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From Perú to Appalachia: Amazons, El Dorado, and
the Improbable Mythology of the Virginia State Seal¹

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In May 2010, Virginia Attorney General Ken Cuccinelli drew national ridicule when he provided his office staff with lapel pins featuring a “more virtuous” version of the state seal, in which a blue breastplate conceals the formerly exposed left breast of the Amazon representing the Roman goddess Virtus as she stands victorious over the prone, defeated figure of Tyranny (Walker, “More on Cuccinelli’s Covered Up Lapel Pin”).² Cuccinelli quickly denied accusations that the pins had been inspired by religious conservatism and provided at the public’s expense, dismissing the media’s treatment of the incident as the deliberate misinterpretation of an office joke:

The seal on my pin is one of many seal variations that were used before a uniform version was created in 1940. I felt it was historic and would be something unique for my staff. My joke about Virtue being a little more virtuous in her more modest clothing was intended to get laughs from my employees – which it did! Just because we’ve always done something a certain way doesn’t mean we always have to continue doing it that way. Now seriously, can we get on with real news? (Pitney, “Breast on Virginia Seal Covered Up)

Cuccinelli’s claim regarding the “many [. . .] variations” of the seal is correct, as substantiated by Edward S. Evans’ 1911 history of the seemingly infinite permutations of the image dating back to the seventeenth century (*The Seal of Virginia*). And the former Attorney General’s claim as to the historicity of the variant used specifically for his office gag has also been fully documented: within 24 hours of covering the original story, reporter Julian Walker pointed out in a follow-up article for *Hamptonroads.com* that the image on Cuccinelli’s pin replicates that on the flag adopted by the state of Virginia on April 30, 1861, less than two weeks after it declared sovereignty and repealed its 1788 ratification of the U.S. Constitution (see Figure 2) (“More on Cuccinelli’s”).³



Figure 1. Virginia State Seal ⁴



Figure 2. Flag adopted by the state of Virginia on April 30, 1861 ⁵

The version of the image that Cuccinelli recovered for his office staff thus resonates deeply with Civil War history and Virginia's rebellion against the authority of the United States' government—a historical resonance apparently menacing enough for some Virginians to inspire the founding of a Facebook group called “Fans of the Original Virginia State Seal” (see Figures 3 and 4).



Figure 3. Facebook page of the Fans of the Original Virginia State Seal ⁶



Figure 4. Facebook page of the Fans of the Original Virginia State Seal ⁷

The partially disrobed Amazon adorning the current state seal—as well as the fully clothed one preferred by Cuccinelli—are both the products of a much longer, more complex chapter of Virginia history that the popular media, not surprisingly, overlooked in the coverage of the lapel pin story. Nearly eighty-five years before Virginia used the image of an Amazon warrior to allegorize its rejection of the U.S. Constitution and the onset of the American Civil War, it had used the same image to flaunt its repudiation of English political authority on the eve of the American Revolution. The minutes from the Virginia Convention of 1776 note that on Friday, July 5, George Mason made the following recommendations on behalf of the committee appointed to design the seal for the newly independent Commonwealth (which had, incidentally, moved to declare independence from England before the other colonies, on May 15 of the same year) (Dabney, *Virginia* 135):

TO BE ENGRAVED ON THE GREAT SEAL

VIRTUS, the genius of the Commonwealth, dressed like an Amazon, resting on a spear with one hand, and holding a sword in the other, and treading on TYRANNY, represented by a man prostrate, a crown fallen from his head, a broken chain in his left hand, and a scourge in his right.

In the exergon, the word VIRGINIA over the head of VIRTUS: and underneath the words *Sic Semper Tyrannis*. . . (Evans 31)

The “official” history of the state seal thus dates back to the American revolution; and according to longstanding regional historiography, Virginia’s use of the image to emblemize its rejection of the ruling authority—be it British or American—originates in the Commonwealth’s long history of political self-determinism.

This article will explore the mythic and symbolic antecedents of the Virginia state seal as the ultimate emblem of the Commonwealth’s ideological independence from “foreign” powers, be they European or domestic. In so doing, it will reveal the centuries-old historic resonances of the Confederate image appropriated by the former Virginia Attorney General and would-be governor. As we shall demonstrate, the icon of the vengeful warrior woman in Virginia has a history far longer and more convoluted than that of the American Civil War or even the American Revolution, with roots reaching beyond the movement for American independence and into the period in which Spain and England were engaged in a fierce competition to colonize and exploit the natural resources of North America.

Amazons in America: Spanish Colonial Precedents

For those who study colonial Latin America and the endless series of myths and half-truths that characterize its textual production, the legend of the Amazon woman is an all-too-familiar cliché. On January 6, 1493, Christopher Columbus was the first to report (without ever having seen) massive gold deposits in close proximity to a Caribbean island inhabited solely by women (*Textos y documentos* 189). A half-century later, the Dominican friar Gaspar de Carvajal would write an account of a Francisco de Orellana’s voyage through the “good land and Kingdom of the Amazons” (“Relación” 71), where female warriors wore crowns of gold (78), bludgeoned their male subjects to death on the spot if they showed weakness in battle (72), periodically began wars with a neighboring kingdom to obtain male captives for procreation, and practiced infanticide when the children born of these fleeting unions were so unfortunate as to be born male (77). Though Carvajal’s account has long since been raked over the coals for its exaggerations and inaccuracies, his stories gained

enough currency in the sixteenth century that the river that served as their backdrop is still known as the Amazon today.

The chimera of the indigenous warrior woman jealously defending vast deposits of gold near an inland water source soon became emblematic of Spain's Quixotic and—more often than not—catastrophic search for El Dorado in South America. Less discussed by contemporary scholarship, however, are the strikingly similar reports that would soon surface thousands of miles to the north, spreading from Spanish Florida into English Virginia. Like the Spanish reports of Amazons supposedly glimpsed in the depths of the South American jungle, the northern reports invariably accompanied accounts of frustrated gold-hunting, as well as the imminent violence not only of resistant natives, but of the deceitful and rebellious European explorers themselves. In order to trace out the evolution of this myth prior to its transformation into a symbol of political autonomy in colonial and contemporary Virginia, we will briefly consider a couple of the better-known early textual references to both gold and indigenous female warriors in “Apalache” (the early Spanish term originating with the Apalachee Indians of northwestern Florida, which would later migrate northeastward to become Appalachia); review early cartographic documentation of the same recurrent motifs; and finally, consider their reemergence in the Virginia colony near the end of the seventeenth century.

The First Appalachian Amazon: The De Soto Expedition

It has become a commonplace in the field of Latin American colonial literature that the Spanish pushed further and further south in their search for gold following the early discovery of Nahua (Aztec) riches in Mexico (Pastor, *Armature* 153-68). However, a simultaneous early push northward can be seen in Álgvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's first reported discovery of “muestras de oro” (“traces of gold”) in an indigenous village near present-day Tampa, Florida, in 1527. When Cabeza de Vaca inquired as to the source of the gold, the local Indians directed him towards a vague, distant realm by the name of “Apalachen,” which supposedly abounded not only in gold but also “muy gran cantidad de todo lo que nosotros estimamos en algo” (“a very great quantity of all that we value”) (I: 39).

Despite Cabeza de Vaca's failure to locate any gold in the area of western Florida in which he claimed to reach the province of "Apalache," Hernando de Soto resumed the search for the Appalachian mines eleven years later, departing from Cuba in 1539 and following rumors of gold north and east into the Carolina Piedmont in 1540—a year before Gaspar de Carvajal and Francisco de Orellana would embark down the river soon thereafter to be known as the Amazon. Rodrigo Ranjel was a participant in this ill-fated expedition, which resulted in de Soto's death on the banks of the Mississippi River and produced neither the gold nor the westward route to China that de Soto had hoped to find. In his rewrite of Ranjel's expedition diary in the *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (*General and Natural History of the Indies*, first volume 1535; subsequent volumes 1851-1855), Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo—who never personally set foot in the region—praises its plentiful food crops and wild game (II: 162). However, perhaps substituting sensationalism for the gold that was never found, Oviedo seems far more interested in the *human* landscape:

[M]artes treinta del mes de septiembre [de 1539], llegaron a Agile, sujeto de Apalache, e tomáronse algunas mujeres; e son tales, que una india tomó a un bachiller, llamado Herrera, que quedaba solo con ella e atrás de otros compañeros, e asíóle de los genitales y túvolo muy fatigado e rendido, e si acaso no pasaran otros cristianos que le socorrieran, la india le matara, puesto que él no quería haber parte en ella como libidinoso, sino que ella se quería libertar e huir. (II:161)⁸

Needless to say, it is more than a little difficult to believe this denial of any "libidinous" intent on Herrera's part towards a recently kidnapped native woman with whom he lingered alone in a hostile territory at a certain distance from other expedition members.

However, this account is just one in a long series of European claims of encounters with particularly physically—and sexually—threatening native women supposedly met en route to inland gold mines that would never actually be found. We will return to the topic of the native warrior women in Virginia at the end of this study, but must first consider the first attempts to actually map out the location of the supposed Appalachian gold mines. These efforts ultimately pushed "Apalache"—and its Amazons—further north, toward present-day Virginia.



Figure 5. Frontispiece to Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis narratio*, 1564.⁹

The French Transposition of Apalache into the Mountains

Though Spanish explorers were the first to disseminate these reports of Appalachian gold and violently resistant native women, the first serious attempt to pinpoint the gold cartographically was made by a French participant in an effort to compete for control of the territories in question. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues was a Huguenot artist present during Jean Ribaut and René Laudonnière's attempt to colonize northern Florida in 1564. Their efforts resulted in the founding of Fort Caroline (at the site of present-day Jacksonville, Florida),¹⁰ but ended abruptly when the Spanish admiral Pedro Menéndez arrived from Saint Augustine in 1565 under orders from King Philip II of Spain to "hang and burn the Lutherans" (Kenneth Davis, "A French Connection"). Le Moyne was one of a small number of French to survive. Almost three decades later, Theodor de Bry purchased Le Moyne's drawings from his widow and published the account of his experience in Frankfurt in 1591, along with his illustrations of native peoples and a rendering of Florida originally drawn in 1564 (see Figure 5).

Like the contemporaneous account of Laudonnière himself, Le Moyne's narrative constitutes, in great part, an indictment of the mutiny against Laudonnière prior to the Menéndez massacre. When not busy recounting the minutiae of the intrigues among the French prior to the Spanish attack—or the gruesome details of the attack itself—Le Moyne makes numerous references to native reports of Appalachian gold mines further to the north. Specifically, he expresses concern over securing safe passage up "the road to the Apalatcy Mountains (which we were desirous of reaching, because we were informed that most of the gold and silver which we had received in trade was brought thence)" (*Narrative* 4). Quoting from Laudonnière's own *Notable Historie* of the Huguenot voyages, Le Moyne also reports an encounter with two naked, shipwrecked Spaniards who have spent years wandering the wilds of the Florida coast and have "become so accustomed to the manners of the natives that at first our ways seemed to them like those of foreigners" (10). Only when Laudonnière gives the Spaniards the gifts of clothing and a haircut does one of them discover a gold piece "worth about twenty-five crowns" in his long and snarled mane. In return for Laudonnière's courtesy, the newly groomed Spaniard gives his benefactor the gold piece and both Spaniards wrap their

cut hair in cotton cloth to take back to Spain “as a testimony of the hardships which they had experienced in India” (10). These tantalizing rumors of gold are reinforced by both a map and an illustration, the latter of which Le Moyne explains with the following caption (see Figure 6):

A great way from the place where our fort was built, are great mountains, called in the Indian language Apalatcy; in which, as the map shows, arise three great rivers, in the sands of which are found much gold, silver, and brass, mixed together. Accordingly, the natives dig ditches in these streams, into which the sand brought down by the current falls by gravity. Then they collect it out, and carry it away to a place by itself, and after a time collect again what continues to fall in. They then convey it in canoes down the great river which we named the River of May, and which empties into the sea. The Spaniards have been able to use for their advantage the wealth thus obtained.¹¹

This explanation, alas, was probably more the fruit of misinterpretation or wishful thinking than fact. In his commentary to Paul Hulton’s edition of Le Moyne’s work, David B. Quinn notes that “[a]part from Le Moyne there is no evidence whatever that at this early period the Indians north of Mexico extracted gold from water by panning,” although gold can be found “in the form of . . . dust in inland waters from South Carolina to Virginia, particularly in the foothills of the Blue Ridge.” He further notes that archaeological excavations north of Mexico have thus far failed to uncover gold not of Spanish origin, but explains that the French misinterpretation of native informants was likely due to what we might charitably think of as an honest mistake: the local people used the same word for both gold and copper, the latter of which could indeed have been gathered by panning (Hulton, *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues* I: 215). Jerald T. Milanich confirms the importance of copper mining to the local Apalachee economy (94). Le Moyne also included the Appalachian mountains and their allegedly gold-laden streams in an accompanying map (see Figure 7).



Figure 6. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis narration*, 1564. Extracting gold from water by panning¹²



Figure 7. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Floridæ Americæ Præcinctu Recens & exactissima descriptio*¹³



Figure 8. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues,
Floridae Americae Prorincia Recens & exactissima descriptio (detail)

Near the northernmost extreme of this map, Le Moyne drew an inland lake surrounded by mountains and fed by a waterfall. The legend reads (see Figure 8): “Appalachian Mountains, in which gold and silver are found” and “In the lake the Indians discover silver flakes.” The Dutch mapmaker Jodocus Hondius would later combine Le Moyne’s map of Florida with John White’s map of Virginia, reproducing this inland, mineral-rich lake and creating—in the words of rare map dealer Barry Lawrence Ruderman—“geographical misconceptions of the region, which lasted for nearly 150 years” (see Figures 9 and 10).



Figure 9. *Virginia Item et Floridæ Americae Provinciarum, nova Descriptio*. Jodocus Hondius, 1636.¹⁴



Figure 10. *Virginia Item et Floridae Americae Provinciarum, nova Descriptio*. Jodocus Hondius, 1636. (Detail.)

I review these first print and cartographic references to point out the early genesis and perpetuation of rumors of Appalachian gold, and to underscore the fact that the Spanish and French were looking northward towards a mythical, gold-rich “Apalache/Apalatcy” a full eighty years before the English would start their westward push into the mountains of western Virginia. Without naming *Apalache* or its mountains as such, after slaughtering the settlers at Fort Caroline Pedro Menéndez reported learning from a French captive (one of the very few whose lives were spared) that “al nornoroeste de Santa Elena cien leguas, tienen la serranía que viene de las Zacatecas y que es de mucha plata” (“a hundred leagues to the north-northwest of Santa Elena [Parris, Island, South Carolina] lies the mountain range that comes from Zacatecas and which contains much silver”) (145).¹⁵ Two decades later, in 1586, Pedro Morales (a Spaniard captured by Francis Drake in Saint Augustine, Florida) also reported to Richard Hakluyt that

“[t]hree score leagues vp to the Northwest from Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Chrystall Mines, named Apalatci” (Hakluyt 533). However, it was the French sources described above that first, and definitively, shifted the realm of *Apalache*—now *Apalaty*—into a mountainous region to the north. Ironically, it was not an English colonist, but an obscure German entrepreneur and explorer by the name of John Lederer, who would first head west from present-day Richmond, Virginia to search for gold and a westward passage to the Indian Ocean. On his way, he would spread the rumor of Appalachian Amazons into colonial Virginia.

John Lederer: Appalachian Amazons, or The First Appalachian Exploration from the English Colonies

John Lederer composed an account in Latin of his three westward journeys. The account was translated into English by Sir William Talbot, Proprietary Secretary of the province of Maryland (Cunz 181), and printed in London in 1672 (see Figure 11).

The text provides a first-person account of the author’s three (failed) attempts to find a westerly passage across the Appalachian Mountains to the Indian Ocean between March 1669 and September 1670.¹⁶ Lederer, like Oviedo, tells of strong, cunning natives and fierce warrior women to be contended with by European explorers. Though he never lays eyes on these women himself, he hears news of them from the friendly Ushery Indians. In terms strikingly similar to those used by Spanish explorers of more southerly latitudes in the sixteenth century, Lederer claims that the Usheries report “continual fear” towards their enemies, the Oustacks. The latter group—according to the Usheries—performs human sacrifices and are “so addicted to arms, that even their women come into the field, and shoot Arrows over their husbands’ shoulders” (17-18). That these women live on a vast inland lake and their men are rumored to use hatchets made of precious metals (silver rather than gold) resonates strongly not only with sixteenth-century Spanish fantasies of Amazon warrior women, but of El Dorado and a mysterious inland body of water rich in precious metals.

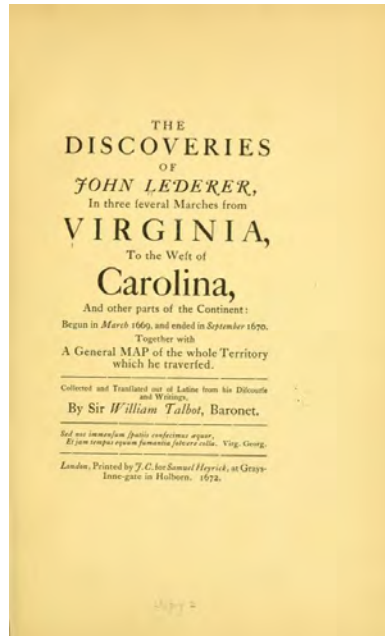


Figure 11. *The Discoveries of John Lederer*, 1672.¹⁷

Lederer's claims have been called into question to the point that the early twentieth-century historians Clarence Alvord and Lee Bidgood mockingly dismissed them as comparable to "the tales of Baron Münchhausen" (68). Though later scholars have partially vindicated the value of Lederer's narrative (Cunz), of interest here is not so much the dubious accuracy of his account, but its repetition of unsubstantiated rumors, toponyms, and creative geography from much earlier sources originally produced by Spanish and French explorers. If we return briefly to the early maps of Florida, we can observe early renderings of a place by the name of "Oustaca" (see Figures 7-8 for Le Moyne) or "Houstacqua" (see Figures 9-10 for Hondius). Clearly, both these toponyms are merely different spellings of "Oustack." Coincidentally – or not – much as earlier Spanish explorers disseminating accounts of El Dorado and Amazon warriors, Lederer gleans his information about an inland tribe of bellicose women and "effeminate and lazie" men (18) second-hand, from a native

chieftain whose language *he does not speak*.

As regards the name “Oustack,” in his much earlier *Narrative*, Le Moyne claimed that a scout by the name of La Roche Ferrière had returned from an inland foray reporting that:

all the gold and silver which had been sent [to Fort Caroline] came from the Apalatcy Mountains, and that the Indians from whom he obtained it knew of no other place to get it, since they had got all they had had so far in warring with three chiefs, named Potanou, Oneatheaqua, and Oustaca, who had been preventing the great chief Outina from taking possession of these mountains. (7)

Much like the word “Apalache” in early Spanish accounts, variants of “Oustaca” or “Oustack” were thus used to denominate a place; a king; and an entire people, all of whom lived in close proximity to the perpetually elusive gold mines.

Though, needless to say, Lederer never found his Appalachian mines, this did not disabuse him of his belief in their existence. Optimistically speculating that the northern hemisphere of the New World would imitate the southern one in geography as well as in mineral wealth, he concludes:

I am brought over to their opinion who think that the Indian Ocean does stretch an Arm or Bay from *California* into the Continent as far as the *Apalataean* Mountains, answerable to the Gulfs of *Florida* and *Mexico* on this side. Yet I am far from believing with some, that such great and Navigable Rivers are to be found on the other side the *Apalataeans* falling into the Indian Ocean, as those which run from them to the Eastward. My first reason is derived from the knowledge and experience we already have of South-*America*, whose *Andes* send the greatest Rivers in the world (as the *Amazones* and *Rio de la Plata*, &c.), into the *Atlantick*, but none at all into the *Pacifique* Sea. (23)

Naïve as these fantasies may seem today, they were not at all without precedent. It was still commonplace in the seventeenth century for Europeans to grossly underestimate the breadth of North America. Furthermore, there was an assumption of basic geological and climatological symmetry between regions that were later discovered to be extremely diverse.¹⁸ Almost a century earlier, Abraham Ortelius, the Flemish cartographer and creator of the first world atlas (*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1570), had superimposed an early map of Florida (by Gerónimo

de Chávez, royal cosmographer to Philip II) upon one of the “gold-rich region of Peru” in the 1584 edition of his *Theatrum* (see Figure 12).

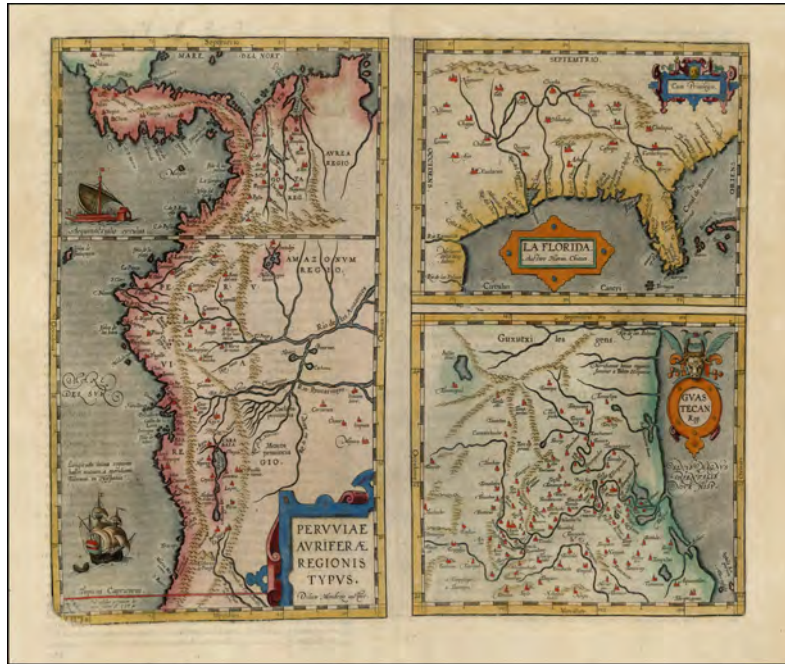


Figure 12. “Peruviae Auriferae Regionis Typus,” from the 1609 Spanish edition of Abraham Ortelius’ *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.¹⁹

Conclusion: Virginian Amazons in the Twenty-First Century

To conclude, and to return to the anecdote and iconography that served as our point of departure: it is not my intent to imply that the participants in the Virginia convention of 1776 had this convoluted history of rumors, half-truths, and—undoubtedly—outright lies in mind when it selected the iconography for the state seal, which has most often been associated with Roman antecedents. However, when the former Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Virginia attempted to justify his restoration of the

Confederate seal on the grounds that it is “historic,” it seemed an appropriate occasion to turn a very critical eye towards that history. This image was published in the *London Magazine* on May 1, 1774 (see Figure 13). The cartoon, originally published in the *London Magazine* in May 1774, represents the passage of the Intolerable Acts—whereby England attempted to punish the colonies for Boston Tea Party—as the literal and metaphorical violation of America. America, in turn, is represented by a Native American woman, forcibly restrained and sexually debased by British authorities.²⁰ The use of the indigenous woman to represent America was a common practice dating back to the early sixteenth century. Note the remarkable similarity in appearance between this woman and the Amazon on the contemporary state seal (Figure 1): the billowing robe, the bared breasts. The seal designed at the Virginia convention reversed the violence of the 1774 cartoon, with the vengeful woman standing victorious over her oppressor, England (see Figure 14). The near contemporaneity of these images makes a direct association between the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party and the iconography of the state seal difficult to avoid.



Figure 13. *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*, 1774.²¹



Figure 14. "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God."²² This version of the state seal was struck onto bronze medals at the behest of Thomas Jefferson for distribution among Native American allies ("Indian Peace Medal").

I would be remiss if I concluded without mentioning that less than a month *prior* to the scandal over Cuccinelli's adaptation of the current state seal, the image had already been adapted by *Freerepublic.com*—a Tea Party website billing itself as “America’s exclusive site for God, Family, Country, Life & Liberty constitutional conservative activists”—to express an even more explicit “rebellion.” On a page labeled “Virginia State Seal Redesign [Humor]” and dated 12 April 2010, one finds the familiar image of the official state seal of Virginia – with two significant alterations. Sarah Palin’s head has been superimposed upon that of the warrior woman representing Virtus; and Barack Obama’s face replaces that of the toppled tyrant upon which the Alaskan Amazon rests her foot.²³ Given Attorney General Ken Cuccinelli’s vocal support of and by the twenty-first-century American Tea Party, I will leave it to readers to decide which version of Virginia history—and what “tyrant”—he had in mind when he made that tremendously historic and symbolic gift to his office staff.

Notes

¹ Sincere thanks to Barry Ruderman of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps for permission to reproduce the exceptionally high quality images on his website (www.raremaps.com), and to Heritage Auctions (www.ha.com) for permission to reproduce the image of the Virginia regimental flag in Figure 2. Thanks also to Maggie Fritz-Morkin for her translations of the Latin legends on the early maps.

² We were unable to track down the copyright to the image of Cuccinelli's adapted pin via either *The Huffington Post* or Pinterest, where the *Post* had obtained the image, in time for the publication of this article. However, the image may be viewed at <http://big.assets.huffingtonpost.com/001.jpg>.

³ This was also pointed out by Jeffrey Burke of Great Falls, Virginia, founder of the Facebook group "Fans of the Original Virginia State Seal," <https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=117544978268472>.

⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag_and_seal_of_Virginia#mediaviewer/File:Seal_of_Virginia.svg 13 August 2014.

⁵ <http://historical.ha.com/itm/military-and-patriotic/civil-war/virginia-regimental-flag-captured-by-the-53rd-pennsylvania-infantry-this-virginia-civil-war-flag-was-captured-by-union-capt/a/642-25480.s?type=prte-pr120406a#Photo>.

⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=117544978268472&v=info>. Consulted 7 May 2010.

⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=117544978268472&v=wall>. Consulted 7 May 2010.

⁸ "Tuesday, the thirtieth day of the month of September [of 1539], they arrived in Agile, a tributary [*sujeto*] of Apalache, and they seized a number of women. And [these Indian women] are such, that one of them took a bachelor [e.g., an educated man; *bachiller*] by the name of Herrera, who had remained alone with her behind some of [his] other companions, and she grabbed on to his genitals and had him in such a fatigued and exhausted state, that if other Christians had not happened to pass by and rescue him, the Indian woman would have killed him; for he had no libidinous intent towards her; rather, she hoped to free herself, and flee" (II: 161).

⁹ Image courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ftp://ftp.bnf.fr/010/N0109491_JPEG_1_1DM.jpg. Consulted 19 August 2014.

¹⁰ Researchers Fletcher Crowe and Anita Spring recently announced at a conference at Florida State University (“La Floride Française: Florida, France, and the Francophone World”) that they had discovered the true site of Fort Caroline “on an island at the mouth of the Altamaha River, two miles southeast of the city of Darien [Georgia]. . . . approximately 70 miles from the Jacksonville site” (“Researchers Claim Discovery”). Crowe and Spring base their hypothesis on the collation of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century French maps of the American southeast “with coastal charts of the United States published by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and with maps published by the U.S. Geological Survey;” they also cite evidence that the native people near the fort spoke Guale, a language originally spoken near Darien, but not near Jacksonville. Though this potential discovery has generated much excitement, at present no archeological excavations have been done to confirm the hypothesis. Due to the current lack of empirical substantiation and because there is no other evidence yet available, Crowe and Spring’s announcement will remain, if only for now, in a footnote.

¹¹ This is number 41, “Mode of collecting gold in streams running from the Apalatcy Mountains,” on page 15 of “Descriptions of Illustrations” in Le Moyne’s *Narrative* – it has its own pagination, though it is included within the *Narrative*.

¹²

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/pnp/cph/3a00000/3a04000/3a04300/3a04313r.jpg>
g. Consulted 3 November 2013.

¹³ <http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/enlarge/23886>. Consulted 12 March 2011.

¹⁴

http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/18150/Virginiae_Item_et_Floridae_Americae_Provinciarum_nova_Descriptio_English/Hondius.html. Consulted 20 March 2011.

¹⁵ For a more in-depth analysis of Menéndez’s interpretation of French activities in the American southeast as a threat to the stability of the Spanish colonies, see Borchard, “The Andes in Appalachia.”

¹⁶ The full title of Lederer’s account is: *The Discoveries of John Lederer in Three Several Marches from Virginia to the West of Carolina, and Other Parts of the Continent; Begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670*. I will refer to it here simply as “the Discoveries.” Talbot, who met Lederer following the latter’s flight to Maryland after public sentiment turned against him in Virginia, was the cousin of “George Talbot who in those years played an important part in Maryland history;” nephew of

Cecil, Lord Baltimore; and was himself appointed Proprietary Secretary of the Province (Cunz 181).

¹⁷

<https://archive.org/stream/discoveriesofjohn00leder#page/n15/mode/2up>.
Consulted 19 August 2014.

¹⁸ See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "The Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period."

¹⁹ <http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/enlarge/22240>. Consulted 13 August 2014.

²⁰ <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97514782/>. 14 August 2014.

²¹ <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/ppn/ppmsca/19400/19467v.jpg>.
Consulted 14 August 2014.

²²

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e6/Rebellion_to_Tyrants_colonial_medal_Virginia.jpg. 14 August 2014.

²³ We were unable to reach the webmaster of the Free Republic site to obtain permission to reproduce the image, but it may be viewed here: <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/2491205/posts>. 12 April 2010.
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