The Non-Human in New World Encounter Narratives of the English Renaissance

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It has been interesting to observe, given my own ecocritical orientation, how much contemporary criticism of New World encounter literature appears to have the same anthropocentric orientation as the literature it discusses. I do not mean that this criticism is somehow false or invalid, or even that it has some obligation *not* to possess this orientation—merely that it seems to underrepresent the *nonhuman* presences in its subject.

A review of recent criticism may give support to this observation. The origin-text for the last fifteen years of study is probably Stephen Greenblatt's *Marvellous Possessions*. Greenblatt elaborates with great subtlety on how the "dream of possession" (135) is manifested by different texts through their "representational practices" (7). As I understand Greenblatt, his concern is—and has always been—the construction of reality by human discourse; not the thing discoursed upon as much as the form that the discourse upon it takes. To the extent that this view is accurate, Greenblatt's primary subject is human language. If the language under scrutiny conveys information about animals and plants, the subject is still the language about the animals and plants, not the animals and plants themselves.

For the most part, the essays Greenblatt later collected in his *New World Encounters* are similarly oriented. The most substantial one relevant to my subject, Jeffrey Knapp's "Elizabethan Tobacco," seems to me not to be about tobacco as written of by Elizabethans, but about the way tobacco was used as a linguistic figure for commentary on domestic society and polity.

Mary Fuller's *Voyages in Print*, a fascinating text, argues that voyage texts were "an integral part of the activities they documented" (2), in terms of their use of "signs and representational strategies" (13). Thus, for Fuller, the great set piece of landscape description in Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* clinches her argument that the book

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is "about not discovering Guiana" (71)—not about Guiana, in effect, but about its author. It is a coded description of his failure to find what his expedition set out to find. It is about the credibility of his account, not about the landscape itself.

Andrew Hadfield's study of travel literature and colonial writing also seems to focus on them as vehicles for commentary on England. The works studied are presented as differing ways of achieving More's goal in *Utopia*—namely to discuss new-found lands "in terms of [Europeans'] own political questions and problems" (10).

William Hamlin's "Imagined Apotheoses" appears to be concerned with "myth models" and "ideological structures" manifested in Renaissance travel literature, and mainly discusses human-to-human encounters. Articles by Lloyd Davis, Mary B. Campbell, and Jonathan Hart emphasize encounters with indigenous peoples, not with indigenous non-humans.

In this paper, I would like to move against this grain, not by way of any complex ecocentric theorizing, but by bringing together some varying observations on plants and animals as they are described in English or Englished texts available to the Early Modern English reader.

Commodity

The first observation relates to what appears to be the noun most commonly used in New World texts to identify nonhuman entities—commodity, usually pluralized as "commodities," and often paired with "fertility." "Commodity" had complex meanings in Renaissance England, to judge by the new OED. "As a quality or condition of things, in relation to the desires and needs of men," reads the first entry, citing, among others, Barnabe Googe and Sir George Sandys. Sense number five is also allied to this one, as "a thing of use or advantage to mankind," especially, in the plural, as "useful products, material advantages, elements of wealth." Particularizing "elements of wealth," the second dominant realm of meaning appears in definition 1c: "Advantage, benefit, profit, interest: often in the sense of private or selfish interest." Concretely (6a), in this sense, a commodity is "A kind of thing produced for use or sale, an article of commerce, an object of trade," in plural, "goods, merchandise, wares, produce."

Richard Hakluyt shows, in his list of "the names of certain commodities growing in part of America not presently inhabited by any Christians," how broadly "commodity" could be construed. Here, commodities are just about everything nonhuman: beasts, birds, fish, trees, fruits, herbs and flowers, grains, and—without skipping a beat—metals and precious stones.

By contrast, an example of "commodity"'s equivocal doubleness can be found in the most widely read and cited Elizabethan New World text, John Frampton's translation of the 1575 edition of Nicolas Monardes's *De las Cosas que se Traen de Nustra*

Indias Occidentales que Serva al Uso de Medicene. Frampton was an English merchant, Monardes a medical doctor of Seville. Frampton tells us that he undertook the translation with time on his hands during passage from Spain to England, "to auoide idlenesse," and "to passe the time to some benefite of my countrie" (iir). Monardes's text is an elaborate New World herbal, focused on case histories of cures wrought by hitherto unknown substances, mainly organic. He emphasizes—as do other writers—the contrast between the gold and silver of the Indies and the medicinal plants. To him "the corporall healthe is more excellent, and necessarie then the temporall goodes" (Aiv), and an assiduous reader would surely perceive from his case studies that Monardes's greatest concern is with alleviating pain.

I don't doubt Frampton's sincerity about benefiting his country, and Monardes's sincerity in discounting wealth, but surely Frampton is thinking as a merchant, considering the medicinal plants as potential commodities in our second sense, as is Monardes as a physician who can materially profit from mastery of new pharmaceuticals unknown to other physicians (of course, one could always consider his text altruistic, aimed at making other physicians aware of his newfound remedies). Whatever the case, for both the merchant and the physician, the nonhuman's essential nature is conceived to be its real or potential function in human culture, as "commodity."

What I want to emphasize is that the nonhuman can be understood as "commodity" *without* being reduced to a construction of discourse. It can be presented as a real, sensory thing-in-itself and simultaneously as a commodity. Another striking passage in Frampton's Monardes can illustrate my distinction between entity as commodity and entity as element of discourse. Monardes includes in his 1575 edition a long letter written to him by Peter de Osima, a soldier in New Spain, because of its documentary interest and because Monardes is impressed by de Osima's knowledge of and fascination with the curative properties of exotic substances. De Osima describes a hunting expedition with his friends in the mountains (of Peru?), on which they took along an earlier (1564) edition of Monardes's book, much as one might take a Peterson guidebook on a hike today. Monardes's text described the "bezar stones" (calcified deposits in the inner organs of ruminants of Asia, believed to have magical powers), and since "We caried your booke with us," de Osima and his friends opened the bodies of some of the mountain sheep they killed, to see if they had the stones in them as their Asian counterparts supposedly did. They couldn't find any bezar stones until they bribed a teenage Indian to show them where they were, in the sheep's reticulum (Acosta in his *Natural History of the Indies* [1590] would later give much more information on the bezar stone than was available to Monardes).

De Osima and his buddies used Monardes's verbal construction of the bezar stones to seek out the real and actual stones themselves. Monardes's stones existed for them only as verbal constructs, but their successfully achieved goal in using his verbal descriptions was to find the actual physical stones. From another angle, one could consider that his book as a human-constructed commodity made of words, but of

use in finding the nature-constructed commodity, made of nonverbal constituents. Of course, the soldiers may have hoped to sell any bezar stones they found (in the mercantile sense of "commodity"), but the impression one gets from this letter is of a mainly intellectual curiosity about the objects of the world. De Osima included with his letter a number of other artifacts reputed by the Indians to have curative powers. All these objects were sent as tangible supplements essential to the credibility of the letter as a verbal construct.

"Commodity" seems absolutely central to one vital text—Harriot's *Brief and True Report*. All of the contents of the three parts into which he divides his census of natural phenomena are characterized as commodities—they are commodities that differ only in the type of "commodiousness" they possess. Thus, the first part of the *Report* describes commodities that exist "in such an ouerplus sufficiently to bee yelded, or ...prouided, as by way of trafficke and exchaunge with our owne nation of England..." (6). Harriot's term for these commodities is "*Merchantable*," and corresponds to our second general definition of the word. The second group of commodities are those which "we know by experience" the country "doeth yeld of it selfe for victuall, and sustenance of mans life..." In effect, these are commodities "of use or advantage," but not primarily to be bought and sold. Harriot's third group of commodities are even more distanced from "merchantable." They are ones useful to know about for those who plan to inhabit the land, but not necessarily either salable or directly useful for sustenance.

Each substance or entity Harriot enumerates, despite his terminal comments which often refer to the "profit" that may be gained from it, has on the page the integrity of a concrete identity—through name, description, and typographical separation from other entities. However much Harriot's positive characterizations of America's commodities may have been intended as support and defense of Sir Walter Raleigh in his political difficulties, they remain on the page discrete and substantial: "cedar," "wine," "oyle." For more extensive coverage of some "commodities," Harriot provides genera and species. "Of Fruites," for example, precedes a list of specific fruits and nuts. Among these, he distinguishes between two kinds of walnuts by their physical attributes, including shape and taste, and describes how the natives prepare them for eating. The walnuts remain commodities, but the text gives them the integrity of their own collective "nut" identity.

Fruitful Encounters

A most common encounter trope for New World nature is with a fruitful landscape, although not all landscape encounters are fruitful. The landscape is, of course, itself one great commodity, as John Ribault implies throughout his narrative of Florida's "commodious fertility" (101). There is very often an explicit connection made between the quality of the soil (to Ribault "the ground is fat"), and the fruits it bears, and an

emphasis on the olfactory, as in this rendition by Captain John Smith of the report by Amidas and Barlow: "The soyle is most plentifull, sweete, wholesome, and fruitfull of all other, there are about 14 seuerall sorts of sweete smelling tymber trees: the most parts of the vnderwood, Bayes and such like: such Okes as we, but far greater and better" (3). Such delectable landscapes are often contrasted to fruitless European ones which lack these attributes. The Smith citation contrasts the Virginia landscape to the "barren and fruiteless" land of Eastern Europe. Verazzano's "mightie great woods...replenished with diuers sortes of trees, as pleasaunt and delectable to beholde as is possible to imagine," is contrasted to the "fruitlesse trees" of the Russian steppes and the Black Forest.

Sometimes the fruitful landscape is surrounded by ironic wastelands, which repeatedly contradicts its attributes in the course of a spatial transit. This alternation of fruit and waste partly relates to whether the chronicler is traversing a cultivated or (as above) an uncultivated landscape. De Soto's Gentleman from Elvas describes the "charming and fertile land" in the realms of Coca, "with good cultivated fields stretching along the rivers" (93), and many similar scenes, but they are persistently interrupted by "large pathless forests" (122). Here, there is a whole dialectic of wilderness and cultivation. The Gentleman of Elvas notes that the uncultivated grapes in the land of Coca have larger seeds and are less sweet than the cultivated ones, suggesting that human intervention is a prerequisite of fruitfulness. Then, again, sometimes the uncultivated landscape is lauded because its beauty makes it seem as though it had been cultivated. Raleigh describes "plains of twenty miles in length, the grass short and green, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose; and still as we rowed, the deer came down feeding by the water's side as if they had been used to a keeper's call." Here we have what might be called "virtual" cultivation.

Besides "the nature itself is art" mode, as above, there is also what one might call the sensorily "fulsome" uncultivated landscape. While Raleigh's landscape is purely visual, others, such as this one, in Florio's translation of Cartier, have multisensory depth and variety:

> ...we saw as goodly and pleasant Country as possibly can be wished for, full...of all sortes of goodlye trees, that is to say, Oakes, Elmes, Walnut-trees, Cedrons, Firres, Ashes, Fore, Willowes, and greate store of Vines, all as full of Grapes as coulde be, that if any of our fellowes went on shoare, they came home laden with them: there are likewise many Cranes, Swannes, Geese, Duckes, Feasants, Partridges, Thrushes, Blacke-birdes, Turtles, Finches, Redd-breastes, Nightingales, Sparrowes, with many other sorts of Birdes... (46)

Naturally, in this landscape that keeps on giving, there is a certain contradiction between the text's evocation of effortless plenitude and an argument for the benefits that might be gained by purposeful cultivation of its commodities by Europeans. Andrew Hadfield points out the ambiguous contradiction between the famous DeBry engraving of an Edenic wilderness and his "aged man" engraving, which

backgrounds a highly ordered and cultivated landscape, "...of plenty, which is administered in a civil and sophisticated manner by the natives" (204). Both engravings profess to represent the same geographical landscape. But if the assertion that "native" cultivation can itself fix fruitfulness is accepted, there is something disconcerting, for example, in Smith's version of Weymouth's 1605 expedition, when the narrator says that, amid wild profusion, "We digged a Garden the 22. of May, where among our garden-seeds we sowed Pease and Barley, which in 16 dayes grew vp 8. ynches, although this was but the crust of the ground..." (19). Is Smith suggesting that a flourishing English kitchen garden within a profuse uncultivated landscape signals true commodiousness, despite the profusion? Is English cultivation more fruitful than native cultivation?

Of course, in many reporters' constructions, new world cultivation and noncultivation coexist without contradiction. Barlowe's natives grow beans both "naturally" and "in their gardens" (7). Other texts, harmonizing with the Smith citation above, imply that "natural" commodities of importance to Europeans—such as flax, spices, sugar—can be grown better, or in greater quantities, through cultivation by Europeans, even though they occur naturally in the New World, since the "Savages that possesse the land...know no use of the same" (Quinn 22).

Another variation on this theme is the argument that, although full of native species, the New World landscape is effectually empty, since few of the non-native European species for which it is perfectly adapted are native to it. Columbus himself, describes, on Tortuga, "the pastures fit for flocks of all descriptions (although they possessed none), the grounds adapted for gardens, and for every thing a man could desire" (119). In this light, unimaginable fruitfulness is acknowledged, yet there is a paradoxical sterility to this fruitfulness, a perceived emptiness, and thereby a yearning to fill the landscape with the familiar.

Wild Encounters

In *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, Thomas Berry suggests that the Renaissance English hunt is a ceremony which "as a whole represents the domination of man over nature, the imposition of a specifically human order upon the wildness of the animal" (75). It is a "rite of incorporation, binding the human community to itself in a hierarchy of social order that parallels the order of nature" (76). The dogs, given the less desirable pieces following the "breaking up of the hart," are, in the ritual, acknowledged as partaking of both the human social and the natural orders, and are therefore problematic organisms, part of "us" yet part of an Other "nature."

Berry's sense of a civilization-affirming ritual of encounter with the non-human is relevant to New World encounters where there is no established ritual, at least no established European ritual. While Hakluyt can encompass bears and mountain lions in his list of commodities, explorers' actual encounters with the undomesticated

often cannot be subsumed into pre-existent formulae of discourse or the concrete formulae of ritual. Of course, we hear about plenty of mediated encounters, which take an instructional form somewhat akin to the exchanges of discourse. Linkages between native humans and native non-humans are created through the transmission to the Europeans of native hunting technology. Thus the Indians show De Soto's expedition how to capture rabbits "which until then they had no skill in killing," by the use of "stout springs" and cane nooses (129). But it is interesting to see the form unmediated and unscriptable encounters take.

Some very telling ones, related to Berry's discussion above, can be found in Dionse Settle's account of Martin Frobisher's second voyage. Settle has no trouble describing in great detail encounters with polar bears of "monstrous bigness," which the party killed, "being desirous of fresh victual and the sport." In their second bear hunt, Settle shoots a sleeping bear twice in the head, but it takes many boar spears from many hunters to kill him. These bear kills come across as pure improvisation. But, interestingly, a few days later "we heard dogs howl on the shore, which we thought had been wolves, and therefore we went on shore to kill them. When we came on land the dogs came presently to our boat very gently, yet we thought they came to prey upon us, and therefore we shot at them and killed two, and about the neck of one of them we found a leathern collar, whereupon we thought them to be tame dogs."

There is no ambiguity about the "wildness" of the bears or about the decision to kill them. But the dog-wolf anxiety is very resonant. There appears to be an invisible and shifting line between wild and domestic, ultimately symbolized by the collar, which places these "dogs" in the alliance position of English hunting dogs. Nonetheless, their identity remains troubling and unresolved, as though it has slipped in between the already double identity of the hunting dog and the certain nondomestic one of the wolf.

When Europeans encounter a hunting culture of native humans, there is an implicit sense of collective incorporation, even if there is no specific exchange between the two groups. André Thévet apparently enjoyed observing, describing, and picturing the hunting techniques of native "Canadians," and appears to respect their skill. In one of his engravings, snowshoed natives aim arrows and spears at a boar, who has engulfed one of the spears in its own ferociously-tusked mouth. The natives, dressed in skins, appear to have a kind of kinship with their prey, as do his Newfies, dressed in fish skins, with the sea creatures they hunt (the encounter with native humans so fully clothed with the skins of nonhumans as to appear almost nonhuman is a repeated motif of encounter discourse).

Thévet's nonjudgmental absorption of native-animal encounters contrasts to the disturbing unmediated encounters described by Sir Richard Hawkins. His sailors catch sharks for "recreation," and "in revenge of the iniuries received by them; for they liue long, and suffer much after they bee taken, before they die" (48). Hawkins describes phlegmatically his sailors' torture of the sharks: releasing them with logs tied to them, or bound tail to tail, or blinded. There is quite a contrast between his

figure of the sea captain as a "wise husband-man" (130), and these kinds of encounters. In fact, following the shark description, he writes that "the manner of Hunting and Hawking representeth that which wee reasonable creatures vse," except that the sailors are their own hounds and hawks, and what they capture is for their own use. To the 21st century reader, this claimed likeness seems absurd.

Hawkins also describes the "great recreation" his company got in hunting penguins, surrounding and clubbing their heads, "for though a man gaue them many blowes on the body, they died not...The Massaker ended, presently they cut off their heads, that they might bleede well," washed, salted, and barrelled them (76). Unlike Frobisher's bears, Hawkins's penguins appear to become once killed and prepared an instantly merchantable commodity. One gets the feeling that shiploads full of barrelled penguins will soon arrive at English ports to be served at English tables.

Unlike some other narratives, many of those in Richard Edens's translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades* contain animals perceived in relation to each other, not necessarily in Joseph de Acosta's dichotomy of either "furious and hurtfull" or "profitable" (I. 274). Eden's wild animals take on lives of their own. In Hispaniola, the Mirobalani tree's fruit so entices the domestic swine that they go hog "wylde" (81v). When the Spaniards impale a male "tyger," on pointed sticks in a pit "he rored so terrybly, that it grated the bowels of such as harde hym, and the wooddes and montaynes neare aboute, rebounded the noyse of the horryble crye" (96v). When the "tyger" has been stoned to death, the explorers follow his trail back into the mountains, where they find his cubs alone in their den. They take them back to the ships, but fearing they will die, since the cubs are so young, they put iron chains about their necks and return them to the den. Upon revisiting the den, a few days later, they find the chains in the den, but no cubs. The narrator speculates that the "bitch" tyger in her rage tore them to pieces and carried them away, "leste anye shulde haue the fruition of them" (97r).

The wild and the tame are played off against each other here. The tigress defeats the symbolism of the chains of possession by destroying her own offspring, whom the humans, however unsavory their motives, wished to preserve. Whatever the degree of personification, we have here a scene of fairly complex human interaction with the wild nonhuman, and a grudging tone of admiration for the deterrence of "fruition." This is not the same as a penguin massacre.

The same complexity adheres in the tale of the "monkey" (sloth) and the boar. The archer shoots the sloth, who attacks him; in defending himself, he severs one of its arms. Brought back to the ships, and bound with chains, the sloth quickly becomes tame—so much so that the adventurers take it with them to hunt on land, where another party has routed a boar. "The moonkey fiercely invaded the boare" (107v) and suffocates it in a death grip. Immediately the narrator turns from this incident to discuss the mummified bodies of dead kings. What do we make of this intense involvement and abrupt change of subject? There's no concluding moral formulation, no attempt to portray the sloth (a creature of great interest to many encounter writ-

ers) as somehow "helping" the humans in their boar hunt. The humans seem to have interfered in the wildness of both creatures, but have thereby neither "tamed" nor destroyed them, but rather set up new parameter for their exercise of their "natural" behavior. I suspect a disturbing (to them) sense of the humans' impotence in directing events which autonomous nonhuman creatures have directed to their own ends.

The most notable animal event in Eden's translation, in my view, is the manatee incident. Of the native new world creatures described by Europeans, the ones that receive the most notice are the crocodile, the armadillo, and the manatee. The latter two are interesting to the visitors both for their strange physical appearance, and for the good taste of their meat. Manatees are so heavy that it takes a number of men and a large wagon to haul them on to land for butchering. In the case of the manatee of which we speak, there is no butchery, but rather "a thinge so straunge and maruelous that the lyke hath not byn hard of" (130v). Martyr (via Eden) describes a Central American king who captures an immature manatee, a species "of condition meeke, gentell, assocyable, and louing to mankind, and of a maruelous sence or memorie as are the elephant and the delphyn" (131r). The king nourishes the young manatee on yucca roots, and has "her" hand-fed in a pool near his palace (did the humans sex the manatee or attribute gender to her on the basis of human behavioral stereotypes?). She grows large, and comes to be fed when called by her name ("Matum"). When the King's "familiars" want to cross the lake, they signal to her, she comes to shore, and ferries them across on her back. "It hath been seene that this monstrous fysshe hath at one tyme safely caryed over tenne men singinge and playing" (131r), but she will not transport Christians, because she was injured by one of them. Crowds come to "beholde so straunge a myracle of nature" (131v). After twenty-five years of such relative domesticity, a flood washes Matum from her pool into the open sea, and she is never seen again.

Matum was a "commodity." Her behavior surely did not prevent the colonists and explorers from consuming her kindred. But, as presented by Eden, in her specific case she was commodified not for food or sadistic pleasure, but for harmless recreation.

Ecological Encounters

The Matum story suggests that some nature encounters pressed the limits of "commodity" as contemporarily defined. I have noticed quite a few moments, mainly of described perception as opposed to engaged action, which might be called "proto-ecological." Some of these are but generalized from common agrarian knowledge of species behavior in the Old World. For example, Smith has a sense of systemic plant interaction; he notes the "great abundance" of (grape) vines throughout the woods of Virginia, but they are covered with fruit only "by the rivers & savage habitations, where they are not overshadowed from the sunne" (26), and these would bear even better "were they well manured." In the midst of astrological speculations, Oviedo,

as Englished by Eden, comments on the decimation of native toads (some as large as cats) resulting from the loss of moisture from the land due to deforestation and pasturage by the "Christians" (187r). Richard Norwood describes, without criticism of course, the deplacement of diverse native species in Bermuda by introduced species "from other parts of the World," which have turned the "over-growne" landscape into a "spacious Garden or Nourcerie" (Purchas 19.189). Most accounts of species invasion share Norwood's attitude, that it is good.

Some writers venture into deeper ecophilosophy. They ponder the origin, differentiation, and diffusion of species. Purchas's Acosta meditates on why so many species are geographically limited in habitat. How can this be consistent with the Biblical six days of creation, or with the story of Noah? How could animals found only in India, for example, have been saved on the ark? If they were, why did they all go to India? "...[I]f the sheepe of Peru...are not found in any other Regions of the world, who has carried them thither? Or how came they there, seeing there is no shew nor remaynder of them in al this world?" (15.132). Acosta never really answers his very perceptive questions; he relies on a vague theory of dispersal, but refuses to entertain a supernatural causation for this dispersal. He also offers up, without answering, the question of why creatures of the same species vary so much in physical attributes depending on their geographical location. Are these variations "essential" or "accidental?" Do they imply some "second creation" by God of species diversity?

William Strachey, in his account of the Gates expedition to Virginia (1610), ventures into social ecology. He critiques the human degeneracy of the Jamestown colony, "continuall wasting, no Husbandry" (Purchas 19.46-7) for a degradation of environmental conditions. Strachey explicitly demands that the "wants and wretchednesse" of its inhabitants not be attributed to the "povertie and vilenesse of the Countrey;" its fruitfulness, if it had "the faire hand of husbandry to manure and dresse it," would be great. Strachey opposes environmental determinism, separating human social and nonhuman ecological, conditions. As I understand it, he considers that the colonists have betrayed the obligation, which verily defines their status, to work with, not against, their environment: "A Colony is therefore denominated, because they should be Coloni, the Tillers of the Earth, and Stewards of fertilities: our mutinous Loyterers would not sow with providence, and therefore they reaped the fruits of too deere bought Repentance" (Purchas 19.68). The cultivation figure emphasizes the human estrangement from the land. A telling punctuation is added to this by a 1624 report on Virginia reprinted by Purchas. "Easily you may see," the writer says, "that the good things of Virginia are naturall and her owne, and the bad accidentall and our owne; and consequently if wee amend our selves, Virginia will soone be amended" (19.211)

Perhaps the most "modern" sense of the natural world is conveyed by Eden's translation of Peter Martyr. He is defiantly apologizing for his detailed descriptions of new world plants against cavilers, emphasizing that "famous thinges" and "obscure thinges" have the same value for the "fruition of the knowleage of thynges. No natu-

ral phenomenon, he implies, is too insignificant to examine. "Owre desyre is none other but herein...to doo owre endauoure that these things may be not peryshe" (136v). The idea of preserving species variety for potential future "commodity" is striking, and connects with one of Las Casas's indictments of the Spanish—who, in his view, sought to make all the natives perish. In their "pacification—as they call it," they "consumed [Cuba's] resources and did no bother to reseed them, and the whole island was quickly left unattended and unproductive...[G]reed kept the Spaniards from cultivating the land while they marched on to harvest the gold they had done nothing to produce" (207).

Thus, Las Casas helps to complete this paper's circle of discourse by connecting the destruction of human and non-human commodities as allied crimes against the new world environment.

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