

SYMBIOSIS

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Inducting Pocahontas

‘Monsieur Clements’, he asked, with a kind of intimate authority, ‘le mythe et la réalité?’ ... Eventually, I gave him the only answer I could: that such questions and their appropriate responses no doubt came naturally to French intellectuals, but that since I was a mere pragmatic English novelist, he would get a better interview out of me if he perhaps approached such larger matters by way of smaller, lighter ones.

Julian Barnes, *Cross Channel*

Cannibalism may be considered one of most consuming models of intercultural negotiation. Not only does it visually subsume the other by bringing it closer to oneself: it can also be used to ingestively appropriate one’s satirical butt. Thus, pondering the acts of savagery witnessed by European warfare, where living bodies had been tortured, roasted and even bitten to death by dogs and pigs, Montaigne deems actual cannibalism less barbarous. After all, only dead bodies are subjected to roasting and eating, while the logical comparison between abstract terms poignantly claims that ‘il y a plus de barbarie à manger un homme vivant qu’à le manger mort’. By the same token of rationality, Montaigne argues that American natives may be considered barbarous only when judged by the universal ‘regles de la raison’. A similarly decentralised observation of European barbarity was actually expressed by three Brazilian natives who visited the French Court. The local spectacle of social injustice was considered by these observers ‘empremie bien fort estrange’, in a cannibalised rendering of their responses as the usual drawback of defective reasoning.¹ Perhaps Montaigne’s passage actualises the sort of cannibalism that William Hamlin defines as ‘the European characterisation of the non-European interpretation of the foreigners’ status’, which was accompanied

by the ‘linguistic apotheosis’ of the divine attribution bestowed on the Europeans.² Apart from discourse, was there also a sort of logical apotheosis, attempting to interpret the American natives with respect to the ‘règles de la raison’? The inductive assimilation of Pocahontas seems indeed to prove the existence of such logical cannibalism as a debased form of Aristotelian dialectic, in its turn overset by the parody of discovery that Ben Jonson staged in the two masques that Pocahontas witnessed in London.

The commonplace evidence of such doggerel dialectic emerges from the beatification of the new islands and the humanisation of the natives. Both helped to make the natives more familiar, thus reducing the menace that stemmed from the undeniable likeness between Europeans and Americans. The beatification literally consisted in translating America into the Blessed Islands by adapting the biblical overtones of the Earthly Paradise.³ But it also implied a European-styled humanisation, carefully encapsulating the natives into a recognisable pattern of human likeness. One of the results was envisaging a possible identification with the Indians which was otherwise forbidden with the Africans.⁴ Such sense of similarity was ultimately interwoven with religious proselytising. Lucien Febvre detected the most striking emotional response caused by the discovery in ‘une étonnante ferveur de prosélytisme’,⁵ the absence of any serious objection against the universality of the Revelation. Consequently, paganism became a central organising category, launching off a process of domestication to which the New World inhabitants were subjected before being assimilated.⁶ All these economic, social and religious arguments seem however to posit the underlying philosophical question of subsuming the unknown under some recognisable logical categories. In this sense the most common philosophical source was the Aristotelian theory of dialectic, wherein likeness and difference were thoroughly tested by way either of induction or deduction. It will be noticed that Aristotle had indicated dialectic as a helpful tool not only for intellectual training, but also for casual encounters.⁷

Aristotelian dialectic aims to discuss the foundations of all arts and sciences.⁸ These principles would remain otherwise impregnable because of their being ‘the *prius* of everything else: it is through the opinions generally held on the particular points that these can be discussed’ (*Topica* I.2.101^a37–101^b4). In fact, any form of doctrine and learning that is based on discursive thought develops from antecedent knowledge.⁹ If such an upward progression to previous knowledge were denied, the individual would either learn nothing, or he/she would learn what he/she already knows (*Analytica Posteriora* I.1.71^a26–30). The solution given by Aristotle to this potential impasse lies in his famous distinction between the different elements that

are 'better known' and 'prior':

Now 'prior' and 'better known' are ambiguous terms, for there is a difference between what is prior and better known in the order of being and what is prior and better known to man. I mean that objects nearer to sense are prior and better known to man; objects without qualification prior and better known are those further from sense. Now the most universal causes are furthest from sense and particular causes are nearest to sense, and they are thus exactly opposed to one another. (*Analytica Posteriora* I.2.71^b30–72^a6)

Such distinction offers a way out from the dual role dialectic had been assigned to by Plato. These upward and downward paths, respectively corresponding to induction and deduction, are rephrased by Aristotle as two different types of intelligibility.¹⁰ More practically, the absolute intelligible ultimately conducts to deduction, whereas that which is more intelligible to us intimately calls for induction. This insight is then embodied in everyday dialectical activity.¹¹ Syllogism, being based on deduction, is more powerful, although it is based on objects that are more removed from sense. On the other hand, induction is 'the more convincing and clear: it is more readily learnt by the use of the senses, and is applicable generally to the mass of men' (*Topica* I.11.105^a6–10). Most importantly, the investigation of likeness helps create inductive arguments, 'because it is by means of an induction in cases that are alike that we claim to bring the universal in evidence' (*Topica* I.18.108^b10–12).

On a more mundane level, deduction can then be a powerful way of restating the obvious, whereas induction apparently conducts from sense to new knowledge. From a dialectical point of view, making the New World a messianic fulfilment of the Old World is a method of transforming an interpretative problem—the missing knowledge represented by the natives—into a piece of truth that can be deducted from the Messianic principles of Christianity. The Saturnalian setting is evident in Thomas Hariot's comparison between Virginia and his native country: 'The grounde they neuer fatten with mucke, dounge or any other thing: neither plow or digge it as we in England'.¹² It is a strictly utilitarian inference from the Golden Age to the age of gold, as for instance when Rolfe declares that 'triall be made, what lieth hidden in the womb of the Land: the Land might yerely abound with corne and other provisions for mans sustenance' (*A True Relation* 34). But the argument implies also a more general logical consequence. A. Whitaker extols the new land as 'a place beautified by God, with all the ornaments of nature, and enriched with its earthly treasures'.¹³ Much of the hermeneutic shock released by the discovery is somehow attenuated by the discovery of elements that were already known

to us, albeit relegated into a messianic realm.

Within this deductive framework, the natives raise a crucial problem for the religious cannibalism of conversion—another logical term—whose solution was tagging them with the European label of imperfect reasoners. Echoing what Aristotle had said concerning the foundations of arts and sciences, Hariot partially endows the natives with some kind of ingenuity deriving from their autonomous rules of reason, whereas they make a poor performance when compared with our principles:

In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement in the knowledge and vse of our thinges, doe esteeme our trifles before thinges of greater value: Notwithstanding, in their proper manner considering the want of such meanes as we haue, they seeme very ingenious; For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such craftes, sciences and artes as wee; yet in those thinges they doe, they shewe excellencie of wit (*A Briefe and True Report* 25).

The quest for knowledge which arises from a striking sensorial experience also emerges through the famous, metonymical anecdote verging on the materiality of the Bible whose contents Hariot was trying to divulge. By mistaking the symbol for a reality, the natives ineptly follow the inductive way to knowledge: 'many [were] glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to hold it to their breasts and heades, and stroke ouer all their bodie with it: to shewe their hungrie desire of that knowledge which was spoken of' (*A Briefe and True Report* 27). Not simply equipping the natives as potential Christians, Hariot is also transforming them into faulty searchers of inductive knowledge. Indeed, the potential for knowledge was another Christian requisite along with natural piety. Describing 'the ignorant inhabitants of Virginia', Whitaker detects a motive for dialectical hope even in these 'naked slaues of the diuell': they are 'a very understanding generation, quicke of apprehension, suddaine in their dispatches, subtile in their dealings, exquisite in their inuentions, and industrious in their labour' (*Good Newes* 23–5). Much of the argument for possible conversion, in fact, is based on the contrast between the opposed models of European and American reasoning. Let us logically reconstruct one passage that Rolfe devotes to denying the likeliness of general conversion. The European observers are bound to be struck by their likeness, as they cannot look at their faces 'without Sorrow, pittie and commyseracion: seeing they beare the Image of our heavenly Creator, & wee and they come from one and the same moule'. But any potential for induction is short-lived: the principles of 'piety, clemency, courtyisie and civill demeanor (by which meanes som are wonn to vs already)' will eventually fail 'to convert and bring [the multitude] to the knowledge and true worshipp of [J]esus Christ'. Rolfe's

despair is heightened by the fact that the natives apply the wrong principles for their deductions. Their damnation is willingly accepted not only because of their 'ignorance of God and Christ', but also from the constant applications of 'their old superstitions and idolatries, wherein they haue bene nursed and trayned from their infancies' (*A True Relation* 40). Conversion, then, has also to be made to Western principles of thinking. Richard Johnson advises the English to 'take their children and traine them up with gentlenesse, teach them our English tongue, and the principles of religion'.¹⁴ Inevitably, this claim needs a philosophical proof, achieved through the extensive usage of induction that has been already imposed to the natives. If such a glutinous group of imperfect dialecticians can be fractured into a wondrous individual, boasting both extreme likeness with the Europeans and a potential for dialectical training, then conversion could be proved.

Aristotelian induction was then a natural candidate for informing the European, cannibalistic appropriation of strangeness. In a truly Montaignesque mood, cannibals made a passing appearance in Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*, where a cook designs his grotesque plan for their conversion into 'good, eating *Christians*' by the same culinary art that 'would make our *Caniball-Christians*, / Forbeare the mutuall eating one another, / Which they doe doe, more cunningly, then the wilde / *Anthropophagi*; that snatch onely strangers'. Alongside this shortened form of deductive reasoning, the play also makes one the earliest literary references to Pocahontas, recalling the prosaic anecdote of the visit she paid to the Devil Tavern. Also Pocahontas, then, 'hath bin in womb of a tauerne'.¹⁵ On a more symbolic level, this obstetrical embedding of Pocahontas reflects the quest for assimilating her into the religious and political body of Jacobean London.¹⁶ The singular strangeness of Pocahontas sparked an inductive reasoning from the species to the genus of American natives that left its marks on the congeries of pseudo-anthropological disquisition and religious and commercial proselytising, as well as on the literary rendition of strangeness and discovery as offered by the Court masque.

Likeness and singularity become thus the sense of firstness—the particular which proves the argument by induction—that is conveyed when Pocahontas enters this picture.¹⁷ From a dialectical point of view, her firstness fills up the logical gap within the proof of the possible conversion of the native. In her first, anonymous mention she is singled out as the most talented reasoner who 'not only for feature, countenance, and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit, and spirit, [is] the only Nonpariel of this Country'.¹⁸ She is the first Indian that can be discerned in the barbarous crowd because of her intellectual and, consequently, religious virtues. John Smith reiterates both his own firstness

('I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants ever saw') and Pocahontas's historical primacy as 'the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian ever [to speak] English, or [to have] a childe in mariage by an Englishman'.¹⁹ Under this respect, the proselytising job becomes a task of proving the general assertion by means of a special case. Inviting his readers to the Sysiphean task of converting the barbarous Indians 'to the sauing knowledge, and true worship of God in Christ Jesus', Richard Hamor points to the special case of John Rolfe, who married Pocahontas 'merely for the good and honour of the Plantation'.²⁰ Accordingly, all references to Pocahontas's barbarous birth and nature are prudently blotted out.²¹ In a letter to a London minister, Thomas Dale extols her civil behaviour: after having been 'carefully instructed in Christian Religion', she has 'renonced publicly her countrey Idolatry' and 'openly confessed her Christian faith', inspiring constant hopes of increasing 'in goodnesse, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her' (quoted in Hamor, *A True Discourse*, 55–6). Before her visit to London, John Smith informs Queen Anne that Pocahontas 'was taught to speak such English as might well bee understood, well instructed in Christianitie, and was become very formall and ciuill after our English manner' (*Generall History* 121). In a way, Pocahontas seems to have been instructed in the proper art of thinking as well, together with true religion and civility. At least, that had been the task of her pious husband, who frequently woke up in a cold sweat at the thought of being 'in loue with one whose education hath bin rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed, and so discrepant in all nurtriture from my selfe' (quoted in Hamor, *A True Discourse* 64).

Much as the Brazilian natives reported by Montaigne, Pocahontas had the chance to point her half-estranged, half-Englished look at a European Court during her fated visit in 1616, thus marking the full success of the inductive argument. Judging from the general benevolence that accompanied her tour, it seems that Pocahontas's Christian piety and reasoning skills prevailed upon the display of exoticism.²² As usual, the American native generates some disparaging comments about the barbarity of the Europeans, namely the malicious courtiers reported by John Smith: 'they did thinke God had a great hand in her conversion, and they have seene many English Ladies worse faouored, proportioned and behavioured' (*Generall History* 123). By conforming to these canons of civility, Pocahontas is reintegrated by Samuel Purchas into her former princely status: she 'did not onely accustome herselfe to ciuilitie, but still carried her selfe as the Daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected ... in [the] hopefull zeale by her to aduance Christianitie'. She is also posthumously hailed as 'the first fruits of Virginiian conuersion. leaning

here a godly memory, and the hopes of her resurrection'.²³ At the end of the inductive process—and of Pocahontas's life as well—her most wonderful quality is caught in yet another facet of her firstness. The 'first fruits' of the civilising encounter with the Old World are a blatantly colonialist triumph of dialectic. Such previous source of unknown, that could only be subsumed under the loose category of heathen, has been inductively shaped by proper instruction into a refined Christian princess. The preachers have literally brought the point home, first by setting up Pocahontas's primacy as an inductive example for instructing the Indians into European thought and religion and then by presenting the living proof that attaining the knowledge of God, to use a recurrent expression, is by no means different from reaching *any* knowledge. This process is equated with reducing the disturbing quality of Pocahontas's firstness and assimilating it into the fabric of European dialectic.

In a sort of ethnographic cannibalism, the indistinct multitude of Indians has been reduced into a wonderful singularity. But the circularity of the underlying argument, proving by way of induction that the singularity of Pocahontas can be assimilated into the more general category of the Christian converts, is hardly limited to employing her as a logical proof. In an uncanny reflection, the visit of Pocahontas realised what many court shows had depicted as a conventional homage to the English Court. Purchas reports that she was entertained at Lambeth 'with festival state and pompe' (*Purchas* 1774). John Smith adds that the monarchs were pleased 'honourably to esteeme her ... both publikely at the maskes and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content'; this satisfied his request to amaze Pocahontas into wonder, to 'ravish her with content' at the spectacle of the royal honours (*Generall History* 122–23). Pocahontas actually made part of the audience of Ben Jonson's 1616 masques. One has then the historical serendipity of a specimen of singularity that, after being processed as a viable logical commodity, is confronted with the Court Masque, more than often a fictionalised encounter between the two worlds that probably inspired the European descriptions of the New World.

Prefiguring Pocahontas's visit to London, the Indians discovered the Old World in fiction as well.²⁴ A formal coming of Indians to England had been staged in George Chapman's *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*, performed at Whitehall in 1613.²⁵ Strangeness was here converted into celebrating the moderation ideals of the English Court. On top of two triumphal chariots, a set of musicians reproduced the prototype of the strange Indians against whom Pocahontas's pious performance was later to be gauged. They were attired like the Virginian priests who adore the Sun (Phoebades), displaying 'strange hoods of feathers, and scallons about their necks, and on their heads turbans stuck with several

coloured feathers, spotted with wings of flies, of extraordinary bigness, like those of their country'. The chief masquers paraded in a literally outlandish garb, 'the ground-cloth of silver, richly embroidered, with golden suns, and about every sun run a trail of gold, imitating Indian work'. This introductory procession was 'altogether estrangeful and Indian-like'. In fact, the golden imagery is instrumental to the moral meaning of the masque, advocating the liberal use of riches. But one can envisage a slightly inductive reasoning behind the estranged pageantry. Thus imitating a mock-discovery, the central rock of the scene opens up to offer a rich mine of gold, wherein 'the Phoebades (showing the custom of the Indians to adore the sun setting) begin their observance with the song' (*Middle Temple* 342).

Although acting as garish, silent pieces of decoration, the Indians also lay out the basis for a possible conversion: if the actual adorers of the Sun-gold can be converted, then also misers can. Already domesticated by their reduction to the cult of the riches, the Indians are then subjected to the reciprocating discovery of the Old World. A troop of them, worshipping Plutus, triumphantly sit in a mine of gold set in a moving island that approaches Britain. Not only indebted to the continental tradition of the Court shows, this impressing scenic action also mirrors the process of inductive cannibalism by the very act of bringing the Indians closer to European thought. It is a way of representing the sense of strangeness that actually accompanied the European tour of Montaigne's natives, here rendered as their amazement in the face of the splendour of the English Court. But it is also a question of successful inductive reasoning: their conversion is achieved through partially abandoning their superstitious beliefs, by means of modulating their cult of gold into the worship of the Golden Age. The Indians are graciously invited to redirect their cult to the King, 'our clear Phoebus'. Characteristically, the process of inductive discovery assimilates them as some reciprocating discoverers to be tamed by means of proper reasoning. Firstness, the striking singularity of the New World, is now given over to Europe. The conversion of the Phoebades foresees Pocahontas's conversion to the Golden Age, where Christian piety ensures the redemption from the errors of misdirected thought, the 'superstitious worship of these suns, / Subiect to cloudy darkenings and descents', to the devotion due to 'this our Briton Phoebus, whose bright sky / (Enlighten'd with a Christian piety) / Is never subject to black Error's night' (*Middle Temple* 349). Chapman's masque and Pocahontas's conversion seem then to refer to the same inductive process of domestication.

Once Pocahontas becomes the tamed Indian Princess, she can be the proper spectator of the Court masque, where all scenic codes are em-

ployed to bring the audience closer to the glory of the King-Sun. Her apparent honour of being fêted by the Monarchs is the final result of assimilation to the poetics of faked discovery constantly enacted by the Court Masque. From this point of view, also, Jonson's masques resorted to strangeness and magnificence in order to convey the fruitful discovery of the Kingly order. Such wonder is aroused by the 'more remov'd *Mysteries*', the visual and scenic devices that are chosen 'as well for strangenesse, as [for] relishing of antiquitie'. Jonson posits then a double movement of the eye within the structure of most of his masques. The audience's attention alternates between the 'Spectacle of strangenes' that is being staged and 'the vn-used state, and solemnitie' of the spectacle played by the Royals.²⁶ Both shows were called to comment upon each other, in a strictly inductive process from the ludicrous (almost heathenish) homage of the antimasque to the convenient celebration of the King's powers. This interplay of expectations is however blurred by the denial of induction and, hence, of discovery, that marks the last part of Pocahontas's travel in London. It is noteworthy that Jonson's 1616 masques, *Christmas His Masque* and *The Vision of Delight*, betray no vivid echo of her presence in their audiences.²⁷ To the contrary: both masques look decidedly intended for Londoners in their reflection of contemporary life. But then it is the very power of induction, embodied by the logical catechism undergone by Pocahontas, that is brought by Jonson to a halt in his estranging parody of discovery.

Christmas His Masque, the first of the two shows, draws on a close knowledge of the London whereabouts, as well as of its carnivalesque rituals.²⁸ However, it is not simply a masque 'from little little little London' (*Christmas* 76). Under the pretence of adapting this elementary show to a higher place, Christmas is actually conducting an antimasque of singularity closer to the audience: 'I ha' brought a Masque here, out o' the Citie, o' my owne making, and doe present it by a sett of my Sonnes, that come out of the Lanes of London' (*Christmas* 18–26). While Chapman's Indians evoked a convertible type of strangeness, Christmas's sons display the outlandish strangeness of the declining popular customs, for instance in the attire of New-Yeaes-Gift, parading 'in a blew Coat, serving-man like, with an Orange, and a sprig of Rosemarie guilt on his head, his Hat full of Broaches, with a coller of Gingerbread' (*Christmas* 52–4). Such strangeness serves as a carnivalesque homage to the King, presenting 'with all the appurtenances / A right Christmas, as of old it was' (*Christmas* 172–74). In a conventional interpretation of the Court masque, this mock denial of carnival pertains to different levels of symbolic activities, such as the difference of status, the London map of symbolic places, the gap between popular showmanship and Court pageantry, and so forth. One can how-

ever see here the evocation of an older London world which, made almost incomprehensible by a change of theatrical and courtly fashion, emanates a kind of strangeness that cannot be converted into proper worship of the King-Sun.

The making of old carnival into a different world performs the Jonsonian parody of discovery. Differing from the usual inductive pattern, these strange spectacles are the first fruits to be virtually assimilated in the masque, that however resist being conducted into more general terms. In *Christmas His Masque*, the conventional practice of describing the characters to the King reads now like a category of newly-found wonders, that are however hardly recognisable. Obviously, it is another way to poke fun at the actors that are defectively enacting those mythological or popular characters. Apart from the conventional evocation of misrule before the triumph of the King's order, Jonson is endowing such familiar spectacles with unnecessary strangeness in order to imply that this autonomous realm resists assimilation or conversion. Thus, Jonson exacerbates the inductive pattern, transforming even the most trivial scenic actions into an amazed discovery of the unknown. Much of this satirical practice could be due to the need of making the spectacle discernible and easily accessible. One cannot however escape the impression that the presence of Pocahontas, the living champion of successful induction, in the audience could provide a counter-interpretation of the viability of that discovery. By making the Londoners some sort of domestic Indians and placing them into a separate world, Jonson denies the possibility of domestication and, hence, of induction. The audience can get nowhere starting from these single cases.

The Vision of Delight, Jonson's second masque of 1616, also rules out any potential for discovery by inductive reasoning. The rhythm of the scene is marked by the exaltation of change: 'Let your shewes be new, as strange, / Let them oft and sweetly varie; / Let them haste so to their change, / as the Seers may not tarrie' (*Vision* 15–8).²⁹ Delight results from appreciating the swift pace of the theatrical inventions. Initially, the comic element is borrowed from the old world of carnival, as the first Antimasque stages 'a she Monster delivered of sixe Burratines, that dance with sixe Pantalones'. But as in the mummery of the previous masque, this show does not provide a formal contrast to the main spectacle. Detached from any real implication in the world of the Court, it cannot be converted to its ideals either. Nor can it constitute a singularity in itself. In fact, Jonson finds his main source of strangeness in alogicality. Breaking forth from the Chariot of the Night, Phantasie inaugurates the realm of incongruous figures: 'Now all thy figures are allow'd, / and various shape of things; / Create of ayrie formes, a streame' (*Vision* 45–7), and piles up a list of inexplicable contra-

dictions: 'Your Ostritch, beleeve it, 's no faithfull translator / Of perfect Utopian; And then 'twere an od-piece / To see the conclusion peepe forth at a cod-piece' (*Vision* 69–74). In a way, Jonson translates utopian imagery by resorting not to the language of wonder or exoticism but, rather, to the logical incongruous or the figurative type of grotesque, such as the dream 'with a Windmill on his head, and bells at his beard' (*Vision* 80). All these specimens of singularity are not resolved. Phantasie is merely indulging in accumulating images of chaos that no induction could ever interpret. Her assertion that 'no proportion is boasted / 'Twixt an egge, and an Oxe, though both have been rosted' (*Vision* 91–2), could be expanded into denying any possibility of establishing proportions between unconverted strangeness and the rules of reason. This alogical portion of the masque is brutally ended by Phantasie with a dissolving passage to the utopian wonder embodied by the Court: 'But vanish away, I have change to present you' (*Vision* 118). Most simply, this realm of alogicality is *not* discovered at all. It exists before any inductive process, artificially conducting the audience to the second term of comparison, the Court, and its utopian strangeness is extolled to the point of denying any conversion.

The second part of the masque, usually heralding the discovery of the Court, performs a disguised return to deductive demonstration. The passage from the quick changes of Phantasie to the changelessness of the Bower of Zephyrus is in fact a deduction from prior principles, the sort of conventional knowledge the Court is always associated with. The utopian peace of the Court is spelled out by Wonder, rhetorically asking if such spectacle grows out from 'the wealth of Nature here, or Art' (*Vision* 142). The existence of this verdant paradise of mythological deities points to a syllogistic structure, equating Britain with the Blessed Islands where Zephyrus continuously blows: 'I have not seene the place could more surprize, / It looks (me thinkes) like one of natures eyes, / Or her whole bodie set in art? Behold!' (*Vision* 159–61). Europe has then become the New World, prompting the beholder to experience wonder as the deduction of the identity between this Court and the Utopian paradise. As wonder is experienced because of this identity, rather than of the successful conversion of strangeness, one also understands why the verbal grotesque of Phantasie is defeated by the apparition of this courtly paradise. Deduction does not need any first fruits, but rather eternal fruits which find their earthly embodiment in the Court of England. Accordingly, Nature is not investigated. Within this context of messianic regeneration ('the ayre so sudden cleares, / And all things in a moment turne so milde', *Vision* 174–75), both related to the Golden Age and its adaptations in the travel narratives, does reside the main actor/spectator of the masque, the King 'whose presence maketh this perpetuall *Spring*' (*Vision* 201). In a

hermeneutic twist from induction to deduction, then, Jonson has transformed the ritual of discovery of the Old World into a parody of the European version of the dialectic travel engaged by the Indians, with the result of conducting away, estranging the King. Whereas Pocahontas had been reinstated in her princely status at the end of her conversion to European dialectic and religion, this new version of the English King-Sun has made him almost a savage. Divine attribution it might well be, but in a dangerous likeness with the heathenish worship enacted by Chapman's Indians.

Apart from conventionally estranging the American natives into receding depths of paganism, there seems then to have been a complementary attitude to characterise them as potential European dialecticians, whose reasoning is susceptible of improvement. In addition to generating discourse on race and salvation, the presence of the American native does imply a double dialectic argument: induction, both a powerful means the explorer uses to give meaning to the unknown, and a synonym for discovery, also informs the way Europeans represent real and fictional Indians, whose paganism is decoded as incorrect reasoning. But this utilitarian survival of induction may also uncannily transform the European audience of the Jonson masques into a Pocahontas figure—that is, an inductive thinker who is patronisingly led to recognise the splendour of the Court and thus the triumph of didactic deduction, hailing the European King's rule on knowledge. The Aristotelian cannibalising of the natives, then, reverses the same idea of barbarity which Montaigne had polemically given over to Europe and enlarges instead upon the concept of logical failure that Purchas reports in Tomocomo, a non-convertible Indian: a 'blasphemer of what he knew not', Tomocomo 'is said also to haue set up with notches on a stick the numbers of men bein sent to see and signifie the truth of the multitudes reported to his Master. But his arithmetique soon failed' (*Purchas* 1774).

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NOTES

1. Michel de Montaigne, 'Des Cannibales'. In *Oeuvres complètes*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade: 1962, Livre I, ch. xxx, 207–8, 212–13. For the interpretation of this passage, see Edwin M. Duval, 'Lessons of the New World: Design and Meaning in Montaigne's *Des Cannibales* (I: 31) and *Des coches* (III: 6)', *Yale French Studies* 64 (1983), 95–112, and Dudley M. Marchi, 'Montaigne and the New World: The Cannibalism of Cultural Production', *Modern Language Studies* 23:4 (1993), 35–54.
2. William M. Hamlin, 'Attributions of Divinity in Renaissance Ethnography and Romance; or, Making Religion of Wonder', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24 (1994), 426, 416. See also Geoffrey Vaughn Scammell, 'The New Worlds and Europe in the Sixteenth Century', *Historical Journal* 12:3 (1969), 394.
3. This identification is summed up by Peter Martyr: 'They lyve without any certayne dwelling places, and without tyllage or culturyng of the grounde, as wee read of them whiche in old tyme lyved in the golden age' (*De novo orbe*, transl. R. Eden, London: 1612, sig. 140^v). Quoted in Harry Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), 61. Among the wide literature on the subject, see Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (London: Allen Lane, 1975), and T. Goldstein, 'Impulses of Italian Renaissance Culture Behind the Age of Discoveries', in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiapelli, Michael J.B. Allen and Robert L. Benson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
4. Stephen Orgel, 'Shakespeare and the Cannibals', in *Cannibals, Witches, and Divorce: Estranging the Renaissance*, ed. Marjorie Garber (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 49.
5. Lucien Febvre, *Le problème de l'incroyance au 16^e siècle* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1968), 423.
6. M.T. Ryan, 'Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23 (1981), 525. See also Bernard W. Sheehan, 'Indian-White Relations in Early America: A Review Essay', *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 26 (1969).
7. Aristotle, *Topica* I.2.101^a27–33. All quotations are from *The Works of Aristotle*, gen. ed. W.D. Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), vol. 1: *Analytica Priora* (ed. A. J. Jenkinson), *Analytica Posteriora* (ed. G. R. G. Mure), *Topica* (ed. W. A. Pickard-Cambridge). See also Wayne N. Thompson, *Aristotle's Deduction and Induction: Introductory Analysis and Synthesis* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1975), 13 ff.
8. Albeit differing from first theology (ontology) in its non-scientific character, 'it is dialectic alone that can examine the special foundations of each science.' John David Gemmill Evans, *Aristotle's Concept of Dialectic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 49.
9. Julius R. Weinberg underlines the requirement of sense-perception for knowledge: 'universals can only be grasped by induction from particulars and only by perception do we grasp the particulars.' See 'Historical Remarks on Some Medieval Views of Induction', in *Abstraction, Relation, and Induction: Three Essays in the History of Thought* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), 123.
10. Evans rephrases this distinction as the one separating what is 'more intelligible absolutely' from 'that which is more intelligible to us.' *Aristotle's Conception of Dialectic*, 52.
11. In demonstrative science this can be translated in the basic distinction which Richard D. McKiraham establishes between essential and derivative facts (*Principles and Proofs. Aristotle's Theory of Demonstrative Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 111).
12. Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, Frankfurt: 1590, 14–5. Similar descriptions are offered by Richard Rich, *Newes from Virginia (1610)*, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1937, sig. B2^v, and John Rolfe, *A True Relation of the State of Virginia lefte by Sir Thomas Dale, knight, in May last 1616* (Yale University Press: 1951), 33.
13. Alexander Whitaker, *Good Newes from Virginia*, London: 1613, sig. B1^r.
14. Richard Johnson, *The New Life of Virginia*, London: 1612, sig. E4^r.
15. Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, in *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson, vol 6 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), II. v. 121–24; II. i. 157–58; III. i. 176–79. It was probably the last quote that prompted Grace Steele Woodward's unsubstantiated, though breath-taking intuition: Jonson 'questioned her rapidly for five minutes and then for the next forty-five minutes sat staring at her curiously until Pocahontas finally withdrew silently to her quarters upstairs, leaving Jonson to his bottle of sherry'. *Pocahontas* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 179.
16. Some valid examples of the post-mortem fortune of the Pocahontas story are Clara Sue Kidwell, 'What Would Pocahontas Think Now? Women and Cultural Persistence', *Callaloo* 17:1 (1994), 149–59; Betty Louise Bell, 'Pocahontas: "Little Mischief" and the "Dirty Men"', *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 6:1 (1994), 63–70; Robert S. Tilton, *Pocahontas: The Evolution of a Narrative* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
17. Much critical labour has been devoted to cherish the Pocahontas story as the first ever. See for instance Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London-New York: Methuen, 1986), 138. A historical antecedent is however reported by Philip Young, 'The Mother of Us All: Pocahontas Reconsidered', *Kenyon Review* 24 (1962), 397.
18. *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Note as Hath Hapned in Virginia*. London: 1608, sig. E3^v.
19. John Smith, *The Generall History of Virginia (1624)*, in *The Complete works of Captain John Smith*, ed. P. L. Barbour (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), vol. 2, 121.
20. Richard Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia ...* (London: 1615), 48, 24.
21. A more disturbing account comes from William Strachey, who describes Pocahontas as 'a well featured but wanton young girle ..., sometimes resorting to our Fort, of the age then of 11, or 12, yeares, [who would] gett the boyes forth with her into the markt place and make them wheele, falling on their handes turning their heeles vpwardes, whome she would follow, and wheele so her self naked as she was all the Fort over.' *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britannia (1612)*, ed. L. B. Wright and V. Freud (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), 113, 72.
22. One single objection is the bilious billet that Chamberlain sent to Dudley Carleton, understandably coming as it did from a worried shareholder of the sponsoring Virginia Company: 'Here is a fine picture of no fayre Lady and yet with her tricking up and high stile and titles you might thincke her and her worshipfull husband to be sombody, yf you do not know that the poore Companie of Virginia out of theyre

- povertie are faine to allow her fowre pound a weeke for her maintenance.' John Chamberlain, *The Letters*, ed. N. E. McClure (Philadelphia: The American Philological Society, 1939), 2.57 n. 259.
23. *Purchas his Pilgrimes in Five Books* (London: 1625), 1774.
 24. Two antecedents of scenic exoticism were a masque of Indian and Chinese knights, performed on New Year's Day, 1604 (see Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965, 49), and Jonson's *Masque of Blacknesse*, an attempt at estranging the court that elicited a dubious comment from Carleton: 'Theyr black faces, and hands which were painted and bare up to the elbowes, was a very lothsome sight, and [I] am sorry that strangers should see our court so strangely disguised.' *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in the other libraries of Northern Italy* (London: 1908), vol. 12, n.6.
 25. George Chapman, *The Mask of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*, in *Works: Plays*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1874). Enid Welsford analyses the relation between this show and the Medieval mummery in *The Court Masque: a Study in the Relation Between Poetry and the Revels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), 193–94).
 26. Ben Jonson, *Hymeneaei* 1–5; *Masque of Blacknesse* 1–14, 269; introduction to *The Masque of Queens celebrated from the House of Fame; Oberon* 315 (all quotations are from *Ben Jonson*, vol. 7, *Masques and Entertainments*). Orgel notes that this twofold look found a scope also in the distinction between the performers: 'the characters in Jonsonian antimasques, played by professional actors, are nearly always unaware that there are spectators; but his masquers, court ladies and gentlemen, regularly conclude their revels by joining the spectators in a dance' (*Jonsonian Masque* 14).
 27. John Chamberlain records her privileged place during the performance of *Christmas His Masque*: 'The Virginian woman Poca-huntas, with her father Counsaillor hath ben with the King and graciously used, and both she and her assistant well placed at the maske' (*Letters* 250 n., 257). Pocahontas probably sat on the royal dais at the monarch's right, while the Queen and the Prince of Wales were at his left. Frances Mossiker, *Pocahontas: The Life and the Legend* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1977), 250.
 28. Irena Janicka sees in *Christmas His Masque* 'a whole gallery of grotesque and burlesqued personification', drawing on the Bruegelian festive tradition. 'The Popular Background of Ben Jonson's Masques', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch West* 105 (1969), 197–98. Thomas Middleton rephrased the theme in his *Inner-Temple Masque* (London: 1619), featuring the 'last will and testament of Kersmas' to his sons, who after repeating the stock combat between Carnival and Lent perform the first antimasque. Then Harmony is disclosed to the view of New Year, as 'Time shall be reconcilde' (sig. C2^v).
 29. In *The Vision of Delight*, according to John Peacock, Jonson would show 'an intriguing susceptibility to Italian theory and practice'. 'Ben Jonson's Masques and Italian Culture', in *Theatre of the English and Italian Renaissance*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 92.

ASTRID WIND

'Adieu to all': The Death of the American Indian at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century

Ever since their first contact with Europeans, Indians have held captive the imagination of explorers, writers, and politicians. Whether sympathising with the natives or with their antagonists, American and British writers have ceaselessly tied their conception of the Indians to their own interest in the land and to the battles fought over it. With the settlers' growing love of the land, and advancing frontiers, the Indians' world—'a lively resemblance of hell', as it is consistently perceived in Puritan writings—appeared more hospitable, even attractive.¹ Indians are featured with greater frequency and increased approval in literary, philosophical and political writings of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. With the prospect of a new beginning for humanity promised by the American Revolution, the image of the Indian reached a particular apogee as the 'noble savage' of American and British poems such as Philip Freneau's 'The Indian Student' (1787) and Thomas Campbell's 'Gertrude of Wyoming' (1809). Nevertheless, the Indian's image as a noble savage was undermined by his involvement in the War for Independence. While Indians could still be praised for their 'natural virtues', their innocence was increasingly eclipsed by wartime images of merciless warriors and hunters amid the deep woods. American and British writers had been torn apart by the political disagreements of their respective nations, but they came to agree about the Indian. This paper will examine the historical context within which the literary works of British and American authors portrayed Indians as a race doomed to recede and vanish before a nation of Christians and thereby attempted to secure the dream of an American Arcadia from potential subversion by its savage inhabitants.²

While British and American appetite for land on the American continent grew toward the end of the eighteenth century, writers on either side of the Atlantic acknowledged the Indian as an integral part of the American environment. Their enthusiasm for new beginnings often swept

