 64.

79. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 585.

80. *Ibid.*, 612–13, and 107.

81. *Ibid.*, 614.

82. Quaker records for the Flushing meeting note that Benjamin Burling was born “6 day 12 mo 1689–90” and died “at New York 21 day 10 mo 1709”.

83. James Burling was listed as a “New York merchant” on April 13, 1753, when he purchased £58.14.10 worth of molasses; see Holmes Account Book, Winterthur Museum, Joseph Downs Manuscript Collection (no. 71 x 71 w). He was called an “attorney” on September 28, 1737; see Trinity Church Vestry Minutes, 1: 189.

84. Failey, *Long Island Is my Nation*, 92, fig. 110.

85. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 620.

86. Effingham, *De Forest, Dommerich, Hall and Allied Families*, 236; see also Carl Boyer, ed., *Ship Passenger Lists, New York and New Jersey, 1600–1825* (Newhall, Calif.: privately published, 1978), 236. Both sources say Vincent Tillou died sometime before September 27, 1709.

87. Two artisans named John Vincent were listed in the 1710 probate inventory of the New York merchant Ouzeel Van Swieten. One John Vincent was called a “leather dresser of New York City,” the other a “cooper.” The pair were probably father and son. The John Vincents were named creditors of Van Swieten’s estate for £13.17.½ in leather goods, and £118.14.½ for cooperage. It is reasonable to assume that John Vincent the cooper was the father, for he appears as such in New York’s records as early as 1676, when he was taxed £100 pounds. Queens College, Albany 2: 2–284, July 19, 1710; see also New York City Tax List for 1676, in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 2, no. 1 (January 1871): 37.

88. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1885): 63.

89. Inventory at New-York Historical Society, taken July 1, 1734.

90. *New York Gazette*, no. 386 (March 13–20, 1732).

91. On enslaved African-American artisans working as skilled labor in the maritime trades in Philadelphia, Richmond, and Charleston during the early eighteenth century, see Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia’s Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 8–37; and id., “Slaves and Slave Owners in Colonial Philadelphia,” in *African Americans in Pennsylvania: Shifting Historical Perspectives*, ed. Joe William Trotter Jr. and Eric Ledell Smith (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 56–60; James Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel’s Virginia, 1730–1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 152–219; Philip D. Morgan, “Black Life in Eighteenth-Century Charleston,” *Perspectives in American History*, n.s., 1 (1984): 188–206; and Morgan, “British Encounters with Africans and African-Americans,” in *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 176–78. On the intricate practice and system of rates for hiring skilled slave artisans, an important business in Richmond, see Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords*, 187–201.

92. Quoted in Morgan, “Black Life in Eighteenth-Century Charleston,” 205. On Huguenot dominance in the woodworking trades of early eighteenth-century Charleston, see Luke Beckerdite, “Religion, Artisanry, and Cultural Identity: The Huguenot Experience in South Carolina, 1680–1725,” *American Furniture*, 1997, ed. id. (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997): 197–227; this includes an appendix listing refugee joiners in the Low Country and their presumed origins in France.

93. On hiring large gangs of unskilled slave labor for urban civic projects, and the value of protecting skilled slave labor for the lucrative hiring business, see Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords*, 160–76, 187–201.

94. On the slave community at Philips's mill in Tarrytown and the boatman Diamond's duties, see Maika, "Slaves and Slaveholding in New York's Philipse Family," 1–53.

95. Queens College, Mayor's Common Council, Municipal Archives, May 5, 1735, file 369. One of the Van Zandts was undoubtedly Johannes Van Zandt (Jean Vincent), a blockmaker who was declared a freeman of the city on June 16, 1730. He may have been Wynant's brother, son, or nephew; see *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 114.

96. Queens College, MCC, Municipal Archives, May 5, 1736, file 369.

97. Simon Bresteade, "carpenter," came from a family of coopers, blockmakers, and turners that arrived in New Amsterdam via Holland in 1636. Simon was named a freeman of the city on August 23, 1698, see *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1885): 64. On the family's Danish origins, see John O. Evjen, *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630–1674* (Minneapolis: K. C. Halter, 1916), 218–20; and New York Public Library, Genealogical Division, A.V. 154 (pamphlet file): Van Bresteede Family.

98. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1909): 117.

99. Ibid.

100. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1909): 114–15; Johnson, "New York Cabinetmaking," 25.

101. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1885): 118.

102. A tamarind is the pod of the tropical tree *Tamarindus indica*, which grew in the West Indies; its seeds were contained in a juicy pulp consumed by the colonists in beverages and foods.

103. Quoted in full in Johnson, "New York Cabinetmaking," appendix D.

104. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1909): 176.

105. Minutes of the Vestry of Trinity Church, 1: 224, February 1, 1743. The original document containing Jandine's design is missing from the Trinity archives. Janine was declared a freeman carpenter on October 26, 1728, see *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 112.

106. Queens College, Klapper Library, Manuscript Division, Mayor's Court Papers, 1: October 5, 1728; January 31, 1729.

107. Ibid., January 18, 1728; January 27, 1728. Bomier raised the £20 pound bond and was released on January 27.

108. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1909): 114–15.

109. On the numerous Lawrence-Burling-Bowne family connections, see "Thomas Genealogical Notes" (New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, MS, file GT 3664), 111–12; see also *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 3, no. 3 (July 1872): 121–31.

110. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 106; moreover, a fashionable tall clock, made in New York City or Flushing, with a rare veneered case, is signed "Joseph Lawrence" on the face. The works are presumed not to be original to the case, though they are of the period and may be of New York manufacture; see Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation*, fig. 46.

111. *New York Gazette*, no. 477 (December 9–17, 1734).

112. Wilson V. Ledley, "New Netherland Families" (New York Public Library, typescript, November 1, 1958, micro *ZI-64), n.p.; Horne, "Social Historical Context of the Voorlezer's House," 140.

113. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 95.

114. Queens College, Klapper Library, Manuscript Division, Mayor's Court Papers, 1: April 19, 1719, Bailpiece, Christopher Rousby vs. James McGrath. The inventory of James McGrath of Flushing was appraised by Adam Lawrence on December 4, 1726. In addition to a number of

woodworker's tools, including "1 Iron Square . . . 1 Drawin Knife . . . 1 auger . . . 1 hammer . . . 1 tennent saw . . . [and] 1 Hand saw," McGrath owned several articles of furniture that must have been purchased in the city, including "1 Dressing glass 1/ 0/ 0 and 10 Cain chears 5/ 0/ 0," both imported items. See *New-York Historical Society Inventories*.

115. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 95.

116. *New York Gazette*, no. 518 (September 22–29, 1735).

117. See Robert F. Trent, "A Channel Islands Parallel for the Early Eighteenth-Century Connecticut Chests Attributed to Charles Guillam," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 2, no. 1 (Fall 1994): 75–91.

118. See J. Franklin Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1909), 430; Archdeacon, *New York City, 1664–1710*, 39.

119. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 1: 282–83; Boyer, ed., *Ship Passenger Lists*, 226.

120. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1909): 134; see also Johnson, "New York Cabinetmaking Prior to the Revolution," 25–26.

121. Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 60.

122. Boyer, ed., *Ship Passenger Lists*, 231–32.

123. Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 60; Jack L. Lindsey et al., *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680–1758* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999), 149–53. See 149, fig. 197, for a Chester County, Pennsylvania, table that may be compared generally with the table depicted here in figure 16.8.

124. *Ibid.*

125. Effingham, *De Forest, Dommerich, Hall and Allied Families*, 26.

126. Cummings, *Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay*; see English and New England examples of beam and supporting post in figs. 215–17; brackets in figs. 17, 184, 185.

127. Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation*, 9–6, 9–7, and 23, fig. 17, for Bowne House chair; the two earliest survivals from this group may be seen in Robert Bishop, *Centuries and Styles of the American Chair, 1640–1970* (New York: Dutton, 1972), 26, figs. 15–16; see also Benno M. Forman, *American Seating Furniture*, 128–31.

128. This chair was de-accessioned from Historic Deerfield in 1982 when the curators were unable to determine its geographic origin. They speculated on New France (use of birch; absence of a lower rear stretcher), England, and mid-Atlantic America. In any case, the chair was not from the Connecticut Valley, the museum's collecting interest. Yet birch was commonly used by New York's joiners during the early period. Unlike most American joined chairs, some New York and New Jersey chairs survive with pine seats and backs. This, then, is a hybrid of Long Island Sound styles and practices made in the rural workshop of a general woodworker: the carved "crenelated" back panel adapts standard New Haven Colony practice, where the molding around the seat is also common, as in the Old Plymouth Colony west to Rhode Island, and on New York chairs (fig. 15.40); the back panel is feathered with a block plane, like rural Dutch furniture and New York and Rhode Island furniture made in the Netherlandish tradition; the ogee molding strip with its high step on the seat is common on Long Island, Hudson Valley, and New Jersey woodwork; the unusual carved volutes on the crest relate to imported cosmopolitan cane and leather chairs, but above all they are perfect miniatures of the idiosyncratic carved arms on the documented Huntington chair in fig. 16.14. The stretcher arrangement below the seat is found on all Continental but especially French chairs. Such chairs were acceptable to clients familiar

with British regional chair-making traditions and were also to be found in provincial French, German, and Dutch households. Evidence around the unusual concave seat, which harkens back to the rustic Italian sgabello, shows that it was originally upholstered, with the ogee molding at the back serving as a cushion stop.

Philip Zea, former curator (now Director) at Historic Deerfield (letter to the author, December 21, 1982), assessed its deliberations, adding: “I felt that it was Mid-Atlantic”; Dr. Bernard D. Cotton, head of the Regional Furniture Society in England (letter to the author, November 30, 1997), argued against Canada and England and for a hybrid from the shop of a rural general woodworker, but he also perceived a strong resemblance to the upright proportions of joined “chairs from Lowland Scotland and the Isle of Man (which were also Scottish in origin),” a tradition well documented in early New Jersey joined chairs; and Simon Honig, curator of the Openluchtmuseum, in Arnhem, the Netherlands, observed (letter to the author, September 24, 1997):

the armchair is of the same type as some chairs in our collection. These chairs are all from the province [of] Limburg [Holland]. . . . In the adjoining parts of Belgium and Germany are stylistic similarities. . . . I think the original form of the chair goes back to the 16th century in the greater part of Europe, and there are relicts in the 18th century. In Limburg such relicts remain until the end of the 19th century. But in books about English furniture one can see nearly the same models. All children of the same family.

129. John and Samuel Bowne Account Book, “4d 4m 1696; and 10d 3mo 1701.”

130. Story, *Journal*, 32–33.

131. Fludd, *Of the Internal Principle*, trans. Josten in “Robert Flood’s Theory of Geomancy,” 334–35.

132. Story, *Journal*, 32–33, 260.

133. John and Samuel Bowne Account Book, “24 day 1mo 96; 28d 3m 1696; 3 mo 1700; and 3d 3m 1696.”

134. Well-situated land by a waterway was often used as an inducement to settle blacksmiths in the towns. For example, on April 5, 1720, the town of Hempstead, Long Island, assigned John Rider, of Flushing, “about three-quarters of an acre of land joining near Matthew Gerritsen’s bay, joining to Nicholl’s line, which comes where Elias Baily did formerly live, for to set up a smith’s shop on, and to do smith work for the neighbors there adjoining as they do want it.” Elias Baily was an Anglo-Huguenot from a family that included Long Island, Westchester, and New York City French-Quaker craftsmen. See Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 69; on the Baily (Bailly, Bailey) family of Lorraine, Aunis, England, and New York, see Grenville C. Mackensie, “Early Records of the Bailey Family of Westchester County” (New York Public Library, MS, vertical file); and Hubert Élie, *De quelques familles immigrées en Lorraine* (Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1957). Nicholas Baily was called a “cabinetmaker” and declared a freeman on June 19, 1739, *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1885): 139.

135. John and Samuel Bowne Account Book, see Samuel Bowne accounts with James Clement from “12 mo 1697” to “9 mo 1701.” On Clement’s legal skills, see Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 14.

136. *Ibid.*, “3 day 3 month 1696”; same page, n.d., probably same as previous; and “10th 2 mo [1696].” See also Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 94–95. The meaning of this notation is unclear. Did it refer to an act that finalized the 1692 purchase once the building was complete and put into service as the site of the *Yearly Meeting*? Or does it refer to a new transaction in New

York. This is not easy to know. The Yearly Meeting was in the process of changing its name from the Flushing to New York Meeting between 1696 and 1702. However, the meetinghouse in Flushing remained the official site of the New York Yearly Meeting thereafter, so it stands to reason the 1692 purchase was recorded in 1696. Available evidence seems to point to these two references referring only to the meetinghouse in Flushing. If the building campaign of 1696–1701 overlapped in time with the acquisition of new property for a meetinghouse in New York (1696), it is prudent to wonder whether this work was actually performed on a purported meetinghouse in New York and not Flushing. Since none of the work done during this period refers to New York in any way (such as shipment of wood “to New York”), and all the artisans were native Flushing Quakers, and not New Yorkers, the weight of the evidence points strongly to the work being done on the interior of the Flushing meetinghouse. Recall that the contract with John Feke said the work was expected to be ready for interior finishing in late 1693—one year after the acquisition of the land. We know that the building was only minimally ready by 1694. John Bowne died in 1694, arguably causing delay. It is reasonable to assume that much interior finishing was still to be done ca. 1696–1701 in Flushing.

137. Thomas Dickenson, “James Clement of Flushing and His Children” (New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, MS, April 25, 1963, file 9699), 1–3.

138. Ibid.

139. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 1: 182, and *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 14, no. 2 (April 1883): 184, cite the arrival in New Netherlands of Bastiaen Clement on board the ship *Faith*, from Doornick, in February 1659.

140. Teunis G. Bergen, Register in Alphabetical Order of the *Early Settlers of King’s County, Long Island, New York from Its First Settlement by Europeans to 1700* (New York: S. W. Green’s Son, 1881), 63–64.

141. Cummings, *Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay*, 197; Robert A. Leath, “John Berger’s Design Book: Huguenot Tradesmen and the Dissemination of the French Baroque Style,” *American Furniture*, 1994, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994): 136–61.

142. *Massachusetts Archives*, 129: 237; petition dated October 7, 1688; Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 2: 205–8, see esp. 207–8, n. 1. Another branch of this Huguenot family migrated first to the Palatinate (where they stayed perhaps two generations) and then migrated later to Pennsylvania, where many pietistic Huguenots spoke French and German and lived in the Germanic counties. One “Clemens, Gerhard—w. 2 sons” was named on “the Board of Trade List of [the] First Party of Palatines in London, [on] May 3, 1709”; see Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth-Century Palatine Emigration* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), 245. This Gerhard was undoubtedly the progenitor of the Clemens family of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. See *The Account Book of the Clemens Family of Lower Salford Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, 1749–1857*, trans. Raymond E. Hollenback, ed. Alan G. Keyser (Breinigsville, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1975); Scott T. Swank, “Proxemic Patterns,” in id., et al., *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: Norton, 1983), 40–42; and Beatrice B. Garvan and Charles F. Hummel, *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Celebration of their Arts, 1683–1850* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1982), 151–55.

143. Dickenson, “James Clement of Flushing and His Children,” 4–11.

144. Ibid.

145. *Ibid.*, 4–5; see also Henry Onderdonk Jr., *Queens County in Olden Times* (Jamaica, N.Y.: Charles Welling 1865), 17.

146. John and Samuel Bowne Account Book, October 20, 1676, n.p.; on the James Clement farm in Bayside, see E. B. O’Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, 4 vols. (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, & Comp., 1849–51), 2: 460, and *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, 1892, Abstracts of Wills (1665–1707), 1: 468.

147. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, 3: 72.

148. Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 94.

149. Dickenson, “James Clement of Flushing and His Children,” 4–6.

150. Schwartz, *French Prophets*, 155–90; Swindlehurst, “An unruly and presumptuous rabble,” 367.

151. See François Lebrun, “The Two Reformations: Communal Devotion and Personal Piety,” in *A History of Private Life: Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 3: 68–109.

152. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, 1: 661–65.

153. Sarah was the widow of John Hinchman, a magistrate (or *schepen*) of the town in 1673; see John Romeyn Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York Procured in Holland, England and France*, (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1858), 2: 591.

154. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, 1902, Unrecorded Wills Prior to 1790, 11: 41; Dickerson, “James Clement of Flushing and His Children,” 7–9.

155. Thomas Dickenson, “James Clement of Flushing and His Children,” 9–10.

156. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, 1: 661–5.

157. Boyer, ed., *Ship Passenger Lists*, 142.

158. After his first appearance in the Flushing census of 1698, John Clement appears as “John Clemans of Flushing” in a minor land transaction of 1712, in which he sold ten acres of land to Joseph Ludlow of Jamaica for £30; as holding a bond in a will of the Saintongeais Huguenot John Dumaresque (De Marais, Demarest) of New York; and on April 28, 1730, as the only non-Quaker witness to the will of Hugh Coperthwait of Flushing, in which a boundary to John Clement’s land was mentioned; after this last reference of 1730, John Clement disappears and may have removed from Flushing. In his will (1725), James Clement makes a large bequest of £60 to a “brother Clement.” It remains unclear whether this mysterious brother was Quaker, an unnamed son—that is, one of his sons’ brothers—or perhaps this John of Flushing, or Jan of New Utrecht. See Dickenson, “James Clement of Flushing and His Children,” 4, 10–11.

159. Bownas’s account of the controversy is quoted in full in Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 12–14; the two quotations are from 12.

160. *Ibid.*

161. *Ibid.*

162. *Ibid.*, 12–13.

163. *Ibid.*, 13.

164. *Ibid.*

165. See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. The term “bill” here refers to an indictment by a grand jury.

166. Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 13.

167. *Ibid.*, 14.

168. Ibid., 14.

169. Ibid.

170. Ibid.

171. Story, *Journal*, 222, 243, 256, 369.

172. Ibid., 370.

173. Samuel Clement's date of birth is surmised to be 1686 in Dickenson, "James Clement of Flushing and His Children," 11–12; Samuel Clement was the appraiser of the probate inventory of Samuel Lawrence of Flushing, taken on June 25, 1760, the latest date at which he can be documented as alive, see New-York Historical Society inventory taken June 25, 1760. Samuel Clement received a bequest of £40 but no property in James Clement's will of 1725.

174. See Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation*, 272.

175. By undocumented tradition, Samuel Clement married Sarah Jackson (b. December 11, 1697) of Flushing; see Dickenson, "James Clement of Flushing and His Children," 46–52. Sarah Jackson was the daughter of James Jackson of Flushing (d. 1735), who appeared in an advertisement in the *New York Gazette*, no. 404 (July 16–23, 1733). The Jackson family had strong ties to Hempstead, where they were among the town's largest landowners and ratepayers; see Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 56. Was Sarah Jackson a relation of the carpenter and joiner Patrick Jackson (working in New York City in 1725), or the coopers John and William Jackson (working in New York City in 1722)? If so, it is possible that James Clement trained Patrick Jackson as an apprentice alongside his son Samuel.

176. *New-York Historical Society Inventories*, June 25, 1760. Samuel Clement's signature on this inventory precisely matches the one in the inscription of 1726. The high chest and dressing table were acquired by the New York City dealers Ginzburg and Levy directly from the Lawrence family of Flushing and resold to the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum in 1957; see Winterthur's registrar's files M57.511 and M57.512.

177. See Benno M. Forman, "The Chest of Drawers in America, 1635–1730: The Origin of the Joined Chest of Drawers," *Winterthur Portfolio* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 1–30; and Robert F. Trent, "The Chest of Drawers in America, 1635–1730: A Postscript," *ibid.*: 31–48.

178. See Neil D. Kamil, "Of American Kasten and the Mythology of 'Pure Dutchness': A Review Article," *American Furniture*, 1993, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1993): 275–82; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), ch. 6: "Housewives and Hussies: Homeliness and Worldliness." For a discussion of matrilineal furniture, the feminine sphere and maintenance of the woman's portion in early New England households, see Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Furniture as Social History: Gender, Property, and Memory in the Decorative Arts," *American Furniture*, 1995, ed. Luke Beckerdite and William N. Hosley (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1995): 53–59.

179. In eighteenth-century male and female "recipes" for the Clemens family of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania—the family paradigm for material goods given newly married children to set up independent households by relatives—*both* male and female children were expected to receive some variant of the chest of drawers. For males, this was sometimes included in a desk, which might have four or five drawers underneath the fall board, to be used for apparel and other personal possessions; see *Account Book of the Clemens Family*, ed. Keyser, 10 et passim; and Swank, "Proxemic Patterns," 40–42.

180. Could this also be the high chest of drawers in the Bowne house, and descended in the Bowne family (illustrated in Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation*, fig. 41)? By tradition, this particular artifact came into the family in 1691, the date John Bowne's daughter Hannah married Benjamin Field. Furniture historians have assumed that this date was early, but it bears reexamination.

181. On kasten, see Peter M. Kenny, Frances Gruber Safford, and Gilbert T. Vincent, *American Kasten: The Dutch-Style Cupboards of New York and New Jersey, 1650–1800* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), and Kamil, "Of American Kasten," 275–82; on the British-American chest of drawers as a new system of organization, see Gerald W. R. Ward, *American Case Furniture in the Mabel Brady Garvan and Other Collections at Yale University* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Art Gallery, 1988), 10–12; John Bowne Account Book, [] 1685; William [Denears] account [*sic*]; on the de Nyse family and spellings of the surname, see Charlotte Rebecca Woglom Bangs, *Our Ancestors* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Press of Kings County Journal, 1896), New York Public Library, Genealogical Division (file for the De Nyse family).

182. For examples of kasten with endgrain pins exposed at the front, see Kenny et al., *American Kasten*, figs. 1, 16, 17, 19, 22, 25, 26, and cat. nos. 6, 8–13, 16; for a photograph of a high chest of drawers with endgrain pins exposed attributed to James or Samuel Clement, see Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation*, fig. 17A.

183. In George Fox, *Gospel-Truth Demonstrated* (1706), 1059.

184. See Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (New York: Viking, 1973), 260.

185. Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 172, 32.

186. Story, *Journal*, iv. This quotation is from the last lines of the introduction to Thomas Story's posthumously published journal, which was written by James Wilson and John Wilson, "well-wishing friends."

187. *Ibid.*, 362.

188. *Ibid.*, 15–16.

189. See Roger Chartier, "The Practical Impact of Writing," and Jacques Revel, "The Uses of Civility," in *A History of Private Life: Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 3: 111–60, 173–82. David P. Becher, *The Practice of Writing: The Hofer Collection of Writing Manuals, 1514–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard College Library, 1997), 52.

190. See Randall Herbert Balmar, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

191. Figures compiled by Jaap Jacobs; see his "Between Repression and Approval: Conivance and Tolerance in the Dutch Republic and New Netherland," *De Halve Maen: Magazine of the Dutch Colonial Period in America* 71, no. 3 (1998): 51–58.

192. Figures on Utrecht compiled by Benjamin Kaplan and delivered in a paper at the Brandeis University European History Colloquium, Spring 1991; see Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines: Confession and Community in Utrecht, 1578–1620* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), for his argument.

193. Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis, and Andrew Pettegree, trans. and eds., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1610: A Collection of Documents* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1992), 196–99.

194. Herbert F. Ricard, ed., *Journal of John Bowne, 1650–1694* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1975), vii. Kieft was governor and director-general of New Netherlands from 1637 to 1646.
195. Jacobs, “Between Repression and Approval.”
196. Onderdonk, *Annals of Hempstead*, 5.
197. Ibid.
198. Ibid., 6.
199. Ibid., 6–7.
200. Ibid., 18.
201. Charles U. Powell, “The Quakers in Flushing, 1657–1937,” *North Shore Daily Journal* (Flushing, N.Y.), July 3, 1937.
202. Quoted in “The Winthrop Papers,” *North American Review* 105, no. 217 (October 1867): 617–18.
203. Letter from John Underhill to John Winthrop Jr., April 12, 1656, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4th ser., 2: (1859): 183.
204. On John Winthrop, Jr.’s relationship with Stuyvesant, see Robert C. Black, *The Younger John Winthrop*, 154–277.
205. Ibid., 184–6.
206. Quoted in “Winthrop Papers,” 619.
207. Ian K. Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 91.
208. Richard C. Black III, *The Younger John Winthrop* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 94.
209. Failey, *Long Island Is my Nation*, 156.
210. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: Norton, 1976), 177–227; Jay Gitlin, “Cultural Geography of the Dutch in the Long Island Basin,” in *Impact of New Netherlands upon the Colonial Long Island Basin*, ed. Lane, 7; Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, eds., *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, vol. 1: Migration and Settlement* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 75.
211. Steele, *Warpaths*, 91–93.
212. Ibid., 116.
213. Myron H. Luke, “Captain John Underhill and Long Island,” *Nassau County Historical Society Journal*, Winter 1964, 1–10; an English portrait of Underhill (ca. 1620–29), in military pose, is currently in the collections of the Society of the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, and is illustrated in Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation*, 14, fig. 4.
214. Quoted in “Winthrop Papers,” 618–19.
215. Jaap Jacobs, “The Hartford Treaty: A European Perspective on a New World Conflict,” *De Halve Maen: Magazine of the Dutch Colonial Period in America* 68 (1995): 74–79; Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, 427–31; and Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 164–66, 390.
216. Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 204–5; Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Age of Absolutism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 2–54; and id., “Galileo the Emblem Maker,” *Isis* 81, no. 307 (June 1990): 230–58.
217. Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, 206–31, 268–69; see also “The Journal Kept by the Commissioners Cornelis van Ruyven, Burgomaster van Cortlandt and Mr. John Laurence, Burgher and Inhabitant of the Town of New Amsterdam, During their Journey to Hartford,” October 15–26, 1663, in Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, 427–45; and on the experience of pidgin

dialects in the Long Island Sound region, see John Demos, “Searching for Abbottsij Van Cummingshuysen, House Carpenter in Two Worlds,” in *Impact of New Netherland upon the Colonial Long Island Basin*, ed. Lane, 13–19.

218. Black, *Younger Winthrop*, 264–77.

219. Jacobs, “Between Repression and Approval.”

220. Quoted in Henry D. Waller, *History of the Town of Flushing* (Flushing, N.Y., 1899), 44.

221. E. B. O’Callaghan and B. Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, N.Y., 1853–83), 1: 110–11.

222. For more on this painting, see Blackburn and Piwonka, *Remembrance of Patria*, 46, fig. 4.

223. Ricard, ed., *Journal of John Bowne*, appendix; see also, Haynes Trebor, *The Flushing Remonstrance* (Flushing, N.Y., 1957), 3–4.

224. Ricard, ed., *Journal of John Bowne*, 33–34. Ricard’s edited transcription is heroic, because the orthography displayed by Bowne is strange even by seventeenth-century standards. The original, preserved in the manuscript room of the New-York Historical Society, is almost indecipherable; the original manuscript pages quoted are fol. 63 and fol. 63 verso.

225. Another precedent for Samuel Clement’s inscription on the high chest in 1726.

226. Ricard, ed., *Journal of John Bowne*, 69, n. 123.

227. *Ibid.*, 70–71, n. 124.

228. On the extent of ecumenical pietism in colonial America, see John B. Frantz, “The Awakening of Religion Among the German Settlers in the Middle Colonies,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 33 (1976): 274–87.

229. John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 109–14.

230. *Ibid.*, 111–12.

231. H. Gelin, “Inscriptions huguenotes (Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge, etc.),” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 42, no. 11 (1893): 565–88; and pt. 2 (“Suite”), *ibid.*, no. 12 (1893): 658–60.

232. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, 588.

233. *Ibid.*, 568.

234. *Ibid.*, 569.

235. Thomas Roberts, a Huguenot “wine cooper” named a freeman of New York City in 1698, who was witness to the indenture of the Huguenot Pierre Traviere to the Rochelais master cooper Pierre Chaigneau, was probably descended from the same family. See *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1886): 67, 77; Mayor’s Court Papers, 1: December 10, 1706; Pierre (or Peter) Chaigneau was a refugee from La Rochelle who immigrated to New York via England in 1691. He was naturalized in London on March 21, 1688, and was made a freeman of New York City on May 29, 1691, see Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 1: 288.

236. Gelin, “Inscriptions huguenotes,” pt. 1, 585.

237. *Ibid.*; on La Rochelle’s surviving *inscriptions lapidaires*, I have benefited from personal communications with the late local antiquarian, Father Bernard Coutant.

238. Gelin, “Inscriptions huguenotes,” 586. I translate *lobiet* here as *l’aubier*, or sapwood. But *lobiet* may also suggest a play on *obier*, a wild rose or guelder rose. The Rosicrucians, as well as many pietist groups, used the thorned, sweet-smelling rose to represent the emergence of the Holy Spirit out of pain and suffering.

239. For a brief biographical sketch and the publication in toto of the single surviving copy

of this important design book, now in the collections of the Historic Charleston Foundation, see Robert A. Leath, “Jean Berger’s Design Book: Huguenot Tradesmen and the Dissemination of the French Baroque Style,” *American Furniture, 1994*, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994): 136–61.

240. Orest Ranum, “The Refuges of Intimacy,” in Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3: *Passions of the Renaissance*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1987–91): 231–33.

241. Gelin, “Inscriptions huguenotes,” pt. 1, 572–74, for other examples.

242. *Ibid.*, 573.

243. *Ibid.*, 574–55; for more on the Rabaine d’Usson family, see Alexandre Crottet, *Histoire des églises réformées de Pons, Gemozac et Mortagne en Saintonge, précédée d’une notice étendue sur l’établissement de la réforme dans cette province, l’Aunis et l’Angoumois* (Bordeaux: A. Castillon, 1841), 85. For an illustration of the Château d’Usson, moved from its original location in 1884, see Louis Papy, *Aunis et Saintonge* (Grenoble: B. Arthaud, 1937), 54.

244. Jacques-Louis Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, ed. Daniel Roche, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 239–40; from the coda, “Epistle to My Mind.”

245. For the religious dimensions of Leisler’s rebellion and its aftermath, see Randall Balmer, “Traitors and Papists: The Religious Dimensions of Leisler’s Rebellion,” *New York History* 70 (1989): 341–72; Donna Merwick, “Being Dutch: An Interpretation of Why Jacob Leisler Died,” *New York History* 70 (1989): 376–86; Adrian Howe, “The Bayard Treason Trial: Dramatizing Anglo-Dutch Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century New York City,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 47 (1990): 62–63, 85–89; David William Vorhees, “In Behalf of the true Protestant Religion’: The Glorious Revolution in New York” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1988).

246. On the Anglicans, see John Webb Pratt, *Religion, Politics, and Diversity: The Church-State Theme in New York History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), 49–77; Milton M. Klein, “Church, State, and Education: Testing the Issues in Colonial New York,” *New York History* 45 (1964): 291–303; and Robert J. Gough, “The Myth of the ‘Middle Colonies’: An Analysis of Regionalization in Early America,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 408–9. For the classic formulation of the conflict between sacerdotalism and lay piety as an animating force in the reformation, see Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism in Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1975); and for New England, see David D. Hall, *The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972).

247. Quoted in Frantz, “Awakening of Religion,” 273.

248. *Ibid.*, 283. It is important to remember that although Muhlenberg was sent by the pietistic Lutheran Halle Missionary Society to Pennsylvania and has always been associated with German pietism in that colony, he also served the Lutheran congregation in New York City for a time and traveled as an itinerant throughout the Hudson, Mohawk, Delaware, and Susquehanna river valleys during the 1740s. Communication between disparate German sects from New York to Georgia—including both pietists and non-pietists (such as the Mennonites, Amish, and Schwenkfelders)—cannot be overestimated as an important factor in understanding their common history.

249. Story, *Journal*, 220.

250. *Ibid.*, 221.

251. Ibid.
252. Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 113.
253. Story, *Journal*, 22.
254. Quoted in Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 55–56.
255. Ibid., 127.
256. Ibid., 9–10.
257. Quoted in Hill, *World Turned Upside Down*, 186.
258. Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 113.
259. See Ginzburg, *Cheese and the Worms*, 76–81; O’Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York*, 3: 106; and for the artisanal context, see Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation*, 13.
260. Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 25–52.
261. Ibid., 85.
262. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Siân Reynolds, trans. (New York: Harper Colophon, 1976), 2: 665. Braudel was referring here to the social, cultural and political organization of the pluralistic Ottoman Empire, during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.
263. Richard Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence Among Seventeenth-Century Quakers* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1990), 1–19.
264. Ibid., 21.
265. Ibid., 24.
266. Euan Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1580–1580* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 224.
267. Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few*, 24.
268. Ibid., 3–4.
269. Ibid., 4.
270. Ibid.
271. Fludd, *Of the Internal Principle*, 334–35. Fludd refers here to Charles de Lorraine (1571–1640), the fourth duc de Guise since 1588; and his brother, François Alexandre Paris de Lorraine, chevalier de Guise (1589–1614), knight of Malta, see Josten, “Robert Fludd’s Theory of Geomancy,” 335, nn. 34–35.
272. Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 113.
273. Ibid., 113–14.
274. Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982), 121; on Bossy’s use of Ong, “the most interesting of the more theoretical approaches,” see *Christianity in the West*, 179.
275. Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay and P. M. Zell (New York: Norton, 1986), 22–23.
276. Benjamin W. Labaree, “Colonial Trade and Shipping Between Connecticut and New Netherlands,” in *Impact of New Netherlands upon the Colonial Long Island Basin*, ed. Lane, 66.
277. See esp. Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); see also John Martin, “Journeys to the World of the Dead,” *Journal of Social History* 25, no. 3 (Spring 1992): 616–19, a

useful review of Ginzburg's methodologies and influences, as well as a good summary of the interdisciplinary literature of pluralistic convergence; and Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Sacred and the Body Social in Lyon," *Past and Present* 90 (1981): 68–69.

278. Quoted in Pamela H. Smith, *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 52.

279. J. Franklin Jameson, "Narrative of Father Jogues, Reported by Father Buteux, 1645," in id., *Narratives of New Netherland*, 252.

280. This refers to the Hundred Associates, also known as the Company of New France, which controlled the monopoly for New France from 1627 to 1663.

281. Aloysius Gonzaga (1568–1591), also San Luigi di Gonzaga. Gonzaga had been beatified as a Jesuit saint in Jogues's lifetime (in 1621), and was canonized in 1726.

282. Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, 253.

283. Ibid., 252.

SEVENTEEN ➔ Reflections on a Three-Legged Chair

1. On the relation of Leddell's transatlantic life and metalwork, with particular emphasis on origins of his propagandistic religious and political imagery, see Janine E. Skerry and Jeanne Sloane, "Images of Politics and Religion on Silver Engraved by Joseph Leddell," *Antiques* 141, no. 3 (March 1992): 490–99; for discussions of the Leddell sundial, see Donald L. Fennimore, "The Sundial in America," ibid. 142, no. 2 (August 1992): 196–203, and id., *Metalwork in Early America: Copper and Its Alloys from the Winterthur Collection* (Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1996), 294–95.

2. Martha Gandy Fales and Robert L. Raley, "Christopher Colles, Engineer and Architect," *Winterthur Newsletter* 5, no. 7 (September 25, 1959): 1; Fennimore, *Metalwork in Early America*, 290; the four known Christopher Colles sundials are in the collections of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.; the New-York Historical Society, New York City; and Van Cortlandt Manor, Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, N.Y. (with a history of ownership in the Van Cortlandt family); the fourth was found on Long Island and is currently in a private collection. Of the four, only the latter sundial (fig. 17.2) retains its original iron gnomon with a copper laminate arm. See also the brass and copper hydrometer, used to measure the density of liquids (especially spirits such as rum), "Invented and Made by Christopher Colles. New-York," currently in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware, in Fennimore, *Metalwork in Early America*, fig. 187, 290.

3. The term *fugio* connotes "disappear" as well as "fly."

4. For sundial placement, see Fennimore, *Metalwork in Early America*, 294.

5. Skerry and Sloane, "Images of Politics and Religion on Silver Engraved by Joseph Leddell," 490–99; and *The Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Eddy Nicholson* (New York: Christie's, January 27–28, 1995), lot 621, 40–43.

6. On perceptions of Huguenot monarchomachs, see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 2: 301.

7. For a nineteenth-century example of just such a construction, see Marco Sioli, "Huguenot Traditions in the Mountains of Kentucky: Daniel Trabue's Memories," *Journal of American History* 84, no. 4 (March 1998): 1313–33.

8. For the French tradition that informed Leddell's understanding of emblematic structures, see David Russell, *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 111–91.

9. Archibald Kennedy, *An Essay on the Government of the Colonies* (New York, 1752), 3; for the political context in the 1750s, see Alan Tully, *Forming American Politics: Ideals, Interests, and Institutions in Colonial New York and Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). For more on Kennedy, see Cathy Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 225, 254, 292.

10. Kennedy, *Essay on the Government of the Colonies*, 3.

11. *Ibid.*, 22.

12. William Smith, *Opinion Humbly Offered to the General Assembly of New York: Mr. Smith's Opinion, relating to Courts of Equity within the Colony of New-York* (New York, 1734), 2. While adopting his well-known tactics, Kennedy does not invoke Coke's name per se, although, as in Smith's case, this was a commonplace of New York political discourse during the 1750s. When Coke was named outright by pamphleteers, it was usually in support of assembly rights and in close association with his role as Parliament's legal historian in the Commons debates of 1627–28.

13. Kennedy, *Essay on the Government of the Colonies*, 20.

14. *Ibid.*, 22.

15. *Ibid.*, 20.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

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