

Pocahontas—Fact and Fiction:

Using Popular Portrayals as Learning Tools

In recent years numerous movies have depicted American Indians in a positive light. Kevin Costner's ground-breaking *Dances with Wolves* (1990), for example, attempted to show the innocence, foresight and acquiescence of the Sioux in the face of the white man's encroachment upon their land and way of life. His is one of the few modern "Indian" movies, however, which found wide acceptance. Other films such as *Black Robe* (1991), which examines the impact of French missionary efforts on the Huron and Iroquois, have proved very popular with teachers, but received less attention from mainstream audiences. Younger children have even less access to complex images of Indians. As a result, the image that most children have is of a primitive, war-like or simple people from old movies and cartoons.

In 1995 Walt Disney Studios released the animated film *Pocahontas*. This popular portrayal is a useful starting point for distinguishing between historical figures and historical myths through an examination of the title character. For instance, in the film version Pocahontas is portrayed as a young adult woman when she met a young John Smith, and the possibility of a relationship between the two is hinted at; in fact, the Powhatan princess was about eleven or twelve years old when she met Smith who was then 27.

The actual events of Smith's rescue by Pocahontas are also questionable as they have never been corroborated by a source other than those written by Smith himself. Many English who came to Virginia in 1607 recorded their adventures either in journals or in letters sent back home. Indeed, several were artists and left drawings of the Indians they encountered or of their villages. But none of them mentioned Smith's spectacular rescue. The first record of this famous event came in a letter from Smith to England's Queen Anne in 1624, more than ten years after it supposedly took place. Smith also includes it in the third version of his account of Virginia colonization, but it is important to note that he did not do so in the first or second editions—only the third, after Pocahontas herself had died.

Since then, historians have compared Smith's accounts with other sources on the behaviors and traditions of the Powhatan Indians. In Smith's account of this event, his intended execution was preceded by a great feast. While it was common practice among the Powhatans to torture their male captives before killing them, it was not their custom to celebrate such acts of cruelty by feasting beforehand. Some have suggested that the "rescue" was part of a Powhatan ceremony or ritual in which a stranger is adopted into the tribe.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In 1607 Jamestown was established by the Virginia Company of London. Its 104 settlers became the first permanent English colony in North America. Survival of the colony is often credited to Captain John Smith. Smith helped to organize the colonists to work towards survival. His 1624 journal, *The General History of Virginia*, is one of the earliest documents of American history, especially of colonists' interactions and relations with the Powhatan Indian Confederation.

The most famous among these stories is the tale of Smith's salvation at the hands of Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas. This curious young 11 or 12-year-old princess spent a large amount of time around the settlement at Jamestown. She eventually married John Rolfe, the developer of the tobacco hybrid that made Virginia profitable, not John Smith. She was baptized Rebecca and the couple later had a son. While in London for two years, she caught small pox and died.

In his journal, Smith recorded being captured by the Powhatans. In what Smith described as an execution, Pocahontas threw herself over him begging her father to spare his life. Critics note that Smith recounts similar stories of being saved by a princess in his tales from Turkey and Poland. However, it is Disney that develops the idea of a romance between Pocahontas and Smith. The movie depicts her as a beautiful, young woman and Smith, with Mel Gibson's voice, as a young, blonde swashbuckler. John Rolfe, Pocahontas' future husband, is not even in the film.

This lesson plan encourages students compare different accounts of the same from primary sources and popular film. Doing so allows them to consider history as a "creative" process as all kinds of histories—books, films, exhibits, or websites—require selection, emphasizing some events while downplaying others.

THEMES: Native Americans, Colonization, Historical Accuracy, Myth

OBJECTIVES

Students, following review of the activity's primary documents, will:

- 1) identify historical figures such as John Smith, Pocahontas, John Rolfe, and Powhatans.
- 2) describe American Indian culture in Virginia at the time of European contact.
- 3) draw conclusions of the historical accurateness of stories surrounding the Jamestown settlement.

MATERIALS (printed and copied for each student)

- TV and VCR
- Disney's Pocahontas (1995)
- Map of Virginia
- Images of Pocahontas and John Smith

ACTIVITY: DECONSTRUCTING A HISTORICAL MYTH

Part 1: Introduction (5 min.):

Draw a three-column grid on the side of the board. Label the three columns:

“Know”
“Want to Know”
“Learned”

Ask students what they already know about the settlement of Jamestown and why they think Pocahontas is important. Place these items in the Know column of the chart. Next ask students what they would like to know about the settlement. Place these items in the Want to Know column of the chart.

Provide a brief history and chronology of Jamestown to give student’s some context. If you have time, divide your students into groups and have each group review a website about Jamestown on-line or before they come to class. They should then compile a list of 5 events, people, or other characteristics they think are important to Jamestown’s history (if conducting the website review in class, add an additional 10-15 minutes; a list of sites is provided at the Greater Egg Harbor Regional Teaching American History Program “One Nation, Many Americans Project” under “Jamestown,” in the “Relevant Websites,” portion of the “Resources” section of the site” at <http://www.etc.net/tah>).

Part 2: View the Film (select 1 or 2 the entire film, which is 81 min.)

Before class begins select scenes from the film that represent many of the myths and historic inaccuracies portrayed in the film. Examples include (from the menu title list; each group is between 10-15 minutes):

Scenes 9-12: include the first impressions of Europeans and Native Americans of each other; European interest in gold; the variety of reasons Europeans chose to migrate.

Scenes 13-16: project the first clash between cultures; exchange of languages; cultural differences; and the various ideas Europeans had about Indians.

Scene 17: John Smith learns there is no gold in Virginia.

Scenes 19-21: Smith and Pocahontas fall in love and meet secretly; their relationship is discovered and results in the first death.

Scenes 22-26: Smith is captured and sentenced to die; Jamestown settlers prepare to attack; includes a song about European and Native American biases against other (“Savages”); Pocahontas saves Smith.

Either before class, or just before you show the film clips, have students read Cathy Schultz’s brief article “Myths Abound in ‘The New World’” (included with this lesson plan).

Review the first two columns of the “Know-What to Know-Learn” grid and ask students to pay particular attention to possibly stereotypes or inaccuracies and keep a list. Show the movie segment(s).

During the viewing of the clip, direct students' attention toward certain aspects you want them to notice and, after watching the film, lead the students in a discussion of the inaccuracies of the movie using the following questions:

- a. Why do you think Disney sought to create certain of these myths?
- b. What are the pros and cons of some of the myths they created?
- c. What function do myths serve in terms of our understanding of the past? Are there good vs. bad myths?

Part 3: Follow-up (15 min.)

For younger students, complete the lesson with a discussion that compares the key ideas, figures, and events from their website research to the film.

For older students, divide into groups and assign each group a primary document account of one of the film's most dramatic moments—Pocahontas' rescue of John Smith. Ask them to read their account and then, as a class, debate whether the incident really happened. What do these sources have in common? How do they differ? How important do students think these differences are? Which is the most convincing and why?

Timeline of Powhatan Indians and Jamestown

- circa 1500 Powhatan Chiefdom Created
- 1525 First European Contact with Indians in Virginia
- 1584 Attempted English Colony at Roanoke Island, N.C.
- 1607 Jamestown Established
- 1608 John Smith Captured by Powhatan
- 1609 John Smith Returns to England
- 1614 Pocahontas Marries John Rolfe
- 1615 Thomas Rolfe, son of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, born
- 1616 Rolfe family visits England
- 1617 Pocahontas dies in England
- 1618 Powhatan dies in Virginia
- 1622 First Opechancanough War
- 1634 Thomas Rolfe returns to Virginia
- 1644 Second Opechancanough War
- 1646 Opechancanough Dies
- 1677 Powhatans give up all lands in Treaty
- 1722 Powhatans believed extinct

Credits and Resources:

This lesson plan combines ideas from activities originally developed by the Virginia Historical Society (http://www.vahistorical.org/sva2003/pocahontas_lp.htm) and the Yale New Haven Teachers' Institute.

Documents for this activity were provided by the University of Houston's Digital History program (<http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/>).

For more information about Pocahontas, see Christian F. Feest's *The Powhatan Tribes* (New York: Chelsea House, 1990), a nonfiction account of the history of the Powhatan people written for 5th to 8th graders. See also: Jean Fritz, *The Double Life of Pocahontas* (New York: G.P.Putnam & Sons, 1983), a well-researched biography written for upper elementary students which is short and easy to read but includes most of the important milestones of her life, and Anne Holler, *Pocahontas: Powhatan Peacemaker* (New York: Chelsea House, 1993), a substantial volume written for upper primary and middle school using many historical paintings and drawings.

Myths Abound in "The New World"

By Cathy Schultz, Professor of History, University of St. Francis

(excerpted by "History in the Movies," published in the *Malibu Times*, 1/26/06)

It would be logical to assume that Terrence Malick's *The New World*, the latest retelling of the Pocahontas-John Smith story, would share little in common with Disney's 1995 animated feature, *Pocahontas*. Malick, after all, is a legendary auteur, while Disney is, well, Disney.

Logical, perhaps, but wrong. For though stylistically the films are worlds apart, there are uncomfortable similarities in the romanticized history each offers.

Take the costume notions, for one. In both movies, Pocahontas sports a cute, midriff-baring little number, complete with strategic slits to show off her toned thighs. Sexy? Quite. But historical? Um, no.

And while Malick's film doesn't have a chatty Grandmother Willow and a cuddly raccoon buddy, Pocahontas still cavorts. A lot. In fact, according to these films, Pocahontas apparently had little else to do than gambol around with John Smith, teaching him to appreciate nature.

Here are other ways *The New World* romanticizes early America history.

Q. Was John Smith such a pensive, introspective chap?

A. Hardly. The real John Smith was an opinionated, forceful soldier, who is credited with saving the Jamestown settlement by cracking down on lazy settlers who would rather hunt for gold than grow food.

Smith also had a wide self-promoting streak. He penned thrilling adventure stories of his exploits, with himself as the swashbuckling hero. It worked, though. We still know his name today, while contemporaries like Christopher Newport (who?) are forgotten.

Q. In the film, the Indians are said to "lack guile, treachery, or greed." Is that true?

A. Far too romanticized. The movie depicts the Indians living in harmony with nature and one another. They're peaceful, except when the English goad them. And they all do lots of playing and dancing.

In reality, Powhatan, Pocahontas's father was an astute and tough chief, who ruled by conquest over the surrounding tribes. Politically savvy and fierce in battle, his people were far from the innocent, childlike creatures we see in the film.

Nor were they primitive environmentalists. Indians worked the earth the same way the English did, only with different tools. They farmed, felled trees, reshaped the land around them. And rather than cavorting all day, everyone in the tribe worked. Hard.

Q. How did Smith get along with the Indians?

A. It was a complex relationship. On the one hand, Smith admired Powhatan, and may even have

been ritually adopted into his tribe. And since the English were greatly outnumbered, and starving to boot, Smith had no choice but to negotiate with the tribes for food.

But Smith could be sneaky, promising muskets for food, for example, with no real intention of providing them. And his own letters proposed a dire fate for the natives, suggesting that the best way to treat Indians was to force them to do "all matter of drudgery worke [sic] and slavery."

Q. Did Pocahontas really save John Smith when her tribe captured him?

A. Probably not. The famous tale of Smith's capture by Powhatan and his subsequent release was one Smith told many times. But interestingly, he never added the bit about Pocahontas's "rescue" until 1624, seventeen years after it purportedly occurred, and years after Pocahontas herself died.

Smith also liked to exaggerate. It's suspicious, for instance, that apparently Pocahontas wasn't the only beautiful woman to save Smith from almost certain death. According to his writings, a Turkish noblewoman, a Cossack chieftain's wife, and a lovely Frenchwoman (among others) also rescued him during his various globe-trotting adventures. Most of them, of course, then fell madly in love with him.

Q. So Pocahontas and John Smith didn't fall in love? Say it ain't so!

A. One big obstacle to the Romeo and Juliet love story presented by Malick is that when they met, Smith was about twenty-seven, and Pocahontas probably only eleven.

But she was a precocious child by all accounts, and she and Smith did build a friendship, despite the age difference, and taught one another their languages. But their great love affair almost certainly didn't happen. Two years after they met, John Smith was headed back to England, and Pocahontas was married to Kocoom, an Indian who died soon after.

Q. Was Pocahontas kicked out of her tribe for helping the English?

A. Never occurred. She did end up living in Jamestown, though. But only because she had been kidnapped at fifteen by the English, and was held there as a royal hostage.

Her captors allowed her much freedom, however. And it was in Jamestown that she met and married John Rolfe. And as the film shows, she traveled with him to London, and was feted by the King as a princess.

Thus Pocahontas cast her lot with the English. The sources suggest that she did love Rolfe. But her marriage was also designed to forge an alliance, and foster a peace between her people and her husband's. It worked, at least in her lifetime.

Q. Where to find more information about her?

A. Try Camilla Townsend's wonderful *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma*.

Governor Edward-Maria Wingfield's Report, 1607

Decem.--The 10th of December, Mr Smyth went vp the ryuer of the Chechohomynies to trade for corne. He was desirous to see the heade of that riuer; and, when it was not passible wth the shallop, he hired a cannow and an Indian to carry him up further. The river the higher grew worse and worse. Then hee went on shoare wth his guide, and left Robinson & Emmery, twoe of our Men, in the cannow; wch were presently slayne by the Indians, Pamaonke's men, and hee himself taken prysoner, and, by the means of his guide, his lief was saved; and Pamaonché, haueing him prisoner, carryed him to his neybors wyroances to see if any of them knew him for one of those wch had bene, some twoe or three yeeres before vs, in a river amongst them Northward, and taken awaie some Indians from them by force. At last he brought him to the great Powaton (of whome before wee had no knowledg), who sent him home to our towne the viijth [seventh] of January.

Governor Edward-Maria Wingfield's Report, 1607 (modern translation)

The 10th of December

Mr. Smith went up the river of the Chechohomynies to trade for corn. He wanted to see the head of the river and, when it was no longer possible to sail in a shallop, he hired a canoe and an Indian to carry him further.

The higher he went up the river, the worse and worse it became. He went ashore with his guide, and left Robinson & Emmery, two of our Men, in the canoe. These two men were killed by the Indians, Pamaonke's men, and Smith himself taken prisoner, though his guide saved his life.

Pamaonché, having him prisoner, carried him to his neighbors to see if any of them thought he was one of the men who, two or three years ago in a river to the north, had taken away some Indians by force. At last, he brought him to the great Powhatan (who we know little about), who sent him home to our town the seventh of January.

John Smith's 1616 Letter to Queen Anne of Great Britain:

Most admired Queen,

The love I bear my God, my King and country, hath so oft emboldened me in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honesty doth constrain me to presume thus far beyond myself, to present your Majesty this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poison to all honest virtues, I must be guilty of that crime if I should omit any means to be thankful.

So it is, that some ten years ago being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan their chief King, I received from this great Salvage exceeding great courtesy, especially from his son Nantaquaus, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a Salvage, and his sister Pocahontas, the Kings most dear and well-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compassionate pitiful heart, of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants ever saw: and thus enthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks fattening amongst those Salvage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine; and not only that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to Jamestown: where I found about eight and thirty miserable poor and sick creatures, to keep possession of all those large territories of Virginia; such was the weakness of this poor commonwealth, as had the salvages not fed us, we directly had starved. And this relief, most gracious Queen, was commonly brought us by this Lady Pocahontas.

Notwithstanding all these passages, when inconstant fortune turned our peace to war, this tender virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jars have been oft appeased, and our wants still supplied; were it the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinary affection to our nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the utmost of his policy and power, sought to surprise me, having but eighteen with me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irksome woods, and with watered eyes gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his fury; which had he known, he had surely slain her.

Jamestown with her wild train she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three years, she next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this colony from death, famine and utter confusion; which if in those times, had once been dissolved, Virginia might have lain as it was at our first arrival to this day.

Since then, this business having been turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is most certain, after a long and troublesome war after my departure, betwixt her father and our colony; all which time she was not heard of.

About two years after she herself was taken prisoner, being so detained near two years longer, the colony by that means was relieved, peace concluded; and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, she was married to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian ever spoke English, or had a

child in marriage by an Englishman: a matter surely, if my meaning be truly considered and well understood, worthy a Princes understanding.

Thus, most gracious Lady, I have related to your Majesty, what at your best leisure our approved Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majesty's life; and however this might be presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart, as yet I never begged anything of the state, or any: and it is my want of ability and her exceeding desert; your birth, means, and authority; her birth, virtue, want and simplicity, doth make me thus bold, humbly to beseech your Majesty to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter, as myself, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Majesty. The most and least I can do, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as myself, and the rather being of so great a spirit, however her stature: if she should not be well received, seeing this Kingdom may rightly have a Kingdom by her means; her present love to us and Christianity might turn to such scorn and fury, as to divert all this good to the worst of evil; whereas finding so great a Queen should do her some honor more than she can imagine, for being so kind to your servants and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as endear her dearest blood to effect that, your Majesty and all the Kings honest subjects most earnestly desire.

And so I humbly kiss your gracious hands,
Captain John Smith, 1616

John Smith, Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles (1624)

The next voyage hee proceeded so farre that with much labour by cutting of trees in sunder he made his passage, but when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe a shore till his returne: himselfe with two English and two Salvages went up higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government, gave both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one George Cassen, whom they slew, and much failed not to have cut of the boat and all the rest. Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the desert, had his two men shine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall, who finding he was beset with 200. Salvages, two of them bee slew, still defending himselfe with the ayd of a Salvage his guid, whom he bound to his arme with his garters, and used him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that stucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at last they tooke him prisoner. When this newes came to James towne, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting what ensued. Sixe or seven weekes those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphes and conjurations they made of him, yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not onely diverted them from surprising the Fort, but procured his owne libertie, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him more then their owne Quiyouckosucks. The manner how they used and delivered him, is as followeth.

The Salvages having drawne from George Cassen whether Captaine Smith was gone, prosecuting that opportunity they followed him with 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of Pamaunkee, who in divisions searching the turnings of the river, found Robinson and Emry by the fire side, those they shot full of arrowes and slew. Then finding the Captaine, as is said, that used the Salvage that was his guide as his shield (three of them being shine and divers other so gauld) all the rest would not come neere him. Thinking thus to have returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more then his way, slipped up to the middle in an oasis creeke & his Salvage with him, yet durst they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his armes. Then according to their composition they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benumbed limbs. He demanding for their Captaine, they shewed him Opechankanough, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he gave a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainely, and yet not touch it, because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Jewell, . . . they all stood as amazed with admiration. Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him, but the King holding up the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well used.

. . . Drawing themselves all in fyle, the King in the midst had all their Peeeces and Swords borne before him. Captaine Smith was led after him by three great Salvages, holding him fast by each arme: and on each side six went in fyle with their Arrowes nocked. But arriving at the Towne (which was but onely thirtie or fortie hunting houses made of Mats, which they remove as they please, as we our tents) all the women and children staring to behold him . . . All this while Smith and the King stood in the midst guarded, as before is said, and after three dances

they all departed. Smith they conducted to a long house, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did guard him, and ere long more bread and venison was brought him then would have served twentie men, I thinke his stomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they set the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more, and then did they eate all the old, & reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him. Yet in this desperate estate to defend him from the cold, one Maocassater brought him his gowne, in requitall of some beads and toyes Smith had given him at his first arrivall in Virginia.

Two dayes after a man would have slaine him (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his sonne, to whom they conducted him to recover the poore man then breathing his last. Smith told them that at James towne he had a water would doe it, if they would let him fetch it, but they would not permit that; but made all the preparations they could to assault James towne, craving his advice, and for recompence he should have life, libertie, land, and women. . . .

At last they brought him to Meronocomo, where was Powhatan their Emperour. Here more then two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till Powhatan and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aswell of all occupations as themselves. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest. . . .

Two dayes after, Powhatan having disguised himselfe in the most fearefull manner he could, caused Capt. Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a mat by the fire to be left alone. . . . That night they quarterd in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almightie God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those sterne Barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the Fort [at Jamestown], where Smith having used the Salvages with what kindnesse he could, he shewed Rawhunt, Powhatans trusty servant two demi-Culverings & a millstone to carry Powhatan: they found them somewhat too heavie; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Isickles, the yce and branches came so

tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toyes; and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children such presents, as gave them in generall full content.