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.” 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.” The Mid-Atlantic landscape, like the infantilized sexualization of Guiana

---


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.

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 Bodyes’: 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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Excerpt from</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard Barbour</td>
<td><em>The Jamestown Voyages</em></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Clark</td>
<td><em>A True and Faithful Account</em></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Fage</td>
<td><em>Cosmography</em></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Mathew</td>
<td><em>The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion</em></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Hamor</td>
<td><em>A True Discourse</em></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Purchas</td>
<td><em>Purchas, his Pilgrims</em></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Smith</td>
<td><em>The True Travels</em></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamela Scully</td>
<td>&quot;Malintzin, Pocahontas and Kratoa...&quot;</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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.
Now Leaving her, Nauiraus Dyrected vs to one of kyng Pamaunches howses\(^1\) 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 vitailes, 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 certifyped him of our Iorney to ye falles our League with the greate kyng Pawatah, a most certayne frendship with Arahatec and kynde entretaynment of the Queene: that we were professed Enemyes to the Chessepians, and would assist King Pawatah against the Monanacans; with this he seemed to be much rejoyced; 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 shortt,\(^1\) 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 vitailes for vs; but the kyng seing our intentyon Was to accompany our Captaine, he altered his purpose and weaved vs in kyndnes to our boate. This Wyroans Pamaunch 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 lynkes, and in broade plates on their heades: So we made no greate enuyryr 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.\textsuperscript{11} had the pearle ben taken from the muscle 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 furres. 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)\textsuperscript{1} Here some of our men went a shore with Nauiraus, 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 Pamaunch (which I omitted in place to specify) who wee vnderstood to be. 110. yere olde; for Naurians 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. $10^2$. so first Nauirans 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 haires, and he went as strongly as any of the rest.
Of Virginia.

Of Goods from one River to another. The River Potomac runs and flows one hundred and forty miles into the Main sea at the mouth whereof are the two Ports of Henry and Charles. Forty-two miles upward is the first and Mother Town of the English, called Jamestown; and seventy miles beyond that upward is the Town of Henrico built. Ten miles 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 those Falls is a Chiefly Rock with which the Indians use to head most 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 Clay full of glittering flanglers. 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 Summer are the two longest seasons, and very pleasant. The Summer and Winter are both short. The Winter for the most part is dry and fair, but the Summer oftentimes watered with great and sudden showers of rain, whereby the cold of Winter is warmed, and the heat of Summer is cooled.

Amongst the Birds in Virginia, there are two kinds most strange. One of them is the Female Pigeon, which hath a bag under her belly, out of which she will forth her young ones, and take them in again at her pleasure. The other is the Fying Serpent, which, by the help of certain broad flags 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 Ruff, Geese, Hogs, Geese, &c. prosper very well.

They have Hare's of several sorts, and amongst them are Spruce, Fashing Hareys, and Conycombs. In the Winter they have great store of Cranes, Herons, Pelicans, Partridges, and Black-birds. The Rivers and Creeks are over-spread with Swans, Geese, Brants, Divers, and clupe 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, Eel, Perch of all several sorts, &c. The Sea-fish come into their Rivers in March, and continue till the end of September. Frit come in great Skulls of Herrings; then Big Skates, and Rockfish follow them. Then Tuna, Eel, Flounders, and other salt-water Fishes come in before the other be gone. Then come in multitudes of great Sturgeons, and divers others.

Some live lakes about Henrico by land, but by water fourteen miles. St. Tho. Dale, Ann Churlis 1571 began to build a City, called the New Buroughs, 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 Rock-Dale Hundred, Westberry Hundred, and Diggs his Hundred.
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 palisadoed, and the Salvages awed into a good Comportment, until the comming 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 Wayman, Captain Howcroft, 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: after he built another Town, and called it the New Bermudas, about fifty miles from James Town, and the

English Collony 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 Coloney 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 surprized, one Mr. Rolfe had married. She proved a very good Christian and Vertuous Woman being Churleden Rebecca. They began also how 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 Tenants to the Governors 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 publick Service; and 50. more, whose Labours were to bring up 50. of the Inf-
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 Accounts, but, they 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 Maffacre, which, by reason of the English separating themselves, for the better Soyl, and commodiousness of Ground, no way in the least disturbing 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 against Deer or Wild-foul) they had very near effected, if it had not been discovered by one of their own Nation that turned Christian. There were murthered 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 inhuman 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 colonies, 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.
rupted by pressing messages from the govern’r to medle 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 groand 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 commitee being sat, the Quenn of Pamunkey (descended from Oppe-chankenough 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 frenge 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. Tatapamoi 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 general 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 slain 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 ingratitude, 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 days passed in settling 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 equal’d there by few, and who some years before (as Col. Lee tho’ one of the councill and a friend of the govern’r’s 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 searcht that morning, at day break, but Bacon was escaped into the country, having intimation that the govern’r’s generosity in pardoning him, and his followers and restoring him to his seat in councill, were no other than previous weadles 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 dreadfull threatnings to double revenge all wrongs shou’d 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 yeares) 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.

sirks back, and call in their helps from this so glorious enterprise, which the Prophet Isaiah calls the declaring of God to the left hand, but let them that know the works, rejoice and be glad in the happier success of it, proclaiming that it is the enlarging God that reigneth in England, and unto the ends of the world.

Excuse me (say from Reader) if cared beyond my purpose, I declare, so in general, that the negligence and innocently despised works, which I am sure is so full of goodness, and have bin almost five years a sufferer and eye witness of this now well merited and happy, the full and unstaid report of every accident wherein from his beginning, together with the causes of the backwardness, in prosperity having touching at the miraculous delivery of the scattered company, call upon the Bermudas, where those for want of lands like so many poor Xeriniades which received our wrecked company, with the death of that pure and noble hearted Gentleman Sir George Somers dying there, my purpose in short is large to publish, that at length some one escaped Leaper among so many saved, may return back and pay his vows of thanks giving unto that estate to be praised mercifully with an estate that brought us thither, and when I make the reasons and the thoughts and endowments to a business so full of pieties, as is this our Virginie Plantation.

RAINE HAMOR.
A Relation of the present

...A Relation of the present

10

...A Relation of the present

10

estate of Virginia 1614.

...estate of Virginia 1614.

2

bee able to performe more then heretofore hath bin

fortie.

Though I conieçure and assure my selfe, that ye cannot be ignorant by what means this peace hath bin thus happily both for our proceedings and the welfare of the Naturals concluded, yet for the honour of Captain Argol, whose indueous in the action intituled him most worthy, I judge it no whit ineiperite in my discourse to inspect them, which was as much breuity as I may, not omitting the circumstances most pertinent and materiall, I shall in dueour.

The general letters upon my knowledge, directed and sent to the honourable Virginia Councell, being most of them (though my selfe most unworthy) by me penned, have intimated, how that the euerworthy gentlemæ Capt. Argol, in the heart of our home furries & disagreements by his best experience of the diisop, twle of those people, partly by gentle vliage & partly by the composition & mixture of threats hath ever kept faire & friendly quarter with our neighbours bordering on other rivers of affinity, yea conuaginuity, no leste neere then brothers to Powhatan, such is his well knowne temper and discretion, yeas to this passe hath he brought them, that they affurled trust upon what he promiseth, and are as careful in performing their mutual promisses, as though they contended to make that Maxim, that there is no faith to be held with Infidels, a meere and aburdl Paradox: Nay as I haue heard himselfe relate, who is side dignus, they have euin bin penitent and discontented with themselves, because they knew not how to doe him same acceptabe good turne, which might not onely pleasur him, but even be profitable to our whole Collonie, and Plantation, ye euer assuring him that when the times shoule perform occasion, they would take hold of her coatlocke, and be the instruments to worke him con-
4 A Relation of the present

sent, and even thus they proued themselues as honest performers, as liberaill promisers. It chanced Pow-
nerans delight and darling, his daughter Pocahontas,
(whose name hath euern bin fird in England by the
title of Neapolea of Virginia) in her princely pro-
gress, if I may to terme it, tooke some pleasure, in the
abence of Capitaine Argall, to be among her friends
at Powenerr, as it seemeth by the relation I had
implied thither, as the keepers to a Fair, to exchange
some of her fathers commodities for theirs, where re-
siding some three moneths or longer, it caunoned
upon occasion either of promise or profit, Capitaine Ar-
gall to arise there, whom Pocahontas, desirous to
renue his familiaritie with the English, and delight-
ing to see them, as unknowne, fearfull perhaps to be
surprized, would gladly visit, as she did, of whom no
sooner had Capitaine Argall intelligence, but he de-
parted with an old friend, and adopted brother of his Lapa-
zeus, how and by what means he might procure his
captaine's affrming that now or never was the time
to please him, if he entred into that deale which he had made profition of, that in remem-
ber of his he might redeem some of our English men and
armes, now in the possession of her Father, promising
to vis it with all haste, and gentle enterie: Lapazes
well assured that his brother, as he promised would
vis his curiously promised his best courteis and
secure to accomply his desire, and thus
wrought it, making his wife an instrument (which
she hath ever bin most powerfull in beguiling inci-
ments) to effect his plot which he had thus laid,
he agreed that himselfe, his wife, and Pocahontas,
would accompanie his brother to the water side, whether come, his wife should fird a great
and longing desire to goe a boarde, and see the
shippe, which being there three or foure times, be-
fore she had never scene, and should bee earnest
with her husband to perime her: he seemed angry
with her, making as he pretended to vancencyly a re-
quell, especially being without the company of wo-
men, which denial the taking unkindly, mutt faire
to weep, (as who knows not that women can com-
mand tears) whereupon her husband seeming to
pitie those counteriet tears, gave her leave to goe
aboarde, for that it would please Pocahontas toac-
company her: now was the greatest labour to win
her, guilty perhaps of her husbands wrongs though
not knowne as she supposed to goe with her, yet by her
earnest perswations, she allured him forth with aboord
they went, the best cheere that could be made was
seasaonably provided, to supper they went, merry
on all hands, especially Lapazes and his wife, who to
express their joy, would ere be treading vp Capt. Ar-
gall's feet, as who should say his son, the is your own.
Supper ended, Pocahontas was lodged in the Gun-
ers roome, but Lapazes and his wife desired to have
some conference with his brother, which was one-
ly to acquaint him by what stratagem they had de-
traied his prisoner, as I have already related: after
which discourse they went, Pocahontas
nothing minding this policy, who newe iteth be-
ing most poft. fed with meat, and desire of returne,
was first vp, and battened Lapazes to be gon. Capt.
Argall having secretly well rewarded him, with a
small Copper kettle, and some other valuable tites
so high by him esteemed, that doubtlesse he would
have betrayed his owne father for them, permitted
both him and his wife to returne, but told him,
that for divers considerations, as for that his father
had then eigh of our English men, many swords, pe-
ces, and other tooles, which he had at seuerall times
by treacherous murdering our men, taken from them,
6 A Relation of the present

though of no use to him, he would not deliver, he
would returne Pocahontas, whereas he began to be
exceding penitent, and discontented, yet ignorant of
the dealing of Iapauens, who in outward appearance
was nos les discontented that he should be the means
of her captivity, much as there was to persuade
her to be patient, which with extraordinary cures
age, by little and little was wrought on her, and to
Limer town 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, which to be kept till such time as he would
ransom her with our men, swords, pikes, & other tools
treacherously taken from us: the news was unwel-
come, and troubled his heart, partly for the love
he bare to his daughter, and partly for the love he
bare to our men, who were prisoners, of whom though
they were not untainted for his employment he made
great vie of: and those swords, and pikes of ours,
(which though of no use to him) it delighted him to
view, and looke upon.

He could not without long advice & deliberation
with his Counsell, refuse upon anything, and it is
ture, we heard nothing of him till three moneths af-
ter, by perivations of others he returned vs feauen of
our men, with each of them a Musket unserviceable,
and by them sent vs word, that whensoever we
pleased to deliver his daughter, he would give us in
satisfaction of his injuries done to vs, and for the
rest of our pikes broken and stol'n from him, 500 Buftel of Corne; and be for ever friends with
us, the men, and Pikes in part of payment we recei-
ued: and returned him answer, that his daughter
was very well, and kindly intreated, and so should
be howsoever he dealt with us: but we could not be-
leave that the rest of our Arms were either lost, or
stolen from him, and therefore till he returned them
all, we would not by any means deliver his daugh-

ter, and then it should be at his choice, whether he
would establish peace, or continue enemys with us.
This answer was as it seemed, pleased him not very
wel, for we heard no more from him till in March lat,
when with Captaine Argills Shippes, and some other
Vebsells belonging to the Colony, Sir Thomas Dale
with an hundred and fifty men well appointed, went
vpon his owne River, where his chiefest habitation
were, and carried with vs his daughter, either to
move them to fight for her, if such were their cour-
rage and boldneffe, as hath been reported, or to re-
store the residue of our demands, which were our
pikes, swords, tools. Some of the same men which
he returned (as they promised) ran to him again, and
because he had put us to the trouble to fetch them
five hundred bushels of Corne: A great benvide all
the way as we went vpon the River they made, demand-
ing the caue of our comming thither, which wee
would them was to deliver Pocahontas, whom pur-
pensively we had brought with us, and to receave our
Arms, men, and corn, or else to fight with them, burn
their bowles, take away their Canoes, break downe
their fishing Weares, and doe them what other da-
mages we could: Some of them to set a good face on
the matter, replied, that if we came to fight with
them we were welcome, for they were provided for
vs, counselling vs rather to retire (if we loved our
safeties) then proceed, bragging, as well they might,
that we had ever had the worst of them in
that River, infainting by Capt. Ratcliffe (not worthy
remembering, but to his dishonour) who, with most of
his company they betrayed and murdered: we told
them since they didst remember us of that mischief,
valetta they made the better: and more speedy agree-
ment, we would now reuenge that treachery, and with
this discomfit by the way as we went, we proceeded,
and
and had no sooner entered the narrow of the river, the channel there lying within shot of the shore, but they let their arrows fly amongst us in the flipe, themselves vanishing in a cloud, and in the forehead hurt one of our men, which might have hazarded his life without the present help of a skillful chirurgian.

Being thus shrewdly provoked, we presently manned our boats, went ashore, and burned in that very place some forty houses, and of the thing we found therein, made freeboot and pillage, and as themselves in a covert and concealed manner went forth and killed five or six of their men, with this revenge satisifying our felons, for that their presumption in shooting at us, and in the next day proceeded higher up the river, the Indians calling upon us, and demanding why we went ashore, burnt their houses, killed and hurt their men, and took away their goods. We replied that though we came to them in peaceable manner, and would have been glad to have received our demands with love and peace, yet we had hearts and power to take revenge, and punish where wrong should be offered, which having now done, though not so severely as we might, we rested content with them and are ready to infringe peace with them if they pleased. Many excuses they offered to pretend, that they shot not at us, but (if any such abuse were offered) it was some enraged Indian, ignorant of our presence in coming to them, affirming that they themselves would be glad of our love, and would endeavour to help us to what we came for, which being in the petition of Powhatan their King, they would without delay dispatch messengers to him, to know his purpose and pleasure, desiring safe quarters for some 44 hours, for which they pretended it would be before their messengers might return: this we

granted and what we promised, we ever exactly performed, the time now come, we inquired what Powhatan would do, and had for answer, that our Englishmen lately with him, fearfully to be put to death by vs, were run from away, and some of Powhatan's men lent abroad in quest of them, but our swords and pieces for many as he had should be brought the next day, which merely todelay time, they bare vs in hand the next day they came not, higher up the river we went, and ancored nere into the chiefe residence Powhatan had, at a towne called Mathesot where were assembled (which we saw) about 400 men, well appointed with their bowes and arrows to welcome us, here they dared vs to come a shore, a thing which we purposed before, so a shore we went, our best landing being up a high steep hill which might have given the enemy much advantage against us, but it seemed they as we were unwilling to begin, and yet would gladly have bin at blows, being landed as if they had no show of fear, they fluttred not from vs, but walked up 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 coming thither, whereof when they were informed, they made anfere that they were there ready to defend themselves, if we pleased to assault them, desiring nother the less some small time to dispatch two or three men once more to their king, to know his resolution, which if not answerable to our request, in the morning if nothing else but blood would then satisfy vs, they would fight with vs, and thereby determine our quarrell, which was but a further delay to procure time to carriage away their provisions, and thereby we agreed to this their request, affurering them till the next day by none we would not molest, hurt, nor detain any of them, and then
A Relation of the present

before we sought, our Drum and Trumpers should

give them warning upon which promise of ours, two

of Powhatan's sons being very desirous to see their

father who was there present, allure with vs, came unto

us, at the sight of them, and their well fare, whom

they at first seemed to be worse intersected, though they had

often sent word of their desire, and the contrary, they much rejoiced;

and promised that they would undoubtedly persuade

their father to redeem his son, and to conclude a firm

peace forever with us, and upon this resolution the two

brothers with us retired aboard, we having first

dispatched two Englishmen, Master John Rolfe and

master Sparke to acquaint their Father with the

business in hand, the next day being kindly intersected,

they returned, not at all admitted Powhatan presence,

but spake with his brother Apachano, his suc-
cessor, one who had already the command of all the

people, who likewise promised us his best endeavors

to further our just requests, and we proceeded, the

time of the year being then April, called vs to our busi-

ness at home to prepare ground, and set corn on

our winter's provision, upon these terms departed,
giving them promise till harvest to resolve what was

best for them to doe, with this promise, that in final

agreement were not made betwixt vs before that
time, we would either return again and destroy

take away all their corn, burn all the houses

upon that river, leave not afflicting were standing,
nor a Canaan in any creek thereabout, and destroy

and kill as many of them as we could.

Long before this time a gentleman of approved

hauour and honest carriage, master John Rolfe, had

been in love with Powhatan's wife with whom

thing at the instant we were in parle with him, my

wife made known to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter

from him, whereby he intreated his wife and fur-

therance.

estate of Virginia 1614:

therance in his love, if so it seemed fit to him for the

good of the plantation, and Powhatan's wife, ac-
quainted her brethren therewith, which resolution

Sir Thomas Dale approving, was the onely caule. he

was to be mild amongst them, who otherwise would not have departed their river without other

conditions.

The bruise of this pretended marriage came sone

to Powhatan knowledge, a thing acceptable to him,
as appeared by his sudden content thereunto, who

some ten days after sent an old uncle of his, named

Opechancanough, to give her as his deputy in the Church,

and two of his women to see the marriage solemnized,

which was accordingly done about the first of April;

and ever since we have had friendly commerce and

trade, not onely with Powhatan himselfe, but also

with his subjects round about vs; so as now I see no

reason why the Collonel should not thrive apace.

Besides, this peace by this means with Powhatan

concluded, it will be worth my pains to sumner our

friendship with our next neighbours, the Chichobomi-
nies, lately confirmed, a lustie and daring people, who

have long time notfree from Powhatan's subjection,

hating lawes and governors within themselves: these

people hearing of our concluded peace with Powhat-

hatan, as the noise thereof was sone bruised abroad,

sent two of their men vnto vs, and two fat Buckes for

present to our king (for to Sir Thomas Dale is gene-

rally reputed and termed amongst them) and offered

themselves and service vnto him, alleaging that al-

though in former times they had bin our enemies, and

us theirs, yet they would now if we pleased become

not onely our truflie friends, but eventaking all things

his subjects and tributaries, and relieving their old

name of Chichobomies, and take vpon them, as they
call vs the name of Toffantoffor, and because they have
A Relation of the present proceedings, Captain Argall could them, that now since they had intreated peace and promised their love and friendship, he was sent unto them from the great Weroance to conclude the same, all former injuries on both sides, set apart and forgotten, which he would doe upon those conditions.

First, that they should take upon them, as they promised, the name of Tawantonsi or English men, and be King IAMES his subjects, and be forever honest, faithfull and truflle unto his deputation in their country.

Secondly, that they should not kill any of our men or castell, but if either our men or cattle should offend them or runne to them, they should bring them home again, and should receive satisfaction for the trespass done them.

Thirdly, they should at all times be ready willing to furnish vs with three or four hundred bowmen to side vs against the Spaniards, whose name is odious amongst them, for Pommatam's father was driven by them from the west Indies into those parts, or against any other Indians, which should, contrary to the established peace offer vs any injury, but take care and Industry that they may keep the peace.

Fourthly, they shall not upon any occasion whatsoever break down any of our pales, or come into any of our Townes or forts by any other wises, if they or parts then ordinary, but first call, and say the Tawantonsi are there, and so comming they shall at all times be let in and kindly entertained.

Fifthly, so many fighting men as they have which may be at the least five hundred should yearly bring into our store house, at the beginning of their harvest, two bushels of com or salt, sixt of their obedience to his Maiestie, and to his deputy there, for which they should receive so many Iron Tomahawks or small hatchets.

Lastly,
hence with two English and two Squires were up in a Coach, but he was not angry about it, but his men was all absent, which was of great inconvenience.

The Squire having drawn two or three from George Cuff, he sent Captain Smith, with the two Squares, and Squires, and some of the Officers, in a Coach, to see if he could not save his money, but he was not there. He wrote on a slip of paper with a pen, and gave it to the Postmaster, and sent it to him, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster.

The Squire having drawn two or three from George Cuff, he sent Captain Smith, with the two Squares, and Squires, and some of the Officers, in a Coach, to see if he could not save his money, but he was not there. He wrote on a slip of paper with a pen, and gave it to the Postmaster, and sent it to him, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster.

Chap. 11.

The Squire having drawn two or three from George Cuff, he sent Captain Smith, with the two Squares, and Squires, and some of the Officers, in a Coach, to see if he could not save his money, but he was not there. He wrote on a slip of paper with a pen, and gave it to the Postmaster, and sent it to him, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster.

Chap. 12.

The Squire having drawn two or three from George Cuff, he sent Captain Smith, with the two Squares, and Squires, and some of the Officers, in a Coach, to see if he could not save his money, but he was not there. He wrote on a slip of paper with a pen, and gave it to the Postmaster, and sent it to him, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster.

Chap. 13.

The Squire having drawn two or three from George Cuff, he sent Captain Smith, with the two Squares, and Squires, and some of the Officers, in a Coach, to see if he could not save his money, but he was not there. He wrote on a slip of paper with a pen, and gave it to the Postmaster, and sent it to him, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster.

Chap. 14.

The Squire having drawn two or three from George Cuff, he sent Captain Smith, with the two Squares, and Squires, and some of the Officers, in a Coach, to see if he could not save his money, but he was not there. He wrote on a slip of paper with a pen, and gave it to the Postmaster, and sent it to him, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster, and then he sent it to the Postmaster.
Chapter 4. States of Olive-oil, Music, and Corn, Ambassadors.

---

---
1712

Messengers sent to make an end. Great and furious affrays.

1713


End section here
Sir Thomas Dakeley: agreement: his report of Virginia, L I R Y.

Some Anglo with forty men landed. I kept abreast for some miles. From meeting the small, it was told Captain Henry was there with his men, and he was about twenty miles away. His men were much more numerous, and they said they would be there in a few hours. They after some conference between themselves, formed an agreement, which is a kind of treaty, and that in the presence of all their people. My men told them that he would be our friend, and whenever they were in the king's service, they would help them. They told them that they would do this, and that they would help them. They after some conference, mutually agreed upon a treaty. They after some conference, they agreed to this treaty, and that in the presence of all their people. They after some conference, they agreed to this treaty, and that in the presence of all their people.
1774  

States of Virginia: Tobacco & Dismal Sh.AspNet  

1775  

Chap. XIII.  

The State of the Colony, A. D. 1753, and after Drums was sent to me from Virginia, touching for Virginia the South Sea.  

...
The Contents.

The siege of Rottenam; and how Captaine Smith was taken prisoner, and sold for a slave. 21.

Chap. 13. How Captaine Smith was sent prisoner throu the Blacke and Dribbaca Sea in Tartaria; the description of those Seas, and his usage. 23.

Chap. 14. The Turkis diet; the Slaves diet; the attire of the Tartars; and manner of Warres and Religion, &c. 24.

Chap. 15. The description of the Czarm-Tartars; their houfes and cartes; their idolatry in their lodgings. 25.

Chap. 16. Their feast; common diet; Prince's estate; building; laws; statutes; entertainment of Ambassadors. 27.

Chap. 17. How he was received in Amur; their arms and ammunition; how he divided the fort; and his service to the Great Turk. 29.

Chap. 18. How Captaine Smith escaped his captivity; flew the Balkaw of Nalbruta in Cambia; his passage to Russia, Transylvania, and the midst of Europe to Africa. 31.

Chap. 19. The observations of Captaine Smith; Mr. Henry Archer, and others in Barbary. 34.

Chap. 20. A brave Sea-fight between two Spanish men of warre, and Captaine Merham, with Smith. 35.

Chap. 21. The continuance of the general History of Virginia; the Sommer Isles; and New England; with their present estate from 1624 to this present 1619. 41.

Chap. 22. The proceedings and present estate of the Sommer Isles, from An. Dom. 1614 to this present 1619. 45.

Chap. 23. The proceedings and present estate of New England, since 1614 to this present 1619. 46.


Chap. 25. The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of St. Christophar by Captaine Warner. 51.

Chap. 26. The first planting of the Barbadoes. 55.

Chap. 27. The first plantation of the Isle of Mervis. 56.

Chap. 28. The bad life, qualities and conditions of Pyrates; and how they taught the Turks and Moors to become men of warre. 58.

TO

To my worthy friend, Captaine John Smith.

The greatest Shires of England did thee bane,
Renowned Yorkshire, Gann's field Lammasere;
But what's all this? even Earth, Sea, Heaven above,
Tragabiganzu, Cailauman, &c.

O Pocahontas, Madam Shakes's too,
Who didst what love with modesty could doe,
Record thy worth, thy birth, which as 1 live,
Even in thy reading such choice piece give,
As I could wish (such wifhes would doe well). Many such Smiths in this our Israel.

R. Bayntun.

To my noble brother and friend,

Captaine John Smith.

The hast a course so full of honour runne,
Envy may flame, as doeges against the Sunne
May bate, not bite; for what deferest thou
With thy life's danger, labour, policy,
Quaint warlike strategies, ability
And judgement, thou hast got, some set so high
Destruction cannot reach: thy worth shall stand
A pattern to succeeding ages, and
Clothed in thy owne lines, ever shall add grace,
P'no thy native Country, and thy race;
And when diffus'd, laid in thy mothers' wombe,
Thou'ft Cæsar-like, Smiths Epitaph and tomb.

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

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. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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.

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. Hence, 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. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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. 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."  

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.  

9. Krotoa, later known as Eva, was born into an indigenous Khoisan society near what is now Cape Town in the 1640s. 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 Oedasoa. 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. 

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. 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. 

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. 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. 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. 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. 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.
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.32

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.22 Indigenous elders perceived that they could establish diplomatic ties and familial connections with European men through the exchange of young women.23 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.24 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 that...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.23 Krotowa 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.25
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." 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. 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. 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 settlers 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. 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. 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. Popular history has traditionally denigrated Malintzin for having betrayed the societies of the Yucatán 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.

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. 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 foundling 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 have not 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.


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/wise 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.


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 Afro-European women and European men in nineteenth century West Africa. For the classic study, which spans a larger period, see George Brooks, Eurafiricans 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.


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).

Lanyon, *Malinche's Conquest*, chp 3; Faery, *Cartographies of Desire*, 127; Wells, "Eva's men."

I am grateful to Felicia Kornbluh for this observation.

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).


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."


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


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](http://puck.ingentaselect.com/vl=5907159/cl=22/nw=1/rpsv/cw/carfax/08164649/v16n34/contp1-1.htm).


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 conquist a" 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

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.

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."*


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 Country, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1612), found at [http://www.vahistorical.org/sva2003/jsdp.htm](http://www.vahistorical.org/sva2003/jsdp.htm).


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).


For elucidation of whiteness and colonial cultures see Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and*

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

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


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


Suggested Readings:


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