

Sexual Violence, Agency and New World Colonialism

Meghan E. Hall and Alicia Meyer
Organizers



Sexual Violence, Agency, and New World Colonialism

How can we read for the agency of indigenous women in the context of New World colonialism, particularly when most of the representations that we have of such women were authored by the colonizers? What avenues of resistance to colonial occupation were available? How do we account for the discursive cultural, material, and sexual violence levied against indigenous women while also making space for agency and resistance? Particularly, how do we contend with those women who, to some extent, collaborated with English explorers through intermarriage, conversion, or diplomacy? This workshop seeks to continue the discussion around indigeneity and colonial resistance in early modern feminist scholarship. We look to the earliest years of the Jamestown experiment for stories of indigenous women's resistance to colonial rule, while considering the ways in which European "rape culture" and "purity culture" inflect these narratives and our own preconceptions of what resistance means.

Violence, and particularly sexual violence, has long been acknowledged by scholars to be implicit within European representations of the New World. European travelers, and the writers and artists who portray their journeys, positioned themselves as the proper husbandmen for the New World, a move which allegorically aligned the possession of territories with the "proper" possession of virginal women. Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Discovery of Guiana* (1596) epitomizes this point when he writes, "Guiana is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not beene torne."¹ Here, "Guiana" is characterized as a sexualized hymen waiting for the penetration of the colonist. Even the name of the colony, Virginia (which William Camden cites as being "named in honour of Queen Elizabeth, a virgin"), raises the specter of Livy's "History of Appius and Virginia," in which a lustful Roman nobleman plots to enslave and rape a young plebian woman, spurring her father to murder her to preserve her chastity.

Just as representational uses of sexual violence signified European dominance over the New World, sex was often mobilized as a material means of conquest. As Merry Weisner-Hanks notes, "Sexual violation was not simply a metaphor in colonial areas, however, for conquest also involved the actual rape of indigenous women and the demands for sexual as well as other types of labor or services."² The Mid-Atlantic landscape, like the infantilized sexualization of Guiana

¹ Walter Raleigh Sir, *The Discouerie of the Large, Rich, and Bevvtiful Empire of Guiana with a Relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa (Which the Spanyards Call El Dorado) and the Prouinces of Emeria, Arroimaia, Amapaia, and Other Countries, with Their Riuers, Adioyning. Performed in the Yeare 1595. by Sir W. Raleigh Knight, Captaine of Her Maiesties Guard, Lo. Warden of the Sannerries [Sic], and Her Highnesse Lieutenant Generall of the Countie of Cornwall.*, Early English Books, 1475-1640 / 428:07 (Imprinted at London: By Robert Robinson, 1596). 97.

² Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (London: Routledge, 2014). 238.

and Virginia, allowed the English colonial project to manipulate the topos of naïve, pure, and perversely disposable women into an imperial strategy. Yet, an attention to the agency of individual indigenous women potentially nuances our understanding of their relative lack of power in colonialism. Recent work by Bernadette Andrea urges us to revisit these representations, paying attention to small details that may signal moments of resistance.³

The readings collected here center on representations of Pocahontas found in early modern travel narratives, along with excerpts on other women of the Tsenacommacah Alliance who engaged socially and politically with English colonists. Looking closely at each major story about Pocahontas – her kidnapping, her marriage to John Rolfe, her journey to the English court, saving John Smith from execution – as well as relatively minor anecdotes of her interactions with the English, we hope to nuance our collective understanding of the role of indigenous women in early modern English colonialism, and the role of colonialism in shaping the lives of indigenous women.

At the workshop, discussion will begin with a consideration of John White's water color images of indigenous women in Roanoke (1593) and the Simon de Passe engraving of Pocahontas (1616), alongside Renaissance era paintings of the Roman "Virginia" by Sandro Botticelli, Girolamo Romanino, and Giacinto Gimignani among others. These images will guide our discussion of gender and power in representations of agency. We will ask what kinds of agency are available. Political? Economic? Sexual? Individual? Cultural? What can we make of those moments in which indigenous women seem to work with their colonizers in order to work against them? How can a history of English marriage and gender politics enliven this discussion, specifically when we read Pocahontas's marriage to John Rolfe, which is allegedly sanctioned by her father and by her, but which quite literally erases her identity? What can we make of her general presence in the Virginia colony and the way she travels through this space? Finally, what are the limitations and potential hazards of speculating about the agency and resistance of women whose voices are largely unavailable to us? We hope to brainstorm new methods for grappling with the agency of indigenous women in early modern studies.

³ Bernadette Andrea, "Travelling Bodies': Native Women of the Northeast and Northwest Passage Ventures and English Discourses of Global Expansionism," in *Rethinking Feminism in Early Modern Studies: Gender, Race, and Sexuality*, ed. Ania Loomba and Melissa E. Sanchez (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016). This essay examines Ignorthe, the Inuk woman whom Martin Frobisher abducted and brought to England as a gift for Elizabeth I. Andrea juxtaposes English representations of Ignorthe with Inuk history in order to reconstruct moments of agency in an otherwise tragic story of the human costs of colonialism. One such moment is when Ignorthe refuses Western medical care for her injured child and instead proceeds to lick the wounds, a moment which has often been dismissed by critics as a disparaging representation of her bestial nature, but which appears to refer to a now-obsolete Inuk medical practice by which certain women with healing powers could clean wounds with their tongues. This is one such method for recovering and reconstructing agency in the scant representations of indigenous women. We hope to brainstorm new methods in the space of the workshop.

Reading Packet Table of Contents*

Richard Barbour.....	Excerpt from <i>The Jamestown Voyages</i>	1
Samuel Clark.....	Excerpt from <i>A True and Faithful Account</i>	4
Robert Fage.....	Excerpt from <i>Cosmography</i>	5
Thomas Mathew.....	Excerpt from <i>The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion</i>	7
Ralph Hamor.....	Excerpt from <i>A True Discourse</i>	8
Samuel Purchas.....	Excerpts from <i>Purchas, his Pilgrims</i>	15
John Smith.....	Excerpt from <i>The True Travels</i>	21
Pamela Scully^.....	”Malintzin, Pocahontas and Kratoa...”.....	22

* A note on the reading list: because indigenous women often appear sporadically in English travel literature, many of these pages have a single paragraph or poem that we would like everyone to read. We’ve highlighted these paragraphs without crossing out the paragraphs around it, so if you wish to read around for immediate context, you are more than welcome to do so!

^ Optional, but gives useful historical context.

Barbour, Philip L. "May 26th." *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter, 1606-1609*.

Now Leaving her, Nauirus Dyrected vs to one of kyng Pamaunches howses¹ some. 5. myle from the Queenes Bower. Here We were entertayned with greate ioye and gladnes, the people falling to Daunce, the weomen to preparing vitales, some boyes were sent to Dive for muskles, they gaue vs Tobacco, and very kyndly saluted vs.

This kyng (sitting in maner of the rest) so set his Countenance stryving to be stately, as to our seeming he became foole. Wee gaue him. many presentes, and certified him of our Iorney to y^e falles our League with the greate kyng Pawatah, a most certayne frendship with Arahatec and kynde entertaynement of the Queene: that we were professed Enemyes to the Chessepian, and would assist King Pawatah against the Monanacans; with this he seemed to be much reioyced; and he would haue had our Captayne staye with him all night, which he refused not, but single with the king walked aboue two flight shott,¹ shewing therby his trew meaning without Distrust or feare. Howbeit, we followed a Loofe of[f],² and coming vp to a gallant mulbery tree, we founde Divers preparing vittaiies for vs: but the kyng seing our intentyon Was to accompany *our* Captaine, he alltered his purpose and weaved vs in kyndnes to our boate. This Wyroans Pamaunche I holde to inhabite a Rych land of Copper and pearle. His Country lyes into the land to another Ryver, which by relatyon and Descriptyon of the Salvages comes also comes also from the Mountaynes Quirank, but a shorter lomey. The Copper he had, as also many of his people, was very flexible, I bowed a peece of the thickness of a

shilling rounde about my finger, as if it had ben lead: I found them nice in *parting* with any; They weare it in their eares, about their neckes in Long lynckes, and in broade plates on their heades: So we made no greate enquiry of it, neither seemed Desirous to haue it. The kyng had a Chaine of pearle about his neck thrice Double, the third *parte* of them as bygg as pease, which I could not valew lesse worth then. 3. or. 400 .¹¹ had the pearle ben taken from the muskle as it ought to be. His kyngdome is full of Deare (so also is moste of all the kyngdomes:) he hath (as the rest likewise) many ryche furies. This place I call Pamaunches pallace, howbeit by Nauviraus his wordes the kyng of Winauk is possessor hereof. The platt of grownd is bare without wood some. 100. acres, where are set beanes, wheate, peaze, Tobacco, Gourdes, pompions, and other thinges vnknowne to vs in our tongue.

Now having left this kyng in kyndnes and frendship: We crossed over the Water to a sharpe point which is *parte* of Winauk on Salisbury syde (this I call careles point)¹ Here some of our men went a shore with Nauraus, mett. 10. or. 12. Salvages, who offering them neither victualls nor Tobacco, they requitted their Courtesy with the like, and left them. This night we came to point Winauk right against which we rested all night. There was an olde man with King Pamaunche (which I omitted in place to specify) who wee vnderstood to be. 110. yere olde; for Naurans with being with vs in our boate had learned me so much of the Languadg, & was so excellently ingenious in signing out his meaning, that I

could make him vnderstand me, and perceive him also wellny in any thing. But this knowledg our Captaine gatt by taking a bough and singling of the leaues, let one drop after another, saying caische which is. 10². so first Nairans tooke. 11. beanes and tolde them to vs, pointing to this olde fellow, then 110. beanes; by which he awnswered to *our* demaund for. 10. yeres a beane, and also euery yere by it selfe. This was a lustye olde man, of a sterne Countenance, tall & straight, had a thinne white beard, his armes overgrowne with white haire, and he went as strongly as any of the rest.

Of Virginia.

of Goods from one River to another. The River Powhatan ebbs and flows One hundred and forty miles into the Main; at the mouth whereof are the two Forts of Henry and Charles. Forty two miles upward is the first and Mother Town of the English seated, called James Town: and seventy miles beyond that upward, is the Town of Henrico built. Ten mile beyond this is a place called the Falls, because the River hath there a great descent, falling down between many Mineral Rocks which be there. Twelve miles beyond these Falls is a Chrysal Rock with which the Indians use to head molt of their Arrows.

The higher ground in Virginia is much like to the mould of France, being clay and sand mixed together at the top, but digging any depth, its red Clay full of glistering spangles. As for Iron, steel, Antimony, and Terra Sigillata, they are very frequent. The air of the Country, especially about Henrico, and upwards, is very temperate, and agrees well with our English bodies. The extremity of Summer is not hot as in Spain, nor the cold in Winter so sharp as ours in England. The Spring and Harvest are the two longest seasons, and very pleasant. The Summer and Winter are both but short. The Winter for the most part is dry and fair; but the Summer oft times watered with great and sudden showers of Rain, whereby the cold of Winter is warmed, and the heat of Summer is cooled.

Amongst the Beasts in Virginia, there are two kinds most strange. One of them is the Female Possum, which hath a bag under her belly, out of which she will let forth her young ones, and take them in again at her pleasure. The other is the flying Squirrel, which, by the help of certain broad flaps of Skin, growing on each side of her fore-legs, will fly from one Tree to another at twenty or thirty paces distance, and more if she have the benefit of a little puff of Wind. The English Kine, Goats, Hogs, &c. prosper very well.

They have Hawkes of several sorts, and amongst them Auspreit, Fishing Hawkes, and Cormorants. In the Winter they have great store of Cranes, Herons, Pidgeons, Partridges, and Black-birds. The Rivers and Creeks are over-spread with Swans, Geese, Brants, Divers, and those other named before. The Woods have many kinds of Rare and delightful Birds.

The Rivers abound with Fish, both small and great, as Pike, Carp, Eele, Perches of six several sorts, &c. The Sea-fish come into their Rivers in March, and continue till the end of September. First come in great Skuls of Herrings: Then big Shads, and Rock-fish follow them. Then Trouts, Basse, Flounders, and other dainty Fishes come in before the other be gone. Then come in multitudes of great Sturgeons, and divers others.

Some five miles about Henrico by land, but by water fourteen miles. Sr. Tho. Dale, Anno Christi 1611. began to build a City, called the New Bermoodas, situated very commodiously, whereunto he laid out, and annexed to be belonging to that Corporation for ever: many miles of Wood-lands, and Champion, which he divided into several Hundreds. As the Upper and the Nether Hundreds Roch-Dale Hundreds, West-Sherley Hundred, and Diggs his Hundred.

Anno

Strange Beasts.

Their Hawks and other Fowl.

Birds and Fish.

Bermoodas City.

Of Virginia.

Anno Christi 1614. Pocahuntas, the beloved Daughter of the great King Powhatan, having been carefully instructed in the Christian Religion, by the care of Sr. Tho. Dale, and having made some good progress therein, renounced publicly her Country Idolatry, and openly confessed her Christian Faith, and desiring it, was baptized by the name of Rebecca, and was afterwards married to one Mr. Rolph an English Gentleman of good repute, her Father and friends giving their approbation to it, and her Uncle gave her to him in the Church.

Anno Christi 1616. Sr. Tho. Dale returning into England, there came over with him Mr. Rolfe, with Rebecca, his Convert and Comfort, and Tomocomo, one of Powhatans Counsellors; Mr. Rolfs Wife Rebecca, though she carried her self very civilly and lovingly to her Husband, yet did she behave her self as the Daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected by divers persons of Honour here in England, in their hopeful zeal by her means to advance Christianity in these Countries. As she was with her Husband returning into Virginia, at Gravesend she fell sick, and came to her end and Grave, having given great demonstration of her Christian Faith and Hope.

The English in Virginia Anno Christi 1620. were divided into several Burroughs, each man having his share of Land duly set out for him, to hold and enjoy to him and his Heirs for ever. The publick Lands also for the Company were set out by themselves; the Governours share by it self; the Colledges by it self, and for each particular Burrough; the Ministers Gleab also was set out and bounded, their being 200. l. per annum allowed to each Minister for each Town. They are all Governed according to the laudable Form of Justice used in England. The Governour is so restrained by a Counsel joyned with him, that he cannot wrong any man, who may not have any speedy remedy.

In the years 1619. and 1620. there were 9. or ten ships sent to Virginia, wherein were 1261. persons; most of them being for publick uses, As to plant the Governours Land, 80. persons; Tenants for the Companies Land 130. Tenants for the Colledge Land, 100. Tenants for the Ministers Gleab-Lands 50. Young Maids to make Wives for so many of the Planters 90. Boyes for Apprentices 100. Servants for the publick, 50. Some were employed to bring up thirty of the Infidels children in true Religion and Civility.

The Commodities which the Planters were directed to apply themselves to, were Iron; for the making whereof, 130 men were sent over to set up Iron work; Proof having been made of the excellency of that Iron.

Cordage: For which (beside Hemp) order was given for the planting of Silk-grafs (naturally growing in those Parts) in great abundance, which makes the best Cordage, and Linnen in the World. Of this every Houtholder was bound to set 100. Plants; and the Governour himself set five thousand.

Pot-ashes, and Soap-ashes; Pitch and Tar. for the making whereof, divers Polanders were sent over.

Timber of all sorts, with Mafts, Planks, and Boords for provision of Ship-

Pocahuntas Daughter converted, baptized, and married.

She comes into England.

Her death.

Virginia divided.

How Governed:

Persons sent over.

Godanodities, their Iron, Pot, and Soap ashes Pitch and Tar. Timber.

as our Guns did their Bows and Arrows.

Many encounters the English had with these Natives, who, by treacheries and open assaults endeavoured to disturb their possession: but they were so frightened with the noise, and so terrified with the Execution of the Guns, that they were kept in some awe, while *James Town* was finished which by the constant supplies sent yearly by the Council for *Virginia*, was at last well built and fortified and pallisadoed, and the Salvages awed into a good Comportment, untill the coming of the Lord *de La Ware*, just as through want the English were resolved to quit the Country: a little before which time, as they had taken the same resolution, Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Sommers* prevented them by arriving from the *Bermudas*, where they had been in great danger by a leaking Ship.

His Lordship arrived the 9. of June 1610, accompanied with *Ferdinando Waynman*, Captain *Houlcroft*, Captain *Lawson*, and divers others in three ships well appointed with a years provision, who built Fort *Charles*, and Fort *Henry*, that were afore but bare Capes; and soon after good store of Kine and Swine were sent by Sir *Thomas Dale*, who was Governour after my Lord *De la Ware* was returned, who built a Town called *Henrico*, and portioned out the adjacent Country into Hundreds: as also he built another Town, and called it the *New Bermudas*, about fifty miles from *James Town*, and the
English

English Colony fell to planting their Corn, about *April* every year; every man having been allotted three Acres of Ground, in the nature of Farms (the first Farmer there being one *William Spence*) who were to supply their stores for it, with a small quantity of Corn yearly, by which means it was wonderfull to see how in so short a time this Colony was thriven in its reputation.

But it advanced faster soon after, by the means of the standing Lottery and a perfect peace, made with *Powhatan* the King of the Country; whose Daughter, being surpris'd, one Mr. *Rolfe* had married. She proved a very good Christian and Vertuous Woman being Christened *Rebecca*. They began also now to plant Tobacco, every year changing their Governour, and had a dispute with the *French* in their new plantations. A Convention also in the nature of a Parliament was called, and several gifts to charitable uses for bringing up the *Indian* Children, transmitted to the Governour and Council, so that they were by the year 1620 in a very flourishing condition, that year arriving no less than eleven ships, and 1216 persons, which were thus to be disposed, 80. for Tennants to the Governours Lands, besides 50. sent the former Spring for the Companies Land, and 150. for the Colledge, 100. for the Glebe-land, 90. young Women to make Wives, 50. Servants for publique Service, and 50. more, whose Labours were to bring up 50. of the
Infi-

Infidels Children, the rest were sent to private Plantations. The year before the Lord *De la Ware* had mainly promoted this good and great Work, passing over thither, though he had hardly escaped before, dyed, to the great grief and discouragement of the Plantation; most of the Nobility entred now also into the undertaking, and were Treasurers for it to the further promoting of these good beginnings, by whose Directions order was taken for suppressing the Planting of Tobacco, Planting of Corn: but all to little effect, the stream of the Inclination of the Planters, or good nature of the Soyl to cherish that Plant, preferring it before all Grain whatsoever, to the incredible profit of that Colony, as it afterwards proved. Now also there was much suit for Patents for Plantations; and several Persons transported themselves upon their own Accompts, but we shall see, met with a miserable entertainment.

For, on the 22 of *March* 1622. these perfidious Infidels, though they had promised to hold the League inviolable, till the Sky should fall, as they termed it, resolved upon a General Massacre; which, by reason of the English separating themselves, for the better Soyl, and commodiousness of Ground, no way in the least distrusting these Miscreants (whom, in hope of their Conversion, they had used with all Familiarity and Civility imaginable, and therefore every way unprovided of defence, their Guns never used

but

but against Deer or Wild-fowl) they had very near effected, if it had not been discovered by one of their own Nation that turned Christian. There were murdered in this attempt 347 Men, Women, and Children, all with their own weapons, they coming upon them in the disguise of the same familiarity, but hurting none that opposed them. By the discovery of the *Indian* aforesaid, eleven parts of Twelve of the *English* escaped, for it being revealed at *James Town*, most of the Plantations dispersed thereabouts among the *Indians* (who commonly keep not above a 100 or 200 in a division of ground) took the Alarm and stood upon their Guard, which the *Indians* perceiving fled, but the plantations far distant to a 140 miles, were most destroyed, which afterwards for more security, were reduced to five or six; and these inhumane Barbarians so severely dealt withal, that in a short time the Country was wholly subjected to the *English*, and became very well peopled and of great Trade, and continued so, proving a receptacle and good retreat for many families in our late confusions, and now yieldeth great emoluments to the Inhabitants and Planters; and so we will leave it, and take a short view of the *Bermuda's* Islands.

The

rupted by pressing messages from the govern'r to meddle with nothing, until the Indian business was dispatch't.

This debate rose high, but was overruled and I have not heard that those inspections have since then been insisted upon, tho' such of that indigent people as had no benefits from the taxes ground under our being thus overborn.

The next thing was a committee for the Indian affaires, whereof in appointing the members, myself was unwillingly nominated having no knowledge in martiall preparations, and after our names were taken, some of the house moved for sending 2 of our members to intreat the govern'r wou'd please to assign two of his councill to sit with, and assist us in our debates, as had been usuall.

When seeing all silent looking each at other with many discontented faces, I adventur'd to offer my humble opinion to the speaker "for the committee to form methods as agreeable to the sense of the house as we could, and report 'em whereby they would more clearly see, on what points to give the govern'r and council that trouble if perhaps it might bee needful.

These few words rais'd an uproar, one party urging hard "it had been customary and ought not to be omitted; whereto Mr. Presly my neighbour an old assembly man, sitting next me, rose up, and (in a blundering manner replied) "tis true, it has been customary, but if we have any bad customes amongst us, we are come here to mend 'em which set the house in a laughter.

This was huddl'd off without coming to a vote, and so the committee must

submit to be overaw'd, and have every carpt at expression carried streight to the governor.

Our committee being sat, the Quenn of Pamunkey (descended from Oppchankenough a former Emperor of Virginia) was introduced, who entred the chamber with a comportment gracefull to admiration, bringing on her right hand an Englishman interpreter, and on the left her son a stripling twenty years of age, she having round her head a plat of black and white wampum peague three inches broad in imitation of a crown, and was cloathed in a mantle of dress't deer skins with the hair outwards and the edge cut round 6 inches deep which made strings resembling twisted frence from the shoulders to the feet; thus with grave courtlike gestures and a majestick air in her face, she walk'd up our long room to the lower end of the table, where after a few intreaties she sat down; th' interpreter and her son standing by her on either side as they walked up, our chairman asked her what men she woud lend us for guides in the wilderness and to assist us against our enemy Indians, she spake to th' interpreter to inform her what the chairman said, (tho' we believed she understood him) he told us she bid him ask her son to whom the English tongue was familiar, and who was reputed the son of an English colonel, yet neither woud he speak to or seem to understand the chairman but th' interpreter told us, he referred all to his mother, who being againe urged she after a little musing with an earnest passionate countenance as if tears were ready to gush out and a fervent sort of

expression made a harangue about a quarter of an hour often, interlacing (with a high shrill voice and vehement passion) these words “Tatapatamoi Chepiack, i.e. Tatapatamoi dead Coll. Hill being next me, shook his head, I ask’d him what was the matter, he told me all she said was too true to our shame, and that his father was generall in that battle, where diverse years before Tatapatamoi her husband had led a hundred of his Indians in help to th’ English against our former enemy Indians, and was there slaine with most of his men; for which no compensation (at all) had been to that day rendered to her wherewith she now upbraided us.

Her discourse ending and our morose chairman not advancing one cold word toward asswaging the anger and grief her speech and demeanor manifested under her oppression, nor taking any notice of all she had said, neither considering that we (then) were in our great exigency; supplicants to her for a favour of the same kind as the former, for which we did not deny the having been so ingrate, he rudely push’d againe the same question “what Indians will you now contribute, &c.? of this disregard she signified her resentment by a disdainfull aspect, and turning her head half aside, sate mute till that same question being press’d, a third time, she not returning her face to the board, answered with a low slighting voice in her own language “twelve, tho’ she then had a hundred and fifty Indian men, in her town, and so rose up and gravely walked away, as not pleased with her treatment.

Whilst some daies passed in setling the quota’s of men arms and amunicon pro-

visions &c. each county was to furnish, one morning early a bruit ran about the town Bacon is fled, Bacon is fled, whereupon I went straight to Mr. Lawrence, who (formerly) was of Oxford university, and for wit learning and sobriety was equall’d there by few, and who some years before (as Col. Lee tho’ one of the councill and a friend of the govern’rs inform’d me) had been partially treated at law, for a considerable estate on behalf of a corrupt favourite; which Lawrence complaining loudly of, the govern’r bore him a grudge and now shaking his head, said, “old treacherous villain, and that his house was scarcht that morning, at day break, but Bacon was escaped into the country, having intimation that the governor’s generosity in pardoning him, and his followers and restoring him to his seat in councill, were no other than previous waddles to amuse him and his adherents and to circumvent them by stratagem, forasmuch as the taking Mr. Bacon again into the councill was first to keep him out of assembly, and in the next place the govern’r knew the country people were hastning down with dreadful threatnings to double revenge all wrongs shoud be done to Mr. Bacon or his men, or who-ever shou’d have had the least hand in ’em.

And so much was true that this Mr. Young Nathaniel Bacon (not yet arrived to 30 years) had a nigh relation namely Col. Nathaniel Bacon of long standing in the councill a very rich politick man, and childless, designing this kinsman for his heir, who (not without much paines) had prevailed with his uneasy cusin to deliver the forementioned written recantation at the bar, having compiled it ready to his

To the Reader.

shrinke backe, and call in their helpes from this so glorious enterprise, which the Prophet Isaiah calls the declaring of God to the left hand, but let them that know the worke, reioyce and be glad in the happie successe of it, proclaiming that it is the everliving God that reigneth in England, and unto the ends of the world.

Excuse me (curious Reader) if caried beyond my purpose, I declaim passionately in this passionate and innocently despised worke, which I am sure is so full of goodnesse, and have bin almost sixe yeeres a Suffer and eye witness of his now well nigh atchieved happinesse, the full and unstrained repository of every accident whereof even from his beginning; together with the causes of the backwardnes, in prosperitie thus long, touching at the miraculous deliuey of the scattered company, cast upon the Bermudas, when those fortunate Islands like so many faire Neriades which receined our wrackt company, with the death of that pure and noble hearted Gentleman Sir George Summers dying there, my purpose is shortly at large to publish, that at length some one escaped Leaper amongst so many saued, may returne backe and pay his vowes of thanks, giving unto that ever to be praised mercifull providence that brought vs thither, until when I wish thy zealous and fervent thoughts and indenours to a businesse so full of piety, as is this our Virginie Plantation.

RAYNE HAMOR.



A
TRUE DISCOVERSE
 of the present estate of Virginia, and
 the successe of the affaires there till the
 18 of Iune. 1614.



He many publications and impressions of Virginia, an employement wherein to this day my selfe with many other vnstaid heads & thirstie after new designes, haue bin to vnprofitably engaged, might iustly excuse my silence, did not the filiall duty whereby in all things to the utmost of my power I am bound to obey my Father, compell me vnwillingly thereunto: A taske I know by himselfe and others, meereley because I haue bin *Oculus testis*, thus imposed vpon me, in the vndertaking and performance whereof, I hartily wish that my poore relation, rich onely in truth (as I shall cleerely iustifie my selfe by eie witnesses also) may giue any credit or encouragement to proceede in a businesse so full of honour, and worth, whereunto (if there were no secondary causes) the already published ends, I meane the glory of God in the

B
 con-

A Relation of the present

conversion of those Infidels, and the honour of our King and country (which by right may claime at the least their superfluities, from those whom God hath in this world made his dispensors and purse-bearers) might be a sufficient spurre to resolu'd Christians, especially the state and condition of our colonie, so standing when I left it, and I assure my selfe in this time growne more mature, that an honest hart would euen relent, and mourne to thinke how poorely, I dare not say vnworthily it is prosecuted. It being true that now after five yeeres intestine warre with the reuengefull implacable Indians, a firme peace (not againe easily to be broken) hath bin lately concluded, not onely with the neighbour, and bordering Indians, as on *Patomecke*, *Topahanah*, and other Ri- uers, but euen with that subtile old reuengefull *Powhatan* and all the people vnder his subiection, for all whom *Powhatan* himselfe stands firmly ingaged, by which meanes we shall not onely be furnished with what commodities their countrie yeeldeth, and haue all the helpes they may afforde vs in our indeuours (as they are easily taught, and may by lenitie and faire vsage, as Sir Thomas *Dale* now principall commander there, and most worthy the honour he houlds, is well experienced in their dispositions, and accordingly makes vse of them) be brought, being naturally though ingenious, yet idely giuē, to be no lesse industrious, nay to exceede our English, especially those which we hitherto and as yet are furnished with, who for the most part no more sensible then beasts, would rather starue in idlenesse (witnesse their former proceedings) then feast in labour, did not the law compell them thereunto, but also which will be most for our benefit, our owne men may without hazard, I might say with security (by selfe-experience) follow their seuerall labours, whereby twentie shall now be

estate of Virginia 1614.

bee able to performe more then heretofore hath bin fortie.

Though I coniecture and assure my selfe that yee cannot be ignorant by what meanes this peace hath bin thus happily both for our proceedings and the welfare of the Naturals concluded, yet for the honour of Caprain *Argoll* whose indeuours in the action intituled him most worthy, I iudge it no whit impertinēt in my discourse to insert them, which with as much breuity as I may, not omitting the circumstances most pertinent and materiall, I shall indeuour.

The general letters vpon my knowledge, directed and sent to the honourable *Virginia* Councell, being most of them (though my selfe most vnworthy) by me penned, haue intimated, how that the euerworthy gentlemā Capt. *Argoll* in the heate of our home furies & disagreements by his best experience of the disposition of those people, partly by gentle vsage & partly by the composition & mixture of threats hath euer kept faire & friendly quarter with our neighbours bordering on other riuers of affinity, yea consanguinity, no lesse neere then brothers to *Powhatan*, such is his well knowne temper and discretion, yea to this passe hath he brought them, that they assuredly trust vpon what he promifeth, and are as carefull in performing their mutuall promises, as though they contended to make that *Maxim*, that there is no faith to be held with Infidels, a meere and absurd *Paradox*: Nay as I haue heard himselfe relate, who is *fide dignus*, they haue euen bin pensue and discontented with themselves, because they knew not how to doe him some acceptable good turne, which might not onely pleasure him, but euen be profitable to our whole Collonie, and *Plantation*, yea euer assuring him that when the times should present occasion, they would take hold of her forelocke, and be the instruments to worke him con-

4

A Relation of the present

tent, and euen thus they proued themselues as honest performers, as liberall promisers. It chaunced *Powhatan*s delight and darling, his daughter *Pocahuntas*, (whose fame hath euen bin spread in England by the title of *Nonparella of Virginia*) in her princely progresse, if I may so terme it, tooke some pleasure (in the absence of Captaine *Argall* (to be among her friends at *Pataomecke* (as it seemeth by the relation I had) imployed thither, as shopkeepers to a *Fare*, to exchange some of her fathers commodities for theirs, where residing some three months or longer, it fortun'd vpon occasion either of promise or profit, Captaine *Argall* to arriue there, whom *Pocahuntas*, desirous to renew his familiaritie with the English, and delighting to see them, as vnknowne, fearefull perhaps to be surpris'd, would gladly visit, as she did, of whom no sooner had Captaine *Argall* intelligence, but he delt with an old friend, and adopted brother of his *Iapazeus*, how and by what meanes he might procure his captiue, assuring him, that now or neuer, was the time to pleasure him, if he intended indeede that loue which he had made profession of, that in ranfome of him he might redeeme some of our English men and armes, now in the possession of her Father, promising to vse her with all faire, and gentle entreaty: *Iapazeus* well assured that his brother, as he promised would vse her curiously promised his best induements and secrecie to accomplish his desire, and thus wrought it, making his wife an instrument (which sex haue euer bin most powerfull in beguiling inticements) to effect his plot which hee had thus laid, he agreed that himselfe, his wife, and *Pocahuntas*, would accompanie his brother to the water side, whether come, his wife should haue a great and longing desire to goe aboarde, and see the shippe, which being there three or foure times, before

estate of Virginia 1614.

5

fore she had neuer seene, and should bee earnest with her husband to permit her: he seemed angry with her, making as he pretended so vnecessary a request, especially being without the company of women, which deniall she taking vnkindely, must faine to weepe, (as who knows not that women can command teares) whereupon her husband seeming to pittie those counterfeit teares, gaue her leaue to goe aboord, so that it would please *Pocahuntas* to accompany her: now was the greatest labour to win her, guilty perhaps of her fathers wrongs, though not knowne as she supposed to goe with her, yet by her earnest perswasions, she assented: so forthwith aboord they went, the best cheere that could be made was seasonably provided, to supper they went, merry on all hands, especially *Iapazeus* and his wife, who to expresse their ioy, would ere be treading vpon Capt. *Argall*s foot, as who should say tis don, she is your own. Supper ended, *Pocahuntas* was lodged in the Gunners roome, but *Iapazeus* and his wife desired to haue some conference with their brother, which was onely to acquaint him by what stratagem they had betrayed his prisoner, as I haue already related: after which discourse to sleepe they went, *Pocahuntas* nothing mistrusting this policy, who neuertheless being most possessed with feare, and desire of returne, was first vp, and hastened *Iapazeus* to be gon. Capt. *Argall* hauing secretly well rewarded him, with a small Copper kettle, and some other lesse valuable toies so highly by him esteemed, that doubtlesse he would haue betrayed his owne father for them, permitted both him and his wife to returne, but told him, that for diuers considerations, as for that his father had taken eigh of our English men, many swords, peeces, and other tooles, which he had at severall times by trecherous murdering our men, taken from them,

B 3

which

though of no use to him, he would not redeliver, he would reserve *Pocahuntas*, whereat she began to be exceeding pensive, and discontented, yet ignorant of the dealing of *Iapazens*, who in outward appearance was no less discontented that he should be the meanes of her captivity, much a doe there was to persuade her to be patient, which with extraordinary courteous vsage, by little and little was wrought in her, and so to *James* towne she was brought, a messenger to her father forthwith dispatched to aduertise him, that his only daughter was in the hands & possession of the English: ther to be kept til such time as he would ransom her with our men, swords, peeces, & other tools treacherously taken from vs: the news was unwelcome, and troublesome vnto him, partly for the loue he bare to his daughter, and partly for the loue he bare to our men his prisoners, of whom though with vs they were vnapt for any employment) he made great use: and those swords, and peeces of ours, (which though of no use to him) it delighted him to view, and looke vpon.

He could not without long aduise & deliberation with his Councill, resolve vpon any thing, and it is true, we heard nothing of him till three moneths after, by perswasions of others he returned vs seauen of our men, with each of them a Musket vnseruiceable, and by them sent vs word, that whensoever wee pleased to deliuer his daughter, he would giue vs in satisfaction of his iniuries done to vs, and for the rest of our peeces broken and stolne from him, 500 Bushells of Corne; and be for euer friends with vs, the men, and Peeces in part of payment we receiued: and returned him answere, that his daughter was very well, and kindly intreated, and so should be howsoever he dealt with vs: but we could not beleue that the rest of our Arms were either lost, or stolne from him, and therefore till he returned them all, we would not by any meanes deliuer his daugh-

ter, and then it should be at his choice, whether he would establish peace, or continue enemies with vs. This answere as it seemed, pleased him not very well, for we heard no more from him till in March last, when with Captaine *Argalls* Shippe, and some other Vessells belonging to the Colony, Sir *Thomas Dale* with an hundred and fifty men well appointed, went vp into his owne Riuer, where his chiefest habitations were, and carried with vs his daughter, either to moue them to fight for her, if such were their courage and boldnesse, as hath been reported, or to restore the residue of our demands, which were our peeces, swords, tooles. Some of the same men which he returned (as they promised) ran to him again, and because he had put vs to the trouble to fetch them five hundred bushells of Corne: A great brauado all the way as we went vp the Riuer they made, demanding the cause of our coming thither, which we told them was to deliuer *Pocahuntas*, whom purposely we had brought with vs, and to receiue our Armes, men, & corn, or else to fight with them, burn their howses, take away their Canoas, breake downe their fishing Weares, and doe them what other damages we could: Some of them to set a good face on the matter, replied, that if wee came to fight with them? we were welcome, for they were provided for vs, counselling vs rather to retire (if wee loued our safeties) then proceed, bragging, as well they might, that wee had euer had the worst of them in that Riuer, instancing by Capt: *Ratliffe* (not worthy remembring, but to his dishonor) who, with most of his company they betrayed and murdered: we told them since they durst remember vs of that mischief, vnlesse they made the better and more speedy agreement, we would now reuenge that trechery, and with this discourse by the way as we went, we proceeded, and

8

A Relation of the present

and had no sooner entred the narrow of the riuer, the channell there lying within shot of the shoare, but they let their arrowes flie amongst vs in the shippe, themselves vnseene to vs, and in the forehead hurt one of our men, which might haue hazarded his life without the present helpe of a skillfull Chirurgeon.

Being thus iustly prouoked, we presently manned our boates, went ashore, and burned in that verie place some forty houses, and of the things we found therein, made freeboote and pillage, and as themselves afterward confest vnto vs, hurt and killed five or sixe of their men, with this reuenge satisfiing our selues, for that their presumption in shooting at vs, and so the next day proceeded higher vp the Riuer, the Indians calling vnto vs, and demaunding why we went ashore, burnt their houses, killed and hurt their men, and tooke away their goods. We replied that though we came to them in peaceable manner, and would haue beene glad to haue receiued our demaunds with loue and peace, yet we had hearts and power to take reuenge, and punish where wrongs should be offered, which hauing now don, though not so seuerely as we might, we rested content therewith and are ready to embrace peace with them if they pleased. Many excuses they seemed to pretend, that they shot not at vs, but (if any such abuse were offered) it was some stragled Indian, ignorant of our presence in comming to them, affirming that they themselves would be right glad of our loue, and would in deauour to helpe vs to what we came for, which being in the possession of *Powhatan* their King, they would without delay dispatch messengers to him, to know his purpose and pleasure, desiring faire quarter some 24 howers, for so long they pretended it would be before their messengers might returne: this we graun-

estate of Virginia 1614.

9

graunted, and what we promised, we euer exactly performed, the time now come, we inquired what *Powhatan* would doe, and had for answer, that our Englishmen lately with him, fearefull to be put to death by vs, were runne away, and some of *Powhatans* men sent abroade in quest of them, but our swords and peeces so many as he had should be brought the next day, which meereley to delay time, they barevs in hand the next day they came not, higher vp the riuer we went, and anchored neere vnto the chiefest residence *Powhatan* had, at a towne called *Matchcot* where were assembled (which we saw) about 400 men, well appointed with their bowes and arrowes to welcome vs, here they dared vs to come ashore, a thing which we purposed before, so ashore we went, our best landing being vp a high steepe hill which might haue giuen the enemy much advantage against vs, but it seemed they as we were vnwilling to begin, and yet would gladly haue bin at blowes, being landed as if they had no shew of feare, they stirred not from vs, but walked vp and downe, by and amongst vs, the best of them inquiring for our Weroance or king, with whom they would gladly consult to know the occasion of our comming thither, wherof when they were informed, they made answer that they were there ready to defend themselves, if we pleased to assault them, desiring neuerthelessse some small time to dispatch two or three men once more to their king, to know his resolution, which if not answerable to our requests, in the morning if nothing else but blood would then satisfie vs, they would fight with vs, and there by deterraine our quarrell, which was but a further delay to procure time to carrie away their provisions, neuerthelessse we agreed to this their request, assuring them till the next day by noone we would not molest, hurt, nor detain any of them, and then

C

before

10 *A Relation of the present*

before we fought, our Drum and Trumpets should give them warning: vpon which promise of ours, two of *Powhatans* sonnes being very desirous to see their sister who was there present ashore with vs, came vnto vs, at the sight of whom, and her well fare, whom they suspected to be worse intreated, though they had often heard the contrary, they much reioyced, and promised that they would vndoubtedly perswade their father to redeeme her, and to conclude a firme peace foreuer with vs, and vpon this resolution the two brothers with vs retired aboarde, we hauing first dispatched two English men, Maister *John Rolfe* and maister *Sparkes* to acquainte their Father with the business in hand, the next day being kindly intreated, they returned, not at all admitted *Powhatans* presence, but spake with his brother *Apachamo*, his successor, one who hath already the commaund of all the people, who likewise promised vs his best indeauors to further our iust requests, and we because the time of the yeere being then Aprill, called vs to our businessse at home to prepare ground, and set corne for our winters prouision, vpon these termes departed, giuing them respite till harvest to resoluue what was best for them to doe, with this Prouiso, that if finall agreement were not made betwixt vs before that time, we would thither returne againe and destroy and take away all their corne, burne all the houses vpon that riuer, leaue not a fish ng *Weere* standing, nor a *Canoe* in any creeke therabout, and destroy and kill as many of them as we coulde.

Long before this time a gentleman of approned behaviour and honest carriage, maister *John Rolfe* had bin in loue with *Pocahuntas* and she with him, which thing at the instant that we were in parlee with them, my selfe made known to Sir *Thomas Dale* by a letter from him, whereby he intreated his aduise and furtherance.

estate of Virginia 1614.

11

therance in his loue, if so it seemed fit to him for the good of the Plantation, and *Pocahuntas* her selfe, acquainted her brethren therewith: which resolution Sir *Thomas Dale* wel approving, was the onely cause: hee was so milde amongst them, who otherwise would not haue departed their riuer without other conditions.

The bruite of this pretended marriage came soone to *Powhatans* knowledge, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his suddent consent thereunto, who some ten daies after sent an olde vncle of his, named *Opachisco*, to giue her as his deputy in the Church, and two of his sonnes to see the mariage solemnized, which was accordingly done about the fift of Aprill, and euer since we haue had friendly commerce and trade, not onely with *Powhatan* himselfe, but also with his subiects round about vs; so as now I see no reason why the Collonie should not thrue a pace.

Besides this loue by this meanes with *Powhatan* concluded, it will be worth my paines to runouer our friendship with our next neighbours, the *Chicohominies* lately confirmed, a lustie and daring people, who haue long time liued free from *Powhatans* subiection, hauing lawes and gouernors within themselues: these people hearing of our concluded peace with *Powhatan*, as the noise thereof was soone bruted abroad, sent two of their men vnto vs, and two fat Bucks for present to our king (for so Sir *Thomas Dale* is generally reputed and termed amongst them) and offered themselues and seruice vnto him, alleadging that albeit in former times they had bin our enemies, and we theirs, yet they would now if we pleased become not onely our trustie friends, but euen King *IAMES* his subiects and tributaries, and relinquish their old name of *Chicohominies*, and take vpon them, as they call vs the name of *Tossantessus*, and because they haue

A Relation of the present

no principall commander or *Weroance*, they would intreate Sir Thomas Dale as King IAMES his deputie to be their supream head, King and gouernor, and in all iust causes and quarrels to defend them, as they would be ready at all times to aide him, onely their desire was to inioy their owne lawes and liberties, and because himselfe, by reason of his many other employments, beside the charge he hath of his owne people, may not be alwaies present amongst them, to be gouerned as formerly by eight of the elders and principall men amongst them, as his substitutes and counsellors, and euen this was the summe and effect of their embassie, Sir Thomas Dale appointed a day to send some men into their riuer, to propose certaine conditions vnto them, whereunto if they assented he would gladly accept of their proffered friendship, and be himselfe their *Weroance*: and with this answer offering them copper for their venison, which they refused to take, dismissed them.

When the appointed day came, Sir Thomas Dale himselfe and Captaine Argall with 50 men in a barge and frigot, well appointed, lest any trecherie might be intended, set forward to *Chicohaminie*, an arme of our riuer some seauen miles from James Town, where we found the people according to promise expecting our comming, assembled and met together, who after their best and most friendly manner, bad vs welcome, and because our businesse at home would permit vs but small time of stay with them, they presently sent for their principal men, some of whom were then absent, which hastned vnto vs, & the next morning very early assembled, and sat in counsell about this businesse, Captaine Argall (supplying Sir Thomas Dales place amongst them, who though there present for some respects, concealed himselfe, and kept aboarde his barge) after long discourse of their former proceedings

estate of Virginia 1614.

ceedings, Captaine Argall told them, that now since they had intreated peace and promised their loue and friendship, hee was sent vnto them from the great *Weroance* to conclude the same, all former iniuries on both sides, set apart and forgotten, which he would doe vpon these conditions.

First that they should take vpon them, as they promised, the name of *Tassantasses* or English men, and be King IAMES his subiects, and be foreuer honest, faithfull and trustie vnto his deputie in their countie.

Secondly, that they should neuer kill any of our men or cattell, but if either our men or cattle should offend them or runne to them, they should bring them home again, and should receiue satisfaction for the trespasse done them.

Thirdly, they should at all times be ready and willing to furnish vs with three or foure hundred bowmen to aide vs against the Spaniards, whose name is odious amongst them, for *Powhatan*s father was driuen by them from the *west-Indies* into those parts, or against any other *Indians* which should, contrary to the established peace offer vs any iniurie.

Fourthly, they shall not vpon any occasion whatsoever breake downe any of our pales, or come into any of our Townes or forts by any other waies, issues or ports then ordinary, but first call, and say the *Tassantasses* are there; and so comming they shall at all times be let in, and kindly entertained.

Fifthly, so many fighting men as they haue which may be at the least five hundred should yeerely bring into our store house, at the beginning of their haruest two bushels of corne a man, as tribute of their obedience to his Maiestie, and to his deputy there, for which they should receiue so many Iron *Tomahawkes* or small hatchets.

himselfe with two English and two Saugages went vp higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long able, but his men went ahoare, whose want of government, gave both occasion and opportunity to the Saugages to surprize one George Caffon, and much failed not to haue cut off the Boate and all the rest.

Cap. Smith affailed and taken.

The Saugages having drawne from George Caffon, whither Captaine Smith was gone, followed him with three hundred Bowmen, conducted by Opechankanough the King of Pamaunke; who searching the divisions of the River, found Robinson and Emery by the fire side, whom they shot full of Arrows and flew. Smith being affailed, slew three of them, and so galled the rest that they would not come neere: he used the Saugage his guide as a shield, having bound him to his arme with his garters; and straking to haue recovered his Boate, having more eye to them in his march then to his way, he slipped up to the middle in an ozie creeke, and his Saugage with him; yet asseif they not come to him still he threw away his armes, being neere dead with cold. Then according to compulsion they drew him forth, and led him to the fire, where his men were slain. Diligently they chased his benumbed limbes; and he gave Opechankanough a round Ivory double compassed Diall. They much marvelled at the playing of the fire which they could see and not touch, by reason of the Glasse cover; but when he had read a Cosmographicall lecture to them of the Skies, Earth, Day, and night, with the varieties of Nations; and such like, they were all amazed: notwithstanding which sudden wonder, they tide him to a tree within an houre after, as many as could stand about him prepared their fatall Arrows to his death, which were all laid downe when Opechankanough held up the said Diall: and they led him in a kinde of triumph to Oropaxae.

Diall admired of Saugages.

Saugage triumph, discipline and gallantry.

Their order was this: drawing themselves all in file, the King in the midst had all their Peeces and Spords borne before him: Captaine Smith was led after him by three great Indians, holding him fast; on each side went six in file, with their Arrows necked. When they arrived at the Towne (which was of thirty or forty bustling houses made of Mats, remoned at pleasure, as Tennis with us) the women and children came to stare on him; the Soldiers in file had their Sargians to keepe them in order. A good while they thus continued, and then call themselves into a ring, dancing in severall postures, and singing helght notes, strangely painted, each having his Quiver of Arrows; and at his backe a Clubbe; on his arme a Peeces or Otters Skinne for his vambrae, their heads and shoulders painted red with Oyle and Peones mingled together, his Bowe in his hand, and the Skinne of a Bird, with her wings abroad, dried, tied on his head, with a peece of Copper, a white Shell, a long Fetber, and a small Rattle growing at the taile of their Snakes, or some like toy fastened thereto. All this while Smith stood with the King guarded in the midst, till three dozen being done, they departed. Then did they conduct Smith to a long house, where thirty or forty men guarded him, and some after was brought more Bread and Venison then would haue served twenty: what be left they put in Baskets and tied over his head, which about midnight they againe set before him, none of them eating ought: with him, till having brought as much more the next morning, they did cate the old, and referred the new in like manner. Hee thought they intended to fat and cate him.

Their feasting there.

Saugage simlicity.

Rices of Coniuration.

One Maocastater, in requittall of Beads which he had given him, brought him his Sonne to defend him from the cold. Another was possessed with a contrary humour, and would haue slain him for the death of his sonne, had not the guard prevented; to him, yet breathing his last, they brought him to recover him. Smith told them that at James Towne he had a water that would doe it, if they would let him fetch it. But they prepared to assault James Towne, promising him liberty, and women, if he would assist them. In part of a Table Booke hee wrote his minde to those which were at the Fort; that they should send such things mentioned. They went in bitter weather for Frost and Snow, and seeing men fly out, as he had before told them, they fled; but coming againe in the night to the place which he had appointed, for an answer, they found things ready, and speedily returned, as if either he had diuined, or the paper had spoken.

After this, they led him to the Youghtanunds, the Matapanients, the Payankatis, the Nantaghtanunds, the Onnamients, upon the Rivers of Raphanocke, and Patanocke, and backe againe by divers other Nations, to the Kings habitation at Pamaunke, where they entertained him with strange conuivialities. Early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, a Mat spread on each side, on one of which he was set, the guard went out, and in came a great group follow stepping, all painted with cole mingled with Oyle, many Snakes and Weasels skins stuffed with Masse, their taile tied together, and waving on the crowne of his head; round about the tallest in a coronet of Fetters; the skins hung round about his head, shoulders, backe and face: With a hellyb wape, strange gestures and passions, with a Rattle in his hand, hee began his invocation, and enuironed the fire with a circle of Meale. After this, three such other diuels rimmed in with like tricket, painted halfe blacke, halfe red, all their eyes painted white, with some red brookes along their cheekes. These having danced a prettie while, three more came in as ugly as the rest, with red eyes and white stroake over their blacke faces. At last they all sat downe right against him, the chief Priest in the midst, and three on each hand. All then with their Rattles began a song, which ended the chief Priest laid downe five wheate corners; and straining his armes and hand with such violence, that hee sweat, and his vomes swelled: hee began a short Oration; at the conclusion whereof they gave a short grovace, and then laid downe three grovaces more. Now

they began their Song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice enuironed the fire. That done, they take a bunch of little stickes, prepared for that purpose, and at the end of every Song and Oration laid downe a sticke betwixt the diuisions of the Corne. Till night, neither be nor they did cate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily with their best provisions. Three dayes they used this Ceremonie, thereby to know (as they said) whether hee intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Countrey, the two circles of Corne the Sea-bounds; and the stickes his Countrey. They imagined the World to be flat and round like a trencher, and themselves in the midst. After this, they brought him a bigge of Powder, which they carefully preserved till the next Spring, to plant as they did their Corne, because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede.

Saugage Geography, Gunpowder, Sawe.

Opitchapam the Kings brother, invited him to his house, where hee welcomed him with as many Platters of Bread, Fowle and wilde Beasts, as did encompass him: but not any would cate with him, reserving the remainders in Baskets. At his returne to Opechankanoughs, all the Kings women and their children stuck about him, as for their customary due, to be merry with such fragments. As last they brought him to Werowocomoco to Pohatan, where above two hundred of his Countries stood wondering on him, till Pohatan and his traine had put themselves in their greatest branery. Before first hee sat on a seate like a bedsted, covered with a great robe made of Rowocun Skinnes, all the sides hanging by: on each hand did sit a young wench of sixteen or eightene yeeres of age; along on each side the house two romes of men, and behinde them as many women, with all their beads and should-ers painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds, every one adorned with some thing, a great chaine also of white Beades about their neckes. At his entrance before the King all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appanattucke was appointed to bring water to wash his hands, another brought him a bunch of Feathers instead of a Towell to drie them. Hauing fested him in their best manner, he held a consultation, in conclusion whereof, two great stoves were brought before Pohatan, and as many as could lay hold on him dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, being ready with their clubbes to beate out his braines. Pocahuntas the Kings dearest Daughter, when no intreatie would preuaile, got his head into her armes, and laid her owne upon his to saue him from death: whereupon the Emperour was contented hee should liue to make him Hatches, and Beads, Bells, and Copper for her. For they thought him like themselves, of all occu-
pations: the King himselfe making his owne Robes, Shoes, Bowes, Arrows, Pots, Planting also, Hunt-
ing, and doing Offices, no lesse then the rest.

Two dayes after, Pohatan having disguised himselfe in the dreadfulest manner, caused Captaine Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a Mat by the fire to see left alone. Not long after from behinde a Mat which diuided the house, was made the dolefullist noise that euer hee had heard. After this Pohatan with twenty more as blacke as himselfe came vnto him, and told him that they were now friends, and presently hee should goe to James Towne to send him two great Gunnes and a Grindstone, for which hee would giue him the Countrey of Capanowituck, and for euer esteeme him as his Sonne Nantaquaus. Hee sent him therewith twelve guides. When they came to the Fort, Smith used the Saugages kindly, and shewed Rawhinn, Pohatans trusty seruant two Demiculmerins and a Millstone to carry to Pohatan; somewhat too heauie for their carriage. But when they saw him discharge them laden with stones, on the boughes of a great tree hanging full of sickles, the Ice and boughes coming downe with such furie, the Saugages were halfe dead with feare; and at last returning contented with tales and presents for Pohatan, his women and children. This his returning safe to the Port, once more staid the Pinnace her flight for England, which till his returne, could not set saile, so extreme was the weather, and so great the Frost.

His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at Werowocomoco, where inhabited Powhatan (that till that time was vnknowne) so reuied againe their dead spirits, as all mens feare was abandoned, Powhatan hauing lent with this Captaine diuers of his men loaded with provision, hee had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie Messengers to bring but two or three of our great Ordnances; but the Messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged, ran away amazed with feare, till means were vied with gifts to assure them our loues.

At this time our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrey, but the Treasurer and Connell in England, were as diligent and careful to supply vs. Two tall Shippes they sent vs, both with nere one hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary, both for them and vs. The one commanded by Captaine Newport: the other by Captaine Neslou, an honest man and an expert Marriner, but such was the leewardness of his Ship (that though he were within sight of Cape Henry) by stormy contrary windes, was forced so farre to Sea, as the West Indies was the next land for the reparaire of his Mafts, and reliefe of wood and water. But Captaine Newport got in, and arrived at James Towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine Smith, to whom the Saugages euery other day brought such plenty of Bread, Fish, Turkeys, Squirrels, Deere, and other wilde Beasts, part they gaue him as presents from the King, the rest he as their market Clarke set the price how they should sell.

His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at Werowocomoco, where inhabited Powhatan (that till that time was vnknowne) so reuied againe their dead spirits, as all mens feare was abandoned, Powhatan hauing lent with this Captaine diuers of his men loaded with provision, hee had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie Messengers to bring but two or three of our great Ordnances; but the Messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged, ran away amazed with feare, till means were vied with gifts to assure them our loues.

At this time our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrey, but the Treasurer and Connell in England, were as diligent and careful to supply vs. Two tall Shippes they sent vs, both with nere one hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary, both for them and vs. The one commanded by Captaine Newport: the other by Captaine Neslou, an honest man and an expert Marriner, but such was the leewardness of his Ship (that though he were within sight of Cape Henry) by stormy contrary windes, was forced so farre to Sea, as the West Indies was the next land for the reparaire of his Mafts, and reliefe of wood and water. But Captaine Newport got in, and arrived at James Towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine Smith, to whom the Saugages euery other day brought such plenty of Bread, Fish, Turkeys, Squirrels, Deere, and other wilde Beasts, part they gaue him as presents from the King, the rest he as their market Clarke set the price how they should sell.

He is brought to Pohatan.

Wide royalty.

Pocahuntas death his life.

All men of all occupations.

The third project to abandon the Fort.

The arrival of the six apply with their proceedings and recourse.

The Phoenix from Cape Henry forced to the West Indies.

The Contents.

<i>tle of Rottenton ; and how Captaine Smith was taken prisoner ; and sold for a slave.</i>	21.
Chap. 12. <i>How Captaine Smith was sent prisoner thorow the Blacke and Dissabacca Sea in Tartaria ; the description of those Seas, and his usage.</i>	23.
Chap. 13. <i>The Turks diet ; the Slaves diet ; the attire of the Tartars ; and manner of Warres and Religions, &c.</i>	24.
Chap. 14. <i>The description of the Crym-Tartars ; their houses and carts ; their idolatry in their lodgings.</i>	26.
Chap. 15. <i>Their feasts ; common diet ; Princes estate ; buildings ; lawes ; slaves ; entertainment of Ambassadors.</i>	27.
Chap. 16. <i>How he levieth an Armie ; their Armes and Provision ; how he divideth the spoile ; and his service to the Great Turke.</i>	29.
Chap. 17. <i>How Captaine Smith escaped his captivity ; slew the Bathaw of Nalbrits in Cambia ; his passage to Rullia, Transilvania, and the middest of Europe to Affrica.</i>	31.
Chap. 18. <i>The observations of Captaine Smith ; M^r. Henry Archer, and others in Barbary.</i>	34.
Chap. 19. <i>The strange discoveries and observations of the Portugals in Affrica.</i>	37.
Chap. 20. <i>A brave Sea-fight betwixt two Spanish men of warre, and Captaine Merham, with Smith.</i>	39.
Chap. 21. <i>The continuation of the generall History of Virginia ; the Summer Iles ; and New England ; with their present estate from 1624. to this present 1629.</i>	41.
Chap. 22. <i>The proceedings and present estate of the Summer Iles, from An. Dom. 1624. to this present 1629.</i>	45.
Chap. 23. <i>The proceedings and present estate of New England, since 1624. to this present 1629.</i>	46.
Chap. 24. <i>A briefe discourse of divers voyages made unto the goodly Country of Guiana, and the great River of the Amazons ; relating also the present Plantation there.</i>	48.
Chap. 25. <i>The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of St. Christophet by Captaine Warner.</i>	51.
Chap. 26. <i>The first planting of the Barbados.</i>	55.
Chap. 27. <i>The first plantation of the Ile of Mevis.</i>	56.
Chap. 28. <i>The bad life, qualities and conditions of Pyrats ; and how they taught the Turks and Moores to become men of warre.</i>	58.
	TO

To my worthy friend, Captaine
JOHN SMITH.

Two greatesst Shires of England did thee beare,
Renowned Yorkshire, Gaunt stild Lancashire ;
But what's all this ? even Earth, Sea, Heaven above,
Tragabigzanda, Callamata's love,
Deare Pocahontas, Madam Shanoi's too,
Who did what love with modesty could doe :
Record thy worth, thy birth, which as I live,
Even in thy reading such choice solace give,
As I could wish (such wishes would doe well)
Many such Smiths in this our Israel.

R. BRATHWAITE

To my noble brother and friend,
Captaine JOHN SMITH.

Thou hast a course so full of honour runne,
Envy may snarle, as dogges against the Sunne
May barke, not bite : for what deservedly
With thy lifes danger, valour, pollicy,
Quaint warlike stratagems, abillity
And judgement, thou hast got, fame sets so high
Detraction cannot reach : thy worth shall stand
A patterne to succeeding ages, and
Cloth'd in thy owne lines, ever shall adde grace,
Vnto thy native Country and thy race ;
And when dissolv'd, laid in thy mothers wombe,
These, Cæsar-like, Smiths Epitaph and tombe.

ANTHONY FREBET.

To

"Malintzin, Pocahontas, and Krotoa: Indigenous Women and Myth Models of the Atlantic World"

Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History 6:3 | © 2005 Pamela Scully



Malintzin, Pocahontas, and Krotoa: Indigenous Women and Myth Models of the Atlantic World

Pamela Scully

Emory University

1. Narratives of heterosexuality permeate the history and dominant historiography of European exploration and conquest in the early modern period.¹ One tale involves the hyper-sexuality of indigenous women and seems to be applicable to the discovery and exploration literature of much of the early modern era. The overly sexualized native woman surfaces in the sources of European exploration in places as diverse as North America, the South Pacific, East Indies and West Africa.² Another account that is acknowledged in its distinctiveness, but not in its generality, pervades in particular the founding histories of settler societies bordering on the Atlantic World. Well-known conquistadors, settlers and governors such as Hernando Cortes, John Smith, Jan van Riebeeck--the first governor of the Cape Colony --and the many other European men engaged in exploration and settlement wrote of their first interactions with indigenous societies in part through the prism of an encounter with a helpful young native woman.
2. Ganananth Obeyesekere, in his argument with Marshall Sahlins over Hawaiian's first perceptions of Captain Cook, argued convincingly that Europeans, since at least the time of Cortes, believed a cultural truth: that indigenous people on encountering a European (man) for the first time, were highly likely to perceive the European as a god.³ While Sahlins probably won the debate with specific regard to Cook's experiences, Obeyesekere's insight into the European imaginary has provoked broader questions about the European historical narratives of conquest.⁴ The story of European men enjoying the bodies and services of a special local young woman might also be understood as a "myth model" of the Atlantic World.⁵
3. If the body of the indigenous woman has been pressed into the service of history, why is this so? The role of women like Pocahontas, Malintzin, and Krotoa arose in part from the dynamics of the local societies in which they were living at the time of their encounters. Their relatively noble status (although complicated by personal misfortune in the case of Dona Marina and Krotoa), gender, and the ideological understandings of femininity in their local societies created the conditions for particular kinds of interactions with powerful strangers. That is, the specific political economy of each local community helped facilitate a heterosexual dynamic with European men in the early years of the encounter. One could also argue that this story of the native woman and European man was perhaps produced out of a kind of referent between conquistadors, explorers, and governors who were reading earlier literature.⁶ For example, Hamlin argues that John Smith bought into the notion of European as god. Smith also, it appears was inspired by Cortes's narrative of his almost "single-handed" conquest of Mexico sufficient to hope for similar glory and masculine adventure. In his writings, most penned long after the event, and in the case of Pocahontas, probably fabricated, John Smith "never failed to mention that at each critical juncture a beautiful young woman has fallen in love with him and interceded on his behalf" whether in Virginia, Turkey or France.⁷
4. In her landmark article "Conquering Discourses of Sexual Conquest" Powers argues for the need to attend to the language of history and of historiography as we attempt to write a more nuanced history of the era of conquest. I heed Powers' skepticism of the conquest narratives of the "Spanish man as sexual conqueror" and the "Indian/ *casta* woman as always already mistress"⁸ Hitherto, scholars interested in gender have analyzed the era of discovery primarily through a discursive lens focusing on how European men imagined the lands and people they came upon. A rich literature reveals how explorers and travelers rendered the Americas through a gendered and sexualized reading that saw the

land as a woman, often as a passive indigenous woman, therefore open to the embrace and penetration of Europe.⁹ The literature has shown how we might understand the dominance of European colonialism, of the centrality of the white male, and the subjugation of the indigenous society through gender and sexuality.

5. We have yet to fully examine the ways in which the paradigm of heterosexuality has helped us organize our understanding of this past. A hetero-normative model of origins has also validated particular stories about the founding of settler societies of the Atlantic World such as Mexico, the United States, and South Africa that continue to be reworked in post-colonial settings. Historians have considered the heterosexual model of sexual relations so natural that it serves as a template through which we have written of the early colonial encounters—it has focused our attention on those women whose lives became meshed with European men through sex. While we have made great strides in complicating the agency of individual women such as Pocahontas scholarship tends still to focus on the women's sexuality and their relationships with European men.¹⁰ Like many other indigenous women whose lives became entangled in European historical dynamics, this particular heterosexual relationship somehow is seen to be the only narrative with which one can approach an understanding of their life.¹¹
6. The historiographical focus on the relationships between relatively elite women such as Malintzin, Pocahontas, and Krotoa and European men also seems to have dampened our appreciation of the experience of other women and of the widespread daily work women did for Europeans in the earliest years of conquest and centralization. Elite women, as well as women of more humble origins, participated, with different degrees of self-determination, in the making of the early communities on the borders of the Atlantic.¹² Local women worked as providers and growers of food, clothing, medical aid, sexual servants, and indeed in the case of the more famous, as translators and mediators between cultures.¹³ Rich case studies are emerging of indigenous women in local societies, but the ways in which women helped make the early Atlantic needs to be more systematically explored.¹⁴ Consideration of the connections between the more historically visible women and their less famous peers might help us understand the commonalities and differences between the experiences of indigenous women and of gender relations across a wide geographical field. The Atlantic World was built, and continues to be built, both literally and metaphorically, on the labor, bodies, and sexuality of indigenous women.
7. Three women, Malintzin, Pocahontas, and Krotoa figure in accounts of early European settlement in Mexico, Virginia, and the Cape and to different degrees in contemporary national imaginations. Malintzin, whose natal name is unknown, was born in Central America in about 1500 dying some twenty-eight years later in Mexico City. Malintzin entered history as Dona Marina, through her work as a translator and guide, and mother of a child of Hernando Cortes, the leader of the expedition that conquered the Aztec capital. In Mexico, the term "malinchista" remains a pejorative word for someone who purportedly betrays his or her "race."¹⁵
8. Famous during her life for her baptism, for marrying an English man John Rolfe, and making a visit to London, Pocahontas was born in about 1595 and she died while in London in 1617. As numerous authors have shown, Pocahontas entered American mythology with the accounts of John Smith who made Pocahontas a leading figure in his narrative of his time in Virginia. In contrast to the popular fate of Malintzin, Pocahontas has long been revered for her supposed rescue of John Smith from certain death, a version put out by Smith himself. Historians now think that Smith (unknowingly) and Pocahontas (knowingly) were likely participating in a ritual designed to inaugurate a form of kinship between Smith and Pocahontas's natal society.¹⁶
9. Krotoa, later known as Eva, was born into an indigenous Khoisan society near what is now Cape Town in the 1640s.¹⁷ Krotoa was a girl when she first encountered the Dutch whose ships, along with those of other countries stopped in the Table Bay for fresh water on the way to the Indies. Krotoa lived with her uncle Autshumato of the Goringhaicona people who lived near Table Bay. In 1652, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) appointed Governor Van Riebeeck to build a fort, initiate trade with local societies and to start a refreshment station at the Cape. Krotoa also was related through marriage to the powerful Cochoqua Khoisan clan of the interior. Her sister was married to the chief Oedaso. It is possible that they sent her to the Dutch in order to learn more about the settlement.
10. Krotoa did move into the orbit of the fort and the Dutch baptized her Eva, the first woman. At age 12, she went to live with Van Riebeeck who incorporated her into his household apparently as a companion

and servant to his wife and children. Krotoa might well have lived in a kind of incestuous space in the Van Riebeeck household. Krotoa seems to have lived in the household in a liminal space between family and other, most clearly as a kind of adopted daughter, but authors speculate from analysis of the fondness Van Riebeeck demonstrated to Krotoa in his diaries that he might have had a sexual relationship with her. Krotoa increasingly worked as a translator and mediator between the Dutch and the Cochoqua, one of the largest clans in the interior. In her teens, Krotoa seems to have willingly left the Dutch fort. She moved to the Cochoqua in order to undergo initiation rites and perhaps to prepare for marriage. However, she returned to the Castle shortly thereafter.

11. In 1664, she married a Danish Surgeon Pieter Van Meerhoff by whom she had three children. Dutch society appears to have incorporated the couple and Krotoa continued her diplomatic career. However, in 1667, Van Meerhoff died while on an expedition. With his death and the coming of a new governor, Wagenaar, Krotoa's life took a terrible turn. Wagenaar held a far more negative view of the local Khoisan than had his predecessor Van Riebeeck. White settlement was also more secure in the aftermath of two successful wars against the Khoisan. The Dutch no longer needed Krotoa's skills as a translator, and her incorporation into European society at the Cape made her links with the Khoisan more fragile in an era of company aggression. Colonists took Krotoa's children away from her and adopted them into colonial society. Krotoa died in 1674 alone and destitute on Robben Island, the island near Cape Town where the VOC sent political exiles from the Indies and the place where the South African apartheid government later imprisoned Nelson Mandela.¹⁸
12. Despite being born in Central America, North America, and the tip of the African continent, the experiences, living their lives within the orbit of very different imperial experiences: the Spanish conquest, the sputtering English attempts to start colonies in North America, and the rapacious Dutch commercial empire, the historical renderings of these young women's experiences bear marked similarities.¹⁹ The young women were all in a liminal state of transition to early womanhood when they first encountered Europeans. All were of the nobility with Krotoa having fallen on hard times because of her mother's remarriage. All three ended up marrying European men and having children by them. The women died young in part as a result of their encounter with European men, European pathogens, and in the case of Krotoa, historians have said because of European alcohol. Their children merged into European society either in Europe itself, or in the colonies. Malintzin's son Martin grew up in Spain but returned to Mexico. Pocahontas's son Thomas, returned to Virginia having grown up in England, and defended the colonists against Indian attacks in 1646. Krotoa's children remained in the Cape but were wrenched from their mother before her death.²⁰
13. The stories of Malintzin, Pocahontas, and Krotoa are almost too familiar. They resonate so comfortably with a kind of inevitability and truth that seems, on reflection, perhaps too neat.²¹ Their histories float across the sea like a great foundation myth. The myth tells us of a young woman tied to the land through her natal heritage (albeit somewhat ambivalently in the case of Malintzin who was already a slave in a new society in the Yucatan), and reproductive capacity. A male foreigner arrives needing legitimacy to justify his conquest and so marries the local woman and brings forth a child whose presence, if only symbolically affirms the fathers' right to the soil.²² The similarities of these stories stem from a confluence of factors involving the specific historical circumstances of the late fifteenth through mid seventeenth-century Atlantic, the assumptions of the European men who wrote the accounts on which historians depend, and from the narrative models of historiography that have governed our writing on "encounters."
14. Historians have perhaps been less suspicious than we might have been of the story of the indigenous woman helping the man in part because the model of the girl as mediator and translator meshes so well with long-held views of women's particular gifts as conciliators and nurturers. In the Americas, the story of the young woman yielding to the European man drew on the feminization of indigenous societies in general. As numerous authors have pointed out, European travelers and early ethnographers figured the subordination of indigenous societies in part through rendering them as feminine, as available to tutelage and conquest by "male" Europe.²³ In the case of Virginia, the representation of Pocahontas as a pliant and obedient young woman also perhaps calmed English men's fears of the gender disorder they perceived in England.²⁴ Writers from John Smith onward remade Pocahontas in the image of the sweet virgin helpmeet, an image that appears to have solidified most clearly in the nineteenth-century.²⁵

15. Renderings of the three famous women also followed an older historiographical tradition that focused on the lives of elites. Young noble women supposedly born into that status in their natal communities, rendered nobler in the literature through contact with European men, emerged easily into history particularly when they were believed to embrace European culture and a European future. A focus on the experiences of the three women does allow us to examine commonalities in understandings of noble women's work and sociopolitical value in different societies. That is, the similarity of their stories does arise in part from specific historical dynamics. Many cultures in the early modern period shared a similar gendered understanding of male entitlement to the service of women, even as they understood women's labor in trade and agriculture in often radically different ways. Societies in the Americas, Europe and in Africa saw the movement of young women between families, and from poorer or enemy groups through marriage as a way of cementing alliances between different and often competing groups.²⁶
16. In a famous essay, Gayle Rubin argued that in societies where familial relations were a primary way of imagining social and political community, notions of gift exchange and incest taboos rendered the "exchange of women" through marriage the primary way of building such notions of kinship. Such practices and assumptions created a context, at least in some pre-colonial societies, in which male elders exercised much control over younger women.²⁷ Indigenous elders perceived that they could establish diplomatic ties and familial connections with European men through the exchange of young women.²⁸ In addition, it seems that men such as Cortes, for example, understood at the very least, that such offering was appropriate to diplomatic dealings between men. The giving of indigenous women as gifts cemented relations between male elites. But Europeans understood this exchangeability to move only one way, from native woman to European man, not from European woman to native elite male. The gendered dynamic of those early encounters in which relatively powerful male foreigners, with ships, guns, and horses, took indigenous women through formal exchange as well as random violence, helped structure later forms of gendered and racial discourse and practice.
17. The exchange of women as identified by Rubin suggests ways of trying to historicize the significance of the young woman figure to the history of conquest. However, the notions of "encounter" or "exchange" too seem to limit analytic complexity. We still struggle to find an idiom that allows us to fully account for or render indigenous women's actions outside of the victim/betrayer dynamic and to recognize that women performed very complicated negotiations within constrained possibilities.²⁹ Rubin's formulation while suggestive also boxes women into a structural relation of victim-hood. Concerned to illuminate the gendered power dynamics constituting such a system Rubin concludes that³⁰

...it is the partners, not the presents, upon whom reciprocal exchange confers its quasi-mystical power of social linkage. The relations of such a system are such that women are in no position to realize the benefits of their own circulation. As long as the relations specify that men exchange women, it is men who are the beneficiaries of the product of such exchanges□social organization.□. To enter into a gift exchange as a partner, one must have something to give. If women are for men to dispose of, they are in no position to give themselves away.

18. As this quote suggests, such a focus on the "exchange of women" can undermine our attempts to understand how women navigated their world. One might rewrite the above quote in the following manner:
19. "The relations of such a system were such that it was difficult for women to realize the benefits of their own circulation, although such circulation could improve their security and their status depending on the context and provided some room for negotiation." For example, for Malintzin, who had already been handed to by elders to Cortes and his entourage along with at least 19 other local women, using her knowledge of different languages to secure the attention of Cortes, seemed a good strategy when daily rape and servitude, or suicide, were the only other available options.³¹ Krotoa too was masterful at manipulating the context in which she found herself, but marriage curtailed her ability to negotiate her position. The context in which men gave women as gifts also could make all the difference to the woman so exchanged. For example, as slaves they could be gifted in a way that signified submission by the "giving" society and which gave the woman abject status. Or women could be given as wives, thus consolidating a political alliance. In the latter case, the woman would enjoy greater status than the woman given as a slave.³²

20. The experiences of all three women represent the ambiguities of the early colonial encounters in terms of consent and the difficulties historians have had in rendering those ambiguities. History has long rendered European men heroes since masculinity framed the meaning of heroism: to kill or be killed. Quietly or not so quietly suffering rape, pillage and attempts on one's life, be it through enduring violence against one's person, and/or, negotiating a relationship with one man male to protect one from random male violence, does not quite have the celebratory ring of victor or dead hero. Recent historical scholarship has sought to complicate the history of these key figures and to render their lives in ways that foreground the difficulties of their circumstances as indigenous women. Anna Lanyon writes, "Men may have died honorably in battle or on the sacrificial stone, but women like Malinche faced a different kind of struggle. They were obliged to consort with the enemy, to bring forth children in a devastated world and learn to love them, whatever the bitter circumstances of their conception."³³ As Katrina Schlunke has suggested, perhaps the history of women, and particularly women considered indigenous, is always about dealing with incommensurability: the inability of the scholar to access the meaning of womanhood or femininity in the past, in part because sources scream loudest when they are dealing with absences.³⁴ The gaps that exist in the documentary record about what Malintzin, Pocahontas and Krotoa thought about their lives have in a sense allowed their appropriation.
21. The three women to this day serve as foundations for claims of nation building that arose in some cases in the colonial era and continue to be made also in the post-colonial era.³⁵ Settler societies such as South Africa, Mexico, and the United States of America have incorporated stories about the most famous of these young women and their relationships with powerful European men into the national imagination. The three indigenous women became foundational mothers to settler cultures in the Atlantic world in part because stories focused on them provide settlers and their descendants with a claim to indigeneity. Ambivalent but elemental stories of origin around a founding European father and native woman continue to circulate in educational literature and popular culture. And the version that dominates in public culture is romance—be it love or betrayal. Krotoa and Pocahontas's stories in particular are not written as rapes, nor as captivity narratives, but rather as stories of seduction, submission and the invitation to love European man and Christianity.³⁶ In these stories we see something of how Europeans expected indigenous societies to recognize their superiority and to submit themselves to the "superior" men.
22. The place of Krotoa and her peers continues to be ambiguous. Van Riebeeck might well have treated Krotoa as a daughter, and was relatively benign in his treatment of the Khoi. He was also probably an incestuous father to Krotoa, and he had fantasies of conquering and enslaving the Khoi, and shipping them as slaves to Asia. He raised this possibility in his correspondence with the governing board of the Dutch East India Company.³⁷ Authors while writing with empathy of Krotoa's life have generally focused on her time in the European sphere of influence and given little space to her death or the reasons for her representation in the historical documents as a self-destructive drunk. In the aftermath of the ending of Apartheid, authors are expressing new interest in Krotoa's life, possibly as a way of working through the challenges of creating a nation so shaped by racism.³⁸ Popular history has traditionally denigrated Malintzin for having betrayed the societies of the Yucatan and central Mexico. A terrible sort of agency has been historically ascribed to Malintzin, as if she had had a choice in the matter, as if she knew about the new empire that would emerge from her work as a translator. Malintzin's story is so complex in part because of the ambivalence which Mexican history has accorded her, but also because of the many different paths her life took her down from noble birth to enslavement, to a forced relationship with a Spaniard, to favored partner and diplomat of Cortes, to a final marriage to a Spaniard.³⁹
23. Pocahontas alone remains almost saintly within settler discourse. While authors, poets, and historians have found in sexuality the historical significance of Pocahontas, they have tended to render her sexuality as welcoming rather than threatening or licentious. Pocahontas symbolizes a cooperative relationship between settlers and colonized. This image promotes both the myth of America's foundation in a tableau of "Thanksgiving" rather than conquest. Pocahontas thus serves as a kind of patron saint for secular America. This is a vision of multicultural cooperation, which at once speaks to America's pride in its "melting pot" and an elision of the kinds of conquests that made possible such absorption of difference into a triumphal national story.⁴⁰ It is worth noting that Virginian native Americans do not

- hold Pocahontas in similar esteem. They do not consider Pocahontas a saint.⁴¹
24. While the discourses of sexuality clearly pervade numerous histories of Europeans and early empire, settler societies of the Atlantic World appear to be unique in their historical relationships with and historical re-workings of a founding indigenous mother figure. The ongoing appropriation of the stories of Malintzin, Pocahontas and Krotoa facilitates a popular history that sidelines the violence of colonial conquest, and the genealogies of that violence with which so many settler societies still need to wrestle. A preliminary comparison with other regions does not indicate similar figures elsewhere. Societies where European settlers did not gain long-term political purchase over society have no need to seek to legitimate conquest, nor ties to indigenous cultures through a discourse of heterosexuality and the welcoming native woman. In the Senegambia coast of West Africa, as well as in Java and India, while European men certainly had relationships with local women, foundational narratives of the "original" indigenous woman helpmeet do not seem to have emerged.⁴² Even in another settler colony such as Australia, the trope of the first indigenous mother does not resonate. This is perhaps because Australia was established far later, in a period when Europeans had less respect for indigenous people and when the British had far more confidence about their ability to take over new lands and vanquish indigenous societies.⁴³ The women remain in a sense outside of history, always icons, forever available for appropriation.⁴⁴
25. If the myth model of the native woman welcoming the European man has dominated public culture, the historiographical focus on indigenous women involved in heterosexual relations with European men has also foreclosed our consideration of other histories of women in the early modern Atlantic. We might read the trope of the indigenous young woman as much as a story that privileges class as one about sexuality. Famous women as iconographic figures come to stand for the much wider and complicated category of indigenous women. Indigenous women's daily labor for Europeans and their own communities was a constitutive factor in the emergence of the modern era.⁴⁵ We know of Malintzin, of Pocahontas, in histories and archives that give few native women names. Accounts of women's work in early colonial worlds emerge primarily through a discourse on the supposedly overburdened native woman, who needed to be rescued by Europeans from the gender slavery of indigenous men rather than on the labor that women were doing for entourages.⁴⁶ But it is clear that in the earliest years of European encounters with indigenous people, European men were quite dependent on native women.
26. Compelling individual case studies document indigenous women's interactions with Europeans.⁴⁷ Much of this work wrestles with the notion of gendered contact zones, in which white men and native women participated in structured dances of sexual and cultural engagement. We still require a wider analytic framework that helps us make sense of indigenous women's diverse experience of these contacts and of the varied ways in which their daily labors facilitated and shaped the expansion of Europe. Scholarship has not yet really examined the implications of women's work for our understanding of indigenous women's experience of the emergence of the Atlantic as a world of cultural and commercial interactions. We know little about the work that women did in the entourages of conquerors, in the kitchens of administrators etc. and also of those whose lives were not so directly intertwined with those of the colonizers—those who continued to work on their family's lands, for instance, but under new circumstances.⁴⁸
27. A focus on indigenous women's experiences makes explicit the ways in which a narrative of movement and migration has helped structure the historiography on the Atlantic World.⁴⁹ Certainly migration was a key experience.⁵⁰ But other histories also helped construct what scholars are now calling "The Atlantic World." A gendered history of the many worlds of the Atlantic rooted in places all around the littorals of that ocean as much as in large-scale migration, incorporates the experiences of indigenous women in particular, and prompts us to examine the dynamism of the domestic, and the intimate, and labor and politics in ways that were intrinsically connected.⁵¹
28. As we explore the complexities of colonial cultures in a comparative frame, we need also to write the histories of women who did not stand in the space of *mestizaje* and sexuality. The historical focus on women who had relationships with European men maintains an analytic focus on the space of the colonizer, on the colonial apparatus that sought to determine who was European and who was not.⁵² The lives of other women who worked in houses and the fields, and the entourages of explorers remain harder to see. The challenge is to examine the many complex, unequal, and precarious lives of all women in the new frontiers of the early modern era.

Endnotes

* A 2003 summer stipend from the National Endowment of the Humanities; a grant from the Denison University Research Foundation; and the Dean's Office, Emory University helped fund research for the larger project on Indigenous Women and the Making of the Early Atlantic World. I have benefited greatly from the comments of participants in the Duke University and University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill Working Group on Women and Gender in March 2004, and from participants in my graduate course on Indigenous Women in the Atlantic World, Spring 2005 at Emory University. I am indebted to Clifton Crais, Mary Odem, Diana Paton, Myra Rutherdale, Camilla Townsend, Anna von Veh, and Kerry Ward for their help with this paper.

1 For important historiographical exceptions that analyze homosexuality see Richard Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Martin Nesvig, "The Complicated Terrain of Latin American Homosexuality," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81:3-4 (2001): 689-729.

2 This view perhaps stemmed from European men's unease with what they saw as inauthentic gender relations. Europeans perceived female dominance in agriculture, female political power, and female control over trade as threatening and illegitimate. Early travelers or ethnographers modulated or even sought to tame female power through a discourse of the sexually voracious female, a trope with which men were familiar. For West Africa, see Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); For Southeast Asia see Anthony Reid *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680: Volume One: The Land Below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). On the Pacific see Margaret Jolly, "From Point Venus to Bali Ha'i: Eroticism and Exoticism in Representations of the Pacific" in *Sites of Desire/Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Lenore Manderson and Margaret Jolly (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997): 99-122; Karen Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*, (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), chp 5; On Virginia, Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

3 For the debate see Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Marshall Sahlins, *How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, For Example* (Chicago: Chicago University Press 1995). For an excellent discussion of the importance of this myth model to colonial encounters in the Americas see William M. Hamlin, "Imagined Apotheoses: Drake, Harriot, and Raleigh in the Americas" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, 3 (1996): 405-428. <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/108.3/townsend.html> (22 Jul. 2005).

4 As Camilla Townsend has outlined, histories of the conquest of Mexico too have tended to leave untouched the narrative of indigenous groups perceiving Europeans as White Gods. Camilla Townsend, "Burying the White Gods: New Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico" *American Historical Review*, 108,3 (June 2003)

5 As Kerry Ward has suggested the narrative model of the young native woman welcoming the European man is intrinsically connected to the myth model of the European man as god. Narratives about Malintzin and Cortes, Pocahontas and John Smith and later John Rolfe, or Krotoa and Jan Van Riebeeck, also involved the literal conversion of these women to the Christian God. Their conversion was part and parcel of the development of their relationship with European men. The European man as god/husband and indigenous woman as convert/wife became then also emblematic of indigenous society: European man became "god's gift to women" and indigenous society. Personal communication with Kerry Ward.

[6](#) This will be part of further research for the larger project of which this piece is a beginning: Pamela Scully, "Indigenous Women and the Making of the early Atlantic World."

[7](#) Hamlin, "Imagined Apotheoses," 422; Camilla Townsend, *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 52.

[8](#) We are left "with a stilted, Hollywood rendering of colonial interracial unions that continues to cast both men and women in restricted, unidimensional roles." Karen Vieira Powers, "Conquering Discourses of 'Sexual Conquest': Of Women, Language, and Mestizaje," *Colonial Latin American Review*, 11:1 (2002): 7-32, 20. See also Kirsten Fischer and Jennifer Morgan, "Sex, Race, and the Colonial Project," *The William and Mary Quarterly* (January 2003).

[9](#) This literature is becoming quite vast, but for particularly important interventions see Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery" in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 177-217; Jennifer L. Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle over their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770" *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54, 1 (Jan 1997): 167-192. Also J.P Linton, *The Romance of the New World: gender and the literary formations of English colonialism* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[10](#) For empathetic and complex treatments see for example works already referred to by Cypess, Lanyon, and Karttunen. Camilla Townsend's recent book on Pocahontas has provided a refreshingly new take on her life within the context of her natal society. Townsend, *Pocahontas*.

[11](#) A classic example would be Sara Baartman, who Europeans named The Hottentot Venus. The literature has focused almost exclusively on European representations of her as The Hottentot Venus. Clifton Crais and I are completing a book that discusses in detail her life in South Africa as well as Europe, "The Worlds of Sara Baartman and The Hottentot Venus" (in progress).

[12](#) A number of scholars are involved in projects studying the relations between African and Eurafrikan women and European men in nineteenth century West Africa. For the classic study, which spans a larger period, see George Brooks, *Eurafrikan in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Western African Studies) (Athens. Ohio University Press, 2003); also see work in progress by Michel Doortmont, Pernille Ipsen, and Carina Ray.

[13](#) Clara Sue Kidwell, "Indian Women as Cultural Mediators." *Ethnohistory*, 39, 2 (1992); Frances Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, guides and survivors* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Nancy Shoemaker, ed., *Negotiators of Change; Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York, 1995); Susan Midgen Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), especially chps 2 and 3.

[14](#) For excellent studies on indigenous women and European men see Brooks, *Eurafrikan* ; Sylvia van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983, c1980); Anne-Marie Plane, *Colonial Intimacies: Indian marriage in early New England* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2000); Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Sylvia van Kirk "The Role of Native Women in the Fur Trade Society of Western Canada, 1670-1830" in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, ed. Veronica Strong-Boag & Anita Clair Fellman (New York: Oxford University Press, 4 th ed., 2002); Virginia Marie Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004). For a consideration of women's roles in early colonial culture see Kathleen M. Brown, "Women in Early Jamestown" Jamestown Interpretive Essays. http://www.virtualjamestown.org/essays/brown_essay.html

[15](#) I have used the name Malintzin over La Malinche. Malinal was the name of the month she was born, and Tzin possibly an honorific title. On Malintzin's name see Anna Lanyon, *Malinche's Conquest* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2000). The literature on Malintzin is vast. In English, see for example, Norma Alarcón, "Chicana Feminist Literature: A Re-Vision through Malintzín/or Malintzín: Putting Flesh Back on the Object," in Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, 2d. ed. (New York, 1983), 182-190; Sandra Messinger Cypess, *La Malinche in Mexican Literature: From History to Myth* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); Frances Karttunen, "Rethinking Malinche," in *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, ed. Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood and Robert Haskett (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico* (New York: Grove Press, 1962); Steve Stern, *The Secret History of Gender Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (1995), 342-344. Camilla Townsend is currently writing a book on Malintzin.

[16](#) Daniel Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001); Rebecca Faery, *Cartographies of Desire: Captivity, Race, and Sex in the Shaping of an American Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Townsend, *Pocahontas*.

[17](#) Julia Wells, "Eva's Men: Gender and Power in the Cape of Good Hope 1652-74" *The Journal of African History*, 39, 3 (1998), 417-437.

[18](#) H.C.V. Liebrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, WA Richards and Sons, 1891); Donald Moodie, *The Record, or a series of papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa* (Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema, 1960). See V.C. Malherbe, *Krotoa, called 'Eva': a Woman between* (Rondebosch, South Africa: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1990). Maria Wikse has also written on Krotoa: "Re-evaluating Foremothers in 'New' South African Writing" paper presented to the conference on Writing African Women, Cape Town, 2005. For a fictional account see Trudie Bloem, *Krotoa-Eva: The Woman From Robben Island* (Kwela Books, 1999).

[19](#) On the history of the Dutch East India Company as an early multinational company see Kerry R. Ward, "'The Bounds of Bondage': Forced Migration from Batavia to the Cape of Good Hope during the Dutch East India Company era, c.1652-1795" (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 2002).

[20](#) Lanyon, *Malinche's Conquest*, chp 3; Faery, *Cartographies of Desire*, 127; Wells, "Eva's men."

[21](#) I am grateful to Felicia Kornbluh for this observation.

[22](#) For a version of this myth in a different setting see the foundation myth of the Bakongo Kings of the Kingdom of Kongo. See John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641-1718* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

[23](#) Margarita Zamora, *Reading Columbus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Montrose, "The Work of Gender."

[24](#) See Brown, *Good Wives*, chp 1.

[25](#) Faery, *Cartographies of Desire*, 101-113.

[26](#) Karen Vieira Powers, "Andeans and Spanish in the Contact Zone: A Gendered Collision" *American Indian Quarterly* 24, 3 (Summer 2000): 511-536; Verena Martinez -Alier, *Marriage, Class, and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* Reprint Edition (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989). On Europe, Sara Chapman, *Private Ambition and Political Alliances in Louis XIV's Government: The Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family 1650-1715* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004).

27 Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex" in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 157-210. For an analysis of one society and patriarchy see Elizabeth Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe 1870-1939* Social History of Africa Series (Portsmouth: Heinemann Press, 1992).

28 Brookes, *Eurafricans*, documents this for West Africa. He also shows the rise of a powerful class of women traders.

29 As incisively noted by Powers, "Conquering Sexual Discourses."

30 Rubin, "Traffic in Women," 174.

31 For a thoughtful examination ways of understanding Malintzin see Orlando Lora, "Locating the Self-Location of Malintzin" at <http://www.orlandolara.com/Writing/olara-malintzin.pdf>.

32 Thanks to Camilla Townsend for this observation. Personal communication.

33 Lanyon, *Malinche's Conquest*, 216.

34 Katrina Schlunke, "Incommensurate Suffering: Making Women and Children in Massacre" *Australian Feminist Studies*, special issue on "Gender in the Contact Zone" 16, 34 (March, 2001). Online at <http://puck.ingentaselect.com/vl=5907159/cl=22/nw=1/rpsv/cw/carfax/08164649/v16n34/contp1-1.htm>. Also see Pamela Scully, "Rape, Race and Colonial Culture: The Sexual Politics of Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony, South Africa." *The American Historical Review* vol. 100, no. 2 (April 1995): 335-359; Judith Thorn, "Reclamation of Silences and Intratextual Narrative History", *JCHS* 5, 3, (2004), online.

35 Cypess, *La Malinche* ; Faery, *Cartographies of Desire*, chp 3.

36 This is perhaps so because of the historical understandings of race as fixed in the USA and South Africa in contrast to the ideological celebration of mestizaje in Mexican national culture. This is an area I am researching for the larger project. Faery discusses how Pocahontas's story might be re-rendered as a captivity narrative.

37 I am grateful to Kerry Ward for this information.

38 See Wikse, "Re-evaluating Foremothers."

39 Cypess analyzes the changing representations of Malintzin in Mexican History, Cypess, *La Malinche*. Also see Maarten van Delden, "Past and Present in Víctor Hugo Rascón Banda's *La Malinche* and Marisol Martín del Campo's *Amor y conquista*" in special issue on Memory and Nation in Contemporary Mexico, ed. Ryan Long and José Villalobos *South Central Review*, 21, 3 (2004): 8-23. I am grateful to Shruthi Vissa for her insights regarding Malintzin also.

40 Faery juxtaposes an analysis of Pocahontas with that of the white female captive, *Cartographies of Desire*.

41 I am grateful to Camilla Townsend for pointing this out

42 Brooks, *Eurafricans* ; Peter Mark, "Portuguese Style" and *LusoAfrican Identity: Precolonial Senegambia Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison:

University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Durba Ghosh, "Colonial Companions: Bibis, Begums, and Concubines of the British in India, 1760-1830" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2000).

[43](#) In addition, since Australia was initially established as a penal colony the notion of British prisoners in chains being gods was no doubt difficult to sustain even to the men themselves. My thanks to Kerry Ward and Ann McGrath for their insights regarding Australia.

[44](#) By linking Malintzin, Pocahontas and Krotoa across history to their past and future generations we might take them out of a perpetual sexualized iconic presence. Townsend's *Pocahontas* I think begins to do this. Also for a more popular treatment see Lanyon, *Malinche's Conquest*. See also Crais and Scully, "The Worlds of Sara Baartman and The Hottentot Venus."

[45](#) For a discussion of gendered spheres in a more global context see Kelvin Santiago-Valles, "'Race,' Labor, and Women's Proper Place,' and the Birth of Nations" *The New Centennial Review* 3, 3 (2003): 47-69.

[46](#) Gyatri Spivak's phrase "white men saving brown women from brown men" is the most famous account of this trope. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak? In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988), 296; See Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British feminists, Indian women, and imperial culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994) for a discussion of this view within British imperial feminism. See also, for example John Smith, "The men bestowe their times in fishing, hunting, wars and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seen in any woman like exercise, which is the cause that the women be verie painefull and the men often idle." John Smith, *A Map of Virginia: With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1612), found at <http://www.vahistorical.org/sva2003/jsdp.htm>

[47](#) See note 8 and also Jennifer S.H. Brown, and Elizabeth Vibert, Eds. *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History* (New York: Broadview Press, 1996)

[48](#) For an important exception see Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). Also Michelene E. Pesantubbee, *Choctaw Women in a Chaotic World: the clash of cultures in the colonial Southeast* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2005). Early Cape colonial history still awaits a gendered history of relations between the Dutch and the Khoisan, a project I am currently researching.

[49](#) For a discussion of the ways in which the trope of migration has created a masculine narrative of The Atlantic World see Pamela Scully, "Intimate Migrations" in *Gender and Intimacy*, ed. Antoinette Burton and Tony Ballentyne (Duke University Press forthcoming).

[50](#) Alison Games, in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002); See David Eltis, "The Volume, Age/Sex Ratios, and African Impact of the Slave Trade: Some Refinements of Paul Lovejoy's Review of the Literature." *Journal of African History* 31 (1990): 485-492; David Eltis, and Stanley L. Engerman, "Was the Slave Trade Dominated by Men?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23, 2 (1992): 237-257; David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Fluctuations in Sex and Age Ratios in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1664-1864" *Journal of Economic History* 46, 2 (1993): 308-323; Morgan, *Laboring Women*.

[51](#) Diana Paton and Pamela Scully, "Gender and Slave Emancipation in Comparative Perspective" in *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World*, ed. Pamela Scully and Diana Paton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[52](#) For elucidation of whiteness and colonial cultures see Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and*

Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Powers, "Conquering Discourses" analyzes Latin American research on mestizaje and calls for more extensive gendered analysis of the concept. For a study of a society born of the concept métissage, see Hilary Jones, "From Mariage a la Mode to Weddings at Town Hall: Marriage, Colonialism and Mixed-Race Society in Nineteenth-Century Senegal" *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38, 1 (2005): 27-49.

Copyright © 2005 Pamela Scully and The Johns Hopkins University Press , all rights reserved.

[muse](#) [search](#) [contents](#) [top](#)

Bibliography and Suggested Readings

Barbour, Philip L., ed. "May 26th." *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter, 1606-1609*:

Documents relating to the Foundation of Jamestown and the History of the Jamestown Colony up to the Departure of Captain John Smith, last President of the Council in Virginia under the First Charter, early in October, 1609. Taylor&Francis, 2017.

Clarke, Samuel. *A true and faithful account of the four chiefest plantations of the English in America.* London (1670) 15.

Page, Robert. *Cosmography or, a description of the whole world.* London (1667) 121- 122.

Hamor, Ralph. *A true discourse of the present estate of Virginia.* London (1615) 3-7.

Mathew, Thomas. *The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, in the Years 1675 and 1676.* In the Jefferson Papers. 1804

Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas, his Pilgrims.* London (1625) 1709, 1711-1712, 1731, 1774, 1841.

Smith, John. *The true travels, adventures, and observations of Captaine John Smith, in Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America.* London (1630) 58.

Scully, Pamela. "Malintzin, Pocahontas, and Krotoa: indigenous women and myth models of the Atlantic world." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 6.3 (2005) 28-35.

Suggested Readings:

Andrea, Bernadette. "'Travelling Bodies': Native Women of the Northeast and Northwest Passage Ventures and English Discourses of Global Expansionism," in *Rethinking Feminism in Early Modern Studies: Gender, Race, and Sexuality*, ed. Ania Loomba and Melissa E. Sanchez (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016).

Brown, Kathleen. "The Anglo-Indian Gender Frontier." In *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*, 42-74. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Jager, Rebecca K. "Intimate Frontiers." In *Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea: Indian Women as Cultural Intermediaries and National Symbols*, 121-56. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015.

Little, Arthur L. *Shakespeare Jungle Fever: National-Imperial Re-Visions of Race, Rape, and Sacrifice.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Livy. "Appius and Virginia." In *The Romane Historie Vvritten by T. Livius of Padua. Also, the Breviaries of L. Florus: With a Chronologie to the Whole Historie: And the Topographie*

Attending to Early Modern Women Conference
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
June 14-16, 2018

of Rome in Old Time. Translated out of Latine into English, by Philemon Holland, Doctor in Physicke, translated by Philemon Holland, 125–28. London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1600.

Raleigh, Walter Sir. Selections from *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bevvtiful Empire of Guiana with a Relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa*. Imprinted at London: By Robert Robinson, 1596. 95-97.