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Mediation in the Exchange between Europeans and Native Americans in the Early Modern Period

The role of mediators in the exchange between Europeans and Natives in the Americas during the early modern period, 1492-1700, while important and not neglected, requires more theoretical, historical, and critical attention. As a result, I have begun a study that explores the role of go-betweens and scapegoats in the exploration and settlement of the New World.¹ Historians and literary scholars have done a great deal of work on the European and Native contact and exchange in the Americas. Scholars traditionally called the field voyages of discovery, which were related to travel literature (see Morison). More recently, in preparation for, and in commemoration of, the quincentenary of Columbus's landfall, scholars have talked about the "encounter" (see Hulme; Pagden; Axtell 1985, 1992). My comparative focus, which compares several different European cultures in their contact and exchange with Native Americans, is one that is not often practised.²

This essay constitutes the first stages of a study of mediation of the European arrival in the New World. It maps out the role of mediation in the field of "encounter narratives," a term that is problematic and might be better changed to "exchange narratives." While no term is entirely satisfactory — "voyages of discovery" does not seem to have been able to sustain itself — the role of

1 The study has the working title, *Between Cultures: Mediation in the New World*. Rather than concentrate exclusively on the work of Ross Chambers, I am attempting to set out in these notes towards a definition of the field, how his concepts and theory have influenced my work, and how they can move the discussion along and have implications beyond the nineteenth and twentieth-century fiction that he examines. Chambers's work in cultural and narrative theory deserves to have an even wider currency outside literary studies than it has. By showing how his theory has enriched my historical work, I hope that it might suggest possible implications to scholars in other fields.

2 During the past two years, John Elliott and Anthony Pagden have given lectures on comparative perspectives at Warwick and Oxford, respectively. For the most part, like Francis Parkman, James Axtell largely discusses French and English contacts with Natives in America. I know of no book that compares in detail the relation of the Spanish, English, and French exchange with Amerindians.

mediation in the early modern relations between Native and European deserves more attention. The exchange involved a less passive and subservient Native response than is generally supposed. Native changed European and European Native. In the aftermath of the industrial and technological revolutions, it is easy to forget this mutual change and the fact that its traces are still with us. By setting out a framework for mediation, which includes a few examples of the figures of mediators during the early modern period, it is possible to see the beginnings of problems and possibilities in the relation between Natives and Europeans before the decimation of many Native groups created a profound imbalance (see Crosby). Mediation is important because from the first contact some Europeans and Natives ignored the divisions between their cultures and found ways of crossing boundaries. This movement between cultures allowed as much for peace as it did for suspicion. At any time, diplomacy, intermarriage, and translation could lose official support in either culture and could lead to scapegoating. By discussing the role of mediation in the cultural exchange between Europeans and Natives, this essay should help to contribute to the movement that widens the study of the Renaissance or early modern period to America and other areas outside of Europe by looking at the cultural exchange between Europeans and other peoples.

To attempt to perform this comparative study, a mixture of comparative history and comparative literature, is to challenge national stereotypes and to make a difficult set of demands on us. Is there a middle way, a mediation, as we look back through the historical documents and narratives? There is much fine work in the national literatures to draw on that discusses the encounter of one European nation with groups of Amerindians: for instance, Karen Kupperman's *Settling with the Indians*, which looks at English America; Wayne Franklin's *Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers*, which centres on North America; Trzvetan Todorov's *The Conquest of America*, which concentrates on the Spanish; Peter Hulme's *Colonial Encounters*, which examines the relation between the Caribbean native and the European.³ Increasingly, Native sources are making it into print and are being considered closely as historical evidence (see Hart 1994b, 59-61). It is important to include such work as a counterbalance in attempting to set out a full account of mediation (see Brown, Clendinnen, Gibson, Kelly, Knapp, Leon-Portilla, Lockhart, Wright, Weber). David Sweet and Gary Nash edited a collection, *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*, which includes a section on what they call "individual accommodation." This section is a suggestive and

3 For works that look at the relation between Natives and separate European national cultures, see Axtell 1981, Fagan, Salisbury 1982, and Wachtel. Some films also involve mediation, such as *Black Robe* (French-Huron) and *Cabeza de Vaca* (Spanish-Iguase). Children will experience the myths and history of mediation (English-Powhatan) when Walt Disney releases its animated film *Pocahontas* this summer.

helpful beginning that invites more extensive work on mediation. Unfortunately, the French cultural context is not represented in their collection.

The use of rhetoric is a principal means of investigating the relation between speaker or writer and audience. Natives and Europeans were thrown into communication and miscommunication with one another, so that the relation between the persons sending the signal or initiating the sign, and those receiving it depends on a rhetorical relation just as the representation of that relation in fiction and non-fiction cannot escape the connection of rhetoric. Mediation can occur through a third party who attempts to interpret that relation or "communication" to the two parties involved or to yet another party. Another possibility of that mediation is between the various communities and conflicting groups, Native and European, in the early modern period and those analogous but different groups (with their own genealogy of morals) today. The work of Annette Kolodny, Nancy Vickers, Patricia Parker and others has been suggestive in linking "voyages of discovery" and colonization with a feminized land through the rhetoric of word and image. Francis Parkman's formulation of European-Native relations, Cornelius Jaenen's thesis of the French view of the Native as friend or foe, Anthony Pagden's idea of the incommensurability of Spanish and Native cultures, and James Axtell's "uneven contest of cultures" challenges me to come to terms with the representations of the exchange in a way that takes into account the gap between early modern understanding of the contact and late twentieth-century views. Intellectual and cultural history draws me to these historians and to the notion of the estrangement of history, but poetics and rhetoric also lead me to approach the problem in terms of rhetorical theory. This theory allows for an analysis of the relation between the writer and reader and for communication across periods. Rhetoric is at the heart of education in the Renaissance and is the basis for many new theories of discourse associated with postmodernism, deconstruction, new historicism and cultural materialism as well as some kinds of feminism (see Baldwin). These last theories have predominated in the discussions of the encounter in the period surrounding the commemoration in 1992 of the Columbian landfall.

One such theory is that of alterity or the Other. Although this theory has been helpful in enriching the debate on cultural exchange, it tends to neglect the complexity of the "encounter." Through induction, one can find examples of such intricacy that they call for a refinement of the deductive theoretical framework (see de Certeau, Todorov, and Greenblatt). While Todorov's work is exciting, it relies too heavily on the opposition between self and other, and tends to flatten out the Natives into a monolithic group (see Root). As much as possible, people working on these exchanges or encounters need to consider the subtleties of each situation in terms of gender, race, language, class, and culture. This essay, as a kind of notes towards my longer study, will discuss examples of a few mediators who crossed boundaries between the various European and Native cultures I am comparing. As with the perspectives of all scholars, my point of view will be

As I began to relate female-authored texts about seduction to colonization as a means of disrupting and complicating the male voices, I started to search for Native voices that were not ventriloquized through European reports. By refining the notion of ventriloquy, which I have studied since the late 1970s (e.g., Hart 1986, 1992, 1993), I came to ask whether mediation did not occur increasingly by the very definition of cultural contact and exchange. Images in books and manuscript illustrations as well as paintings from the Renaissance suggest related phenomena of displacement, transference, projection and condensation. Theory and empirical evidence challenge each other and help define the relation between literature and history (e.g., Hart 1992, 1994a). While the present differs significantly from the past, it has a historical context. In my work on seduction, I have tried to throw into relief some important relations between gender roles and imperial designs, how paradoxically colonizers divide and conquer by equating Natives and women. This phase of my project — that is the fragile area of mediation between Natives and Europeans — explores what was largely a road not taken, or at least one with a few forks and a detour. In preparing this preliminary survey of my work on mediation, I was delighted to find suggestions that would support my move towards finding more evidence in the form of archival material on the Native side of the exchange: James Axtell writes, "But the Indians, despite all odds, succeeded in seducing French and English colonists in numbers so alarming to European sensibilities that the Natives were conceded to be, in effect, the best cultural missionaries and educators on the continent" (1985, 302). The existence of ambivalent and resistant voices in the documents surrounding the European arrival in the New World suggests that doubts and oppositions in the text involve all kinds of mediation. Images of the Native are translated and ventriloquized.

The European representation of the Native also relates to the Native representation of the European arrival in and colonization of America. Unfortunately, even the most informative among pre-Conquest Native documents were mostly redone under Spanish influence during the 1540s and after (Lockhart 330). Europeans and their American settlers often wrote about the Natives from the vantage of conquest and triumph (Deloria 429-30). The Europeans developed a myth that the Amerindians had no writing because these records threatened the Scriptures and European authority and tradition (Brotherston 15). From 1492 to 1519, there was no Amerindian chronicle of the exchange. It was Bartolomé de Las Casas who rose to write a defence of the Native population (21). Against Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, Las Casas also defended the Natives at Valladolid, where the debate centred on whether the Indians were human beings with culture

influenced my own search for a shape to the topic, read my preliminary work with his characteristic generosity. In 1991, Louis Montrose's fine article on Raleigh and the rape of Guiana appeared.

bound culturally, but by using evidence from Natives and other participants, I hope to clarify the historical accounts published thus far and to emphasize the importance of mediation then and now. This function, and the attitudes worked out in the early modern period, helped to form Native and European relations in the modern world, and can inform us about our present situation. That connection between the early modern and the postmodern is refracted and needs constant revision as new narratives and icons, especially from Native sources, come to light.

When in 1899 Francis Parkman wrote that "Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him" (131), he was calling attention to comparative methodology. This statement challenges us to find the exceptions and the mediations between these European cultures, and to explore their relations with Natives, who also performed complex mediatory roles with various Amerindian nations (Elliott 1970, 1989; Pagden 1986, 1990, 1993; Jaenen 1988). This comparative approach is very difficult and needs to be performed with care and a sensitivity to cultural differences and the changes that history brings to cultures.

An image should provide an illustration of mediation. There is a Mexican mural of the revolutionary period of the early part of this century that depicts Hernán Cortés and La Malinche, his Nahuatl or Aztec companion, sitting side by side, hand in hand (see Rochfort). This painting shows the power of this image of the European and Native, man and woman, conqueror and interpreter, for the Mexican Revolution. After four centuries, the controversy over their respective roles has persisted. Did he ruin the country while she betrayed it, or were they the founders of a mixed race destined to become modern Mexico? The various names given to La Malinche (doña Marina, Malintzin or tonan, tona, tona Malintzin, and so on) suggest, even at the contact, an assimilation of Spanish names into Nahuatl and that Spanish interpretations of her role mixed with those of the Nahuas (see Lockhart 275, 278; Diaz). Mediation became mediated. The interpreter was interpreted.

This image of Cortés and La Malinche encapsulates the complexity of the exchange. My work on seduction in the European encounter with the Americas has looked at the relation of the private sexual seduction to the public exploitation of a colony. It has examined male attitudes to and biases against women and the inhabitants of the Americas in the early modern period. My original hypothesis was that male explorers speak for Natives as they do for women, and write about new lands as they do about women's bodies. They seduce the reader like the woman and new lands in their texts but also resist their own act of seduction with the female and Native voices they represent. Although this hypothesis provides the basis of one of my central arguments, it soon became apparent that the problem was more complex.⁴

4 My project, "The Rhetoric of Seduction," which looks at America as a woman, and how male

or brutes, as Aristotle defined barbarians, who could become servants to the civilized nations. Since 1492, the Europeans had viewed the Natives from a theological perspective, in which they were identified with the lost peoples of the New Testament or as brutes who originated in the "Americas" (Deloria 432-35). Las Casas insisted on a place for the Amerindians as members of a human civil society (Pagden 119). The Spanish set the tone for debates among the French and English. The conflicted and contradictory voices of Columbus, Las Casas, Sepúlveda, and Oviedo find their echoes in Cartier, Thetvet, Montaigne, Raleigh, Hakluyt, Purchas, and Shakespeare.

The represented also represent. Native images of the Europeans have not been widely disseminated, but they are coming to light more and more. For instance, Gordon Brotherston describes a number of important cases, such as the annals of the Valley of Mexico (1516-25), a Tupi taunt of French missionaries in Brazil (1612) and an Algonkin account of Europeans entering North America (seventeenth century). These three instances represent but a small fraction of the Native texts that describe the exchange with the Europeans in the first two centuries of contact (Brotherston 28-32, 48-53; see Hart 1994b). The written response to 1492 is much more varied and mixed than it was in 1792 and 1892. In a preface to a 1992 collection of Native responses to Columbus, Ray Gonzalez notes that official versions of the glory of Columbus's expedition have long been out of print and that the goal of Gonzalez's book is to promote understanding and reconciliation, in which Native history is heard as American history and not just as something that was in the path of Europeans: "Five hundred years have passed, and these writers know it. Five hundred years of native and foreign languages have already created voices of mixed cultures, the true sound of the Americas, as its artists and writers mark history with honest visions of what it means to be citizens of the Americas, not American citizens" (x). This view of mixed races and tongues leads Gonzalez to suggest mediation, a new understanding of the past in the Americas and the opportunities there, a practical utopianism, perhaps, rather than a continued rift of violence and misunderstanding.

My project also attempts to understand the lost opportunity for cooperation and mediation between Natives and Europeans, something that Las Casas and Montaigne saw in the sixteenth century, and that historians like Royal, Axtell, and Washburn hope for today. Rather than simply use the theory of the Other, I am trying to develop a new framework. In addition to my inductive method of trying to formulate a theory of mediation from Renaissance texts, I recognize the need to reach my audience by making use of the theoretical contexts of our time. I must make my readers aware of the difference of the past, while doing so in a language that is contemporary. Rhetorical theory should allow for an understanding of the various possibilities open to speakers and writers and the audiences in, and of, this history. Rhetoric is mediation and persuasion: it can communicate and overpower. My adaptation of some of the ideas in Ross

Chambers's theory of mediation should help make this translation between the past and present more effective. Chambers's theory counters the flattening out of different groups into others. He also suggests that we analyze the ways mediators are made into scapegoats and, adapting Michel Serres, looks at how the mediator can become an "excluded third" in any cultural negotiation (see Chambers 1991, 1995; Serres; Girard; Nancy; de Certeau, ch. 5). This theoretical insight helps to characterize one of the difficulties Squanto and some of the other mediators in early America find themselves in. The temptation is to scapegoat the mediator and to deny any possibility of coexisting with a different cultural group. But, as Las Casas and Montaigne knew, the consequences of such polarization are disastrous.

In these sixteenth-century writers we find suggestions on cultural practices that propose an alternative to stereotyping which Chambers discusses in a modern setting. He suggests that the ideological othering of mediators is not inevitable. For Chambers, communities owe their meaning and existence to negotiation. Mediators allow for a dialogue, a possible community, between two interlocutors from different cultures. Chambers sees the difference between scapegoater and scapegoated in terms of mediation within a community: the scapegoat is a member of the scapegoated community, so that scapegoaters are potential members of a scapegoated community. Through a politics of invitation, the scapegoated group transvalues its difference from the scapegoating group into a new difference that forms the ground of a possible communitarian or cooperative dialogue (Chambers 1995). Whether this desire in postmodern discourse theory to transform mediation into a politics of invitation and community works in an early modern setting and takes enough into account the material dimension of the historical record is something I want to examine. Although some of the narrative and rhetorical techniques of postmodern discourse have their beginnings in those of early modern language, can we find then in the relation between Natives and Europeans a way to understand those relations in a multicultural, multinational world?

Chambers's subtle theory of mediation provides an opportunity to combine narrative theory with a social dimension for groups that were repressed or scapegoated as the Natives were and are. By looking at Las Casas's view of the oppression of the Natives in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in relation to Chambers's analysis of oppositionality and scapegoating in Western culture during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, I should be able to observe certain morphologies and estrangements. The literary theorist and the intellectual or cultural historian have to work with history, which means that they carry Aristotle in one hand and Brecht in the other. There are apparent transhistorical similarities in historical change. Here, I can only offer a few concrete examples of mediators, which form the basis of my inductive work towards a theory of mediation in order to provide a context for the manuscript work needed to

introduce new Native and European perspectives to the topic of mediation in the encounter.

A few problems arise in studying mediation during the Renaissance. The first is what theories and practices of mediation did the various European and Native nations have then and what do they have now? In such a project, is it possible to speak of mediation in terms that are understandable beyond English-speaking and European cultures? How well do Europeans understand their differences from their own past? Can European and Native cultures speak to one another officially and unofficially? Why did diplomacy break down and allow the practice of taking captives or starting wars? How did the Europeans and Natives form alliances and come into conflict because of these types of mediation? Can class lines be crossed more readily than cultural boundaries? The question of making or mixing races also arises. Are the mediators discussed in this paper related to those writers and historical figures like Garcilaso, part Spaniard and part Incan, in the sixteenth century, and Louis Riel, part Cree and part French, in the nineteenth? We can also ask whether there are traditional differences in the way the Spanish, English and French interact with Natives and, if so, are these distinctions a matter of myth, something based in economic necessity, or a means of mediation. This essay will attempt to explore some ways in which the relations among different Native and European nations are complex. The problem of crossing cultures raises the problem of whether religion brings Natives and Europeans together, or whether it involves a more intricate means of mediation or scapegoating. The work of theorists like Chambers becomes particularly useful when asking about some of the implications that mediation raised then, and how might they apply now.

Some examples of mediators should, through induction, suggest ways in which mediation in the period is partly a matter of gender but also moves beyond it. La Malinche is a woman and a mediator. She helps translate and interpret Native culture while being Cortés's mistress on his campaign to conquer the Aztec (see Gutiérrez 48). In the *Conquest of Mexico* Bernal Díaz suggests that she may not have been a Nahuatl or Aztec, and may have been seeking revenge for their exploitation of her people. Thirty-five years ago, Miguel Leon-Portilla collected various of Angel Maria Garibay K.'s translations into Spanish of Nahuatl oral accounts of this conquest. *Broken Spears* gives the Aztec version of events, including a portrait of La Malinche from another point of view. Apparently, she was from the coast and spoke Nahuatl and Mayan. She translated from Nahuatl into Mayan, so that Jeronimo de Aguilar, a Spaniard who lived among the Mayas for eight years and one of the two captives Cortés had wanted to ransom, could translate the Mayan into Spanish for Cortés (Leon-Portilla 3; Díaz 86-87; see below). The European has crossed the boundary to Native culture and the Native to European culture. They now work together. Nonetheless, tensions exist between European nations and between Native nations: both

"sides" are also in conflict. Mediation often involves various interlocking stages; it is often precarious as it occupies a place between resistance and capitulation.

Cortés comes upon two Spaniards, Jeronimo de Aguilar and Gonzalo Guerrero, who have been taken captive: one wants to return into the Spanish fold and the other wishes to remain in Native society. The Spanish and the Aztecs (Mexicas or Nahuas) were soon able to communicate. The Aztec messengers communicated with La Malinche and de Aguilar as he had learned Mayan over the eight years since his shipwreck in Yucatan in 1511. Like the texts of Columbus, the documents written in Nahuatl about the first exchanges with the Spanish and gathered together by Leon-Portilla as *Broken Spears* are problematic (see Hart 1994b). Who is speaking and when? (see de Alva xii-xxi). From about 1524, the Franciscans trained some of the Nahuatl noblemen to read and write Nahuatl, presumably in a way that owed a debt to Latin and Spanish writing and grammar. Time mediates this cultural exchange, so that when speaking about mediation, it becomes difficult to know how much editing and changes in transmission have affected the earliest Spanish and Nahuatl accounts. For instance, the *Codex Ramirez* preserves a few Spanish fragments of an older indigenous text in Nahuatl about the Spanish March to Tezcoco, including Cortés's visit there (Leon-Portilla 56-57). Neither Bernal Díaz de Castillo nor Sahagún's informants, nor Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl mentions Cortés's visit to the city (57). The account says that after the Spanish had marched a few miles, Ixtlilxochitl, his brothers and a large number of followers met them:

Cortes distrusted them at first; but when he learned, through signs and translations, that they had come out to meet the Spaniards as friends, he was greatly pleased. The Christians pointed to their Captain, and Ixtlilxochitl approached him and greeted him with smiles and obeisances, to which Cortes responded in the Spanish fashion. The prince was astonished to see a man with such white skin and with a beard and with so much courage and majesty, while Cortes, in turn, was astonished by the prince and his brothers — especially by Tecocoltzin, who was as white as any of the Spaniards. At last, with La Malinche and Aguilar as interpreters, Ixtlilxochitl begged Cortes to accompany him to Tezcoco, so that he and his people might serve him. Cortes thanked the prince and accepted his invitation. (Leon-Portilla 57-58).

This is a politics of invitation with a difference. The remark about whiteness is unsettling. Is it the result of Spanish views of their own ethnicity or is it something added in the transmission into Spanish or under Franciscan influence or is it a Nahuatl form of cultural anthropology, that is seeing the Spanish through their own eyes? In this and other accounts, the interpreters or mediators facilitate a peaceful exchange. But even during the siege of Tenochtitlan, where apparently hundreds of thousands perished, Cortés used La Malinche and de Aguilar as interpreters (Leon-Portilla 125).

One interpreter leads to another. Once again, the reliability of an account of an exchange is open to question. Bernal Díaz's account, remembered years later as a clarification of earlier representations of the conquest of New Spain, gives the following view. Years earlier, the Spanish had captured a Native at Cape Catoche, now called Melchior, whom Cortés uses to find out from the chiefs whether any Spaniards had survived from the expedition under Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba (58-59). In fact, two Spaniards had become slaves under different *Caciques*. A *Cacique* advised Cortés to send a letter and ransom to their owners, so the two Spaniards might come. The letter had the desired effect on Aguilar but not on Guerrero, whom he seeks out. The speech that Díaz gives to Guerrero as a reply to Aguilar is instructive, whether it reflects the author or the captive or both:

Hermano Aguilar, yo soy casado, tengo tres hijos, y tiénenme por cacique y capitán cuando hay guerras: los vos con Dios; que yo tengo labrada la cara é horadadas las orejas; ¿qué dirán de mí desde que me vean esos españoles ir d'esta manera? É ya véis estos mis tres hijitos cuán bonitos son. Por vida vuestra que me déis d'esas cuentas verdes que traéis, para ellos, y diré que mis hermanos me las envían de mi tierra. (1: 98)

Brother Aguilar, I am married and have three children, and they look on me as a *Cacique* here, and a captain in time of war. Go, and God's blessing be with you. But my face is tattooed and my ears are pierced. What would the Spaniards say if they saw me like this? And look how handsome these children of mine are! Please give me some of those beads you have brought, and I will tell them that my brothers have sent them from my own country. (1983, 60-61)

Díaz reports that in her own language Guerrero's Native wife chided Aguilar and asked why this slave came to disturb her husband. Apparently, Aguilar reminded Guerrero that he was a Christian and could bring his children, but he would not come. Of Guerrero, Díaz says: "Y parece ser aquel Gonzalo Guerrero era hombre de la mar, natural de Palos." (1: 99) ["I believe he was a sailor and hailed from Palos" (1983, 61)]. This transformation from Spanish pauper to Indian prince suggests that dimensions of class also influence the crossing of boundaries and the role of mediators. When Aguilar missed his ship, Cortés was angry with the captain, Ordaz (61).

But the Spanish soon returned to Cozumel, which, Díaz notes, brought great joy to Aguilar, who now had beads to pay Natives to paddle him near the Spanish ships. When Cortés heard that the Natives were breaking with custom and were venturing into the neighbourhood of the Spanish with their large canoes, he ordered Andres de Tapia and two other soldiers to investigate:

y desde que los indios que que venían en la canoa, que traía alquilados el Aguilar, vieron los españoles, tuvieron temor y se querían tomar á embarcar é hacer á lo largo con la canoa; é Aguilar les dijo en su lengua que no tuviesen miedo, que eran sus hermanos; y el

Andrés de Tapia, como les vío que eran indios (porque el Aguilar ni más ni menos era que indio), luego envió á decir á Cortés con un español que siete indios de Cozumel eran los que allí llegaron en la canoa; y después que hubieron saltado en tierra, el español mal mascado y peor pronunciado, dijo: "Dios y santa Maria y Sevilla"; é luego le fué á abrazar el Tapia; é otro soldado de los que habían ido con el Tapia á ver qué cosa era, fué á mucha prisa á demandar albricias á Cortés, cómo era español el que venía en la canoa, de que todos nos alegramos. (1: 104-05)

As soon as the Indians who had brought Aguilar saw the Spaniards, they took fright, and wanted to get back in their canoe and put out to sea. But Aguilar told them in their own language not to be afraid, for these men were his brothers. When Andres de Tapia saw that they were Indians — for Aguilar looked exactly like one — he immediately sent to tell Cortés that there were seven Cozumel Indians in the canoe. As he left ashore, however, Aguilar exclaimed in inarticulate and clumsy Spanish: "God and the blessed Mary of Seville!" Then Tapia went to embrace him, and the soldier who was beside him, seeing that he was a Spaniard, ran hurriedly to Cortés to beg a reward for being the first with the news. We were all delighted when we heard it. (1983, 64)

Before Tapia could get Aguilar to Cortés, he came across some soldiers who asked: "qué es del español, aunque iba allí junto con él, porque le tenían por indio propio, porque de suyo era moreno é tresquilado á manera de indio esclavo" (1: 105; "Where is this Spaniard? Although they were close beside him, they could not distinguish him from an Indian, for he was naturally dark, and had his hair untidily cut like an Indian slave" [1983, 64]). Cortés asks the same question as the soldiers:

Y el español como lo entendió se puso en cucullas, como hacen los indios, é dijo: "Yo soy." Y luego le mandó dar de vestir camisa é jubón, é zaraguéllas, é caperuza, é alpagatas, que otros vestidos no había, ye le preguntó de su vida é cómo se llamaba y cuándo vino á aquella tierra. Y él dijo, aunque no bien pronunciado, que se decía Jerónimo de Aguilar y que era natural de Éjica y que tenía órdenes de Evangelio. (1: 105)

When Aguilar heard this question, he squatted down in Indian fashion and answered: "I am he." Cortés at once ordered him to be given a shirt and doublet and breeches, a cloak and some sandals, for he had no other clothes. Cortés asked him his name and history and when he had come to that country. The man answered, pronouncing with difficulty, that his name was Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he came from Ecija and was in holy orders. (1983, 64).

Here we have an example of the blurring of distinctions and the crossing of boundaries between European and Native. Aguilar has nearly lost his language; he looks like an Indian. He must be reclaimed and dressed like a "Spaniard" ("español"), a word Díaz emphasizes in his description. Aguilar has a tattered loincloth to cover his private parts, but in his cloak is an ancient prayer book. He

is a Spaniard turned Native who could not give up his tongue and prayers entirely. He already represents a mixing of cultures.

The story of Aguilar is also the tale of his shipwreck. The Natives are said to have sacrificed many of his companions to their idols. Other companions perished from disease; two women died of overwork; Aguilar escaped sacrifice and fled to a *Cacique*, who protected him as a slave. The only other survivor of the shipwreck was Gonzalo Guerrero. Aguilar and Guerrero become the good son and the bad son, Abel and Cain in the New World. Aguilar is thankful to be saved by the Spanish, Guerrero is not: "Y desde Cortés le oyó, dió muchas gracias á Dios por todo, y le dijo que, mediante Dios, que d'él sería bien mirado y gratificado. Y le preguntó por la tierra é pueblos" (I: 106; "Aguilar thanked God for his deliverance, and Cortés promised that he would be well looked after and compensated. He then asked about the country and the towns" [1983, 65]). Cortés can never resist using his interpreters and mediators as scouts for his military campaign. The chiefs were pleased to discover that Aguilar could speak their language. He advised them to revere the image of the Virgin and to ask Cortés for a letter of recommendation that would protect them from any Spanish mistreatment (65-66). In this advice we can observe the ambivalence and double vision of a mediator: he speaks to them of Spanish religion and tries to seek protection for them from Spanish cruelty. He has worn a loincloth and kept his Bible in his cloak, at least according to Díaz.

Guerrero was much more successful in the Native world. That is probably one reason he did not want to leave it. He had risen in the world by "going Native." The question of class is also important to mediation. Cortés wants to find out from Aguilar more about Guerrero:

Y luego le preguntó por el Gonzalo Guerrero, é dijo que estaba casado y tenía tres hijos, y que tenía labrada la cara é horadadas las orejas y el bezo de abajo, y que era hombre de la mar, natural de Palos, y que los indios le tienen por esforzado; y que había poco más de un año que cuando vinieron á la Punta de Cotoche una capitania con tres navíos (parece ser que fueron cuando venimos los de Francisco Hernández de Córdoba), que él fué inventor que nos diesen la guerra que nos dieron, y que vino él allí por capitán, juntamente con un cacique de un gran pueblo, según ya he dicho en lo de Francisco Hernández de Córdoba. É cuando Cortés lo oyó dijo: "En verdad que le querría haber á las manos, porque jamás será bueno dejársele." (I: 106)

When asked about Gonzalo Guerrero, he said that he was married and had three children, that he was tattooed, and that his ears and lower lip were pierced, that he was a seaman and a native of Palos, and that the Indians considered him very brave. Aguilar also related how a little more than a year ago, when a captain and three ships arrived at Cape Catoche — this must have been our expedition under Francisco Hernández de Córdoba — it had been at Guerrero's suggestion that the Indians had attacked them, and that he had been there himself in the company of that *Cacique* of a great town, about whom I spoke when

describing that expedition. When Cortés heard this he exclaimed: "I wish I could get my hands on him. For it will never do to leave him here." (1983, 65)

Here, Guerrero comes to us through a triple filter — the narratives, descriptions, and reactions of Díaz, Aguilar, and Cortés. Cortés does not like Guerrero's kind of mediation, although he will take Native help against Native as often as he can find it. La Malinche and Melchior are examples of his Native mediators, both of whom Díaz describes in considerable detail. Melchior prefigures Squanto's fate but only more tragically for him. Guerrero is a traitor, a dangerous precedent, especially for the soldiers of more humble origin. The New World might offer them freedom from the religious ideology and economic system they left in Spain. No more is heard of Guerrero in Díaz's narrative. The White Indian is a problem that haunts the Europeans from the beginning.

Mediation does not, then, rely completely on race or culture. In fact, the reluctant Spaniard has literally been treated as a prince owing, it seems, to the mediation of a Native woman, so that he has no desire to return to his far more humble place in Spanish society. This phenomenon of "going Native" or the "White Indian" is a concern that persists into the eighteenth century and beyond amidst the French and English administrators (Axtell 1985, 302-05; see Clendinnen; Jaenen 1976, 1988; Wright 17-18). Tecuichpotzin or Isabel Montezuma, daughter to Montezuma II, has two Native and three Spanish husbands (Chipman 216). Her children cross the bounds of race. Some of her descendants become titled in Spain. She is an Aztec princess. Her class allows her to claim the lands Cortés had claimed on behalf of the Spanish crown. The Spaniards want her to be a symbol of the assimilation of Aztec culture into the new Spanish Mexico, but her situation is not so simple. She is a Christian, but she also becomes involved in a long law suit with the Spanish crown over her land claims. Mediation does not preclude some resistance and assimilation. Another aspect of mediation is class.

The mysterious fate of Etienne Brulé among the Hurons demonstrates in the various "explanations" the breach of mediation. He is the first among the French to live with the Natives. Samuel de Champlain says that in about 1610 a young Frenchman, who might have been Brulé, was sent among the Huron in exchange for a young Huron. Brulé left no accounts of his career, so that all we have are missionary reports and the portrait in Champlain's works. The missionaries' dislike for his Native way of life, as the model for the *coureur de bois*, affects the rhetoric and content of their representations of Brulé. In one traditional version he is reputed to have been eaten (cannibalism) for mistreating the chief's daughter (the mixing of sex and politics) (see Hulme; Jaenen 1976). Brulé may have disappeared because the Hurons did not like his political connections with the Iroquois. The representation of the relation between Native and European priests, writers and historians, is another form of mediation.

A source for the representation of Brulé that I want to examine here is the works of Samuel de Champlain, a French explorer who travelled in the Americas in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, whose crowning achievement was the founding of Quebec in 1608. One of the first possible references to Brulé occurs when Champlain writes about his third voyage in 1611 where he speaks about the Natives returning his youth or boy. Whether it is Brulé or not, it provides an image of the mixing of cultures, of the white Indian: "Aussi ie vis mon garçon qui vint habillé à la sauvage, qui se loua du traitement des sauvages, selon leur pays, & me fit entendre tout ce qu'il auoit veu en son yuernement, & ce qu'il auoit appris desdicts sauvages" (2: 187-88, see 4: 138; "I also saw my French boy who came dressed like an Indian. He was well pleased with the treatment received from the Indians, according to the customs of their country, and explained to me all that he had seen during the winter, and what he had learned from the Indians"). Champlain shows less anxiety over this Native dress than Cortés does, but he, too, wants intelligence of the country and its inhabitants. Brulé might also be the youth Champlain sends, not against his will, to live among the Algonquin in order to learn their language and customs (4: 118). He may also be the interpreter who begs Champlain to allow him to go among the Natives (247).

In recounting the events of 1618, Champlain portrays Brulé as a heroic explorer and interpreter who is doing Champlain's work in the wilderness. He explains that Brulé had spent eight years among the Natives "tant pour passer son temps, que pour voir le pays, & apprendre leur langue & façon de vivre" (3: 213; "both as a pastime and to see the country and learn their language and mode of life"). Brulé's heroism in surviving two attacks by enemy Indians, the second because they suspected him of being French, is something Champlain celebrates at length. Brulé is an explorer and a man who suffered torture, only to be delivered by a storm sent by God. The storm so distracted the Natives that they relented and Brulé became friends with them and promised to help them to make peace with the French, although he had been making war on them (213-26). Champlain's narrative of Brulé is of a French patriot saved by God in the face of death, but that story was soon to change. Even in this story Brulé, knowing that these Natives were enemies of the French, is flexible about his identity in order to survive. According to Champlain, the Natives asked Brulé

s'il n'estoit pas de la nation des François qui leur faisoient la guerre: sur ce il leur fist responce qu'il estoit d'une autre nation meilleure, qui ne desiroient que d'avoir leur cognoissance, & amitié, ce qu'ils ne voudrēt croire, ains se jetterent sur luy, & luy arracherent les ongles avec les dents, le bruslerēt avec des tisons ardens, & luy arracherēt la barbe poil à poil, neāmoins cōtre la volētē du chef. (221-22)

whether he were not one of the French nation which was making war on them? Thereupon he made reply that he belonged to another better nation that was desirous only

of their acquaintance and friendship, which they refused to believe, and rushed upon him, and tore out his nails with their teeth, burned him with red-hot firebrands, plucked out his beard hair by hair, contrary nevertheless to the wish of their chief. (221-22)

The other neglected mediator in this story is the chief who prefers talk to torture. But one of Brulé's attributes, flexibility to survive, may lead to lies, and comes to trouble Champlain.

In 1623 Champlain once again names Brulé explicitly and calls him an interpreter (5: 97, see 3: 213). He now describes Brulé, who has been among the Hurons or Ouendat, in unflattering terms:

Le truchement Bruslé à qui l'on donnoit cent pistolles par an, pour inciter les sauvages à venir à la traite, ce qui estoit de tres-mauvais exēple, d'enuoyer ainsi des personnes si malvuiās, que l'on eust deub chastier seueremēt, car l'on recognoissoit cet homme pour estre fort vicieux, & adonné aux femmes; mais que ne fait faire l'esperance du gain, qui passe par dessus toutes considerations. (5: 132)

amongst others the interpreter Brulé, who was receiving a hundred pistoles a year to incite the savages to come down and trade. And the influence of example was very bad in sending out such evil-livers, who ought instead to have been severely chastised; for this man was recognized as being very vicious in character, and much addicted to women. But what will not the expectation of gain make men do, a passion which tramples under foot all other considerations?

Champlain's representation of Brulé's role as interpreter shows a conflict that Las Casas outlines in relation to the early Spanish colonization, between religion and commerce, between different ethical codes. Like Guerrero, Brulé is depicted as a traitor, somebody who can give the enemy information, in this case the English in 1629, when Kirke takes Quebec. Champlain reviles his former protégé:

où ie vy Estienne Bruslé truchement des Hurons, qui s'estoient mis au service de l'Anglois, & Marsolet, ausquels ie fis vne remonstrance touchant leur infidélité, tant enuers le Roy qu'à leur patrie, ils me dirent qu'ils auoient esté pris par force, c'est ce qui n'est pas croyable, car en ces choses prendre vn homme par force ce seroit plustost esperer deservice qu'une fidelité (6: 98-99)

Here I saw Etienne Brulé, the interpreter to the Hurons, who had placed himself at the service of the English, as had also Marsolet, with both of whom I remonstrated on their faithlessness to the King and to their country. They replied that they had been taken by force, which is incredible; for any one who takes a man by force and puts him in a position of trust may rather expect some ill turn than fidelity.

Champlain reports his remonstrance in which he tells these two, as any relative would, that they are without religion and have indulged in debauchery and

libertinism, so that God will punish them: "encore vous qui auez esté esleuvez petits garçons en ce lieux, vendant maintenant ceux qui vous ont mis le pain à la main" (6: 99-100; "And then, besides, to think of you, brought up from early boyhood in these parts, turning round now and selling those who put bread into your mouths!"). He also warns them that the British will use them for their knowledge of the country and then drive them away.

Brulé is like a Native whose knowledge the British and French are fighting over. It is possible that he identifies more with the Hurons than he does with the French or English. In the New World his knowledge of Native ways and lands is what makes him valuable, not his French heritage. For Champlain, he is nothing but a turncoat who has betrayed him. Champlain also mentions Louis, the Native whom the Jesuits had instructed, how he was living in the free fashion of the English ("se licentier en la vie des Anglois" [6: 101]), how he promised to prove his commitment to Catholicism if the French ever returned to Quebec. The English are sending Louis back to his people: his father has come to see him and rejoiced to see him. Louis tells his people great stories about what he had seen in France and England ("il fit de grands discours de ce qu'il avoit vu tant en France qu'en Angleterre" [6: 102]). Champlain's last sentence about Brulé is that he went back with Louis to the Hurons. If the English were so interested in these two men who have turned their backs on the French, then why do they not keep them in Quebec? Both know the French and English and both go back to Huronia or Ouendake. In Champlain's narrative, the rest is silence for Brulé. The boy whom he taught to be a mediator has, in his view, become a traitor. In war especially, the middle space between opponents is hard to find. What is Native about Brulé and Louis is forgotten in the rivalry between European powers. This forgetfulness is, perhaps, a parody of mediation, a kind of excluded third who is blamed for the conflict, the very friction of European opposition.

Squanto is also a mediator. A male Patuxet Indian, Squanto acts as a translator and interpreter for the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Champlain would have visited the lands of Squanto's nation in 1605 and 1606, while John Smith, the former leader of Virginia, was there in 1614. French and English both had interests in the area. Smith left Thomas Hunt in charge of the fisheries in 1614, and, acting against his superior's wishes, he captured Squanto and about twenty other Natives. He took them to Malaga in Spain to sell them into slavery, but most were saved by friars. In 1617, Squanto was in London. He then travelled to Newfoundland. By 1619 he is back home, having convinced his English hosts of his value as a go-between. He finds his people gone, victims of disease. He is taken captive several times by different anti-English Native nations. Eventually, as his position as a mediator weakens, Squanto makes trouble to ensure the necessity of his mediation (Salisbury 1981, 241-42). The fragility and vulnerability of the part the mediator plays and his relation to the various Native and European cultures with which he comes into contact suggest one reason why European settlers and Native leaders are tempted to attack moderation and

mediation. The role of mediator depends as much on language and culture as on class and gender.

In *Of Plymouth Plantation: 1620-1647* (publ. 1847), William Bradford represents the ambivalent situation in which Squanto found himself. Unfortunately, Bradford's papers were not published for two hundred years, so that their portrayals of the relations between Native and European could not affect his immediate successors and their children. Bradford views this mediator as a divine gift to the Pilgrims: "Squanto continued with them and was their interpreter and was a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation" (81). The next sentence provides a juxtaposition not unlike the relation between gold and God in Columbus, that is a transition between the spiritual and the material, and leads into a description of Squanto's past, before Samoset, the Algonkin sagamore of Pemaquid Point who had learned English from fishermen, introduced him to Bradford at Plymouth (see Hart 1993). Of Squanto, Bradford says:

He directed them how to set their corn, where to take fish, and to procure other commodities, and was also their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them till he died. He was a native of this place, and scarce any left alive besides himself. He was carried away with divers others by one Hunt, a master of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spain. But he got away for England and was entertained by a merchant in London, and employed to Newfoundland and other parts, and lastly brought hither into these parts by one Mr. Dermer, a gentleman employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others for discovery and other designs in these parts (81).

Despite this kidnapping, a practice enacted and recorded by Columbus, Cartier, Frobisher, and others, Squanto survives to help keep the peace between the English and the various Native nations. Squanto's life is as hard as the much-buffed hero of a romance. He is caught between the two groups: to different groups of Natives and English he is a go-between or a turncoat.

Bradford quotes Dermer at length about Squanto, failing to mention that this mediator had jumped Dermer's ship in 1618 and had then made his way to Plymouth, where he found that his Patuxet nation was wiped out by pestilence (this happened the previous year) (see 81 n.2):

I will first begin (saith he) with that place from whence Squanto or Tisquantum, was taken away; which in Captain Smith's map is called Plymouth.... The Pocanockets, which live to the west of Plymouth, bear an inveterate malice to the English, and are of more strength than all the savages from thence to Penobscot. Their desire for revenge was occasioned by an Englishman, who having many of them on board, made a greater slaughter with their murderers [ship's gun] and small shot when as (they say) they offered no injury on their parts. Whether they were English or no it may be doubted; yet they believe they were, for the French have so possessed them. For which cause Squanto cannot deny but they would have killed me when I was at Namasket, had he not entreated hard for me. (82)

Although the tensions between Natives and Europeans are rectangular, between four nations with all their rivalries, even in Dermer's denial of English culpability and his blaming of the French (something akin to the technique used to build up the Black Legend of Spain) he admits the opposition of the Pocanockets and the charges they have laid against the English. He also portrays Squanto as someone with two names (probably neither he would recognize in his own language) and someone who is so modest or careful that he would not admit strife between the Pocanockets and the English or his mediatory role in keeping the peace between them. Dermer credits Squanto with saving his life. Despite having himself suffered badly at the hands of the English and having witnessed the decimation of his nation through pestilence, Squanto chooses mediation over revenge. For some reason, mediation is more difficult and controversial than the lightning strike of revenge, although there is always a tension between the two means of settling a wrong or dispute. In *A Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England* (1622), Dermer also relates more about how he was nearly killed when the Nausets took him prisoner and how, in 1619, he seized some of them in order to escape, which shows how tense the region was at the time Squanto was acting as a mediator (81 n.3, 83 n.8-9). In fact, Bradford reports that while Dermer was going ashore to trade in what is now called Martha's Vineyard, with Squanto at his side, "he was betrayed and assaulted" by the Natives, his usual trading partners, so that all but Squanto, a boatman and Dermer were killed (83, see *Purchas His Pilgrimes* IV.1778). But Bradford does not say who betrayed Dermer, but the Natives are blamed. No censure is attached to Squanto. Later, having arrived in Virginia, Dermer died from wounds or disease. Bradford draws this providential moral: "By all of which it may appear how far these people were from peace, and what danger this plantation was begun, save as the powerful hand of the Lord did protect them" (83).

The relations among the Natives and Europeans were strained. Bradford reports that the Natives kept aloof from the English because they had killed French castaways on Cape Cod and enslaved the three or four survivors, of whom Dermer redeemed two. The Natives, according to Bradford, confessed all this and that they thought that the Mayflower was coming to revenge their act against the French. He also says that the Natives later let it be known that "before they came to the English to make friendship, they got all the Powachs [Powows or medicine men] of the country, for three days together in a horrid and devilish manner, to curse and execrate them with their conjurations, which assembly and sorcery do not seem too far from Bradford's mind. Nonetheless, if Bradfords is right about their treatment of the French, the Natives were not entirely in training for a role in Rousseau *avant la lettre*.

Squanto's help was indispensable. His mediation was material. In 1621, after the Mayflower departed, many of the pilgrims

began to plant their corn, in which service Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both the manner how to set it, and after how to dress and tend it. Also he told them, except they got fish and set with it in these old grounds it would come to nothing. And he showed them that in the middle of April they should have store enough come up the brook by which they began to build, and taught them how to take it, and where to get other provisions necessary for them. All which they found true by trial and experience. Some English seed they sowed, as wheat and pease, but it came not to good, either by badness of the seed or lateness of the season or both, or some other defect. (85)

Squanto becomes necessary for the very survival of the English. They cannot transplant their ways and they need a mediator. On a mission to cement relations with Massasoit, Squanto accompanies Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins (probably the same person wrecked in 1609 in Bermuda as reported in Strachey, a source for Shakespeare's *The Tempest*). Bradford reports the "very sad spectacle" they saw on their way to the Narragansetts, the skulls and bones of thousands of Natives who had died in such a "great mortality" three years before that they had not had time to bury their dead (87). The peace was established.

Another complicating element enters into the narrative of Squanto, the mediator or diplomat: Hobomok. He was a Native who came into those parts and was also "very faithful and constant to the English till he died" (88). Hobomok and Squanto went "upon business among the Indians, at their return (whether it was out of envy to them or malice to the English) there was a sachem called Corbitant, allied to Massasoit but never any good friend to the English to this day, met with them at an Indian town called Namasket, fourteen miles to the west of this place, and began to quarrel with them and offered to stab Hobomok" (88). But he got away and told Bradford what had happened and that he feared for Squanto's life because both had been threatened for being "friends to the English and serviceable unto them" (88). The Governor took counsel and decided not to abide this treatment, "for if they should suffer their friends and messengers thus to be wronged, they should have none would cleave to them, or give them any intelligence, or do them any service afterwards, but next they would fall upon themselves" (88). This intelligence and service cause differences between Corbitant and Bradford. It depends from which angle these goals are viewed. Do they constitute mediation or betrayal? Are there ancient enmities between Native nations as between the English and French? But, as we saw in the case of the castaways, do they also represent a bond of kinship or similar culture? Bradford and his advisors "resolved to send the captain and fourteen men well armed, and to go and fall upon them in the night. And if they found that Squanto was killed, to cut off Corbitant's head, but not to hurt any but those that had a hand in it" (88). Hobomok led them to Squanto, who was alive, having been threatened but not harmed, and the English brought three wounded Natives home and cured them before sending them home. Corbitant "used the mediation of Massoit to make his peace, but was shy to come near them a long while after" (89).

On 18 September 1621, Squanto was back to work. He acted as a guide on a successful trading mission by the Bay (89). Squanto helps them to find beaver pelts (94). But Hobomok tells the Pilgrims of the jealousy between Massasoit and Squanto. One of Squanto's family says that the Narragansetts, led by Corbitant and Massasoit, are about to attack, which Hobomok doubts (98). From this kind of incident, the Pilgrims

began to see that Squanto sought his own ends and played his own game, by putting the Indians in fear and drawing gifts from them to enrich himself, making them believe he could stir up war against whom he would, and make peace for whom he would. Yea, he made them believe they kept the plague buried in the ground, and could send it amongst whom they would, which did much terrify the Indians and made them depend more on him, and seek more to him, than to Massasoit. Which procured him envy and had like to have cost him his life; for after the discovery of his practices, Massasoit sought it privately and openly, which caused him to stick close to the English, and never durst go from them till he died. They also made good use of the emulation that grew between Hobomok and him, which made them carry more squarely. And the Governor seemed to countenance the one, and the Captain the other, by which they had better intelligence, and made them both more diligent. (99)

A rivalry occurs between mediators within the English camp, and the Native allies are apparently tired of Squanto's playing of both ends against the middle, not the best way to be a go-between. Whether Hobomok or the English view of both mediators can be trusted, is another matter. It seems that the English themselves divided their mediators in order to control them and to maximize their benefit. According to Morison, Bradford was about to hand Squanto over to Massasoit's messengers when the arrival of Thomas Weston's shallop interrupted the exchange and the messengers went off angry (99 n.2). We never hear the mediators' side of the story.

Captain Miles Standish continues to use Squanto as a guide and interpreter. On one expedition, Standish becomes ill and Bradford has to take over, but neither he nor Squanto can find their way about the shoals of Cape Cod. As a result, they put into Manamoyick Bay:

In this place Squanto fell sick of an Indian fever, bleeding much at the nose (which the Indians take for a symptom of death) and within a few days died there; desiring the Governor to pray for him that he might go to the Englishman's God in Heaven; and bequeathed sundry of his things to sundry of his English friends as remembrances of his love; of whom they had a great loss. (114)

Even in death Squanto is represented as being between Native and English: his sickness is Indian and the heaven he hopes for, English. He is lost in another mission of mediation. Bradford tells his story, and, not surprisingly, it is one of reconciliation, friendship, love, and redemption. We hear of Squanto's mediation

through Bradford's mediation, his acculturation through the Governor's culture. But in this historical account, there are glimpses of the struggle and the predicament in which Squanto found himself. Although the ultimate hero of Bradford's story is Plymouth Plantation, he shows that its founding was difficult. He displays affection for Squanto and represents the troubles, oppositions and mediations along the way, even if his explanations might differ from those some might choose today.

Through a few examples of mediators, especially of Aguilar, Guerrero, Brulé, and Squanto, we can observe the refractory and multiple nature of mediation in the Spanish, French, and English contact with American Natives in the early modern period. As I suggested at the beginning of the essay, I have presented shards of representations of the lives of these mediators, which are mediated in someone else's story. Mediators find room to manoeuvre as go-betweens, interpreters and peace-makers, but they are often subject to scrutiny, control or condemnation by those who command power, the chiefs and governors in the exchange. They are of the system and against it. By finding alternatives, sometimes the middle way, they work against the extremes that the logic of stereotypes, conflict and war work towards. In Cortés's view, Aguilar is good to return to the fold and Guerrero is a turncoat for not doing so. Champlain praises Brulé as a great patriot saved by God in the cause of France and, later, reviles him for being a Godless turncoat. Squanto saves the Pilgrims and alienates certain Natives. Later, Bradford and Standish are split on whether he can be trusted as he may have been playing the two sides against each other. The mediator is subject to the distrust of both sides, the two poles between which he or she attempts to mediate. It would also have been possible, as I hope to do in a larger study, to document the intricate relations between Aguilar, Guerrero, Melchior, La Malinche and other mediators, which I have only hinted at here. The same can be done for the Native relations to the French and English in this period.

Anyone who has looked briefly into the archives of the European arrival and settlement of the Americas will testify to the vast number of manuscripts and printed sources. These archives are especially rich for those embarked on a comparative study. In the case of Spanish sources alone, although much has been done recently to make more sources available, there is a vast number of unpublished and undigested sources because, as John Elliott has noted, "one cannot fail to be impressed by the overwhelming mass of documentation generated by the Spanish administrative machine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (1989, xi). There is, for instance, unpublished material about the story of Cortés and La Malinche. There are more mediators to be discovered, at least relatively speaking. Interpreting mediation in the exchange between European and Native has much more room for manoeuvre. In exploring mediation there should be a balance between the historical record and the ethical interests of the present, but to mediate these two solitudes has always been difficult, even for the most

accomplished historians. For literary theorists, the problems of interpretation are no stranger, but in looking at mediation through this historical divide, more will need to be done to avoid reifying history in a trope, an ornament without evidence. Just as the mediators present examples of those who cross cultural boundaries, those writing about the exchange need to remember things past in discussing a charged topic that is subject to more than its share of present pressures.

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