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LOUIS MONTROSE

The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery

Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead.
—Sir Walter Ralegh, *The Discoverie . . . of Guiana*

I

IN A RECENT ESSAY on gender as a category of historical analysis, Joan Wallach Scott advances two integrally connected propositions: "Gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based upon perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power."[1] The first proposition "involves four interrelated elements: first, culturally available symbols that evoke multiple (and often contradictory) representations"; "second, normative concepts that set forth interpretations of the meanings of the symbols, that attempt to limit and contain their metaphoric possibilities" (43); third, the realizations of those various alternative or contestatory possibilities that are marginalized or suppressed by the normative or dominant, and which must be recovered by subsequent critical-historical analysis; and fourth, the employment of such historically specific (though not necessarily stable or consistent) cultural representations in the making of gendered subjective identities. Scott's second proposition refers to gender as one of the fundamental modes in which ideological and material reality are organized:

> Established as an objective set of references, concepts of gender structure perception and the concrete and symbolic organization of all social life. To the extent that these references establish distributions of power (differential control over or access to material and symbolic resources), gender becomes implicated in the conception and construction of power itself.

From this perspective, as "a persistent and recurrent way of enabling the signification of power in the West," the discourse of gender is not always or necessarily "literally about gender itself" (45). Among the flexible strengths of this analytical model are that it conceptualizes gender in terms of the reciprocally constituted and historically variable categories of Man and Woman; and that it also comprehends such gender systems as themselves reciprocally related, in multiple and shifting ways, to other modes of cultural, political, and economic organization and experience. Furthermore, to view gender representations historically—in terms of a multivalent ideological process that perpetually generates, constrains,

FIGURE 1. *America*, ca. 1580. Engraving by Theodor Galle after a drawing by Jan van der Straet (ca. 1575). Photo: The Burndy Library, Norwalk, Conn.

and contests cultural meanings and values—is to reveal, beneath the apparent stability and consistency of collective structures, myriad local and individual sites of social reproduction, variation, and change.

This analytical model provides a theoretical groundplot for the particular historical and critical, local and individual, concerns of the present essay. At the center of these concerns is the gendering of the protocolonialist discourse of discovery prevalent in Western Europe in the sixteenth century; the projection into the New World of European representations of gender—and of sexual conduct, a distinct but equally *cultural* phenomenon; and the articulation of those representations with new projects of economic exploitation and geopolitical domination. I discuss some instances of the gendering of the New World as feminine, and the sexualizing of its exploration, conquest, and settlement. The frame of reference for this discussion is not a closed or autonomous discourse of gender or sexuality but rather an open field of historically specific ideological conjunctures and exchanges, in which issues of gender and sexual conduct participate.

Early modern Europe's construction of its collective Other in "the New World"—its construction of the "savage" or the "Indian"—was accomplished by

the symbolic and material destruction of the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere, in systematic attempts to destroy their bodies and their wills, to suppress their cultures and to efface their histories. This process of protocolonialist "othering" also engages, interacts with, and mediates between two distinctive Elizabethan discourses: one, articulating the relationship between Englishmen and Spaniards; the other, articulating the relationship between the woman monarch and her masculine subjects. The latter discourse is inflected by the anomalous status of Queen Elizabeth—who is at once a *ruler*, in whose name the discoveries of her masculine subjects are authorized and performed; and also a *woman*, whose political relationship to those subjects is itself frequently articulated in the discourses of gender and sexuality.[2] The paradoxes and contradictions implicit in each of these discourses are foregrounded when they are brought together in a conjuncture with the discourse of discovery. Within the intertwined and unstable terms of collective national and gender identity, I focus upon an individual Englishman and Elizabethan subject—Sir Walter Ralegh—whose production of these discourses in his writings and performances is marked by the idiosyncrasies of his personal history and circumstances.

The writings of critics, too, are necessarily subject to historical and idiosyncratic marking. I remain uncomfortably aware that the trajectory of this essay courts the danger of reproducing what it purports to analyze: namely, the appropriation and effacement of the experience of both native Americans and women by the dominant discourse of European patriarchy. It is necessary, I believe, not only to resist such a dominant discourse but also to resist too rigid an understanding of its dominance. In other words, it is necessary to anatomize these elements of heterogeneity and instability, permeability and contradiction, that perpetually forestall ideological closure.[3] Thus, while I have no illusion that I have wholly resisted complicity in the operations of that dominant discourse, my attempt has been to locate and discover a few of the places of stress where its operations may be critically observed.

II

By the 1570s, allegorical personifications of America as a female nude with feathered headdress had begun to appear in engravings and paintings, on maps and title pages, throughout Western Europe.[4] Perhaps the most resonant of such images is Jan van der Straet's drawing of Vespucci's discovery of America, widely disseminated in print in the late sixteenth century by means of Theodor Galle's engraving (fig. 1).[5] Here a naked woman, crowned with feathers, upraises herself from her hammock to meet the gaze of the armored and robed man who has just come ashore; she extends her right arm toward him, apparently in a

gesture of wonder—or, perhaps, of apprehension. Standing with his feet firmly planted upon the ground, Vespucci observes the personified and feminized space that will bear his name. This recumbent figure, now discovered and roused from her torpor, is about to be hailed, claimed, and possessed as *America.* As the motto included in Galle's engraving puts it, "Americen Americus retexit, & Semel vocavit inde semper excitam"—"Americus rediscovers America; he called her once and thenceforth she was always awake." This theme is discreetly amplified by the presence of a sloth, which regards the scene of awakening from its own shaded spot upon the tree behind America. Vespucci carries with him the variously empowering ideological and technological instruments of civilization, exploration, and conquest: a cruciform staff with a banner bearing the Southern Cross, a navigational astrolabe, and a sword—the mutually reinforcing emblems of belief, empirical knowledge, and violence. At the left, behind Vespucci, the prows of the ships that facilitate the expansion of European hegemony enter the pictorial space of the New World; on the right, behind America, representatives of the indigenous fauna are displayed as if emerging from an American interior at once natural and strange.

Close to the picture's vanishing point—in the distance, yet at the center—a group of naked savages, potential subjects of the civilizing process, are preparing a cannibal feast. A severed human haunch is being cooked over the fire; another, already spitted, awaits its turn. America's body pose is partially mirrored by both the apparently female figure who turns the spit and the clearly female figure who cradles an infant as she awaits the feast. Most strikingly, the form of the severed human leg and haunch turning upon the spit precisely inverts and miniaturizes America's own. In terms of the pictorial space, this scene of cannibalism is perspectivally distanced, pushed into the background; in terms of the pictorial surface, however, it is placed at the center of the visual field, between the mutual gazes of Americus and America, and directly above the latter's outstretched arm.

I think it possible that the represented scene alludes to an incident reported to have taken place during the third of Vespucci's alleged four voyages, and recounted in his famous letter of 1504. I quote from the mid-sixteenth-century English translation by Richard Eden:

> At the length they broughte certayne women, which shewed them selves familier towarde the Spaniardes: Whereupon they sent forth a young man, beyng very strong and quicke, at whom as the women wondered, and stode gasinge on him and feling his apparell: there came sodeynly a woman downe from a mountayne, bringing with her secretly a great stake, with which she gave him such a stroke behynde, that he fell dead on the earth. The other wommene foorthwith toke him by the legges, and drewe him to the mountayne, whyle in the mean tyme the men of the countreye came foorth with bowes and arrowes, and shot at oure men. . . . The women also which had slayne the yong man, cut him in pieces even in the sight of the Spaniardes, shewinge them the pieces, and rosting them at a greate fyre.[6]

The elements of savagery, deceit, and cannibalism central to the emergent European discourse on the inhabitants of the New World are already in place in this very early example. Of particular significance here is the blending of these basic ingredients of protocolonialist ideology with a crude and anxious misogynistic fantasy, a powerful conjunction of the savage and the feminine.[7]

This conjunction is reinforced in another, equally striking Vespuccian anecdote. Vespucci presents a different account of his third voyage in his other extant letter, this one dated 1503 and addressed to Lorenzo Piero Francesco de Medici. Like the previous letter, this one was in wide European circulation in printed translations within a few years of its date. Here Vespucci's marvelous ethnography includes the following observation:

> Another custom among them is sufficiently shameful, and beyond all human credibility. Their women, being very libidinous, make the penis of their husbands swell to such a size as to appear deformed; and this is accomplished by a certain artifice, being the bite of some poisonous animal, and by reason of this many lose their virile organ and remain eunuchs. (*Letters*, 46)

The oral fantasy of female insatiability and male dismemberment realized in the other letter as a cannibalistic confrontation of alien cultures is here translated into a precise genital and domestic form. Because the husband's sexual organ is under the control of his wife and is wholly subject to her ambiguous desires, the very enhancement of his virility becomes the means of his emasculation.

In the light of Vespucci's anecdotes, the compositional centrality of van der Straet's apparently incidental background scene takes on new significance: it is at the center of the composition in more ways than one, for it may be construed as generating or necessitating the compensatory foreground scene that symbolically contains or displaces it. In van der Straet's visualization of discovery as the advance of civilization, what is closer to the horizon is also closer to the point of origin: it is where we have come from—a prior episode in the history of contacts between Europeans and native Americans, and an earlier episode in the history of human society; and it is now what we must control—a cultural moment that is to be put firmly, decisively, behind us. In the formal relationship of proportion and inversion existing between America's leg and what I suppose to be that of the dismembered Spanish youth, I find a figure for the dynamic of gender and power in which the collective imagination of early modern Europe articulates its confrontation with alien cultures. The supposed sexual guile and deceit that enable the native women to murder, dismember, and eat a European man are in a relationship of opposition and inversion to the vaunted masculine knowledge and power with which the erect and armored Vespucci will master the prone and naked America. Thus, the interplay between the foreground and background scenes of the van der Straet–Galle composition gives iconic form to the oscillation

characterizing Europe's ideological encounter with the New World: an oscillation between fascination and repulsion, likeness and strangeness, desires to destroy and to assimilate the Other; an oscillation between the confirmation and the subversion of familiar values, beliefs, and perceptual norms.

Michel de Certeau reproduces the engraving of Vespucci's discovery of America as the frontispiece of his book *The Writing of History*. As he explains in his preface, to him this image is emblematic of the inception of a distinctively modern discursive practice of historical and cultural knowledge; this historiography subjects its ostensible subject to its own purportedly objective discipline; it ruptures the continuum "between a subject and an object of the operation, between a *will to write* and a *written body* (or a body to be written)." For de Certeau, the history of this modern writing of history begins in the sixteenth century with "the 'ethnographical' organization of writing in its relation with 'primitive,' 'savage,' 'traditional,' or 'popular' orality that it establishes as its other." Thus, for him, the tableau of Vespucci and America is

> an inaugural scene. . . . The conqueror will write the body of the other and trace there his own history. From her he will make a historied body—a blazon—of his labors and phantasms. . . .
>
> What is really initiated here is a colonization of the body by the discourse of power. This is *writing that conquers*. It will use the New World as if it were a blank, "savage" page on which Western desire will be written.[8]

"America" awakens to discover herself written into a story that is not of her own making, to find herself a figure in another's dream. When called by Vespucci, she is interpellated within a European history that identifies itself simply as History, single and inexorable; this history can only misrecognize America's history as sleep and mere oblivion. In 1974, when a speaker at the first Indian Congress of South America declared, "Today, at the hour of our awakening, we must be our own historians," he spoke as if in a long suppressed response to the ironic awakening of van der Straet's America, her awakening to the effacement of her own past and future.[9]

Although applied here to a graphic representation that is iconic rather than verbal, de Certeau's reflections suggestively raise and conjoin issues that I wish to pursue in relation to Sir Walter Ralegh's *The Discoverie of the large, rich, and beautifull Empire of Guiana* (1596) and some other Elizabethan examples of "writing that conquers."[10] These issues include consideration of the writing subject's textualization of the body of the Other, neither as mere description nor as genuine encounter but rather as an act of symbolic violence, mastery, and self-empowerment; and the tendency of such discursive representation to assume a narrative form, to manifest itself as "a historied body"—in particular, as a mode of symbolic action whose agent is gendered masculine and whose object is gendered feminine. Rather than reduce such issues to the abstract, closed, and static

terms of a binary opposition—whether between European and Indian, Culture and Nature, Self and Other, or, indeed, Male and Female—I shall endeavor to discriminate among various sources, manifestations, and consequences of what de Certeau generalizes as the "Western desire" that is written upon the putatively "blank page" of the New World, and to do so by specifying the ideological configurations of gender and social estate, as well as national, religious, and/or ethnic identities, that are brought into play during any particular process of textualization.

III

An "inaugural scene" of Elizabethan New World colonialism is textualized in Arthur Barlowe's report to Ralegh. Fortuitously, it was on the fourth of July in 1584 that "the first voyage made to . . . America" at the "charge, and direction" of Ralegh "arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent, and firme lande."[11] Barlowe relates the Englishmen's discovery of America; having found the mouth of a river,

> we entred, though not without some difficultie . . . and after thankes given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boates, and went to viewe the land . . . and to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same: and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesties grant, and letters patents, under her Highnes great Seale. (94)

The letters patent issued to Ralegh on 25 March 1584 had granted

> to our trusty and welbeloved servaunte Walter Raleighe Esquier and to his heyres and assignes for ever free liberty and licence from tyme to tyme and at all tymes for ever hereafter to discover search fynde out and viewe such remote heathen and barbarous landes Contries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian Prynce and inhabited by Christian people . . . and the same to have holde occupy and enjoye to him his heyres and assignes for ever. (82)

Barlowe does not perceive the natives to be barbarous but, on the contrary, "in their behaviour as mannerly, and civill, as any of Europe" (98–99). Nevertheless, unbeknownst to these heathens, not merely their alien religious practices but their very freedom from prior colonization, their unpossessed condition, has *in principle* sanctioned their dispossession even before Ralegh's expedition sets sail from England to discover them.

Barlowe writes that, having first taken legal and ritual possession in the queen's name, "Wee viewed the lande about us. . . . I thinke in all the world the like aboundance is not to be founde" (94–95). This abundant country is called, by the "very handsome, and goodly people" who already inhabit it, "Wingandacoa, (and nowe by her Majestie, Virginia)" (98–99). William Camden soon records that Virginia is "so named in honour of Queen Elizabeth, a virgin."[12] Sig-

nificantly, the naming of "Virginia" was "the first such imperious act sanctioned by an English monarch."[13] Having authorized her subjects' acts of discovery and symbolic possession, the English monarch assumes the privilege of naming the land anew, and naming it for herself and for the gender-specific virtue she has so long and so successfully employed as a means of self-empowerment. Queen Elizabeth participates in an emergent colonialist discourse that works to justify and, symbolically, to effect the expropriation of what it discovers. Typically, this discourse denies the natural right of possession to indigenous peoples by confirming them to be heathens, savages, and/or foragers who neither cultivate the land nor conceptualize it as real property; or it may symbolically efface the very existence of those indigenous peoples from the places its speakers intend to exploit.[14] What was Wingandacoa is now rendered a blank page upon which to write Virginia. Thus, the Virgin Queen verbally reconstitutes the land as a feminine place unknown to man, and, by doing so, she also symbolically effaces the indigenous society that already physically and culturally inhabits and possesses that land. In this royal renaming, considerations of gender difference interact with those of ethnic difference; the discursive power of the inviolate female body serves an emergent imperialist project of exploration, conquest, and settlement.

Although England's first American colony was claimed in her name and named in her honor, Queen Elizabeth herself demonstrated little enthusiasm or material support for the various colonizing ventures that ignited the energy, imagination, and desire of many of her restive masculine subjects.[15] Preeminent among those subjects was Walter Ralegh. Ralegh's tireless promotion of exploration and colonization was driven not only by intellectual curiosity, and by a patriotic devotion to the creation of an overseas empire that would strengthen England against Spain both economically and strategically; it was driven also by his extraordinary personal ambition. In his social origins, Ralegh was the youngest son of a modest though well-connected West Country gentry family. Thus, he was wholly dependent upon the queen's personal favor not only for the rapid and spectacular rise of his fortunes but also for their perpetuation; in the most tangible and precarious way, Ralegh was Elizabeth's creature. The strategy by which he gained and attempted to maintain the royal favor was systematically to exploit the affective ambiguity of the royal cult; to fuse in his conduct and in his discourse the courtship of the queen's patronage and the courtship of her person.[16]

Observing Elizabeth's open display of intimacy with Ralegh during the Christmas festivities at court in 1584, a German traveler recorded that "it was said that she loved this gentleman now in preference to all others; and that may be well believed, for two years ago he was scarcely able to keep a single servant, and now she has bestowed so much upon him, that he is able to keep five hundred servants." In surveying the leading courtiers attending upon the queen at this

event, Lupold von Wedel had already noted the earl of Leicester, "with whom, as they say, the queen for a long time has had illicit intercourse," and Sir Christopher Hatton, "the captain of the guard, whom the queen is said to have loved after Lester" (263).[17] Such opinions—which seem to have been offered readily to von Wedel by his native English informants, and which he duly noted in his diary—suggest that many at court did not regard the queen's perpetual virginity as a literal truth. This is not to suggest that they therefore necessarily regarded it as a mere fraud—although there is surviving testimony that at least a few of the queen's subjects thought precisely that. Many at court may have regarded the royal cult as a necessary and effective, collectively sustained political fiction, as a mystery of state quite distinct from the question of whether or not Elizabeth Tudor was a woman who had yet her maidenhead. Whatever the precise nature and degree of Ralegh's intimacy with Queen Elizabeth, in 1587 he succeeded Hatton as Captain of the Guard; in both physical and symbolic terms, he now officially protected, and controlled access to, the queen's body. However, whatever honors, offices, patents, and leases the queen might grant to her favorite, without clear title to great manorial lands he had no secure source of income and status, and no hope of founding and sustaining his own lineage. What the royal patent for Virginia and the subsequent commission for Guiana gave to Ralegh was the prospect of possessing vast riches and vast lands, a prospect that would never be available to him at home in England.[18]

Although, in the later 1580s, Ralegh was displaced as the queen's preeminent favorite by the earl of Essex, he nevertheless continued to enjoy considerable royal confidence and favor. In 1592, however, Queen Elizabeth learned of Ralegh's secret marriage to her namesake, Elizabeth Throgmorton, one of the young ladies attendant at court, and of the birth of their first child. Both offenders were imprisoned in the Tower for several months, and Ralegh continued in disgrace and away from the court for some time longer. In the extravagant and fragmentary complaint, *The Ocean to Cynthia*, Ralegh wrote of the queen as his royally cruel mistress: "No other poure [power] effectinge wo, or bliss, / Shee gave, shee tooke, shee wounded, shee apeased."[19] Perhaps it cannot be decided, finally, whether to attribute the queen's anger toward Ralegh (and toward other noblemen and courtiers in his circumstances) to the sexual jealousy of a mistress, betrayed by her lover; to the moral outrage of a virgin and the guardian of virgins, victimized by men's lasciviousness; or to the political perturbation of a militarily and fiscally weak ruler, whose attempts to maintain an absolute command over her courtiers' alliances and their attentions had been flagrantly flouted. Indeed, the various and conflicting recorded perceptions and attitudes of Elizabethan subjects strongly suggest that such undecidability is itself the historically relevant point; that it is, in fact, a structural feature of the Elizabethan political system. A strategic ambiguity that might be manifested as paradox, equivocation,

or contradiction, it was of potential if limited utility both to the monarch and to her (masculine) subjects. For the latter, however—as Ralegh's case demonstrates—it also carried considerable potential liabilities.

The issuance in 1594 of a royal commission allowing Ralegh to maraud the Spanish Caribbean may be interpreted as a gesture of returning favor. Thus authorized, in 1595 he set sail for Guiana, about which he had been gathering reconnaissance and speculation for several years. By the beginning of the new decade, the focus of Ralegh's interest in the New World had begun to shift southward, to the Caribbean and the Orinoco basin. This was part of a larger strategy to confront England's mighty adversary directly at sea and on land, in both the old world and the new. In the public self-presentations of the *Discoverie,* Ralegh maintains that his aims are wholly patriotic and untainted by mercenary considerations. The goal is the destruction of Spain's economic and geopolitical hegemony in Europe and the Americas. England will be able to counter Spain's power if Englishmen can discover and conquer an indigenous American empire rivaling in riches those plundered by the Spanish in Mexico and Peru.[20] The imperial strategy presented to the queen and her councillors is that the extortion of gold from the (mythical) Empire of Guiana, either by tribute or by conquest, will load her shaky exchequer with more than enough resources to "defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home" (430); it will make England prosperous and invincible. Despite his repeated representations of himself as un-self-interested, Ralegh's writings reveal him to be preoccupied with the prospect of enormous personal wealth and power, for which the unprecedented successes of Cortés and Pizarro now provided models. Ralegh's expedition traveled several hundred miles of the Orinoco basin, encountered numerous indigenous social groups, and conducted a few raids on Spanish outposts. They failed, however, to find the anticipated empire of El Dorado, the Inga of Manoa, or his fabled riches. Indeed, the tangible returns from the voyage were so negligible that some of Ralegh's more skeptical fellow countrymen raised doubts as to whether it had actually taken place. It was both to justify the recently concluded expedition and to promote further interest, support, and investment that in 1596 Ralegh published *The Discoverie of Guiana.*

We may regard with a certain skepticism the claim that Queen Elizabeth's virtues inspired virtuous conduct in her subjects; however, there is no doubting that the courtly politics of chastity bore acutely upon the commander of the Guiana voyage. An anonymous letter concerning the circumstances of Ralegh's disgrace in 1592 can provide us with a thematic link between that episode and the discourse of his *Discoverie* in 1596:

> S. W. R., as it seemeth, have been too inward with one of Her Majesty's maids. . . . S. W. R. will lose, it is thought, all his places and preferments at Court, with the Queen's favour; such will be the end of his speedy rising. . . . All is alarm and confusion at this discovery of the discoverer, and not indeed of a new continent, but of a new incontinent.[21]

Although of uncertain provenance and authenticity, this wittily scurrilous text does help to foreground and contextualize the *Discoverie*'s recurrent references to Ralegh's restraint of himself and his subordinates, his repudiation of concupiscence and his strategic tempering/temporizing of his announced quest for wealth and power.

In his dedicatory epistle to Lord Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, Ralegh represents both the conduct of his discovery and the account in which he discovers it as intended to mollify the queen's displeasure and to regain her favor:

> As my errors were great, so they have yeelded very grievous effects. . . . I did therefore even in the winter of my life, undertake these travels . . . that thereby, if it were possible, I might recover but the moderation of excesse, & the least tast of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. . . . To appease so powreful displeasure, I would not doubt but for one yeere more to hold fast my soule in my teeth, till it were performed. (339)

Indeed, Ralegh goes so far as to suggest that the narrative of his exploit should be read as a penitential journey, an act of fleshly purgation undertaken to expiate the incontinent lapse in his devotion to the queen:

> I have bene accompanyed with many sorrowes, with labour, hunger, heat, sickenes, & perill. . . . [They] were much mistaken, who would have perswaded, that I was too easefull and sensuall to undertake a journey of so great travell. But, if what I have done, receive the gracious construction of a painefull pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall thinke all too litle. (339–40)

Read in the context of Ralegh's fall from grace, the *Discoverie* operates on the model of book 2 of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590), as a compensatory "Legend of Sir Walter, or of Temperance." The hero of this exemplary autobiographical narrative of restrained desire and deferred gratification eschews both Avarice and Lust, both Mammon and Acrasia:

> If it had not bin in respect of her highnes future honor & riches, [I] could have laid hands on & ransomed many of the kings & Casiqui of the country, & have had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption: but I have chosen rather to beare the burden of poverty, then reproach, & rather to endure a second travel and the chances therof, then to have defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, untill I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royal heart either to folow or foreslow the same. (342–43)

> I neither know nor beleeve, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women. . . . I suffered not any man . . . so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters: which course so contrary to the Spaniards . . . drewe them to admire her Majestie, whose commaundement I tolde them it was. (391)

In short, Ralegh's discovery of a new continent discovers him to be newly continent. As if to redress his conduct with Elizabeth Throgmorton, in these and a number of other passages Ralegh pointedly defers the desired consummation

with Guiana until a royal blessing has been secured. Nevertheless, it is the prospect of that consummation that drives the narrative.

Himself a man from a society in which women—with one extraordinary exception—are politically invisible, Ralegh is predisposed to characterize the indigenous societies of the New World as if they are exclusively masculine. The Tivitivas, for example, "are a very goodly people and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard, of what nation soever" (382–83). Ralegh admires these alien nations for their collective virility. Nevertheless, at a higher level of abstraction and under stronger rhetorical pressure, these apparently masculine societies—societies from which women have already been verbally effaced—are themselves rendered invisible by a metonymic substitution of place for persons, a substitution of the land for its inhabitants. This land which is substituted for its manly inhabitants is itself gendered feminine and sexed as a virgin female body:

> To conclude, Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead, never sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not bene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graves have not bene opened for golde, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. It hath never bene entred by any armie of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any christian Prince. (428)

In this concluding exhortation of his masculine readership, Ralegh's description of Guiana by means of negatives conveys a proleptically elegiac sympathy for this unspoiled world at the same time that it arouses excitement at the prospect of despoiling it. His metaphor of Guiana's maidenhead activates the bawdy Elizabethan pun on *countrey*, thus inflaming the similitude of the land and a woman's body, of colonization and sexual mastery.[22] By subsuming and effacing the admired societies of Amerindian men in the metaphorically feminine Other of the land, the English intent to subjugate the indigenous peoples of Guiana can be "naturalized" as the male's mastery of the female. The ideology of gender hierarchy sanctions the Englishmen's collective longing to prove and aggrandize themselves upon the feminine body of the New World, and, at the same time, the emergent hierarchical discourse of colonial exploitation and domination reciprocally confirms that ideology's hegemonic force.[23]

Queen Elizabeth names the eastern seaboard of North America, in her own honor, *Virginia*. When her "trusty and welbeloved servaunt Walter Raleighe" describes the northeast interior of South America as a virgin, the rhetorical motive is not an homage to the queen but rather a provocation to her masculine subjects: "Guiana is a countrey that hath *yet* her maydenhead" (428; italics mine). There exists an intimate relationship between the figurations of these two places, as there does between Elizabeth and Ralegh themselves: it is as if the queen's naming of Virginia elicits Ralegh's metaphor of Guiana's fragile maidenhead. Addressing Ralegh in a dedicatory epistle to his edition of Peter Martyr's *De orbe*

novo (1587), Richard Hakluyt imagines "your Elizabeth's Virginia" as Ralegh's bride, her depths as yet unprobed for their hidden riches.[24] Hakluyt takes imaginative liberties in Latin; however, it is difficult to imagine that Ralegh himself, in a printed address to the queen's subjects, would be so impolitic as to represent the plantation of Virginia in the same terms that he uses to represent the conquest of Guiana. If he cannot write explicitly of Virginia's rape, this is because the queen and her courtier share a common discourse of discovery, grounded in a territorial conception of the female body.

As de Certeau suggests in his discussion of van der Straet's icon, the "historied" and gendered body of America calls attention to the affinity between the *discovery* and the *blazon*, two Renaissance rhetorical forms that organize and control their subjects—respectively, the body of the land and the body of the lady—by means of display, inventory, and anatomy. As Nancy Vickers has remarked, "The blazon's inventory of fragmented and reified parts [is] a strategy in some senses inherent to any descriptive project."[25] Typically, in both the blazon and the discovery, the dynamics of this descriptive situation are gendered in a triangulated relationship: a masculine writer shares with his readers the verbal construction/observation of a woman or a feminized object or matter; in doing so, he constructs a masculine subject position for his readers to occupy and share. In *The Arte of English Poesie,* George Puttenham exemplifies "your figure of *Icon,* or resemblance by imagerie and portrait," first by citing "Sir Philip Sidney in the description of his mistresse excellently well handled," and then by piecemeal quotation from one of his own *Partheniades*:

> written of our sovereign Lady, wherein we resemble every part of her body to some naturall thing of excellent perfection in his kind, as of her forehead, browes and haire. . . . And of her lips. . . . And of her eyes. . . . And of her breasts. . . . And all the rest that followeth.[26]

Puttenham's *Partheniades* were conceived and presented as a New Year's gift, as a rhetorical instrument for ingratiating himself with the queen and eliciting some reciprocal benefit. Thus, subsequently, he can display in print an example of how he has, by figure, "excellently well handled" his sovereign. When an Elizabethan subject devises a blazon of his royal mistress, he gives an explicitly political charge to a poetic figure already marked by the politics of gender.

Queen Elizabeth might not only be figured in an erotic blazon but might also be troped in the similitude of land and body. In her special case, however, the representational strategies of the trope might well serve to aggrandize the sovereign rather than to subordinate the woman. Her own naming of Virginia for herself is a variation on such a strategy; another, from one of her speeches, will be discussed below. Here I want to consider the "Ditchley" portrait of Queen Elizabeth (ca. 1592), by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (fig. 2).[27] This striking painting, the largest known portrait of the queen, represents her standing, like

some great goddess or glorified Virgin Mary, with her feet upon the globe and her head amidst the heavens. The cosmic background divides into sunlight and storm; according to the now fragmentary sonnet inscribed on the canvas, these signify, respectively, the heavenly glory and divine power of which the queen is the earthly mirror. She stands upon a cartographic image of Britain, deriving from Christopher Saxton's collection of printed maps. Like Saxton's 1583 map, the painting divides England into counties, each separately colored, and marks principal towns and rivers. Much of the monarch's island nation is enclosed by the hem of her gown, a compositional feature perhaps recalling the iconography of the *Madonna della misericordia.* This representation of Queen Elizabeth as standing upon her land and sheltering it under her skirts suggests a mystical identification of the inviolate female body of the monarch *with* the unbreached body of her land, at the same time that it affirms her distinctive role as the motherly protectress of her people. But the painting also asserts, in spectacular fashion, the other aspect of Elizabeth's androgynous personal symbolism—her kingly rule; it affirms her power *over* her land and *over* its inhabitants. The cartographic image transforms the *land* into a *state*; and by the division of the land into administrative units, its inhabitants are marked as the monarch's political and juridical subjects.[28] It is against such official figurations of the relationship between the woman ruler and her masculine subjects that Ralegh's figuration of his own and his fellows' relationship to Guiana resonates as a belligerent though displaced gesture of resistance.

IV

Ralegh's "discoverie" is both a text and an event; and the declaration in its title that this doubled discovery has been "performed in the yeere 1595 by Sir Walter Ralegh" compounds the difficulty in keeping them distinct: the text is also an event, and the event, a text. In his prefatory addresses to his powerful friends and patrons, Lord Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, and "To the Reader," Ralegh specifically cites and seeks to defend himself against charges that he had in fact "hidden in Cornewall" instead of sailing to Guiana; that he had planned to sell his services to none other than King Philip (339) instead of returning to England; that the few putative gold samples brought back from Guiana were actually worthless marcasite or, if genuine, had been bought in Barbary and then transported *to* Guiana (343–46). The only evidence Ralegh can adduce for his having physically performed his discovery is contained in the text itself, which purports to be a record of the event. The performance of Ralegh's discovery becomes socially accessible and meaningful only as a writing performance, as *ethnography*—only, that is, when it has been textualized as his *Discoverie.* However, the status of the *Discoverie* as an historical record is always vulnerable to subver-

sion by its status as rhetorical invention. Thus, in his attempt to represent his *Discoverie* as the transparent record of his discovery, Ralegh must seek to deprecate its style: he humbly prays "that your honors will excuse such errors, as without the defense of art, overrun every part of the following discourse, in which I have neither studied phrase, forme nor fashion" (343). Ralegh's continuous attempts to document his experience in his narrative and his continuous attempts to ground his narrative in the objective reality of his experience can only prove mutually defeating.[29]

Ralegh can claim no more than to be the first *Englishman* to explore parts of the Orinoco basin, and to discover those parts to *English* readers. His text cannot and makes no attempt to erase the footprints of the Spaniards who have preceded him everywhere he goes, and who have either knowingly or unknowingly provided almost all of the practical information as well as the fantasies that have generated the motives and underwritten the execution of his project. Over the

FIGURE 2. Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, the "Ditchley" portrait of Queen Elizabeth, ca. 1592. Photo: National Portrait Gallery, London.

course of more than three decades, more than two dozen groups of Spanish adventurers had explored the Amazon and Orinoco basins in search of El Dorado. Ralegh rehearses some of these undertakings in his *Discoverie*; he cites and quotes from Spanish books on the New World, both in Spanish and in English translation; he uses information gained from discussions with his captive, Don Antonio de Berreo, the governor of Trinidad; and he appends to his text relevant Spanish documents that had been intercepted at sea.[30] The notable lack of success of the prior Spanish undertakings in the region, despite their enormous scope, might well have discouraged further attempts. Ralegh, however, manages to construe the Spanish failures hopefully, as a sign of special providence: "It seemeth to mee that this empire is reserved for her Majesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard successe which all these and other Spanyards found in attempting the same" (362).

Spanish tales are the sources repeatedly invoked by Ralegh in his strained and circumstantial attempts to substantiate his own claims for the existence of "the great and golden citie of Manoa," which was said to have been founded somewhere in Guiana by the Incas after the fall of Peru. His descriptions of the wondrous riches of El Dorado are merely extrapolated from the Spanish narratives of Peru that he cites (see esp. 355–58). What is perhaps his most artfully circumspect and obfuscating position occurs near the end of the *Discoverie*:

> Because I have not my selfe seene the cities of Inga, I cannot avow on my credit what I have heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour Inga hath built and erected as magnificent palaces in Guiana, as his ancestors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rareness most marvellous and exceeding all in Europe, and I thinke of the world, China excepted, which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be true. (424–25)

Ralegh's final position concerning the existence of Manoa ultimately relies upon assurances from the rivals and enemies who are temporarily within his power; furthermore, whatever their credibility, the precise subject of these Spanish assurances is rendered conspicuously obscure and ambiguous by Ralegh's syntax. In effect, the very Spaniards whom Ralegh's text repeatedly represents as the cruel and deceitful foes of Englishmen and Indians alike are also the authorities upon whose knowledge and experience Ralegh has pursued his own discovery.

The *Discoverie* is haunted by a subversive irony, one that it nowhere explicitly confronts but does frequently if obliquely register, such as when the writer anxiously strives to authenticate his narrative. This epistemological and ideological destabilization arises from Ralegh's repeated need to ground his own credibility upon the credibility of the very people whom he wishes to discredit. One of the central ways in which Ralegh attempts to obfuscate this predicament of dependency upon and identification with the enemy is through an absolute distinction of the Englishmen's sexual conduct in the New World from that of the Spaniards. The rhetorical operations of gender performed in the *Discoverie* are considerably

more complicated than the familiar trope of the feminine land might at first suggest. This complication is in part related to the pervasive Spanish presence in Ralegh's text and in the country it purports to discover.

The priority of Iberian claims to much of the New World could be discredited by English and other Northern European and Protestant writers by an insistence upon the necessity for effective, material occupation rather than merely symbolic discovery and possession.[31] Regarding Guiana, in particular, English concerns about the validity of rival and prior Spanish claims were partially addressed by English arguments against both the moral and the strategic wisdom of conquest, and in favor of an alliance with the "Inga" or emperor of Manoa, or a persuasion of indigenous peoples to embrace English overlordship. By the persistent rehearsal of Spanish atrocities against the Indians, the English also tried to turn Spanish precedence to their own advantage. Ralegh could assure himself and his English readers that God had reserved Guiana for England's dominion; and at the same time, both to himself and to the Indians of Guiana, he could represent his own imperialistic venture as a holy and humanitarian war of liberation against Spanish oppression. For example, Ralegh relates that in his conversation with the chieftain Topiawari,

> I made him knowe the cause of my comming thither, whose servant I was, and that the Queenes pleasure was, I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large . . . her Majesties greatnesse, her justice, her charitie to all oppressed nations. (399)

The "oppressed nations" of the New World are to be liberated from the Spanish tyrant so that they may be more benignly and effectively subjected to the English savior.

Ralegh's ironic discovery of the Spaniards' prior discoveries drives home to his English readers the embarrassment of England's cultural and imperial *belatedness.* Many Elizabethan writers voice a nagging concern that—in military, commercial, and/or artistic terms—the English are a backward and peripheral nation. This concern is usually manifested as an anxious and impatient patriotism. For example, in *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana,* Laurence Keymis writes that

> it were a dull conceite of strange weaknes in our selves, to distrust our own power so much, or at least, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spanish nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the poore Portugal hath that mastering spirit and conquering industrie, above us.[32]

Keymis was Ralegh's lieutenant, and performed this "second Discoverie" (441) in 1596, under Ralegh's instructions; his written account was printed in the same year. As this passage from Keymis clearly suggests, a belligerent and chauvinistic national consciousness is almost invariably expressed in the terms and values of a collective national character that is culturally encoded as masculine. Such encoding leads all too predictably to imagery such as Ralegh's, which figures

England and Spain as manly rivals in a contest to deflower the new found lands: at the beginning of his *Discoverie,* Ralegh invites his readers to "consider of the actions of . . . Charles the 5. who had the maidenhead of Peru, and . . . the affaires of the Spanish king now living" (346); at the end, he invites them to consider that "Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead" (428). In order to represent Ralegh's discovery of Guiana iconically, we might triangulate the scenario of van der Straet's drawing: upon coming ashore, the Englishman discovers America in the arms of a Spaniard.

The ubiquitous figure of the Spaniard is an unstable signifier in the text of Ralegh's *Discoverie*: he is, at once, an authority to be followed, a villain to be punished, and a rival to be bested. For the Englishmen in the New World, the Spaniards are proximate figures of Otherness: in being Catholic, Latin, and Mediterranean they are spiritually, linguistically, ethnically, and ecologically alien. At the same time, however, England and Spain are intertwined with each other in an encompassing European system of economic, social, and political structures and forces; and they share an ambient Christian and classical cultural, moral, and intellectual tradition. The sign of the Spaniard in English discovery texts simultaneously mediates and complicates any simple antinomy of European Self and American Other.

We can begin to observe how gender and sexual conduct are figured into this complex textual play of otherness by juxtaposing two passages from Keymis's *Relation.* Near the end of his narrative, Keymis asks his English readers, rhetorically:

> Is it not meere wretchednesse in us, to spend our time, breake our sleepe, and waste our braines, in contriving a cavilling false title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an acre of lande: whereas here whole shires of fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselves unto us, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of desired yeeres. (487)

Here the already familiar similitude of the earth and the female body—"fruitfull rich grounds" and "a faire and beautifull woman"—is activated through a peculiarly dissonant and degraded fantasy of *self-prostitution.* It is as if the writer's imagination of the New World has taken corruption from his already disconcerting representation of the old one: we are exhorted to repudiate our homegrown and familiar greed and fraudulence, not because they are immoral but because they are paltry; they must be reconceived on a grander scale, in the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana.

In an earlier passage, Keymis writes of the Indians' present predicament, that

> for the plentie of golde that is in this countrey, beeing nowe knowen and discovered, there is no possibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one side they coulde feele not greater miserie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were sure to finde, if the Spaniardes prevayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, using them as their slaves, to runne, to rowe, to

bee their guides, to cary their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to bee content, for safetie of their lives, to leave their women, if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the otherside they could hope for, nor desire no better state and usage, then her Majesties gracious government, and Princely vertues doe promise, and assure unto them. (472)

The Indians who are the collective subject of this passage are exclusively the Indian *men*; "their women" are the (male) Indians' most valued and most intimate possessions, serving to define and to make manifest their own freedom and masculinity. One of the most conspicuous ways in which the Spaniards assert their enslavement of native American men is precisely by their casual use of the bodies of native American women. In Keymis's representation of the Spaniards, the rape of the Indians' lands and the rape of "their women" go hand in hand. In the case of Englishmen, however, masculine sexual aggression against the bodies of native women has been wholly displaced into the exploitation of the feminized new found land. Indeed, the Englishmen's vaunted sexual self-restraint serves to legitimate their exploitation of the land. Furthermore, such masculine desires for possession have been subjected to a form of reversal, in that Keymis's discourse renders Englishmen not as territorial aggressors but rather as passive beneficiaries of the animated land's own desire to be possessed: "Fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselves unto us, like a faire and beautifull woman." The sexual conduct of European men in the New World is sometimes explained away as the unbridled expression of an essential male lustfulness. It might be more useful to understand it as an ideologically meaningful (and overdetermined) act of violence. This violence is impelled by, enacts, and thus reciprocally confirms the imperatives of appropriation, possession, and domination that characterize the colonialist project in general, imperatives that are themselves discursively figured in gendered violence.

The topic of sexual conduct can become a point of convergence for a multiplicity of discourses—among them, gender, ethnicity, nationality, and social estate. I write of "ethnicity" and "social estate" rather than "race" and "class" because, in the Elizabethan context, some of the contemporary assumptions implicit in the terms "race" and "class" do not seem to be either adequate or appropriate.[33] For example, concerning "class": not only different categories of social rank but also different systems of social categorization and stratification sometimes overlapped, contradicted, or excluded one another. And concerning "race": prejudicial early English perceptions of native Americans—unlike contemporaneous perceptions of Africans—were not given a physical basis in their appearance and skin color but were based exclusively upon their supposed savagery. Furthermore, issues of "class" and "race" might be conflated. The statuses of "Indians" and "the meaner sort" of English people were sometimes analogized: Indians were said to be like English rogues and vagabonds, and unruly English forest dwellers like Indians.[34]

A particularly instructive convergence of Elizabethan discourses of sex, gender, ethnicity, nationality, and social rank is provided in the following extended passage from Ralegh's *Discoverie*, a part of which I have already quoted:

> [The Arwacas] feared that wee would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death (for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or Guiana it selfe might come to speach with us, perswaded all the nations, that we were man-eaters, and Canibals) but when the poore men and women had seen us, and that wee gave them meate, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they beganne to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wives and daughters dayly, and used them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the Majestie of the living God, that I neither know nor beleeve, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yong, and excellently favoured, which came among us without deceite, starke naked.
>
> Nothing got us more love amongst them then this usage: for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a Pina, or a Potato roote, without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters: which course so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize over them in all things) drewe them to admire her Majestie, whose commaundement I tolde them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation.
>
> But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing, when we came to their houses: which because in all I coulde not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when wee departed, to know of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the partie punished in their sight, or else was payed for to their uttermost demand. (390–91)

By a fine irony that Ralegh fails to appreciate, the spectral New World cannibals who so horrified and fascinated sixteenth-century European writers and readers appear to the equally horrified Arwacas to be Englishmen. The English unmask the Spanish deception by reversal: they offer to feed meat to the Indians rather than to eat them. (This is also a reversal in another sense, since perhaps the most commonly recorded initial gesture of friendship made toward Europeans by New World peoples was to offer food.)[35] Ralegh purports to have learned from the Indians that the Spaniards have misrepresented the English as anthropophagi: through this heavily mediated pattern of assertion and denial, Ralegh's text voices the Englishmen's own consuming desire to consume the Indians' land and goods; it registers a fleeting intimation that the "man-eaters, and Canibals" of the New World are actually a projection—and, by this means, a legitimation—of the Europeans' own predatory intentions toward their hosts.

Whereas the English bestow gifts upon the Indians, the Spaniards take from them, using Indian women "for the satisfying of their owne lusts." Although, for purposes of contrast to the Spaniards, it would have been necessary only to reaffirm the absence of sexual violence from English behavior, Ralegh insists that to

the best of his knowledge none in his company, "by violence, *or otherwise*, ever knew any of their women" (italics mine). And he goes out of his way to suggest that this chaste conduct has been heroically maintained against the great temptations posed to the male concupiscible appetite by the young, well-favored, and naked women whom the Englishmen have held in their power. Ralegh is at pains to inhibit any culturally inscribed predisposition in his (masculine) readers that would identify the naked maidens in his text as conventional allegorical personifications of Lasciviousness and Indolence—such as those which populate the exotic pleasure gardens of Spenser's Legend of Temperance. Although he credits reports that the Amazons are both violent and lustful, the women whom he claims to have actually encountered in Guiana Ralegh represents as neither deceitful nor predatory—such attributes tend to be reserved for the Spanish men. However, in this passage and elsewhere, his contrary emphasis upon feminine innocence and vulnerability, upon the potential victimization of women, simultaneously disempowers them and legitimates their condition of dependency. It also reduces them to functioning as the collective instrument for making comparisons among *men*. It is crucial to Ralegh's text that what is at issue is not masculine sexual prowess but, on the contrary, the ability of European men to govern their concupiscible appetites. In *The Book named The Governor,* Sir Thomas Elyot writes that

> continence . . . is specially in refraining or forbearing the act of carnal pleasure, whereunto a man is fervently moved, or is at liberty to have it. Which undoubtedly is a thing not only difficult, but also wonderful in a man noble or of great authority, but as in such one as it happeneth to be, needs must be reputed much virtue and wisdom, and to be supposed that his mind is invincible.[36]

Ralegh's concern with sexual conduct is not inscribed within an autonomous discourse about human, masculine, or personal sexuality; rather, it is the somatic focus of concerns that are fundamentally ethical, social, and political.[37] "We saw many hundreds, and had many in our power": it is precisely their refusal to abuse their own position of mastery over the Indians that is the measure of the Englishmen's collective self-mastery, that provides proof of the ascendancy of (what Sir Philip Sidney would call) their erected wits over their infected wills. And this self-mastery might not only help them to distinguish themselves as *Men* from Women, to whom unruliness and lasciviousness were traditionally ascribed; it might also help them to distinguish themselves as *Englishmen* from the lustful and un-self-governable Spaniards. Here misogynistic sentiments subserve anti-Spanish ones, in a project aimed at mastering native Americans.[38]

However, having made this moral distinction among men exclusively upon the ground of national difference, Ralegh goes on to say that he had to exercise vigilant control over the inherent tendency toward lawlessness among "the meaner sort" within his own company. He now shifts categories so as to mark hierarchical social differences among the Englishmen themselves. Now, within

the restricted domain of Englishness, "the meaner sort" have become structurally equivalent to Spaniards—just as, in other Elizabethan and Jacobean ideological contexts, they are negatively represented as analogous to Indians.[39] If gentlemen have the capacity and the duty to govern themselves, they also have the prerogative and the obligation to govern their social inferiors, who are incapable of self-government. To quote Elyot once more,

> To him that is a governor of a public weal belongeth a double governance, that is to say, an interior or inward governance, and an exterior or outward governance. The first is of his affects and passions, which do inhabit within his soul, and be subjects to reason. The second is of his children, his servants, and other subjects to his authority. (183)

Although it is "worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyling and stealing," the perceived necessity that the gentleman undertake this burdensome duty defines and legitimates the hierarchical ordering of society; and by actually undertaking it, he reciprocally confirms the congruence of his status with his virtue.

The rhetorical shifting and swerving of Ralegh's text invite some scrutiny. In the first paragraph of the long passage quoted above, Ralegh represents the Englishmen as antithetical to the Spaniards, on the basis of their disinterested generosity toward the Indians: "Wee gave them meate, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them"; in the second paragraph, we are circumstantially informed that although Ralegh forbade his men "so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters," he did permit them to take other forms of Indian property, as long as reparation was made; in the third paragraph, we learn that Indian property was in fact being "stolen or taken by violence" by some of these same gift-giving Englishmen, though not without punishment by their commander. If English virtue becomes a little soiled in the working, an occasion is nevertheless provided to demonstrate containment of the poorer sort's petty thievery by the moral rectitude and judicial vigilance of their betters. Yet it is precisely by an emphatic insistence upon both triviality and scrupulosity—"I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a Pina, or a Potato roote"—that this discourse obfuscates the magnitude of the theft being contemplated and prepared by Ralegh himself, which encompasses nothing less than the entire land and everything in it.

The circuitous movement of Ralegh's discourse at once admires the Indians for their innocent trust and displaces onto the Spaniards the implicit betrayal of that trust which is at the heart of the English enterprise. However, the *Discoverie* also represents the Spaniards as brutally direct in their intentions toward the Indians. What Ralegh seems to be evading—and what his text nevertheless intermittently discovers—is a recognition that the most massive deception of the Indians is being perpetrated by Ralegh himself. And although evaded, this self-compromising perception may be surfacing obliquely in Ralegh's emphatic characterization of the Indian maidens who were held in his power as being

"without deceit, starke naked": here the insidious erotic provocations of female nudity have been transformed into an emblematic, exemplary—and, perhaps, an obscurely self-admonitory—honesty. An appropriate gloss on Ralegh's naked maidens is provided by the emblem of the Graces in Spenser's Legend of Courtesy:

> Therefore they alwaies smoothly seeme to smile,
> That we likewise should mylde and gentle be,
> And also naked are, that without guile
> Or false dissemblaunce all them plaine may see,
> Simple and true, from covert malice free.
> (*Faerie Queene*, 6.10.24)

At several points in the text of the *Discoverie*, Ralegh discovers his systematic and strategic duplicity toward the Indians, thereby inviting his readers' admiration and complicity. For example, he explains to his readers that

> I did not in any sort make my desire for gold knowen, because I had neither time, nor power to have a greater quantity. I gave among them manie more peeces of gold, then I received, of the new money of 20 shillings with her Majesties picture to wear, with promise that they would become her servants thencefoorth. (415)

To his readers, Ralegh once again represents himself as a masterful strategist, simultaneously covetous and generous, cynical and patriotic. The Indians' very acceptance of Ralegh's dissembled gifts betokens their uncomprehending entry into the circulations of England's nascent imperial economy—an economy to be fueled, in the future, by their own gold. This passage also allows us to observe something of the subtlety and guilefulness of Ralegh's rhetoric of address to his readers. He gains the confidence of his fellow countrymen by sharing with them what he claims to have withheld from the Indians; yet what he actually shares with them is another set of equivocations and excuses for his having returned empty-handed. As occurs repeatedly in the *Discoverie*, what Ralegh claims to be a deeply considered policy of restraint collapses into a series of circumstantial impediments and uncertainties. We may begin to wonder if Ralegh's representation of his duplicity toward the Indians is not a screen for his duplicity toward his readers, and perhaps toward himself.

Surely the most remarkable disruption of ideological consistency on the surface of Ralegh's text occurs just a paragraph earlier than this last example, in the course of yet another explanation/excuse for his failure to have plundered the (nonexistent) domain of the Inga of Manoa:

> I thought it were evill counsell to have attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answere many objections: but it would have bin in mine opinion an utter overthrow to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Majesty attempted: for then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were sent by her Majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joyned with the Spaniards at our

> returne, as to have yeelded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke & spoile them, but as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of invasion is not knowen unto them of the empire. (413–14)

At this point of ideological contradiction, the elaborate system of moral difference between the Englishman and the Spaniard is momentarily ruptured; the deep structural opposition that has in large part generated the narrative of the *Discoverie* threatens to collapse. This contradiction might be perceived from at least two perspectives. From one perspective, we apprehend the dissonance between two simultaneously held codes of value: on the one hand, the text's invocation of the normative moral beliefs and judgments nominally shared by its readers; and on the other, its solicitation of their complicity in and admiration for their fellow countryman's cunning and morally equivocal statecraft. From another perspective, we experience a brief eruption into discourse of the subliminal counter-awareness that English desires in the New World are fundamentally identical to Spanish ones, that *we* are really very much like *them*. This awareness is registered in the striking phrase, "We came both for one errant": Here the unusual form of the noun *errand* not only suggests a task, and a journey by which to accomplish it, but also intimates that the journey is wayward and the enterprise corrupt. That this passage may, even today, generate an intolerable ideological dissonance is perhaps indicated by its complete and unacknowledged effacement from the most readily available current edition of the *Discoverie*.[40]

Ralegh exhorts his English readers to liberate the Indians from Spanish exploitation and oppression; at the same time, he incites them to plunder Guiana for themselves. The ideological coherence of the *Discoverie* is destabilized by a fundamental contradiction in its hortatory aims, a moral contradiction between charity and avarice. In this intolerable situation, in which the Other is always threatening to collapse into the Same, feminine figures must be textually deployed in an attempt to keep Spaniards and Englishmen apart. Thus, distinctions between Man and Woman, and between European and Indian, may both qualify and be qualified by the pervasive textual operation of distinctions between Englishmen and Spaniards that are made on the basis of national identity, cultural and religious values, and social behavior. It is precisely by constructing and reiterating a moral opposition between Spanish lust and tyranny, on the one hand, and English continence and justice, on the other—an opposition epitomized in the contrasting conduct of Spanish and English men toward Indian women—that the discourses of Englishmen such as Ralegh and Keymis obscure the fundamental *identity* of English and Spanish interests in Guiana: "For the plentie of golde that is in this countrey, being nowe knowen and discovered, there is no possibilitie for [the Indians] to keepe it" (Keymis, 472); "We came both for one errant . . . both sought but to sacke & spoile them" (Ralegh, 414). Greed is here the common denominator of "Western desire."

V

Ralegh frequently writes respectfully and admiringly of the native Americans whom he purports to have encountered during his discovery. They are worthy to be the prospective allies and tributary peoples of the Empress Elizabeth. I think it important to acknowledge such sympathetic representations of various indigenous individuals and groups, while at the same time remaining aware that the very condition of sympathy may be enabled by prior processes of projection and appropriation that efface the differences and assimilate the virtues of the Indians to European norms. Furthermore, such instances of apparently enlightened familiarization cannot be considered in isolation from Ralegh's projection of radical and hostile Otherness elsewhere. This projection operates in two general directions, toward the foreground and toward the margins of the known world; and it also operates in two discourses, which might be called the discourses of morality and of wonder. In the discourse of morality, as I have already suggested, this Otherness is constituted in the proximate, ubiquitous, and tangible Spaniards. In the discourse of wonder, Otherness is figured in the spectacular myth of El Dorado, the Inga of Manoa (356–61), who is frequently represented as an imperial oppressor of Ralegh's tribal allies; and also in those residual Herodotean and Mandevillean curiosities such as anthropophagi, acephali, and Amazons, who haunt the margins of Ralegh's text and of whom he writes only circumspectly and at second hand. Unsurprisingly, from this latter catalogue of marvels it is the Amazons who most arouse Ralegh's interest.

Ralegh discovers the Amazons to his readers more than once during the meandering discourse of his journey. Although these occurrences may appear to be incidental to the *Discoverie*'s narrative, they have an integral place in its textual ideo-logic of gender and power. The matriarchal, gynocratic Amazons are the radical Other figured but not fully contained by the collective imagination of European patriarchy.[41] Sixteenth-century travel narratives often recreate the ancient Amazons of Scythia in South America or in Africa. Almost invariably, the Amazons are relocated just beyond the receding geographical boundary of *terra incognita*, in the enduring European mental space reserved for aliens. The notion of a separatist and intensely territorial nation of women warriors might be seen as a momentous transformation of the trope identifying the land with the female body. Implicit in the conceptual shift from *the land as woman* to *a land of women* is the possibility of representing women as collective social agents. Predictably, such a disturbing notion produces a complex and at best morally ambiguous masculine representation of feminine agency. In any event, such women as the Amazons are not merely assimilable to the landscape; nor are they assimilable to the goods and chattels possessed by the men of their group. Unlike the other indigenous societies described by Ralegh, in the case of the Amazons it is the women who are synonymous with the political nation; indeed, Amazon men are literally non-

existent. And as a particular (and particularly extreme) construction of the feminine gender, the Amazons enter into complex and multiple articulations, not only with the textual figurations of masculinity in the *Discoverie* but also with its other significant feminine representations: the women among the native American peoples encountered by Ralegh, who are victimized by the Spaniards, and the queen of England, to whom Ralegh himself is subject.

It is a discussion about the circulation of gold and other commodities among the peoples situated between the Orinoco and the Amazon that provides the immediate occasion for Ralegh's lengthy digression on the remarkable tribe for whom the latter river has been named:

> [I] was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is beleeved, of others not. And though I digresse from my purpose, yet I will set downe that which hath bene delivered me for trueth of those women. . . . The memories of the like women are very ancient aswell in Africa as in Asia. . . . In many histories they are verified to have bene, and in divers ages and provinces: but they which are not far from Guiana doe accompany with men but once in a yere, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation to be in April: and at that time all kings of the borders assemble, and queenes of the Amazones; and after the queenes have chosen, the rest cast lots for their Valentines. . . . If they conceive, and be delivered of a sonne, they returne him to the father; if of a daughter they nourish it, and reteine it: and as many as have daughters send unto the begetters a present; all being desirous to increase their owne sex and kind: but that they cut off the right dug of the brest, I doe not finde to be true. It was farther tolde me, that if in these warres they tooke any prisoners that they used to accompany with those also at what time soever, but in the end for certeine they put them to death: for they are sayd to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. (366–67)

This Amazonian anticulture precisely inverts European norms of political authority, sexual license, marriage and child-rearing practices, and inheritance rules. Such conceptual precision suggests that it was not merely the antiquity and wide diffusion of the idea of the Amazons that compelled Ralegh and his contemporaries to entertain seriously the possibility of their existence. Elizabethan perception and speculation were structured by the cognitive operations of hierarchy and inversion, analogy and antithesis. By the logic of these operations, a conceptual space for reversal and negation was constructed within the world picture of a patriarchal society. Among those figures which might occupy this space were the Amazons. Since they didn't exist, it proved necessary to invent them—or, in the case of the New World, to reinvent them.

Ralegh's ethnography of the Amazons divides into two antithetical parts, each largely defined by their collective conduct toward alien men: the first is focused upon the Amazons' orderly, periodic, and eminently civilized ritual cohabitation with men of neighboring tribes. Because it is performed for purposes of procreation—in order to ensure the perpetuation of "their owne sex and kind"—this apparently remote Amazonian practice is not without relevance to the always sen-

sitive Elizabethan succession question. It may be that Ralegh was obliquely criticizing the queen's earlier refusal to marry and her ongoing refusal to designate a successor. In any case, the relevant point is that the centrality that had been given to such matters of state from the very inception of Elizabeth's reign predisposed Englishmen to take a keen interest in the ways in which other actual or imagined societies might structure the processes of political succession and social reproduction. Taking place at the margins of the Amazons' territory, on the boundary between matriarchal and patriarchal societies, this sexual rite serves to mark the feminine and masculine genders as mutually exclusive and, simultaneously, to mediate their radical difference through sexual intercourse. The second, strongly contrasted part of the digression is a brief but sensational account of the impulsive and random mixing of violence and lust in the Amazons' conduct toward their masculine captives. This latter mode of Amazonian behavior—an irascible and concupiscible distemper provoked by attempts "to invade their territories," to violate their body politic—inverts and doubles the violent and lustful conduct frequently associated with the masculine Spanish invaders. In Ralegh's narrative of the Amazons' response to invasion, sexual conduct takes the form of reciprocal aggression between the genders rather than a practice of either procreative or abstinent virtue. Construed as a struggle between women and men for the control and disposition of their own and of each other's bodies, the sexual is here synonymous with the political. Gender and rule, sex and power: these are the concerns that preoccupy Ralegh in his desire "to understand the truth of those warlike women"; we might expect such concerns to be of more than incidental interest to a gentleman who is subject to a woman monarch.

Although Amazonian figures might at first seem suited to strategies for praising a woman ruler, they are not conspicuous among the many encomiastic mirrors of Queen Elizabeth produced by her own subjects.[42] The one notable exception, the heroic Amazon Queen Penthesilea, may have been acceptable and appropriate precisely because she sacrificed herself not for the Amazonian cause but for the cause of patriarchal Troy, the mythical place of origin of the Britons. Otherwise, the sexual and parental practices habitually associated with the Amazons must have rendered them, at best, an equivocal means for representing the Virgin Queen. She herself seems to have been too politic, and too ladylike, to have pursued the Amazonian image very far. However, she could transform it to suit her purposes. If report speaks true of her, she did so most notably when she visited Tilbury in 1588, in order to review and to rally the troops that had been mustered in expectation of a Spanish invasion. According to the subsequent recollection of Thomas Heywood, among others, on that momentous occasion the Queen of England was "habited like an *Amazonian* Queene, Buskind and plumed, having a golden Truncheon, Gantlet, and Gorget, Arms sufficient to expresse her high and magnanimous spirit."[43] The theme of her speech was by then familiar to her audience:

> Let Tyrants fear, I have always so behaved my self, that under God I have placed my chiefest strength, and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects. . . . I know I have the bodie, but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and Stomach of a King, and of a King of *England* too.[44]

Elizabeth's strategy of self-empowerment involves a delicate balance of contrary gestures. On the one hand, she dwells upon the feminine frailty of her body natural and the masculine strength of her body politic—a strength deriving from the love of her people, the virtue of her lineage, and the will of her God. In other words, she moderates the anomalous martial spectacle of feminine sovereignty by representing herself as the handmaiden of a greater, collective, and patriarchal will. On the other hand, she subsumes the gesture of womanly self-deprecation within an assertion of the unique power that inheres in her by virtue of her office and nation. Her feminine honor, the chastity invested in a body that is vulnerable to invasion and pollution, is made secure by the kingly honor invested in her body politic. She adds, defiantly:

> I . . . think foul scorn that *Parma* or *Spain*, or any Prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my Realm, to which rather then any dishonour shall grow by me, I my self will take up arms, I my self will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of everie one of your virtues in the field.

Queen Elizabeth's putative speech presents the threat of invasion in the most intimate and violent of metaphors, as the attempt by a foreign prince to rape her. Like the iconic effect of the Ditchley portrait, the rhetorical force of this speech is partly due to Elizabeth's identification of corporeal with geopolitical boundaries, to her subtle application of the land/body trope to herself: she identifies her virginal female body with the clearly bounded body of her island realm, threatened with violation by the masculine Spanish land and sea forces personified in King Philip and the duke of Parma. Such an illegitimate sexual union would contaminate the blood of the lineage and dishonor not only the royal house but the whole commonwealth. The Roman matron Lucretia submitted to and was ritually polluted by sexual violation, and her suicide was required in order to cleanse the social body. In contrast, the royal English virgin will defend and preserve both herself and her state. If Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury resembles the Amazons in her martial stance, she differs from them in leading an army of men. By insisting, however impractically, that she herself will be the leader of her army, the queen implies that she will not be merely the passive object of male power—even if the intended use of that power is to protect her against the aggression of others. Thus, Elizabeth's own gendered, metaphorical discourse anticipates Ralegh's: England is a country that has yet her maidenhead—and Ralegh's virgin queen, not wholly unlike his Amazons, will prove herself a virago toward those who offer to invade her territories.

In the wake of the Armada's failure, Ralegh can tell all the tribes he encoun-

ters in the New World that the queen will protect them as she has protected herself, her own people, and the Protestant cause in Europe:

I made them understand that I was the servant of a Queene, who was the great Casique of the North, and a virgine . . . that shee was an enemie to the Castellani in respect of their tyrannie and oppression, and that she delivered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, and having freed all the coast of the Northren world from their servitude, had sent mee to free them also, and withall to defend the countrey of Guiana from their invasion and conquest. (353–54)

However, at the very end of his narrative, in a characteristically shameless display of his duplicity, Ralegh invites Elizabeth to betray the Indians' trust; in effect, he exhorts her to emulate "the Castellani in respect of their tyrannie and oppression" by undertaking her own conquest of Guiana:

For whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, shall be greatest, and if the king of Spaine enjoy it, he will become unresistable. Her Majestie hereby shall confirme and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the South border of Guiana reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the Amazones, those women shall hereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbours, but also to invade and conquer so great Empires and so farre removed. (431)

Ralegh seems to insinuate that Elizabethan imperial designs upon the Empire of Guiana might be extended to the Empire of the Amazons. Ralegh's rhetorical tactic for convincing the queen to advance his colonial enterprise is apparently to associate her ambiguously with the Amazons, and then to offer her a means by which to distinguish herself from them. It is precisely by her pursuit of a policy of invasion and conquest that, in Ralegh's terms, "a virgin" may disassociate herself from "those women." He insinuates that a woman who has the prerogative of a sovereign, who is authorized to be out of place, can best justify her authority by putting other women in their places. He seeks to persuade the queen not merely to emulate the Amazons' vigilant territoriality but to overgo them by emulating the Spaniards' rampant invasiveness. In effect, by appropriating the royal tropes of feminine self-empowerment such as those employed in Elizabeth's Tilbury speech, Ralegh endorses a martial and heroic—a manly and kingly—image of feminine authority. But he does so precisely in order to bend the royal will to his own designs. Suffice to say that Her Majesty was unyielding.

VI

Ralegh's exhortation of Queen Elizabeth to overgo the Amazons by offensive warfare, and to outmaneuver King Philip of Spain by possessing Guiana, is immediately preceded by an exhortation of his masculine readership, who are potential volunteers and investment partners for the conquest and set-

tlement of Guiana. Employing a gender-specific rhetorical strategy distinct from that addressed to the queen, Ralegh elaborates a geography of Elizabethan masculine desire, discovering that "there is a way found to answer every mans longing" (342). The object of this overdetermined desire encompasses identity and security, knowledge, wealth, and power. It seeks to know, master, and possess a feminized space—or, in the language of Ralegh's Virginia patent, "to discover search fynde out and view . . . to have holde occupy and enjoye"; it is a desire that is most vividly realized as the prospect of deflowering a virgin. In his prefatory address "To the Reader," he bids Englishmen to "consider of the actions of both Charles the 5. who had the maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant treasures of Atabalipa, together with the affaires of the Spanish king now living" (346); and, at the end, he exhorts them to emulate King Philip's father by taking Guiana's maidenhead just as he had taken Peru's. In urging these English gentlemen to emulate the rapacious and spectacularly successful Spanish imperialism that now threatens England's very existence, Ralegh holds out to them the prospect of rewards graded to their various statuses:

The common souldier shall here fight for golde, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other warres for provant and penury. Those commanders and chieftaines that shoot at honour and abundance shall finde there . . . rich and beautifull cities . . . temples adorned with golden images . . . sepulchres filled with treasure. (425)

As is common in the promotional literature for Elizabethan colonizing ventures, Ralegh envisions exploration, trade, and settlement abroad as an escape valve for the frustrations of disaffected or marginalized groups, and as a solution to endemic socioeconomic problems at home: "Her Majestie may in this enterprize employ all those souldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captaines and chieftaines that want employment" (430). Thus, the potentially riotous malcontents among her majesty's masculine subjects may displace their thwarted ambitions into the conquest of virgin lands. Himself a younger brother, a soldier, and a gentleman in need of advancement, Ralegh might well be considered a special case of the general social problem that he here seeks to redress to his own inestimable advantage.

Together with his company, and his readers, Ralegh encounters in the New World the presence of England's implacable Spanish foe—the specular figure of desiring European Man. Thus recontextualized in the body of Guiana and in the body of Ralegh's book, the Englishman's relationship to the Spaniard manifests itself as a disturbing oscillation between identity and difference, between the acknowledgment and the obfuscation of their common longing. Ralegh can reassure his English gentleman readers that, although "Charles the 5 . . . had the maidenhead of Peru," there remain in the New World other countries that have yet their maidenheads. It is not the English monarch but rather her masculine

subjects who are exhorted to emulate the king of Spain. Whether as the virgin protectress of the Indians or as their Amazonian conqueror, Queen Elizabeth cannot comfortably be analogized to Charles V; she cannot take maidenheads. As I have tried to show, the conjunctures, exchanges, and contradictions between the categories of gender and nation could be employed to produce moral distinctions between Englishmen and Spaniards. But they could also dispose English subjects to identify with Spaniards and with the king of Spain himself on the basis of their manly rivalry for possession of the feminized land. In the face of a tangible Spanish threat to what were perceived to be the mutual interests and shared identity of English men and women of all estates, Queen Elizabeth's Tilbury speech may have been relatively successful at producing an identification of the collective social body with the feminine body of the monarch. However, for its masculine Elizabethan readers, the violent rhetoric of Ralegh's *Discoverie* generates identifications with the agency of England's masculine enemies; and in this very process of identification and emulation, these Englishmen will necessarily be alienated from their own sovereign, who cannot occupy the position of the agent in such a gendered and sexed discourse.

The final sentence of the *Discoverie*, following immediately upon Ralegh's exhortation to the queen to overgo the Amazons, balances against its initial deferential gestures an ultimate assertion of the subject's resolve: "I trust . . . that he which is King of all Kings and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Ladie of Ladies to possesse it, if not, I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves" (431). Ralegh has good reason to doubt that the queen will be moved to action by his own imperial vision. The requisite phrase, "by her grace and leave," does little to qualify the assertion of a strong, collective, and defiant response by the queen's masculine subjects to her anticipated lack of enthusiasm. Invoking the aid of an emphatically masculine God, Ralegh employs the epithet "Lord of Lords" to figure superlative authority and potency; in contrast, his epithet for his monarch, "Ladie of Ladies," figures superlative feminine gentility. The *Discoverie*'s final clause—"I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves"—envisions the queen's most manly subjects, like so many Tamburlaines, seizing the opportunity to repudiate their unworthy subjection and to make themselves kings by their deeds. Nor does Ralegh's perfunctory gesture of deference to the queen neutralize his bold, final symbolic act, in which he arrogates the authority to judge who is worthy to be a king. It seems to me that this closing period of Ralegh's *Discoverie* manifests a considerable strain between two Elizabethan subject positions and two different notions of the "subject": a strain between the subject's courtship of and deference to his queen, and his contrary impulse to assert his own masculine virtue and to put his sovereign in her place as a woman. Nevertheless—and the point cannot be made too strongly—however clever and rhetorically skillful the arguments and insinuations of Ralegh's text,

they exerted no discernible power over the queen's policies. Whatever personal predispositions or pragmatic military, diplomatic, and fiscal considerations may have governed Elizabeth's refusal to endorse Ralegh's grandiose scheme, she was also, in effect, resisting his attempts discursively to construct and delimit her gender identity and her sovereignty, to influence her fantasy and to control her will.

Ralegh emphasizes that the Englishmen "had many" of the Indian women "in [their] power" (391); and he represents territorial conquest as the enforced defloration and possession of a female body. Such forms of discursive intimidation and violence may be identified as the compensatory tactics of a masculine Elizabethan subject who is engaged with his monarch in a gendered struggle for mastery and agency, authority and will. If we widen our perspective, however, Queen Elizabeth herself may be understood to be a feminine subject who had been engaged since the very beginning of her reign in compensatory tactics of her own. Elizabeth's political genius was to appropriate and maintain a space for feminine authority within the dominant masculine and patriarchal structures of Tudor society. However, to the extent that such tactics became a successful strategy of power, they also tapped the alternating current of misogyny in her ostensibly adoring and obedient masculine subjects.[45] Such attitudes of hostility, distrust, and contempt were expressed toward women and toward the category of Woman; and they were also expressed toward the sovereign, often indirectly or equivocally but also occasionally with remarkable bluntness. Thus, to formulate Ralegh's practices in terms of "compensatory tactics" may be merely to reobjectify Woman as the threatening Other of the masculine subject: his own gendered violence has now been rendered understandable—perhaps even sympathetic. In other words, unintentionally and unreflectively, such a formulation may be complicit in the very tactics that it describes.

Many who have not read Ralegh's *Discoverie* may, nevertheless, be familiar with the phrase, "Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead." It has been cited and quoted frequently in studies of English Renaissance culture, and has been made the subject of discourses ranging from ideological analysis to prurient anecdote. Our contemporary discourses about rape emphasize its character as an act of rage, rather than an act of desire. Some would therefore deny it the status of a specifically sexual crime; others argue compellingly that, to the contrary, rape is always a socially sexed crime that must be contextualized within a larger system of gender politics. Whether the action is physical or metaphorical, whether its object is a woman, a man, or a "countrey," that object is always positioned as feminine.[46] These emphases are certainly relevant to Ralegh's notorious metaphor—and, equally, to the ways in which we critically re-present it. My immediate concern has been with the historically and textually specific work performed by this metaphor in Ralegh's *Discoverie,* and with its articulation among other rhetorical/ideological elements in the collective Elizabethan discourse of discovery. The

female body maps an important sector of the Elizabethan cultural unconscious; it constitutes a veritable matrix for the forms of Elizabethan desire and fear. The feminized topographical and textual spaces of the new found land; the heroic, fecund, and rapacious Amazons; the young, well-favored, and naked maidens of Guiana; the pure and dangerous, politic and natural bodies of the Queen of England: it is through the symbolic display and manipulation of these feminine representations—in discursive acts of violence or adoration, or of violent adoration—that "every mans longing" is given a local habitation and a name.

The subject of Ralegh's *Discoverie* is a masculine subject, one who is textually defined not in terms of his subjective experience of sexuality but rather by means of a complex process of social positioning. The narrative and descriptive movements of Elizabethan texts construct multiple—and potentially contradictory—subject positions for writers and readers by means of continually shifting and recombined sets of oppositional or differential terms, terms that are culture-specific in their content and resonance. The project of Ralegh's prose tract, as of Spenser's heroic poem, is (in the words of Spenser's Letter to Ralegh, appended to *The Faerie Queene* in 1590), "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." In both texts, this fashioning is produced in a conjunction of identifications and distinctions that are made in terms of gender, nation, religion, social estate, and condition of civility or savagery (which we might call ethos). The system of Aristotelian ethics that provides a foreconceit for Spenser's Legend of Temperance also provides the conceptual framework within which Ralegh thinks his own daily actions and interactions. But whereas Spenser's polysemous allegorical fiction works explicitly toward a general system of moral virtue, Ralegh's ostensibly factual narrative inscribes elements of such ideological schemata into its intended representations of particular persons and events.

I have suggested some of the ways in which, through the construction/observation of his narrative and descriptive objects, the writing subject obtains coordinates for the constant if often subliminal process by which he locates his shifting position in moral and social space. Ralegh's observations of the Spaniards, of the warriors of Guiana and "their women," of the Amazons, and of "the meaner sort" of Englishmen all work interdependently so as to exemplify in Ralegh himself the ethical and political congruence of the temperate man and the governor, the national and social congruence of the Englishman and the gentleman. At the same time that the persona of the author is dialectically fashioned in relationship to the personae narrated and described in his text, he is also so fashioned in relationship to the readers whom he defines by addressing them in his text. In the case of Ralegh's *Discoverie*, as I have already suggested, these gender- and status-specific objects of address include Queen Elizabeth herself, who is obliquely addressed and directly discussed throughout the text; Lord Howard ("Knight of the Garter, Baron and Councellor, and of the Admirals of England the most renowmed"), and Sir Robert Cecil ("Councellor in her High-

nesse Privie Councels")—two of the most powerful men in England, to whom the *Discoverie* is directly addressed; and a general readership of Elizabethan masculine subjects—gentlemen, soldiers, potential investors, and colonists—who are directly addressed in an initial epistle and at the close of the work.

However distinctive in detail, Ralegh's individual relationship to Queen Elizabeth was shaped by a cultural contradiction that he shared with all members of his nation, gender, and social estate: namely, the expectation that he manifest loyalty and obedience to his sovereign at the same time that he exercised masculine authority over women. His relationship to Howard and Cecil was also conditioned by a cultural contradiction, one specific to men of the social elite and the political nation: namely, that while mastery of oneself and one's social inferiors was central to the ideology of the gentleman, the extreme degree of stratification in Elizabethan society meant that most relationships between gentlemen were also hierarchical, and required elaborate if often subtle forms of deference toward social superiors. (At the very beginning of the *Discoverie*, Ralegh addresses Howard and Cecil as his patrons and protectors, giving them their full titles as quoted above, but he compensates for this requisite positioning of himself as a dependent by also addressing them intimately as his friends and, in Howard's case, as his kinsman.) In his strategies of address, Ralegh must make his appeal in terms of the interests, desires, and national identity he has in common with general readership, but without compromising the position of distinction and superiority that is the basis of his claim to authority over them. A dissonance that is intermittently registered throughout the text of the *Discoverie* is powerfully foregrounded and heightened when, in the rhetorical violence that governs his final address to these readers, Ralegh abandons his previous claim and responsibility to govern their appetites. This dissonance between Ralegh's representation of his own conduct as temperate and judicious and his incitement of others to conduct that is passionate and rapacious has a multiple and contradictory ideological import that lies beyond the controlling intentions of the writing subject: it simultaneously affirms and subverts—and thus, ultimately, destabilizes—the identification of the *masculine* subject with the authority of his *feminine* sovereign; it destabilizes the moral distinction of the *virtuous* Englishman from the *degenerate* Spaniard, and of the *reasonable* gentleman from the *sensual* commoner; and it destabilizes the legitimacy of *civil* European attempts to possess *savage* America. Although Ralegh declares triumphantly that "there is a way found to answer every mans longing," the textual operations of the *Discoverie* discover the way to be errant and the answer equivocal.

Notes

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1. Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 42.
2. I have discussed other aspects of this discourse in detail in earlier studies. Of particular relevance are Louis Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies': Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture," *Representations* 2 (Spring 1983): 61–94; and "The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text," in *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts,* ed. Patricia Parker and David Quint (Baltimore, 1986), 303–40. A few passages from those earlier studies reappear in the present essay in revised form.
3. I discuss some of these larger issues of theory and method more fully in Louis Montrose, "Texts and Histories," in *Redrawing the Boundaries of Literary Study in English,* ed. Giles Gunn and Stephen Greenblatt (forthcoming).
4. See Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York, 1975), chap. 4, esp. plates 76–84.
5. See the reproduction of van der Straet's drawing in Claire le Corbeiller, "Miss America and Her Sisters: Personifications of the Four Parts of the World," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* ser. 2, vol. 19 (1961): 209–23; fig. 1, p. 211 ("The Discovery of America, by Jan van der Straet [Stradanus]. Flemish, about 1575. Pen and bistre heightened with white"). Galle's engraving was originally issued in the early 1580s as the first in a set of twenty based on drawings of Stradanus, with the general title *Nova Reperta;* all the other engravings in this series illustrate inventions and technologies. The twenty engravings of *Nova Reperta* and the additional four engravings of *Americae Retectio* (celebrating Columbus, Vespucci, and Magellan) are reproduced in *"New Discoveries": The Sciences, Inventions, and Discoveries of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as Represented in Twenty-four Engravings Issued in the Early 1580s by Stradanus* (Norwalk, Conn., 1953).
6. *A treatyse of the newe India, with other new founde landes and Ilandes . . .* , trans. Rycharde Eden (London, 1553); reprinted in *The First Three English Books on America,* ed. Edward Arber (1885; reprint ed., New York, 1971), 39. Latin, Italian, and French editions seem to have been in print within three or four years of the original date of Vespucci's letter. It was on the basis of this work that, in 1507, the cosmographer Martin Waldseemüller first used the name *America* on a map to mark the southern region of the New World. Although the authorship of Vespucci's letter appears to be genuine, its contents were proved to have been fabricated as early as the mid sixteenth century by none other than Bartolomé de Las Casas. There is a modern translation of the letter and of relevant passages from Las Casas in *The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci,* ed. Clements R. Markham, The Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., no. 90 (1894; reprint ed., New York, n.d.); see 37–38 for the passage I have quoted in my text in Eden's translation. (Throughout this study, I have silently modernized obsolete typographical conventions in quotations from Elizabethan texts.)
7. For a Lévi-Straussian analysis of the conjunction of savagery, anthropophagy, and gender in the sixteenth-century European imagination of the New World, see Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's "Great Voyages,"* trans. Basia Miller Gulati (Chicago, 1981). Also see the chapter on the Bra-

zilian travel narrative of Jean de Léry (1578) in Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York, 1988), 209–43.

8. De Certeau, *Writing of History*, xxv–xxvi. The frontispiece of *The Writing of History* is labeled as an "Allegorical etching by Jan Van der Straet for *Americae decima pars* by Jean-Théodore de Bry (Oppenheim, 1619)." Part 10 of de Bry's *America* includes a text of Vespucci's voyages and several related engravings. However, the copies I have been able to examine do not contain an engraving of van der Straet's *America*.

   The engraving also serves as the frontispiece to Peter Hulme's stimulating study, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London, 1986), where it is also incorrectly attributed to van der Straet himself rather than to Galle ("'America' [c. 1600]; an engraving by Jan van der Straet [Stradanus]"). Hulme discusses the engraving briefly on pp. 1–2.
9. Address by Justino Quispe Balboa (Aymará, Bolivia) before the first Indian Congress of South America, 13 October 1974; quoted in Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, 1986), 227.
10. Walter Ralegh's *The Discoverie of the large, rich and beautifull Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden citie of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado . . . Performed in the yeere 1595 by Sir Walter Ralegh* was first published separately in London in 1596 and went through three editions in that year; it was soon reprinted in the second edition of Richard Hakluyt's monumental collection, *The principal navigations, voyages traffiques & discoveries of the English nation*, 3 vols. (London, 1598–1600). Illustrated translations were printed in the Latin and German editions of Théodore de Bry's *Americae*, part 8 (Frankfurt, 1599). I quote the *Discoverie* from the modern edition of Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 12 vols. (Glasgow, 1904; reprint ed., New York, 1969), 10:338–431. All parenthetical page references will be to vol. 10 of this edition.
11. Arthur Barlowe, "The first voyage made to the coastes of America, with two barkes, wherein were Captaines Master Philip Amadas, and Master Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the Countrey, now called Virginia, Anno 1584: Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Raleigh, knight, at whose charge, and direction, the said voyage was set foorth," in *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America Under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, ed. David Beers Quinn, The Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., nos. 104, 105 (London, 1955), 91–92. Barlowe's text was first printed in the 1589 edition of Richard Hakluyt's *Principall navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation*.
12. William Camden, *Annals* (1585), extract reprinted in *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols., The Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., nos. 76–77 (1935; reprint ed., Nendeln, Liecht., 1967), 2:348.
13. John T. Juricek, "English Territorial Claims in North America Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts," *Terrae Incognitae* 7 (1976): 7–22; 11. Juricek presents an enlightening discussion of conflicting concepts of "discovery" and "possession" as employed by Iberian and Anglo-Dutch interests in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with particular reference to Virginia.
14. On theoretical justifications for the dispossession of New World peoples, see Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Moral and Legal Justifications for Dispossessing the Indians," in *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History*, ed. James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959), 15–32; Juricek, "English Territorial Claims"; Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1986); Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513–1830* (New Haven,

1990), 13–36. On the effacement of indigenous peoples in later forms of colonialist discourse, see Mary Louise Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 119–43.

15. See the suggestive comments apropos of the Virginia patent in Joyce Youings, "Did Raleigh's England Need Colonies?" in *Raleigh in Exeter, 1985: Privateering and Colonisation in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. Youings, Exeter Studies in History, no. 10 (Exeter, Eng., 1985):

> On the whole the colonial literature did not stress the advantages of extending the Queen's dominions, the authors knowing full well that the Queen had no territorial ambitions. . . . One of John Oxenham's companions had told his captors in 1579 that the Queen was the great obstacle to English colonial endeavours but that if she should die the floodgates would be open. Even in 1584, when England was virtually at war with Spain, Raleigh's patent confined him strictly to territory not yet occupied by any Christian prince. (52–53)

16. On Ralegh's self-fashioning in writing, speech, and conduct, see Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Ralegh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles* (New Haven, 1973). The standard documentary biography and edition of Ralegh's extant letters is still that of Edward Edwards, *The Life of Sir Walter Ralegh . . . Together with His Letters*, 2 vols. (London, 1868).
17. "Journey Through England and Scotland Made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585," trans. Gottfried von Bülow, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new ser., 9 (1895): 223–70; 265, 263.
18. Youings points out both the rapid elevation and the precariousness of Ralegh's social standing:

> Raleigh was knighted in January 1585, being then already member of parliament for Devon, both of these unusual achievements for a virtually landless gentleman. Later that year he was to succeed . . . as Lord Warden of the Stanneries, High Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall and Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall. As such he would enjoy power and patronage, but no landed inheritance, without which there was no future for his line. . . . Even if he invested what cash he had in English land rather than in colonial ventures, land suitable for gentlemen, that is manors and other revenue-producing property, was no longer readily available, even for purchase. ("Did Raleigh's England Need Colonies?" 54)

19. Walter Ralegh, *The 11th: and last booke of the Ocean to Scinthia*, printed from the undated holograph in *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. Agnes M. C. Latham (1951; reprint ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 27, lines 55–56. Conjectures as to the date of *The Ocean to Cynthia* range from 1589 to 1603, with the period immediately following the 1592 disgrace perhaps most often endorsed.
20. On Ralegh's early and continuing interest in Guiana, see Joyce Lorimer, "Ralegh's First Reconnaissance of Guiana? An English Survey of the Orinoco in 1587," *Terrae Incognitae* 9 (1977): 7–21. For an excellent geopolitical and economic contextualization of Ralegh's privateering and colonial projects, see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge, 1984); Andrews discusses Ralegh's *Discoverie* on pp. 287–94.
21. Quoted in Edward Thompson, *Sir Walter Ralegh: The Last of the Elizabethans* (London, 1935), 83. The letter was first printed in J. Collier, "Continuation of New Materials for a Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," *Archaeologia* 34 (1852): 161.

22. See, for example, Eric Partridge, *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (1948; reprint ed., New York, 1960), s.v. "country" and "country matters."
23. Scott observes that "hierarchical structures rely on generalized understandings of the so-called natural relationships between male and female. . . . Power relationships among nations and the status of colonial subjects have been made comprehensible (and thus legitimate) in terms of relations between male and female"; *Gender and the Politics of History,* 48.
24. Hakluyt, *Writings and Correspondence,* 2:360–61, 367–68.
25. Nancy Vickers, "'The blazon of sweet beauty's best': Shakespeare's *Lucrece,*" in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory,* ed. Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (New York, 1985); 95–115; 95. For an introduction to the literary history of the woman/land trope, see Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1975), esp. 10–25. Drawing upon the work of Kolodny, Vickers, and others, Patricia Parker discusses rhetorical and ideological aspects of the woman/land trope—the interplay of gender, commerce, and property—in *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (New York, 1987), 126–54.
26. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), ed. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, 1936), 244.
27. For reproductions of details and analogues, and for a commentary different from but complementary to my own, see Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 1987), 134–41.
28. On Saxton's maps and the ideological implications of Elizabethan and Jacobean cartography, see Victor Morgan, "The Cartographic Image of 'The Country' in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5th ser., 29 (1979): 129–54; and Richard Helgerson, "The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England," in *Representing the English Renaissance,* ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley, 1988), 326–61. Helgerson's thesis is that "the cartographic representation of England . . . strengthened the sense of both local and national identity at the expense of an identity based on dynastic loyalty. . . . Maps thus opened a conceptual gap between the land and its ruler" (332). His judgment that the Ditchley portrait, however, "enforces the royal cult" (331) accords with my own reading.
29. Most published discussions of Ralegh's *Discoverie* have been the work of historians and biographers, whose primary interest has been in the events narrated in the text and their extratextual reference. Such writings are frequently methodologically naive; they base their own accounts of Ralegh's activities in Guiana wholly upon his putatively factual account of them. The formal, stylistic, and rhetorical dimensions of Ralegh's text are given greater emphasis in Greenblatt, *Ralegh,* 99–112; and Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1988), 211–54. My understanding of the play of referentiality and textuality in Ralegh's *Discoverie* has benefited from a stimulating paper written for my graduate seminar by Lucia Folena.
30. In an exhaustive study introductory to his edition of the *Discoverie* (London, 1928), V. T. Harlow concludes that Ralegh's

    so-called 'Discovery' of Guiana merely consisted in traversing the Orinoco from its estuary to the cataract on the Caroni, a journey with which every Spanish soldier at Trinidad was perfectly familiar. . . . In fixing the site of Manoa near the source of the Caroni, Ralegh was simply adopting the theory which Berrio had laboriously constructed after ten years' arduous toil. Moreover, a large part of the accurate geographical knowledge of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries which Ralegh displayed . . . must again have been

derived from Berrio, who was then one of the few Europeans who had ever visited those regions. (xcvii)

It should be noted that, having debunked Ralegh's status as an explorer, Harlow goes on to praise him on distinctly chauvinistic grounds: "His Spanish predecessors in the quest had been valiant adventurers, but they had been solely intent upon plunder. Ralegh, on the other hand, undertook the search from the point of view of a statesman. If the monopoly of Spain was to be broken, she must be beaten on her own ground." In this passage, we may note the apparent suppression by Harlow of Ralegh's own clear indications that he indeed desired to plunder Manoa; Harlow's elevation of English—as distinct from Spanish—foreign policy and imperialism to the level of statesmanship; and the historical persistence, in Harlow's scholarly discourse, of a Western androcentric consciousness that genders the land as female and effaces the acts of expropriation that made Spain's colonies "her own ground."

31. See Juricek, "English Territorial Claims," 10: "Exactly what was required for such legitimate possession was never precisely defined, but the general idea was real domination. Evidence generally recognized as relevant to this matter included colonization, fortification, economic development, and tribute or other recognition from the natives."
32. Laurence Keymis, *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana: Performed and written in the yeere 1596* (London, 1596), reprinted in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*. I quote Keymis's *Relation* from the 1904 edition of Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 10:487. Parenthetical page references will be to vol. 10 of this edition.
33. Compare Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York, 1985), 11: "The subject of sex [is] an especially charged leverage-point or point for the exchange of meanings, *between* gender and class (and in many societies, race)." As Sedgwick herself notes, the constitution and interrelation of these categories—including "the subject of sex"—are societally and historically variable.
34. For varying interpretations of attitudes toward North American Indians in sixteenth-to-seventeenth-century English writings, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580–1640* (Totowa, N.J., 1980); and Bernard Sheehan, *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge, 1980). Kupperman emphasizes social rank as the fundamental category of difference and hierarchy, while Sheehan emphasizes savagery.
35. This is also the case elsewhere in the *Discovery*. On the significance of cannibalism and indigenous culinary practices in sixteenth-century colonial discourse, see Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, 80–90; Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*, 13–43; and Bucher, *Icon and Conquest*, passim.
36. Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Book named The Governor* (1531), ed. S. Lehmberg (London, 1962), 203–4.
37. On "sexuality" as a specifically modern, Western, and bourgeois mode of subjectification and subjectivity, see Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1978); Robert A. Padgug, "Sexual Matters: On Conceptualizing Sexuality in History," *Radical History Review* 20 (1979): 3–23; David M. Halperin, "Is There a History of Sexuality?" *History and Theory* 28 (1989): 257–74.
38. On the ideology of female unruliness in early modern Europe, see, for example: Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), 124–51; D. E. Underdown, "The Taming of the Scold: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England," in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge,

1985), 116–36; and Linda Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540–1620* (Urbana, Ill., 1984), passim.

39. Social status is so fundamental a marker of distinction in Elizabethan culture that, in the course of his narrative, Ralegh can praise the virtues of both a native American chieftain and his own Spanish rival because their social and political statuses are equivalent to his own. Thus, "This Topiawari is helde for the prowdest, and wisest of all the Orenoqueponi, and so hee behaved himselfe towardes mee . . . as I marveiled to finde a man of that gravitie and judgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning nor breede" (401). Note that the political organization of this Amerindian society is assimilated to the European model of monarchy; that Topiawari's virtues—which include pride—are those appropriate to a great personage, like Ralegh himself; and that Ralegh's surprise at the existence of such virtues in such a person is not expressed in terms of assumptions about limited racial capacities but rather in terms of education and lineage—the same terms that Ralegh would have used had Topiawari been a sagacious English rustic.

    Don Antonio de Berreo, governor of Trinidad and explorer of Guiana, was briefly Ralegh's captive during the voyage. Ralegh announces his desire to be revenged upon Berreo for his deception and betrayal of one of Ralegh's captains during a 1594 expeditionary voyage, which had resulted in the ambush and killing of eight Englishmen. Within three paragraphs, however, Ralegh is describing the Spaniard as "a gentleman wel descended . . . very valiant and liberall, and a gentleman of great assurednes, and of great heart: I used him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small meanes I had" (354). By his approval of Berreo's status-specific virtues, and by his own conduct toward his captive, Ralegh affirms a kind of transnational class solidarity with a fellow European gentleman, soldier, and colonial administrator. It should also be noted that in praising both Topiawari and Berreo, Ralegh is probably motivated in part by the necessity to enhance the credibility of two of his most crucial informants.

40. See the Penguin edition of Richard Hakluyt, *Voyages and Discoveries*, ed. Jack Beeching (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1972; reprint ed., 1982). The title page mentions this as an "abridged" edition, and the introduction refers to it as a "condensed version," but there is no explicit indication either in the introduction or in the text that the individual accounts which are actually included in this abridged edition have themselves been cut. This editorial silence concerning excisions is maintained despite the scrupulous notice that "on the very rare occasions when, for clarity, a word is here added to Hakluyt's text, it has been put in square brackets" (28). Among other unindicated cuts, the following passage is silently edited out of the text of Ralegh's *Discoverie* on p. 404 of this edition: "for then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were sent by her Majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to have yeelded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke & spoile them." I myself once assigned Ralegh's text to my graduate seminar in this easily available and affordable paperback edition, naively assuming it to be uncut. I owe the discovery of Beeching's elisions to Lucia Folena.

41. I use the term "patriarchy" to describe a system of social and domestic organization hegemonic in early modern England, in which authority resided in a masculine "head"—whether father, husband, elder, master, teacher, preacher, magistrate, or lord. On the political theory of patriarchy in early modern England, see Gordon J. Schochet, *Patriarchalism in Political Thought* (New York, 1975); on the interplay of

theory and practice at the level of household and village, see Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1988).

42. For a sense of the ubiquity of Amazonian representations in Elizabethan culture, see the valuable survey by Celeste Turner Wright, "The Amazons in Elizabethan Literature," *Studies in Philology* 37 (1940): 433–56; and, for Amazons and viragos in Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatic and nondramatic writings, see Simon Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama* (Brighton, Eng., 1981). For analyses and speculations regarding Amazonian representations of Queen Elizabeth, see Winfried Schleiner, "*Divina virago*: Queen Elizabeth as an Amazon" *Studies in Philology* 75 (1978): 163–80; and Gabriele Bernhard Jackson, "Topical Ideology: Witches, Amazons, and Shakespeare's Joan of Arc," *English Literary Renaissance* 18 (1988): 40–65.
43. Thomas Heywood, *The exemplary lives and memorable acts of nine the most worthy women of the world* (London, 1640), 211. Among Heywood's three "Heathen" female worthies is the Amazon "Penthisilaea" (96–109); the ninth and culminating female worthy is, of course, England's late queen (182–212).
44. The speech is recorded in an undated letter: "Dr. [Leonel] Sharp to the Duke of Buckingham," printed in *Cabala, Mysteries of State, in Letters of the great Ministers of K. James and K. Charles* (London, 1654), 259. Sharp had been present in the queen's retinue at Tilbury.
45. Here I am using *strategies* to connote practices by which a dominant ideology seeks to maintain or extend its hegemony, and *tactics* to connote improvised appropriations of dominant practices by marginalized subjects. This distinction is indebted to Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendell (Berkeley, 1984).
46. I am indebted to the discussion of this controversy in Teresa de Lauretis, "The Violence of Rhetoric: Considerations on Representation and Gender," in *The Violence of Representation: Literature and the History of Violence*, ed. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (London, 1989), 239–58, esp. 244–45.

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