

UC Santa Cruz

UC Santa Cruz Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Violent Inscriptions: Border Crossings in Early Nineteenth-Century American Literary History

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/20k364p7>

Author

Schilz, Lisa

Publication Date

2016

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

**VIOLENT INSCRIPTIONS: BORDER CROSSINGS IN EARLY
NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN LITERARY HISTORY**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

LITERATURE
with an emphasis in AMERICAN STUDIES

by

Lisa Schilz

June 2016

The Dissertation of Lisa Schilz is
approved:

Professor Kirsten Silva Gruesz

Professor Susan Gillman

Professor Louisa Nygaard

Tyrus Miller
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

Copyright © by

Lisa Schilz

2016

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
Dedication.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One.....	24
Chapter Two.....	66
Chapter Three.....	118
Chapter Four.....	180
Coda.....	238
References.....	243

List of Figures

Figure 1: Inscription.....	9
Figure 2: Violent Inscription.....	10
Figure 3: Map of Comanchería.....	68
Figure 4: Catherwood Sketch.....	150
Figure 5: Zavala Manuscript.....	154

Abstract

Violent Inscriptions:

Border Crossings in Early Nineteenth-Century American Literary History

Lisa Schilz

My dissertation, *Violent Inscriptions: Trauma, Translation, and Trans-nation in the Borderlands*, stages convergences among a multilingual, multicultural web of texts and textual traces—Comanche, Ojibwe, Mexican, U.S., German—that thematize and register violence in the early national period. While 1848 has rightly been proclaimed as a (or even *the*) significant periodizing marker for American Studies, I return to the seminal complicated prior history of relations in the borderland spaces, a time when U.S. and Anglophone hegemony was not yet assured. The multimodal texts and cultural productions I recover (poetry, written and oral stories, government records) remain underexamined in U.S. literary studies and historiography, as they do not lend themselves easily to dominant grids of intelligibility, such as the nation-state, traditional periodizations, or monocultural and monolingual traditions. My comparative work retains field-specific research methods (such as from Indigenous and Latin American Studies) and brings them together in order to question the dominant lingering grids that do not capture the potential of these texts to envision alternative possibilities. The convergence of these materials troubles dominant Anglo-American definitions of land and property, temporality, and belonging as well as reframes the spatial and temporal markers of the borderlands.

I extend the reach of the Latino-American borderlands model to feature Native American intellectual traditions more prominently. My project calls attention to the long-standing and diverse tribal sovereignties, pre-existing and surpassing what are now the boundaries of the U.S. nation state. It also unearths an unexpected connection to German immigrants, who abounded in and wrote prolifically about borderland spaces. Considering German immigrants allows for negotiations of racial boundaries within whiteness itself. In its four chapters, my dissertation focuses on archival and oral sources regarding both the southern and northern borderlands as well as texts written by Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, Charles Sealsfield, and Lorenzo de Zavala.

Dedication

To my wonderful husband, Matthew Scott Schilz, for his continual encouragement and love throughout this long process.

To my amazing advisor, Kirsten Silva Gruesz, for her remarkable advice and support.

Introduction

*Ya me gritaron mil veces
que me regrese a mi tierra,
Porque aquí no quepo yo.
Quiero recordarle al gringo:
Yo no cruce la frontera,
La frontera me cruzó.*

*They have shouted at me a million times
to return to my land
because I don't belong here
I want to remind the gringo:
I didn't cross the border,
The border crossed me.*

Los Tigres del Norte, “Somos Mas Americanos” (“We Are More American”)¹

1. La Frontera Me Cruzó

Released in 2001, Los Tigres del Norte’s corrido speaks to the contemporary concerns and convictions of many Latinos/Latinas living in the southwest and the greater United States. Countering nativist sentiments to “go back to where you belong,” “Somos Mas Americanos” reaches back to a seminal moment often effaced in U.S. history—1848 and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—to historicize and undercut the logic of such nativist claims: prior to 1848, Mexicans in what is now considered the southwest of the United States were actually residing in the northwest of the United States of Mexico.² This history that Los Tigres Del Norte reference has further implications for debates over immigration, as it reverses the normative

¹ Los Tigres del Norte are a San-Jose based norteño band who portray the struggles of life and love and the debates over immigration and narcotrafficking. Along with their music, they participate in political activism such as joining the 2010 international boycott of Arizona’s SB1070.

² This space includes California, Arizona, Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming

associations of white/citizen and Latino/["illegal"] immigrant: prior to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the *gringos* were in fact the immigrants, often illegally crossing into Mexican territory.³ Los Tigres del Norte's political protest highlights in popular media what borderlands scholars have rightfully proclaimed—that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the establishment of the current Mexico-United States border is a (or even the) significant periodizing marker for American Studies.⁴ 1848 as marker challenges the continued centrality of the Civil War in American Studies, evinced in the reliance on periodizations of prebellum and antebellum and the spotlight on black/white binaries.

However, a sole focus on 1848 emphasizes United States-Mexico relations to the neglect of prior histories of contest and colonialization. Indigenous nations far preceded the United States and Mexico, controlling and warring over these spaces. Not considering indigenous sovereignties simplifies this complicated prior history of relations in the borderland spaces, a history that would eventually lead to the United States takeover of Mexican lands. Yet during the early national period, United States and Anglophone hegemony was not yet assured in the southwest. National borders were highly in flux, generating a proliferation of moments that challenge the fixed, naturalized nature of current borders and contemporary notions of immigration. My focus, the area that would primarily become the space of Texas, faced massive upheavals and myriad conflicts with multiple sovereignties claiming authority over this space—New Spain, Comanchería, Apachería, Mexico, and the United States to

³ See Weber for more about Anglo-immigration into Mexico.

⁴ See Streeby and Alemán for the significance of 1848.

name a few.⁵ First, New Spain warred against the Comanche, Apache, and other indigenous nations who nearly decimated Spanish settlements. Gaining independence from Spain, the newly established Mexican government faced similar battles with indigenous nations as well as a growing threat, that of Anglo-American incursion into the northern frontiers of Mexico. Anglo-Americans then usurped the land from Mexico, declaring the existence of a Texas Republic, separate from both Mexico and the United States, until the United States annexed the Texas Republic at the end of the Mexican-United States War.

My recognition of plural sovereignties respatializes and retemporalizes the border, refuting the naturalness of the standing Mexican-United States border, the rightness of nativist rhetoric scapegoating immigrants for economic troubles, and the interminable reaches of the current security state striving to “protect” the United States through exclusionary policies, deportations, and walls. As Brian Delay claims, recognition of plural sovereignties is the crux of borderlands scholarship: while borderlands are places of contrasts and contestations through language and culture, legal and economic systems, and religion and social relations, the “defining quality” of the borderlands is “plural sovereignty—the presence of multiple polities claiming and exercising ultimate *de facto* authority over place and people” (9). Such recognition of multiple sovereignties points to the critical potential of borderlands scholarship; it, in Kirsten Silva Gruesz’s words, “calls forth” an “implicit dialogue with the national,” as “the very concept of the border is unintelligible without the

⁵ Comanchería and Apachería are the names of the Comanche and Apache nations.

nation” (10). This critical potential of the borderlands is the purpose of this dissertation: to use the borderlands as a site to interrogate the United States and its literary history.

As Delay has noted, in current United States parlance, the term borderlands has become synonymous with the space of the southwest, the Mexican-United States border. Yet the northern borderlands, currently construed as the United States-Canadian border (and the longest international border in the world), was also in radical flux in the early nineteenth century: the 1783 Treaty of Paris ended the American Revolutionary War and established the border at the 45th parallel, drawing an imaginary line through the Great Lakes; the British and the Americans contested this border in the War of 1812; in 1846, when the United States began their war against Mexico, Great Britain and the United States settled a long-standing dispute over the Oregon territory, again renegotiating the border.

As with the southwest border, indigenous nations preceded, straddled, and surpassed what became the borders between Canada and the United States, and their continued existence pushes a radical rethinking of the border. These indigenous peoples can proclaim along with Los Tigres del Norte, “Yo no cruce la frontera; la frontera me cruzó.” Indigenous scholar Thomas King in fact contends:

For most Aboriginal people, that line does not exist. It’s a figment of someone else’s imagination. Historical figures such as Chief Joseph and Sitting Bull...moved back and forth between the two countries, and while they understood the importance of the border to Whites, there is nothing to indicate that they believed in its legitimacy. (xvi)

The Anishinaabe peoples, who are the focus of Chapter Four, controlled masses of territory spanning what is now the United States-Canadian border. The Ojibwe alone, one of the six nations making up the Anishinaabeg, ruled territories encompassing what are now the states of North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Toronto, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. Yet the French, British, and Americans entered Ojibwe lands, declaring them their own, and demarcated borders that previously did not exist.

In order to respatialize and retemporalize the southern and northern borders of the United States, I continue the work begun by borderlands scholars, such as David Weber, Edmundo O’Gorman, and Jose David Saldívar.⁶ Extending to literary studies the conversation began by historians and political theorists, I bring the southern and northern borderlands into conversation with each other to question how an integration of the northern borderlands might supplement existing scholarship on territoriality, racialized bodies, and temporality.⁷ I add to the borderlands paradigm hemispheric

⁶ The term the Spanish borderlands was popularized by Herbert Bolton (and the “Bolton School”) in the early twentieth century, but in the late twentieth century David Weber critiqued Bolton’s anachronistic application of national boundaries and periodizations to spaces that existed long before the nation and influentially proposed to take the space of the borderlands as a space with its own history. Edmundo O’Gorman additionally criticized Bolton’s model for flattening difference. Gloria Anzaldúa’s and Walter Dignolo’s work theorized border thinking. Jose David Saldívar and others sought to explore the borderlands in ways that acknowledge difference, hybridity, and simultaneity.

⁷ For a sample of scholarship bridging northern and southern borders, see Johnson and Graybill as well as Delay. Both of these collections are dedicated to the memory of border historian extraordinaire David Weber and aim to “integrate the histories of both of the international borders in North America” in order to “construct a more comprehensive North American history, while also recasting familiar but previously incomplete inquiries” (Johnson and Graybill 3). Of particular interest are questions of

and transnational methodologies as many of the borderland writers I explore did not stay within the space of the borderlands but travelled across the Atlantic and throughout Latin and North America.

The borderlands paradigm as well as hemispheric and transnational methodologies are central to my work as they break out of the nation-state model and its limitations—the focus on the frontier and ideologies of Manifest Destiny, the equation of America with the United States, the implicit understanding of American literature as written in English and within the confines of the current United States borders (and often in New England), and the concentration on American Renaissance authors such as Hawthorne, Thoreau, Emerson, Melville, and Whitman.⁸

state building, territoriality, national expansion, and migration. Johnson and Graybill stress the newness of such work, noting that their 2010 volume is the first integrative effort of its kind.

⁸ Challenging frontier ideologies and their focus on westward movement, teleologies of progress, and Anglo actors is a key focus of borderlands scholarship. Frontier scholarship, while existing previously, is often begun with the narrative of now-notorious scholar Frederick Jackson Turner who, at the very end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century (the “closing of the frontier”), imbued the frontier with immense symbolic value, positing the frontier as a space associated with the ideas of promise, progress, and ingenuity, a space outside of time and history. In the mid-twentieth century, arising out of a newly instituted American Studies, the myth and symbol school probed representative American works for recurring myths and motifs about the frontier. Important scholarship in this school include Leo Marx and Henry Nash Smith. Annette Kolodny offered a feminist revision of such scholarship. Later scholars have criticized the myth and symbol school for its methodology, its use of selective texts to represent the “essence” of American culture. In the latter half of the twentieth century, New Western History produced scholarship to counter the concept of “the frontier” and its unidirectional narrative of progress and ingenuity, with scholars such as Patricia Limerick and Richard White writing about conquest and the middle ground. Borderlands scholarship, in turn though, critiqued New Western History for its continued overreliance on white, hegemonic source materials.

Borderlands scholarship, therefore, provides a necessary corrective and a helpful apparatus; however, borderlands scholarship, too, has limitations that my texts expose. Borderlands, by definition, are lands at the peripheries—borders—of a nation. There is a risk here that borderlands inhabitants and writings, therefore, come to only be seen as peripheral, opposed to those at the centers of cultural power, such as from New England. However, this approach to the borderlands calls out for radical revision, since it is both temporally and spatially anachronistic and culturally imperialistic in positing Anglo-American geographies and cultural developments as the norm. Take for instance Sault Ste. Marie, which is located on the far north peninsula of what is now Michigan. What was considered a peripheral space of the United States and Canada in the early nineteenth century—one lacking in culture and development—was in fact spatially central and the seat of cultural power within the Ojibwe nation. From Sault Ste. Marie, the Ojibwe nation radiated their governance and culture outward to other regions north and south, east and west. As such an example indicates, long-standing and diverse indigenous sovereignties, pre-dating and exceeding what are now the boundaries of the U.S. nation-state, invite a questioning of the nation and national common sense.

2. Violent Inscriptions

"I get stopped every time I try to cross that border, but stories go where they please."
--Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian*

In my view, American literary studies still rely too heavily on the nation-state model, even in their critiques.⁹ This overreliance on the U.S. national tradition renders other presences, in Silva-Gruesz's case of nineteenth-century Latino writers, "ghostly and peripheral" (xii). If recognized at all, the texts and authors I recover were made ghostly and peripheral within the nineteenth through tropes of foreignness or primitiveness. Current American literary studies often still neglect these works due to their failure to fit into existing national norms, particularly those defined by language. Almost twenty years ago, Werner Sollors issued a call for a multilingual turn in American studies, a turn that would recognize the fact that the United States is, and has always been, constituted by an impressive multilingualism. However, the call has largely gone unheeded.¹⁰

My focus will be on these very texts and authors that do not fit neatly into the national model. In King's words, some "stories go where they please," crossing borders of nation, language, and genre, to name just a few. Such works and authors propose a dilemma for normative methods of American studies as well as, at times, even more-traditionally focused indigenous and Latino studies. For instance, what do

⁹For instance, LeMenager notes how Manifest Destiny continues to drive inquiries, even inquiries that are critiquing this ideology, thereby perpetuating what they intend to disavow.

¹⁰ See Brickhouse or Silva Gruesz for works that do, in fact, respond to the multilingual call.

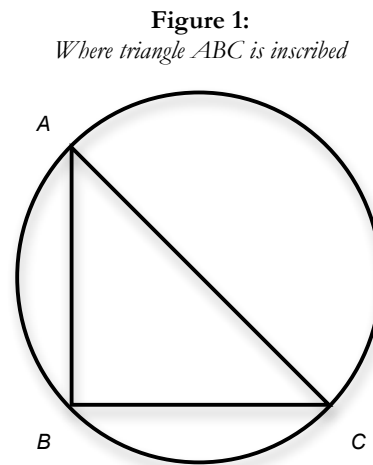
we do with a book on the Texas Revolution that focuses heavily on Latin America yet is written in German by an escaped Moravian priest who declared himself a citizen of the United States? What do we do with a Romantic ode to a flower that could be Ralph Waldo Emerson's or William Cullen Bryant's except that is in written in Ojibwe by the granddaughter of an Anishinaabe war chief whose family fought against the Americans in the War of 1812?

Such intricate entanglements, conflicting expectations, and the reframings they exemplify define the conceptual framework of this dissertation and provide a backdrop to its central concern, that of violent inscriptions. By "violent inscriptions" I refer to a wide range of texts that mark occurrences of violence—of violation as exhibited in the infliction of harm or in the constraining of movement. Inscription becomes most significant, however,

in its shadowy relationship to power:

The term inscription resonates with officially recognized items (such as documents and monuments), the praxis of inscription works to delineate, stabilize, and make

durable an official, acceptable narrative.¹¹ Such a process is associated with containment, an idea highlighted by the mathematical conception of inscription—the



¹¹Inscription, *noun* (OED): (1) That which is inscribed, especially a legend, description, or record traced upon some hard substance for the sake of durability, as

action of drawing one geometric figure within an already existing figure. Put differently, an inscribed figure is one that is enclosed by another figure. (See Figure 1.) The act of inscription, therefore, aims to delineate, stabilize, and make durable a certain narrative, a process that is possible because that narrative fits within an already-existing, authorized frame. My use of inscription is in dialogue with Walter Mignolo’s development of Anibal Quijano’s concept of the colonality of power. As explained provocatively by Linda Alcoff, the colonality of power is the durable set of “framing and organizing assumptions that justify hierarchies and make it almost impossible to evaluate alternative claims” (86).

I use the conceptual framework of “violent inscriptions” to signify my focus on texts that do “violence” to the logic of inscription. Such inscriptions perform multiple boundary crossings, be they linguistic, cultural, political, temporal, spatial, or modal, and break out of the enclosing figures of the nation-state, traditional periodizations, or monocultural and monolingual traditions. (See Figure 2.) Hence, while these texts thematize and register

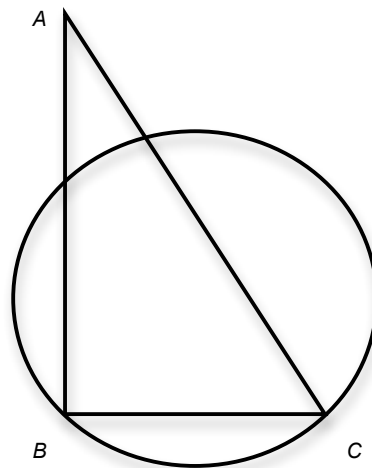


Figure 2:

If the circle represents the enclosing figures of the nation-state, traditional periodizations, or monocultural or monolingual traditions, then triangle ABC represents violent inscriptions that break out of the boundaries of the existing figure.

on a monument, building, column, tablet, medal, coin, etc. (2) A writing or entering of the name of a person upon an official document or list.

violence, they more significantly *do* violence to those dominant framing assumptions that are associated with the coloniality of power. This dissertation explores how language becomes an extension of that power, particularly in the conflation of American literary history and English-language texts. I therefore ask, what will nineteenth-century American literary history look like if it is focused on these violent inscriptions, these texts that rupture framing categories of power?

This dissertation is comparative in scope, not tracing a standard two-country pairing but unearthing points of convergence amongst multiple literary traditions (particularly those of Native America, Latin America, the United States, and Germany) and texts written in multiple languages (Spanish, German, English, and Ojibwa). In addition to extending the reach of the literature of the Americas to Native American literature, this dissertation unfolds a less obvious German connection, encompassing a group of authors who wrote prolifically about borderland spaces.¹²

Germans provide an interesting case study in their own right as well as in the comparative context. Germany in this period was not yet a nation, but a group of loosely affiliated German-speaking states, states that also experienced border alterations. Many Germans were also profoundly fascinated with and intimately involved in the New World, establishing enclaves throughout the United States and Latin America. Over five million Germans immigrated to the United States alone between 1815 and 1900 (Sammons 116). During the nineteenth century, the racial and national identities of German immigrants in the United States were in flux. While

¹²For another “literature of the Americas” project with a native focus, see Huhndorf.

acknowledging Michael Omi and Howard Winant's assertion that U.S. culture has drawn a "color line *around* rather than *within* Europe," Matthew Frye Jacobson argues that during the nineteenth century, "it was not altogether clear just where that line ultimately *would* be drawn" (7). Therefore Germans, while fitting the category of "free white persons" delineated by the 1790 U.S. naturalization law, still at times faced a "racially accented...native resistance...to their inclusion" (12). Marked by inclusion and exclusion, sameness and otherness, German immigrants inhabited a liminal and shifting space that lends itself to an interesting comparison with other perspectives within the Americas and allows for a consideration of the negotiations of racial boundaries within whiteness itself.¹³

Most significantly, my dissertation assembles literary traditions that are all deeply concerned with indigeneity. U.S. texts necessarily grapple with the long history of Native American presence in the land, often relegating Native Americans to a primitive past and usurping their position as the new Native Americans.¹⁴ Native American texts assert both their longevity in the land and their continued survival in

¹³ Whether the German immigrants were located in frontier spaces or in cities in part impacted their complex positionality and the various levels of resistance faced. The German position exhibits what scholarship on whiteness has theorized: that whiteness is not a fixed, monolithic category but, in the words of Berger, a "contested ideological position" (69). While the stability of the category of whiteness has been successfully challenged by such scholarship, at times this long history of the changing nature of whiteness is forgotten in literary studies.

¹⁴ Dippie explains the necessity of the Native Past for the new settlers: "Without a past of its own...America lacked moral grandeur, its character remained distressingly two-dimensional; thus the desire to locate indigenous roots that might reach back to a New World antiquity, a lost heritage distinctly American. The Indian, as the First American, was necessary to any such attempt at self-definition. He *was* the American past" (16).

defiance of the aims of settler colonialism. Latin American texts explore the impact of Spanish colonialism on indigenous populations as well as wrestle with the nature of the relationship between indigeneity and post-contact mestizo populations. German texts were both fascinated with and perplexed by indigenous populations, exhibited perhaps most prominently in the western mythos of Karl May, who saw the German tribal past mirrored in Native Americans. These diverse literary traditions all, on some level, contend with a similar problematic—that of violence, both physical and representational, inflicted on indigenous populations.

By focusing on violent inscriptions, my dissertation in its broad comparative sweep might seem to be countering other important critical currents in indigenous scholarship, such as the focus on tribal specificity and on indigenous epistemologies extolled by both the decolonizing movement and indigenous literary nationalism.¹⁵ Yet, as Cherokee Daniel Heath Justice, a key proponent of indigenous literary nationalism, writes, “While for some time it was presumed that literary nationalism was opposed by (and to) a more cosmopolitanist criticism that privileged

¹⁵ For an example of the decolonizing, see Tuhiwai Smith. Smith explores how colonizing practices are still prevalent in scholarship and calls for a decolonizing of research practices that are informed by native voice and epistemologies rather than westernized notions. For an example of indigenous literary nationalism, see Warrior, Weaver, and Womack. Heath Justice defines AILN: “Very simply, Indigenous literary nationalism is a philosophy that places Indigenous intellectual and cultural values at the center of analysis, rather than the margins. It operates with the understanding that Native nations have powerful and sophisticated intellectual foundations, and that these are ideally suited to the study of Indigenous literatures. It’s also an avowedly political movement, in that it asserts the active presence of Indigenous values in the study of the literatures of Indian Country, and it sees transformative possibility in studying nation-specific literatures through the critical lenses of their source cultures.”

transnational movement and cultural exchange, some of the best critical works of recent years have argued for a more nuanced approach that sees nationalism and cosmopolitanism as often operating in relation with one another, not in necessary opposition.” My comparativism, attuned to scalar differences and embracing of the insights gleaned from tribal specificity and indigenous epistemologies, echoes Mvskoke Creek Tol Foster’s conception of relational regionalism, a call to recognize the interconnectedness of tribal, regional, and national scales and therefore theorize the “relation between *Native* and *America*” (268). Foster’s underscoring of relatedness does not level distinctions or hierarchies but demands a focus on historical specificity, locality, and contingency in order to explore the tension between communities and provide “the grounding for thorough critique” (277).

Focused on historical specificity, locality, and contingency, my comparative project complements Mignolo’s insistence that colonial difference must be reinscribed to contest the coloniality of power and its universalizing and atemporalizing claims. Alcoff explores this task of reinscription: “If the Eurocentric imaginary of modernity has forgotten colonialism and relegated the colonized spaces to the periphery and to the past in its description of universal reality (even if that ‘past’ paradoxically exists in the ‘present’), the task of the colonial difference is to reinscribe simultaneity....to make ‘our America’ no longer considered peripheral and behind the ‘now’” (87). The nineteenth-century U.S. was very much invested in the teleological and linear progression of modernity, as clearly evinced, for instance, in the predominant trope of the Vanishing Indian and narratives such as Manifest

Destiny. Yet such narratives were not the only existing narratives despite the fact that they continue to remain prominent, even in scholarship's critiques of them.¹⁶ This dissertation, therefore, emphasizes violent inscriptions of difference that existed within the nineteenth-century U.S.

As noted previously, many of the texts I address are still underrepresented in the current imaginary of American Literary Studies. Even post-canon wars, some have failed to be integrated within the more inclusive, multicultural canons due to their multiple boundary crossings as well as material reasons such as circulation and translation. I am not engaged in merely expanding the canon but in critiquing framing and organizing assumptions. Instead, my study, in the words of Anna Brickhouse, “turns it lens back upon the particular period of US literary history under consideration”—in this case, the temporal space between “early Republic” and “antebellum”—through the gleaning of “insights originating beyond the national and Anglophone borders” “rather than allowing that period’s intense cultural nationalism to generate all the questions” (*Transamerican* 29-30). For instance, Muscogee Creek-Cherokee Craig Womack, in exploring the study of Native American texts and their inclusion in the canon asks, “The question is not so much whether Native literature should be recognized in the American canon but whether anything else should be”

¹⁶ LeMenager writes of this problematic, of the tendency of Manifest Destiny to become the transcendent narrative, even when reviled. Hence her work “gravitates toward the inconsistencies, reversals, and doubts that open nineteenth-century rhetorics of expansion to genuine engagement with historical environments that resist” it (4).

(164).¹⁷ Such a question reflects a turning of the lens back upon the United States, a reversing of the gaze.

These violent inscriptions decenter the United States as the object of study, forces movement outside of the boundaries of the nation, decouple the link between language and nation, dispute teleological and linear temporalities, and necessitate a focus on the complex entanglements of the United States with other nations and peoples. Yet, while many of these texts “originate beyond the national and Anglophone borders,” they are not, in Alcoff’s words, “the beyond of Western knowledge or the site of pure difference” (93). Even the texts written from the position of the colonized are complex in their engagement with western society and hence defy any easy categorizations, including as “the beyond.” It is in the bringing together of such complex texts that this comparative study performs its most significant work. While challenges to framing and organizing assumptions emerge from individual texts, it is precisely in the staging of convergences amongst these diverse texts and their assorted epistemologies that this dissertation creates, in the words of Mignolo, “moments...in which the imaginary of the modern world system cracks” (23), moments where fissures, tensions, conflicts, and points of contradiction are revealed.

While most studies of violence center on trauma theory, I focus less on issues of the psyche, trauma, and memory (even on the collective level) and more on

¹⁷ Womack continues, “(and, of course, I believe there is also room for American authors in the American canon since they have also become part of the history of this place.)”

violence at the discursive level. In such, my work discourses with Anishinaabe Gerald Vizenor's exploration of how the tangible trauma and violence of Manifest Destiny persists in the realm of representation, a realm he terms Manifest Manners.¹⁸ Manifest Manners enact violence on discourse and conceptions of identity by producing "strategies of containment" (70) and utilizing the "dominance of closure" (14).¹⁹ In order to counteract such insidious silencing, post-Indian warriors must fight back on the discursive level, utilizing "stories of liberation and survivance without the dominance of closure" (14). If, as Vizenor suggests, violence is enacted through representations that contain and enclose, the violent inscriptions on which I focus—texts that are not easily contained or enclosed by authoritative categories—will allow for an exploration of how violence is both perpetuated and countered in representation.

Textual Events

Given my focus on representational violence, such as that enacted in commonsensical notions of temporality, spatiality, or other classificatory categories, I am attuned to the way a chronological or a categorical study could foreclose certain avenues of exploration and even be complicit in the coloniality of power.²⁰ Therefore,

¹⁸ In turn, this representational violence causes tangible impacts, which Vizenor explores through Baudrillard's concept of simulation.

¹⁹ Vizenor's concept of Manifest Manners has many resonances with Mignolo's ideas on the coloniality of power.

²⁰ For instance, we see such persistence of teleological narratives of progress, even in current scholarship. As indigenous critics such as Womack and Renya Ramirez have noted, the creation and persistence of the dichotomies of pure/tainted,

rather than preselecting a delimited framework, I enter into the world of the textual event to see where it goes. Specifically, I trace a textual and paratextual web of associations beginning with Charles Sealsfield's *Das Kajütenbuch, oder Nationale Charakteristiken* and follow radial threads of connection, particularly those related to Indigenous and Mexican communities. I argue that this textual and archival web reframes the spatial and temporal markers of the borderlands, troubles the Eurocentric definition of land and property, disrupts teleological narratives of inevitable U.S. ascendancy, and underscores non-Anglos as historical actors in their own right.

In following this textual web, my methodology works against the tendency to anachronistically apply later world-shattering events backward, such as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Indian Removal and the reservation system, or the Dawes Act. Instead, I excavate the multiple and competing viewpoints of that present moment rife with possibilities and perspectives, as well as anxieties regarding the unknowable future. By working against anachronistic classification, my project opens the space for conceptions of other possible futures than inevitable U.S. expansion and Indian dispossession. Yet, at the same time, I risk anachronism by utilizing current scholarship about indigenous sovereignty or Latino racialization post-1848 in order to read these texts in ways that center indigenous sovereignty and Latino presence.

authentic/inauthentic, traditional/progressive, oral tradition/writing, pre-contact/post-contact, performance/print, full blood/mixed blood are static notions of conceiving identity that actually reveal a continuation of the ideas associated with the “vanishing Indian” mentality, an offshoot of modern temporalities. Hence, when 19th-century native writers get termed “sell-outs” or “inauthentic,” or texts written in English get termed a diminishment of oral culture, the “vanishing” mentality and the temporalities of modernism are still at play.

Such organization builds off insights from Walter Benjamin's concept of the flashpoint, a way of following a text's own temporal zigzags to bring together texts outside of the traditional periodizations, as well as Osage Robert Warrior's concept of synchronicity, a way to read across the centuries to find overlap between writers. Warrior argues that the history of Native writing constitutes an intellectual tradition, one which can and should inform and even critique contemporary work of [Native] intellectuals and not merely vice versa (*The People* xiv). Hence synchronicity conceives of a dialogic relationship between texts from varied historical periods. By bringing together texts from divergent temporal moments that explore similar thematics of inscriptive violence, I work against the unidirectional tendency to read past texts in light of more current texts and theories and instead propose a bidirectional approach where the works enter into dialogue with and enlighten each other.

My first two chapters foreground challenges to mapped space and offer up a rethinking of spatiality through the concepts of revolution and the interrelated (yet less sanctified) version of raiding. Chapter One utilizes Charles Sealsfield's *Das Kajütenbuch* to explore this author's presentation of the Texas Revolution as well as the Latin American Wars of Independence. Sealsfield's text offers a de-centered definition of revolution, a concept fundamentally at odds with the modern one: the idea of a chartable and iterable course around a *center*, the overthrow of an established political system, and the reestablishment of a new system in its place. Sealsfield's exploration of revolution questions the spatial bounds of revolution and

proposes an interrelation of nations and lands past and present. This connection, however, is not utopic; rather, the linkage emerges through a shared strategy of piracy, which in turn opens up the possibility for alternative conceptions of revolution and space.

Chapter Two continues by interrogating the silencing and erasure of the Comanches in *Das Kajütenbuch* in order to ultimately explore the alternative conceptions of revolution and space that Sealsfield's text both opens up and forecloses. Strangely, an author who is obsessed with Indians and a text that is fixated on the wild mustangs manage to leave out the key figures associated with raiding and trading them, the Comanches. Such silencing points to a haunting presence that Sealsfield tries to avoid, one that implicitly connects his German past with the violence of the Texas revolution. Yet, Sealsfield's effacement of the Comanches also points to a larger silencing that is replete in the Spanish-language archives. While the Spanish government officials cannot efface the Comanches from their documents and decrees as thoroughly as Sealsfield erases them from his fiction, they too struggle with what to do with the Comanches.

In order to counter this silence, I trace a Comanche known only as Andrés who quietly slips in and out of the Spanish records. I argue that Andrés and the larger Comanche nation's interwoven yet decentered tribal relations and disregard of hegemonic notions of bound and mapped space is a way of being in the world which renders them illegible to the Spanish government. This illegibility causes the Spanish to encode the Comanche actions as savage raiding rather than the more "justified"

notions of rebellion, uprising, or revolution, a difference that Sealsfield's text exposes to be mere poetic semantics. Comanche raiding reveals that there are more ways to overthrow an established political system than just the modernized notion of revolution. Border crossings—whether termed raiding, settling, or colonizing—are a means of gaining control over a space and enacting change.

Complementing the notions of spatial crossings and movements explored in the first two chapters, my final two chapters form a unit exploring contested temporal crossings, specifically those enacted by writings that explore ruins. Chapter Three turns to Lorenzo de Zavala, whose land grant company, with their granting of land script, instigates the very contests over land and space explored in *Das Kajütenbuch*. Along with his activity in Texas, Zavala was a highly influential Mexican politician with transnational ties. Specifically, I focus on a manuscript I discovered in the Bexar archives in which Zavala participates in the prevalent nineteenth-century circulation of texts on ruins, a manuscript that John Lloyd Stephens' utilizes yet effaces in his renowned *Incidents of Travel* texts. This chapter therefore focuses on the commercial circulation of Mesoamerican ruins during the nineteenth century and excavates the temporal dialectics between ruins and revolution, specifically asking how ruins help us challenge the modern notions of revolution as taken from the supposedly quintessential French and American Revolutions.

My last chapter moves to a different space, that of the northern borderlands, to prove its point that the borderlands optic works in other contexts. Chapter Four continues the exploration of ruins by following the link between John Lloyd Stephens

and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft forged through the symbol of the *mano colorado*, which Stephens finds in the Yucatecan ruins and about which he becomes obsessed. He seeks out Schoolcraft to find out more about the *mano colorado* and confirm his interamerican thesis of indigenous origins. In his reply that is included as an appendix to *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, Schoolcraft links the *mano colorado* to the spaces of the northern borderlands and the Algonquin-speaking peoples.²¹ I focus on Schoolcraft's utilization of the trope of ruins to depict the northern borderlands and their peoples, particularly the space of Sault Ste. Marie, a key cultural space of the Ojibwe nation. Of especial import to my research is that Schoolcraft married an Ojibwe woman who was also a prolific writer and poet, Jane Johnston Schoolcraft. I turn to her poetry, in which she too utilizes the trope of ruins but in very different ways, in order to argue that her writings contest the racialized aesthetics and normative temporalities her husband's writings and work amongst indigenous tribes revolved around.

My dissertation, capacious in scope, brings together multiple fields—American Literary Studies, Indigenous Studies, Latin American Studies, and German-American Studies—that are often studied discretely. I recognize that a critique could be made that my project is fragmented and dispersed in its content. However, this apparent dispersion is a deliberate avoidance of “centering” strategies that would delimit the text network I follow. Rather than focusing on one place, one field, one genre, or one language, I instead follow the web of textual relations in order to

²¹ The Anishinaabeg are a part of this linguistic group.

respatialize and retemporalize the literal and figurative borders of the United States and American Literary Studies.

Chapter 1

[Un]Framing Revolution: Charles Sealsfield, the Texas Revolution, and the Latin American Wars of Independence

1. Introduction: Comparative Revolutions

Puritans as rogues; the British as mongrels; Texas colonists as pirates; criminal rabble as exemplary citizens; prisoners as patriots. Such reimaginings occur in the 1841 German-language novel, *Das Kajütenbuch, oder Nationale Charakteristiken* (*The Cabin Book, or National Characteristics*), written by Charles Sealsfield, a fascinating yet neglected figure in studies of American literature. Born in 1793 as Carl Magnus Postl in Moravia, he disappeared in 1823 from an Austrian monastery during the repressive Metternich regime and reappeared in New Orleans as the anglicized Charles Sealsfield.²² Despite returning to Europe and dying in Switzerland in 1864, he requested that his gravestone read “*Bürger der V S von Amerika*” (Citizen of the U.S. of America)—a self-recognized appellation but never a legally validated one.

²² Metternich was the Foreign Minister of the Austrian Empire beginning in 1809 and then Chancellor in 1821. He helped form the alliance that brought Napoleon down and turned Austria into a leading power within Europe. Within Austria, he championed conservatism and cracked down against liberal movements. As he wanted to overcome the burgeoning spirit of revolution, he became a hated symbol of reactive repression. In 1848, he resigned his post due to the revolution. For more detailed information on Metternich, see Sked and Palmer.

Sealsfield's text *Das Kajütenbuch* is no less intriguing in its manifold travels and polymorphic refashionings: refusing to stay within national and linguistic boundaries, the text contextualizes the revolutionary events in Texas as part of a hemispheric network extending to Philadelphia, Cuba, and Peru and historicizes the current moment through the lens of the Norman pirates and biblical hustlers. As such, the text presents ambivalent and unresolved readings of the Texas Revolution, from heroic liberation to mercantile opportunism to piratical butchery that opens more questions than it resolves.

Das Kajütenbuch, a text that is implicitly comparative, motions toward the key concern of this chapter, that of comparative revolutions. In doing so, I knowingly invoke the issue of comparability at the heart of American Studies and enter into an extended and, at times contentious, conversation with past and present scholars to consider the problematics and the possibilities of conceptualizing a common ground. In 1932, Herbert Bolton famously advanced the Bolton theory of the history of the Americas, advocating for a common ground. A student of Frederick Jackson Turner, Bolton's focus on the necessity of hemispheric inquiry and the borderlands challenged his mentor's single-minded focus on the United States and its westward-moving frontier line. In fact, Bolton stipulated that it was impossible to study the history of the United States in isolation from the history of the Americas.

While a step in the right direction, Bolton's notion of a common ground soon came under challenge. In 1964, Lewis Hanke published a collection of essays entitled *Do the Americas Have a Common History? A Critique of the Bolton Theory* that

problematized the notion of common ground. In this collection, Edmundo O’Gorman famously criticized Bolton for subordinating a historical problem (the “history of America”) to a geographical category (the borderlands) and ignoring “the men...the history-making material” (104). Hence, O’Gorman argued that any vision of common ground is a “geographical hallucination” that flattens difference to create similitude (104). Such a geographical hallucination is evident in Bolton and Hegel’s version of history, where Latin America is seen as different only “in terms of degree, not of essence” and hence is once again designated as a belated follower to other modern societies (104). In 1975 and 1976, Roberto Fernández Retamar took O’Gorman’s critique further, contending in his 1975 *Una Teoría una Literatura Hispanoamericana (A Theory of Hispanic American Literature)* and 1976 “Nuestra América y El Occidente” (“Our America and The West”) that the corresponding literatures are in fact incommensurable.

Beginning in the 1990s, key scholars returned to this debate, searching for a way to engage in borderlands research without enacting the problematic flattening of difference that those such as O’Gorman and Retamar had established. Gustavo Pérez Firmat’s 1990 collection, *Do the Americas Have a Common Ground*, posited that “it is possible to find substantial common ground” given the right frame of comparison (5); José David Saldívar’s 1991 *The Dialectics of Our Americas*, proposed a border theory written from a “place of hybridity and betweenness” (153) that exposes the “serious contest of codes and representations” that take place in U.S. Border History” (80); Caroline Levander and Robert Levine’s 2007 *Hemispheric American Studies*,

acknowledging the inter-dependency of nation-state formations, advocated for studies that highlight the historically-produced, contingent, and evolving nature of borders. More than just recognizing these contingent and changing borders, Kirsten Silva Gruesz and Anna Brickhouse contend that, “A hemispheric approach, then, calls for temporal as well as spatial reframings of nation-based models” (“The Hemispheric South and the [Un]Common Ground of Comparability”).

While Firmat posits a generic model as a possibility for productive comparison, a model I in part seem to be echoing in my framework of comparative revolutions, as the above scholarship I have cited reveals, the problematic is establishing the Unites States or other Eurocentric models as the norm and Latin America as the follower. Hence, it is important to interrogate this term “revolution” and trace out its etymology and usages. Revolution first came into usage in the late-fourteenth century, referring to the apparent movement of the sun around the earth or the movement of a planet around another center of mass and eventually comes to refer to the completed cycle.²³ The idea of a chartable and iterable course around a *center* informs the modern usage of “revolution” and its reference to the overthrow of an established political system and the oft-invoked paradigmatic examples of the English, French, and American revolutions.

Considering that revolution is a retrospective classification, what does tracing the comparative network established in *Das Kajütenbuch*—a text written during the

²³ Etymologically, revolution comes from the Latin “*revolutio*,” a revolving,” & “*revolvere*,” “a turn around; turn; roll back,” and the Old French, “*revolucion*,” signifying “course, revolution (of celestial bodies)”

liminal moments before revolution is assured—suggest about the idea of comparative revolutions?²⁴ What do German perspectives do to our view of revolution? What do we glean from Sealsfield, a man who lived much of his life in a loose confederation of sovereign states (*the Deutscher Bund*), who experienced and escaped repressive measures attempting to crack down against liberal movements, who inhabited a shifting and liminal positionality in the United States, who examined past revolutionary models and desired national unification, and who dedicated his work to the “*Deutschen der unerlösten Gebiete*” (“Germans of the unredeemed regions”) yet did not live to see his hopes come to fruition?²⁵ To what extent does Sealsfield’s text and its textual traces temporally and spatially reframe nation-based models? To what ends? How does Sealsfield treat revolutions that do not follow the paradigms of their Eurocentric norms?

My first two chapters foreground these questions, challenging mapped space and offering up a rethinking of spatiality through the concepts of revolution and the interrelated (yet less sanctified) version of raiding. Chapter One utilizes Charles Sealsfield’s *Das Kajütenbuch* to explore this author’s comparison of the Texas Revolution and the Latin American Wars of Independence. Sealsfield presents a de-centered view of revolution, a concept fundamentally at odds with the modern notion of revolution itself: the idea of a chartable and iterable course around a *center* and its

²⁴ While *Das Kajütenbuch* was written after the Texas Revolution, it was written during the time of increasing revolutionary fervor in Europe (and Germany) and before the Revolutions of 1848.

²⁵ This is Sealsfield’s dedication from his 1835 text, *Der Virey und die Aristokraten: Mexico im Jahre 1812 (The Viceroy and the Aristocrats: Mexico in the Year 1812)*, a novel about the Mexican War of Independence.

reference to the overthrow of an established political system. Sealsfield's exploration of revolution, therefore, questions the spatial bounds of revolution, instead proposing an interrelation of nations and lands past and present. This affiliation, however, is not utopic; rather, the linkage emerges through a shared strategy of piracy. Such linkage, though, opens up the possibility for alternative conceptions of revolution and space as will be explored in Chapter Two.

Providing a counterpoint to Sealsfield's erasure of the Comanche in *Das Kajütenbuch*, Chapter Two highlights the interrelation of the Comanche and revolutionary action, asking what happens when the goal of a people is not to establish a European-style imperial system or a rigid structure held together by a singular central authority? When the course is not chartable and the center is not there? When the technique is termed "raiding" not "revolution"? Through my tracing of a Comanche known only as Andrés that inconspicuously appears in the government documents of New Spain, I contend that there is spatial assumption implicit in the idea of revolution that obscures other types of significant and revolutionary changes in non-Eurocentric societies.

Mexican philosophical historian O'Gorman's critique of Bolton is important to return to for a moment. As O'Gorman's critique brings to light, one must not flatten difference between the Americas; therefore, the only type of common ground possible to theorize is a ground that is constantly shifting (O'Gorman 104). As O'Gorman suggested, to acknowledge this shifting ground one must follow the "the men...the history-making material" (104). In that spirit, I pursue both the men and

women and the *texts* they created, adapted, translated, and read during the liminal phases and spaces of revolution. I follow Sealsfield's comparative text, teasing out the places it travels and the various purposes to which it was put in order to understand how this text on comparative revolutions might help us reconceptualize the space of revolution and of the nation.

2. Persona Proliferation: Charles Sealsfield, *die Große Unbekannte*

Sealsfield is surely one of the most puzzling and, for the researcher and critic, frustrating figures in the history of German letters. His biography, despite laborious efforts to make sense of it, remains inexplicable. He lived a mysterious, masked life so successful that he continues to elude us. Much of the little he had to say about himself is pure invention. –Jeffrey Sammons, *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy*

Sealsfield scholar Jeffrey Sammons' observation about the mysterious and intriguing life of Charles Sealsfield explains a common appellation given to Sealsfield—*die Große Unbekannte* (the Great Unknown). While much is unknown about Sealsfield's life, one of the main things that has been established is the proliferation of personas he inhabited throughout his life and travels—Carl Anton Postl, Charles Sealsfield, the alternate spelling Charles Seatsfield, C. Siddons, "*Bürger der V S von Amerika*" (Citizen of the U.S. of America), and, more generally, "*Bürger von Nord Amerika*" (Citizen of North America). While Sammons' and other Sealsfield scholars' frustration towards the lack of certainty regarding Sealsfield's life is understandable, it is precisely this ambiguity—an ambiguity that radiates from his work as well—that makes him intriguing and significant to this project.

While much remains unknown, the general outlines of his life have been determined. Charles Sealsfield was born Carl Anton Postl in 1793 in Poppitz bei Znaim, Moravia—a small village located in what is the present-day Czech Republic—to a family of wine makers and dealers. A diverse land, Moravia experienced invasion and governance by many foreign powers throughout its history. From 1526 to 1918, the Habsburg dynasty possessed Moravia, which brought about tension between the Catholic Habsburg emperors and the Protestant Moravian nobility. In 1740, Prussian Frederick the Great invaded Moravia but eventually Prussian forces were expelled in 1742; Prussia invaded again in 1758, an attempt that was unsuccessful. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Moravia became a part of the *Deutscher Bund* (German Confederation), a loose affiliation of thirty-nine German states in Central Europe, which replaced the Holy Roman Empire.²⁶

The Catholic influence within Moravia presents itself in Sealsfield's life: after attending the *Gymnasium* in Znaim, Postl became a student at the convent at the Order of the Holy Cross with the Red Star in Prague. Postl joined the order in 1813, took vows in 1814, and became secretary to the Grand Master of the order in 1815 (Sammons 3). Suddenly, in 1823, he disappeared and family, friends and authorities could find no trace of him, signaling the end of Carl Postl for the next forty years (3). In 1824, he reappeared, with a Louisiana-issued passport designating him, "Charles Sealsfield, Citizen of the United States, clergyman, native of Pennsylvania." Only second-hand evidence of this document is known, but Sealsfield scholars believe that

²⁶ For more information on Moravian history, see Cottrell and Tomanek.

he obtained this illegitimate passport from a corrupt Louisiana official (4). Whatever the case, during the next three years he lived as Charles Sealsfield in Pittsburg, New York, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and New Orleans before he returned to Europe in 1826 to travel throughout France, Germany, Switzerland, and England.

In Zürich, he adopted the pseudonym “C. Sidons, citizen of the United States of North America,” and published a two-volume travelogue on the United States, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika (The United States of North America)*, a text that he also published anonymously in English in London as *The United States of America as They Are* and *The Americans as They Are*. He then published *Austria as It Is* anonymously in London, a book that highly criticized the despotism of the Metternich regime (Sammons 4). Sealsfield returned to the United States in 1827 and is believed to have owned and failed with a Louisiana plantation on the Red River. In 1829, he published a novel in English in Philadelphia, *Tokeah; or the White Rose*, which was then revised and republished in London as *The Indian Chief; or, Tokeah and the White Rose*. He also was briefly associated with the New-York-based, Joseph Bonaparte-owned newspaper, *Courrier des Etats-Unis*, and allegedly became a type of assistant for Joseph, running errands for him throughout Switzerland (Sammons 10).

Sealsfield travelled throughout France and England in 1830 and is thought to have visited Sir Walter Scott. Beginning in 1832, it appears Sealsfield settled in Switzerland to focus his time on writing, where he first published a German version of *Tokeah* and then several new texts focused on the southwest borderlands of the

United States and Mexico, including *Der Virey und die Aristokraten, oder Mexiko in Jahre 1812* (*The Viceroy and the Aristocrats, or Mexico in the Year 1812*), *Nathan der Squatter-Regulator, oder Der erste Amerikaner in Texas* (*Nathan the Squatter-Governor, or the First American in Texas*), and *Das Kajütenbuch*.²⁷ Throughout this time, he travelled back to the United States and also published around sixty articles about the aftermath of the 1830 French Revolution for *The Morning Courier* and *The New York Enquirer*. Schuchalter notes that Sealsfield was considered a German *Erfolgsautor* (literally, successful author), whose works were “eagerly read” by an expanding audience” (2). During this success, it appears Sealsfield returned for an extended period of time again to the United States in 1853 until 1858. He then returned to Europe, where he stayed until his death in 1864 (Sammons 5).

Sealsfield, despite his continued movement between Europe and the United States, “insisted,” in Sammon’s words, on his American identity (14). Such can perhaps even be seen in his rejection of his given name, Carl Postl, and his assumption of the Americanized name, Charles Sealsfield.²⁸ More significantly, Sealsfield even ordered the inscription, “Bürger von Nord Amerika” (“Citizen of North America”) to be carved on his gravestone and signed his will, “Charles

²⁷ *Der Virey und die Aristokraten* explores the period of turbulence after Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla pronouncing of Mexican Independence with *El Grito del Dolores* (the Cry of Dolores), which marked the beginning of the Mexican War for Independence. *Der Virey* centers on Creole hesitation and participation in the overthrow of Spanish officials in Mexico. *Nathan der Squatter-Regulator* depicts the story of patriarchal hero along the lines of Daniel Boone and Timothy Flint in his quest to gain land and instill democracy.

²⁸ I say perhaps, because his name change also seems to have been elicited by his desire to hide himself, seemingly in part due to his opposition to Metternich’s Austria. See Sammons for more on Sealsfield’s fugitivity.

Sealsfield, Bürger der V S von America” (“Charles Sealsfield, Citizen of the United States of America”) (Sammons 10). While Sealsfield styled himself as a United States citizen for perpetuity, his life and travels as well as his publications reveal a much larger transnational web of relations of which he was apart. He lived, in Harry Harootunian’s words, an implicitly comparativist lifestyle. Such comparativism evinces itself in his works, which seem particularly interested in exploring and comparing revolutions and the subsequent nation building that had happened or was happening in the places such as United States, Mexico, France, and Peru.

Within the United States, Sealsfield inhabited a conflicted positionality. While qualifying as white under the United States 1793 naturalization act, he was still marked as foreign—in his language, in his attempts at English (critics note his Germanisms in his English-language writings), and even in his brief moment of fame as a great American author. This moment in the spotlight came about in 1844 after a remark by German scholar Theodor Mundt, who was writing a continuation of Friedrich Schlegel’s history of literature. Misspelling his name, Mundt wrote that “Seatsfield” was a major American writer superior to James Fennimore Cooper and Washington Irving.²⁹ As Sammons notes, Mundt’s claim led to a “flurry of discussion” in U.S. newspapers as to the identity of “Seatsfield” and what his nationality might be (Sammons 8-9). In the *National Intelligencer* Nathaniel Parker Willis, an American author and editor, encouraged readers to purchase this “celebrated American’s” work (qtd in “Our Continental

²⁹ I’m sure Sealsfield appreciated this comment, as he disliked Cooper.

Correspondence”). Some U.S. authors took note as well. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who actually got his last name correct, called him “our favorite Sealsfield” (qtd in Wernitznig 53). With a less positive assessment, Nathaniel Hawthorne, in *A Select Party*, caricatured a character named Seatsfield, and Edgar Allan Poe took written action as well. In characteristic Poe fashion, he ridiculed the hubbub surrounding Sealsfield in *The Columbian Spy*. Poe’s argument is important to understand and I therefore quote at length:

The uproar which is made about Seatsfield — “the great Seatsfield” — is merely one other laughable, or disgusting instance of our subserviency to foreign opinion. His sketches are undoubtedly clever; but there are now, in America, some dozen of my own personal acquaintances who daily put forth, unnoticed, as good compositions, if not, indeed, far better. Seatsfield might have written and printed *here, ad infinitum*, without getting his head above the mob of authors, even were his works what the toadies of everything foreign tell us they are, but what they positively are *not*. A German critic, however, of no very great merit or eminence, in a big book of no very particular importance, informs us that we have a great author among us without knowing it. That is enough. The man is immortal; — he is “the great Seatsfield,” henceforth and forever. Now only imagine some of *our* third or fourth-rate dabblers in criticism, gravely informing the Dutch, for example, that their epic poet, Cats, is a fine genius. They — even *they* — would not be so besotted as to believe Americans better judges of Dutch than the Dutchmen themselves. They would reply, possibly, that Americans know nothing at all about Cats, nor cats about poetry.

(3)

Poe deprecates Sealsfield’s works, writing that even if he were to keep publishing for infinity, he would never be able to get his head above the mob of authors. In a seeming reference to Hawthorne’s “scribbling mob of women writers,” Poe juxtaposes these “American” authors against Sealsfield, whom he classifies and emphasizes as

foreign. In his comparison, Poe places foreign as below female on the hierarchies of authorial and textual value.

While Longfellow responded positively to Sealsfield, clearly Poe did not. Walter Grünzweig in fact notes both Poe's and Hawthorne's held "bitter scorn" and "ridicul[ed] the 'Seatsfield' phenomenon as a hoax, designed to undermine the development of an original literature" (345). In many ways, Hawthorne and Poe were correct; Sealsfield did challenge at least their version of a United States original literature—he was not from the United States, he rarely wrote in English, and his works in some ways were provocatively different. Poe's assessment of Sealsfield has been eerily predictive of what has become of Sealsfield, as well as other "foreign" authors writing in a language other than English, in American Literary Studies—they have been marked as other and not remembered.

For a brief period after his death in 1864, some Americans still remembered Sealsfield's works. In a rather humorous turn of events, in 1870 Sealsfield was honored in Illinois along with many other famous U.S. authors by the planting of trees.³⁰ In a seeming hierarchy, authors were awarded different amounts of trees: seven trees for Ralph Waldo Emerson, four each for James Russell Lowell and William Henry Prescott, and—while Poe probably rolled over in his grave—3 trees each to writers such as Harriet Beech Stowe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allan Poe, and—yes—Charles Sealsfield.

³⁰ This incident is recorded in the 1870 "School Notes" column of the New-York-published *The School Journal*.

Some of the remembrances, however, took more of a tone similar to Poe's earlier ridicule. A clipping from the 1864 *American Literary Gazette* eulogized Sealsfield with the following words:

I find in the newspaper the announcement: 'The celebrated American author, Charles Sealsfield, died a few days since at Soleure. He was in the habit of spending his time alternately between Germany and Switzerland.' Sad as this intelligence is, I cannot repress a smile, for I remember how much vogue, some twenty years ago, this 'celebrated American author' had for nine days. The 'Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin' alone can match the eagerness with which the public bought the books for the first few days, and the quickness with which the public dropped them. Has Mr. N. P. Willis ever done penance for leading us so far astray? Unless my memory deceives me, he it was who, in the columns of the "National Intelligencer," allured us all into the purchase of this 'celebrated American author's' work.

Abounding in scare quotes, this eulogy—if one can term it that—calls attention to the supposed absurdity of calling Sealsfield a celebrated American author. The anonymous eulogizer both deprecates Sealsfield's works and emphasizes his links to Europe, not America. Sealsfield's foreignness is also marked in the details surrounding this eulogy as it was written in France as a part of *The American Literary Gazette's* "Continental Correspondence."

In the twentieth and even twenty-first centuries in the United States, a type of foreignness has still marked the few Sealsfield studies that exist. In the early to mid twentieth century, there was a small interest in Sealsfield in the United States, but only from Germanist scholars such as Otto Heller, Karl Arndt, and Gerhard Friesen. Most of these studies uncritically compared Sealsfield's writings to James Fennimore Cooper's *Leather-Stocking Tales* or attempted to determine if Sealsfield plagiarized William Gilmore Simms or vice versa. Such scholarship which placed Sealsfield

primarily into a U.S. context falls into what current eminent Sealsfield scholar calls nationalist “navel gazing.” Alexander Ritter contends, “Der Blick auf die politische-literarische Mittlerrolle Sealsfields, die literaturhistorische Mittelposition zwischen amerikanischer und deutscher Literaturgeschichte wird durch nationalstaatlich und nationalliterarische Nabelschau verstellt“ (513). (“The vision of Sealsfield’s political-literary mediator role, the literary-historical middle position between American and German literary history, has been obstructed by the nation-state’s and national literature’s navel gazing.”)³¹

Contemporary U.S. Sealsfield scholars, Jeffrey Sammons and his student Jerry Schuchalter, published *Ideology, Mimesis, and Fantasy and Narratives of America and the Frontier in Nineteenth-Century German Literature*, which are the primary English-language works currently available on Sealsfield. While these works perform invaluable biographic and bibliographic work, the small amounts of literary criticism included are primarily stuck in the myth and symbol school of thought from early American Studies, as are most Germanist and German-language works on Sealsfield.³² What is lacking in these studies is a hemispheric engagement with the literature of the Americas, something which Sealsfield’s works themselves explicitly perform.

³¹ Ritter translations mine.

³² At a recent Sealsfield conference held in Poppitz, Sealsfield’s birthplace, I was criticized by a prominent German Sealsfield scholar for bringing in borderlands and hemispheric theories and told I should return to the myth and symbol school type of criticism. While there is a burgeoning recognition that alternative types of research need to be done on Sealsfield, there is also much hesitation and push back by those that want to remain with older models of scholarship. For an influential German-language work that exhibits the typical Germanist focus see Grünzweig.

3. Textual Traces and Treatments

Das Kajütenbuch is a frame-tale narrative that begins at the end of the 1830s in Mississippi as a group of drunken and contentious men tells stories inspired by their discussion of what should be done with the space of Texas after the revolution. The stories they recount are broken into three main sections: “Die Prärie am Jacinto” (“The Jacinto Prairie”)—the longest as well as most known and acclaimed section – is narrated by Captain Morse, a young Marylander who bought land scrip and arrives in Texas in 1832 in search of a place to settle. His foray in Texas becomes an initiation into the frontier life: he becomes lost and almost dies in the Jacinto prairie, is saved by a wild frontiersman named Bob, challenged by the community magistrate (the Alcalde) to a new way of seeing the world, and finally becomes a General in the Texas Revolution.

“Der Fluch Kishogues” (“Kishogue’s Curse”) recounts a short, humorous Irish tale of ill timing—a hanged man who misses his pardon by a few seconds because he refused to imbibe one last drink. “Der Kapitän” (“The Captain”) centers on the character of Captain Murkey—a character paralleled to Captain Morse who surprisingly ends up being one-and-the-same as Captain Ready, the mysterious ship captain of the men’s evening stories, who rescued a Cuban hostage and fought in the Latin American Wars of Independence. In a strange and oft criticized generic twist, the novel ends as a highly sentimental love story, narrating the “Paradies der Liebe” (“Paradise of Love”) between the now-revealed-to-be General Morse and Alexandra,

Captain Murkey's daughter, as they decide to remain on Murkey's plantation, which is figured as an earthly Eden.

Das Kajütenbuch, originally published in Zürich in 1841, has had over forty German-language reprintings, published primarily in large German cities such as Stuttgart, Leipzig, Hamburg, Munich, and Berlin. It was translated first into English in its entirety in 1844 by C.F. Mersch and then again in 1871 by Sarah Powell, with both publications coming out of New York. *Das Kajütenbuch* has also spurred many adaptations and abridgments, which were published from New York to Great Britain to New Zealand. For instance, during Sealsfield's brief moment of fame, Winchester, an "enterprising New York publisher," quickly published several translations, pirated from "Sealsfield's" works (Sammons 8). In the mid 1840s, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, based out of Edinburgh and London, translated and published twenty adaptations of his stories and anecdotes (8). Although the flurry of interest settled quickly, pirated, abridged, excerpted, and rewritten texts appeared in both German and English for a long time (9). Their variations in title are astonishingly wide-ranging and hint at the different uses to which Sealsfield's narrative may have been put: *The Cabin Book, or sketches of life in Texas*; *The Cabinbook, or National Characteristics, Scenes and Adventures in the South West*; *Scenes and Adventures in Central America*, and "*A Sketch in the Tropics*" (emphases mine). The titles alone point to the various ways and locales to which Sealsfield's complex text and its abridgments can speak.

The most common way *Das Kajütenbuch* has been abridged is by only reprinting or adapting “Die Prärie am Jacinto” section. In such, “Die Prärie am Jacinto” is the most well known of all three sections of the novel (Sammons 8). In German-language publics, this is largely because of the version published by Hugo von Hofmannsthal in his oft-reprinted *Deutsche Erzähler (German Storytellers)* of 1912 under the title of *Die Erzählung des Obersten Morse (The Account of Colonel Morse)* (Sammons 9). Of significant note is that the abridgments of this section commonly do not include the whole portion but often leave out the frame tale and the Alcalde’s ideological ponderings.

Due to such editing, “Die Prärie am Jacinto” as well as the larger *Das Kajütenbuch* are often treated as an adventurous frontier tale, Jacksonian in nature and inspiration and having many resonances with Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis. For instance, Schuchalter devotes an entire chapter to unearthing the resonances between “Charles Sealsfield and the Frontier Thesis.” In this chapter, Schuchalter emphasizes that Turner wrote about Sealsfield in the chapter “American literature in the Age of Jackson” in his 1935 *The United States, 1830-1850: The Nations and its Sections*. In this posthumously published study, Turner described Sealsfield as “a German writer living in the New Southwest, [who] portrayed the pioneer life of that region in his Cabin books” (qtd in Schuchalter 109). Schuchalter argues that this comment “suggests that Turner shared a certain affinity with this German-American writer” (109). While acknowledging that Sealsfield’s writings contain both European traditions and American influences (for instance, Biedemeier

aesthetics and Jacksonian politics), Schuchalter hones in on the Turnerian connection and argues that Sealsfield “appropriate[d] the frontier and the West in his own writings” which shows that “the frontier was not only an American narrative, but was thriving in Europe as well” (109-110).³³

While Schuchalter does not cite the following passage, it seems to illustrate his point quite effectively. Captain Morse, while recounting his harrowing adventure of being lost in the Jacinto prairie, remembers his devastating epiphany: “Ohne Landmarke, ohne Wegweiser war ich im Zirkel herum — und während ich vorwärts zu kommend glaubte, rückwärts geritten” (50). (“Without landmark, without guide, I had gone round in a circle, and when I believed myself to be going forward, I was, in reality, riding backwards.”)³⁴ Schuchalter and other scholars have taken such passages and have read Morse’s time in the wilderness as the quintessential Turnerian frontier experience—a cycle of regeneration and rebirth where the wilderness first conquers the man in order for the man to be able to “conquer” the wilderness. In such a narrative, Morse then is participating in the taming and settling of the frontier for the westward-expanding nation.

While there are some similarities, this reading is anachronistically applying a concept of the frontier that did not exist for another sixty years. More significantly, as I explore in the following section, this treatment of the novel only holds when the

³³ The Biedermeier was a period in Central Europe after the Congress of Vienna (1815) up until the revolutionary period beginning in 1848. During this time, the middle class grew, which created a new audience for the arts. Biedermeier arts appealed to this group and their more common sensibilities.

³⁴ All *Das Kajütenbuch* translations are from the 1871 edition unless otherwise noted.

abridged “Die Prärie am Jacinto” section is read alone. Perhaps this is why, then, *The Portal to Texas History*, sponsored by the University of Texas system, has on file a version which only contains “Die Prärie am Jacinto” section and is appropriately entitled *The Cabin Book, or sketches of life in Texas*. Hence, the University of Texas site can claim that this novel depicts “the new Republic of Texas as a land of opportunity for immigrants.”

Ritter criticizes such abridgments for their “überwiegend kommerziell orientierte Ausnutzung des Textes durch Reduzieren auf handlungsstarke, spannende Erzählpartien, durch trivialisierende Bearbeitungen und ausschnittweise Veröffentlichungen besonders der ‘Jacinto’ Erzählung (499). (“primarily commercially-oriented usage of the text through the reduction of it to plot-driven, suspenseful narrative games in trivializing editing and fragmentary publications, particularly of the ‘Jacinto’ narrative.”)³⁵

Ritter’s critique could be made toward Frederick Hardman, a nineteenth-century English author and columnist who published *Scenes and Adventures in the South West* in New York in 1855. *Scenes and Adventures* is a compilation of several of Sealsfield’s works, heavily edited, and includes an abridgement of “die Prärie am Jacinto” section.³⁶ In his preface, Hardman proudly admits to the alterations he made to Sealsfield’s texts:

³⁵ Ritter translations mine.

³⁶ Also compiled by Hardman is *Scenes and Adventures in Central America*, which, despite the new title, is mostly the same as *Scenes and Adventures in the South West*—preface, Texas, and all. The only differences are the publication information and the one additional section in latter *Scenes and Adventures* that includes another

The following “Scenes and Adventures” are based upon the German works of Charles Sealsfield.... I have here condensed and thrown together some of their most striking and interesting passages; using much compression, aiming at rendering the spirit rather than the letter.... I venture to believe my rifacimenti better adapted to English tastes than would be a complete and literal translation of any one of Mr. Sealsfield’s numerous works.

“Much compression” unquestionably characterizes Hardman’s version. For instance, as is common with *Das Kajütenbuch* abridgments, the Jacinto prairie section is divorced from the novel and greatly condensed, mainly concentrating on the adventurous parts that read most like an expected western in an appropriately wild and uncivilized locale. Hardman’s renaming of the entire Texas section as “Adventures in Texas” indicates his focus. Even his titling of the subsection of Morse’s wandering in the prairie as “A Scamper in the Prairie” plays to adventure, not the serious near-death experience it is in Sealsfield’s version. Ritter’s point that the suspenseful and plot-driven abridgements are commercially motivated is delicately evinced in Hardman’s comment that his narrative will better suit English tastes. Along with a focus on adventure, Hardman edits out pieces of the narrative where the Americans and the British do not fare well in Sealsfield’s narrative, as we will see later.

Hardman’s compilation, unlike many adaptations of Sealsfield’s texts, contains another section from *Das Kajütenbuch*, “der Kăpitan”; however, it is

tale set in Texas. *Scenes and Adventures in Central America* was published first in 1852 by Blackwood and Sons in Edinburgh and London. Such titular reframings suggest different conceptions of space between English-speakers in England and Scotland and English-speakers in the United States.

completely divorced from the prairie section, presented as an entirely separate story, and depicts the characters in simplistic good and evil terms, typical of a plot-driven adventure narrative. Hardman abridges a short section of “der K apitan,” re-titling it in much more exotic fashion—“A Sketch in the Tropics.” It appears, however, that Hardman did not in fact take this section from Sealsfield’s actual text but from earlier pirated editions of Sealsfield’s book. “A Sketch in the Tropics” appeared first in 1843 in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, volume LIV, and again in 1847, this time serialized in four issues of the *Wellington Independent* in Australia, both times anonymously. The title, publisher, and major sections of all three versions are exactly the same.

However, Hardman’s opening is markedly different. Whereas the *Blackwood’s* and *Wellington Independent’s* 1843 and 1847 abridgments begin *en media res* in Havannah with the plight of singular man attempting to escape, “A Sketch in the Tropics” in Hardman’s 1855 compilation begins with a dismal commentary of Latin American affairs: “The year 1816 was a disastrous one for the cause of South American independence” where “loss” and “unlucky affairs” “crushed for a time the hopes of the patriots. Their sufferings were great—their prospects in the highest degree gloomy” (293). Hardman juxtaposes this dismal beginning with the ending joyous celebration of the winning of the battle at Ayacucho.

The ending captures a series of toasts to significant people and places— Bolívar, Sucre, Ayacucho.³⁷ The final extended toast goes to the Yankee Captain who has helped win the battle of Ayacucho with Providence on his side. In its framing, Hardman’s revision speaks to the Latin American countries as a whole more so than the earlier editions; in his larger-scale focus, Hardman sets his version into a typical Anglo narrative of Latin America—Latin Americans desire freedom yet cannot seem to escape their gloom and suffering until an American saves the day, in this case by helping their key captain escape and by fighting prominently in the winning battle against the Spaniards. In Hardman’s narrative, therefore, Latin American freedom is dependent upon U.S. intervention.

Along with what he “condenses,” in the language of his preface, what is particularly of interest is what Hardman maintains and expands of Sealsfield’s narrative. When Captain Morse first lands in Galveston Harbor in Texas, his first interaction is with the soldiers in the Mexican blockhouse. Sealsfield’s version problematically depicts the Mexican soldiers as short and weak, looking like dwarves with spindly legs. Hardman’s compilation maintains this emasculating and bestializing characterization of the Mexicans and adds the following, emphasizing the contrast between the Mexican soldiers and American emigrants:

The high-spirited, and, for the most part, intelligent emigrants from the United States, who formed a very large majority of the population of Texas, saw themselves, with no very patient feeling, under the rule

³⁷ Simón Bolívar was a famous military leader in the Latin American Wars for Independence; Antonio José de Sucre was over Bolívar’s armies and led the culminating battle of the Wars for Independence at Ayacucho, which finally liberated Peru from Spanish rule.

of a people both morally and physically inferior to themselves. They looked with contempt, and justly so, on the bigoted, idle, and ignorant Mexicans, while the difference of religion, and the interference of the priests, served to increase the dislike between the Spanish and Anglo-American races (71).

In such characterizations, Hardman inscribes his tale into the long-enduring Black Legend, an anti-Spanish stereotype of Spaniards (and later their descendents in Latin America) as excessively cruel, ignorant, lazy, bigoted and degraded. By engaging this discourse, Hardman links it to the Latin American gloom and suffering with which he begins “A Sketch in the Tropics.” Latin American gloom and suffering, therefore, is in large part brought on by their own character, from which only the Anglo-American can provide enlightenment and rescue.

While Hardman alters the tale to negatively cast Latin America, it is important to note that Sealsfield, too, changes the tale. As with many of his texts, Sealsfield takes previous sources and modifies them.³⁸ From what I have been able to ascertain, the source of Sealsfield’s “Der Kāpitan” was a story published in the September 1829 edition of *The American Monthly Magazine*, published in Boston by Peirce and Williams and edited by Nathaniel Parker Willis, the very same editor who praised Sealsfield as a great American author and encouraged others to read his work.³⁹ This

³⁸ Sealsfield often, like Melville later would from Amasa Delano’s journal for his *Benito Cereno*, found ideas in other sources and then expanded upon them and used them in new ways. For instance, the opening “Jacinto” section of *Das Kajütenbuch* is based on an anonymous journal about Texas and his novel, *Tokeah and the White Rose* is based on a newspaper story.

³⁹ In a different web of connections, Willis also was the model for Mr. Bruce—a northerner who holds sympathy for slavery—in Harriet Jacobs’ *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861). Jacobs worked as a house servant and nanny for the Willises and Willis’ wife bought her freedom when planters sought to have her returned to

short-lived publication was begun in April of 1829 and discontinued in August of 1831, for which Willis blamed the closure on the “tight purses of Boston culture” (qtd in Philips 910). Willis then moved to Europe to serve as a foreign editor and correspondent for the *New-York Mirror*, a weekly newspaper published in New York City from 1823 to 1842 and then reestablished as a daily newspaper entitled *The Evening Mirror* under Willis’s direction in 1844. Interestingly, Willis also had connections with Poe, as *The Evening Mirror* under Willis was the first newspaper to print Poe’s *The Raven* with the author’s name and Poe worked as a critic for the newspaper until 1845.

“The Story of Gratitude,” after it was published in 1829 in *The American Monthly Magazine*, was again published in Willis’ next employment, *The New York Mirror* on January 14, 1832. Except for two minor spelling variations (“savior” to “saviour” and “taffrail” to “tafferel”), the story is verbatim.⁴⁰ “The Story of Gratitude,” as Sealsfield’s “der Kapitän” and Hardman’s “A Story in the Tropics,” tells the tale of a Philadelphia ship captain who rescues a mysterious Cuban prisoner only to find out he is a revolutionary in the Latin American Wars for Independence. Years later, on a mercantile venture, the ship captain serendipitously runs into the

their plantation. In Jean Fagan Yellen’s introduction to the Harvard edition of the book, he notes that Jacobs believed that Nathaniel Parker Willis, unlike both his wives, was actually proslavery, which was why she never asked him for any help in writing her book (Yellen xvii).

⁴⁰ While the tale is anonymous in both of these publications and could therefore conceivably have been written by Sealsfield, it seems unlikely for several reasons. First, I have found no evidence that Sealsfield published it, even in scholarship that painstakingly traces out Sealsfield’s publications. Second, Sealsfield almost always wrote in German. Third, his adapted tale in *Das Kajütenbuch* is markedly different in ideology.

man he rescued and battles with him against the Spaniards in Lima. The framing in both newspaper editions is significant. Rather than beginning *en media res* as in the pirated *Blackwood* editions or bemoaning the disastrous state of Latin American affairs as in Hardman's abridgement, "The Story of Gratitude" begins with a lament on the nature of mankind as ungrateful and selfish but notes that the episode the story is going to detail should bring some confidence in mankind. The anonymous narrator reflects:

When we find so much ingratitude and selfishness among mankind and after conferring considerable favors, instead of securing a friend, find "the ingrate and cankered Bolingbroke," when we so often see an apparent act of liberality originate from a selfish motive, it gives us pleasure to meet with an instance of disinterested generosity and pure gratitude in return; it makes us better satisfied with mankind and our situation among them. (51)

Referencing a famous line from Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, the narrator establishes the significance of this tale—this will not be one of banal concerns but of kingdom proportions. Moreover, the ending line of the narrator's preface indicates that this is a real occurrence: "The following was copied from the journal of an American shipmaster in his own words; he was an eye witness of what he relates" (51). This opening frame establishes the import of this tale.

After narrating the tale itself (Captain B. rescues Latin American captain Hualero from Cuba and then helps fight off the Spaniards), the narrator concludes by didactically explicating the moral of this tale:

The conduct of neither in the first instance would bear strict scrutiny; but the boldness and generosity of B., and the ardent gratitude of Hualero, must excite our admiration. The story may also have its moral; that a generous action is not always repaid with ingratitude. It is

by such conduct that the character of our nation will rise in the estimation of foreigners to the height that it merits. Persons who never leave the United States have but a faint idea of their opinion respecting us. We are so conscious of our own merit, (and certainly with good reason,) that we never dream we are underrated by others. But the mists and clouds of ignorance are dispersing. Our country is becoming better known, and consequently more respected. (405)

In this morality tale framed by Shakespearean allusion, it would seem that Captain B—as the one who performed the service for Hualero—should inhabit Hotspur’s position and Hualero King Henry’s.⁴¹ But the conclusion makes it clear that the focus—the king and kingdom that will remain—is the United States. Hence, in a strange twist of Shakespeare’s tale, Captain B. comes to synecdochally stand in for the reign and interventions of the United States, and Hualero a Latin American nation that is indebted to the superior force and acumen of the United States. Further, the tale commutes Henry IV’s continuing wars for control into an information and image war for the United States. U.S. control will not be based only on superior war capabilities but also on superior moral capacities. This allegorical tale, therefore, echoes the brotherly and paternalistic language of the Monroe Doctrine and its conceptions of the United States’ role in Latin American affairs: Captain “B” in this story not only rescues a key Latin American general but also helps him win a battle against the Spaniards in Peru. While not as conspicuously racist as Hardman’s

⁴¹ In Shakespeare’s *Henry IV*, Hotspur and his family helped Henry IV overthrow the past king, Richard III, and rise to power. Yet, King Henry IV is refusing to help Hotspur ransom his brother-in-law, Mortimer, and is demanding that Hotspur release all the prisoners he took. Hotspur therefore bitterly declares, “Yea, on his part I’ll empty all these veins/And shed my dear blood drop by drop in the dust,/But I will lift the downtrod Mortimer/As high in the air as this unthankful King,/As this ingrate and cankered Bolingbroke” (I,iii,131-135).

abridgment, this version insidiously takes away Latin American agency and purpose, sublimating all actions and independence to American influence and action. Ironically (and unintentionally) commenting on the supposed superiority of the United States, the immediately-following section of the magazine is a poem entitled “Lines Suggested By A Dream” which begins, “STAY, beauteous vision! Sweet delusion, stay!”

We see the basics of “The Story of Gratitude” repeat in Sealsfield’s “Das Käptian” a little over a decade later. Yet Sealsfield’s changes, especially his framing of the tale, are distinct and noteworthy, as they alter the story and its implications quite drastically. Even the title indicates a quite different purpose and focus. Compared to “The Story of Gratitude” or Hardman’s “A Sketch in the Tropics,” Sealsfield titles this section “*Der Kapitän: Das Interregnum oder Money is Power*” (“The Captain: The Interregnum or Money is Power.”) Money pervades this section—from the opening exclamation that the just-narrated “Kishogue’s Curse” is “capital” (with the tale intertwining three types of capital: capital punishment, capital as excellence, and capital as money), to the information of how much the captain paid for his plantation and how much it will be worth in the future, to the monetary bribe that the bank director gives to keep the southerners from brawling, to the details of how much the Cuban cigars the ship is carrying are worth (twenty thousand dollars). Captain Ready—Captain B in the “Story of Gratitude”—is still characterized as honorable in his rescue of Hualero from Cuba and his fighting for Latin American independence but also is depicted as a shady character (hence his other name, Captain

Murkey) who, motivated by mercantile opportunism, sells goods to both the Spanish Royalists and the Patriots in order to manipulate his monopoly of the market as might be expected of “sensible” people. The bank director, who narrates this section, even highlights the contradictions in the character of the Yankee, freedom-loving Captain:

Aber diese an Republikanern—and was mehr sagen will, Amerikanern so seltsam erscheinende Sympathie zugunsten der Fortdauer einer despotischen Herrschaft wird wieder sehr begreiflich, wenn wir bedenken, daß mit dem Falle Callaos—des letzten festen Haltes Spaniens in Südamerika—der Kampf auf diesem Kontinente so gut als beendet, unser Handel durch die Pazifikation...einer seiner einträglichsten...Zweige verlor. (281)

(This strange sympathy by Americans, in favour of a despotic government, becomes explained, however, when we consider that with the fall of Callao—the last stronghold of Spain in South America—the war on that continent would be as good as ended, and our trade would lose through the pacification...one of its most profitable...branches.)

The southerners listening to the tale protest that the bank director is being “ungenerous” to make public an affair with such a “sordid” matter of money and that he is ignoring the honorable nature of the Captain and his motives. This protest could also be made toward this section of Sealsfield’s novel, which exposes the sordid underpinnings of the United States’ dealings with Latin American nations and questions the United States’ so-called “honorable” intentions and interactions.

Returning to the title, the linkage between the United States and capital gain is highlighted: in a text almost entirely in German, the titular phrase—“Money is Power”—is in English, thus emphasizing the connection with the English speakers in

this section, the Yankees.⁴² Reflecting on the title as a whole (“Das Interregnum oder Money is Power) pushes the connection further. An interregnum indicates a break in continuity or a period of suspension, such as an interval between governing parties. In this definition, we could consider “das Kåpitan” section as a mere break or intermission in the tale, one of little significance to the overall narrative. However, considering the etymology of the German term for the Latin interregnum—*Unterbrechung* (often translated as intermission or interruption)—casts light on how this section is working within the rest of the novel.

Comprised of *Brechung* (breaking) and *unter* (under, below, nether, in private, in the midst of), *Unterbrechung* suggests a breaking that happens underneath the surface yet in the midst of something else. *Unterbrechung* thus highlights the continuity of discontinuity—an interruption of more of the same, a breaking of the visible norm that is actually already occurring under the surface. I suggest that this section functions as an *Unterbrechung* in this sense; it is not merely a pause from the rest of *das Kajütenbuch* but actually an integral part that is already always under the surface of the rest of the sections. The integral nature of this section is established in key plot and connective revelations that occur during it—their host, Captain Murkey is actually the very same Captain Ready from the story, the bank director is actually Captain Morse’s uncle, and Captain Morse is now General Morse.

The bank president’s highlighting of the noble captain’s quest of money, support of despotism for financial gain, and questionable sales ethics is revealed to be

⁴² The connection can also be made with the other English speakers in this section—the British, who likewise are exposed as opportunists.

lurking under the surface of the entirety of *Das Kajütenbuch*. Given the book is about revolution, what does this interregnum suggest, then, about the Texas Revolution? Interestingly, revolution—an event that is a supposed breach, a break from the status quo—bears resemblance to an interregnum. However, as the etymology of *Unterbrechung* suggests, as do Captain Murkey’s mercantile operations, a dark and ugly barnacled underbelly associated with money and power lurks under the surface. The Texas Revolution, purportedly a necessary and noble action for liberty (as are the “noble” Captain’s actions) is exposed as having a sinister underside, one that the Alcalde explicitly uncovers in his teaching to Captain Morse.

Between Morse’s wandering and subsequent conquering of the wilderness and his victorious participation in the Texas Revolution is an extended section devoted to the Alcalde’s philosophy and attempt to mentor Morse into a different way of seeing the world. This section halts the forward-movement of the plot in order to pause for philosophical reflection and, as such, problematizes many of the notions of justified, righteous expansion and revolution that the text, particularly the section on the Texas Revolution, espouses. In this political ideology section, the Alcalde justifies revolution, yet he also terms it piracy.

Placing the current events in Texas in a transhistorical and transnational perspective, he celebratorily likens the Texas revolutionaries to the Normans, a group he depicts as sea and land robbers with piratical blood. His comparative reading becomes even more diffuse as he triangulates the Norman pirates with the Puritans and then Moses. In the Alcalde’s view, Moses, when having some piece of roguery in

mind, made God magically appear, and the Puritans battled the biblical Philistines, Amalekites, and Moabites—aka, the Indians. The key link, though, between the Puritans, Hebrews, Normans, and eventually the Texas Revolutionaries? That embellishment surrounds their histories, an embellishment where “trotz Aufklärung, das Ruchloseste, Gottloseste, Schmutzigste als fromm, gerecht, rein, staatsklug und wer weiß was alles dargestellt...als zur Ordnung, zur Ruhe gehörig” (118). (“Despite the Enlightenment, the vilest most abandoned godless wretch is represented as pious, upright, pure, polite, and goodness knows what...[where] butchery is repparalleled as a heroic deed, necessary to order and peace.”) The Alcalde continues, informing Captain Morse that he must remove “der Nimbus” (the halo or aura) from his heroes, a halo that has been created by the passing of time and writers.

The Alcalde’s upholding of the piratical Normans and his corresponding deconstruction of other figures respected for their righteousness and justness highly disturbs Morse, who is heavily associated with nationalistic discourse. Yet, while immediately protesting the Alcalde’s unorthodox ideologies, Morse begins to slip between the Alcalde’s language and the language of heroic patriotism in his descriptions of the Texas Revolutionaries. While he proclaims that the Texans’ resolve, much like the American colonists’ resolve against the British, is in “die hohen Interessen der Freiheit” (239) (“highest interest of freedom”) and “als einer der schönsten glänzen wird, vor dem Makel unmännlicher Grausamkeit zu bewahren“ (231) (“will shine as one of the most beautiful [revolutions], protecting [their

reputation] from the stain of unmanly cruelty”), other representations heavily contest this declaration.

In uncannily similar language to the Alcalde, Morse describes the Texans’ battle to enter the entrenched encampment of Santa Anna. After having penetrated into the enemy encampment much like pirates springing onto an enemy ship with pistols and knives in hands and mouths, Morse narrates, “Was nicht niedergestochen – ward niedergeschossen, mit wildem Jubel, dämonischem Lachen, ganz dem desperaten Ungestüm tollkühner Seeleute, die das feindliche Schiff bereits als das ihrige betrachten.... Ein grässliches Metzeln erfolgte“ (230). (“Who was not stabbed down was gunned down, with wild cheers, demoniacal laughter, all of the desperate aggressiveness of the daredevil seamen, who already regard the enemy’s ship as their own....A horrible massacre.”) Morse’s depiction of his men as pirates with demonic laughs and aggressive and impulsive actions momentarily and dangerously echoes the Alcalde’s earlier comparisons to the Norman Pirates. Yet Morse quickly attempts to foreclose such understandings, effacing his disconcerting observations with a wildly contradictory declaration that this revolution was free from “dem Makel unmännlicher Grausamkeit” (231) (“the stain of unmanly cruelty”).

Regarding the Mexican war for independence in his two-volume *Ensayo Histórico de Las Revoluciones De México, Desde 1808 Hasta 1830* (*Historical Essay of the Mexican Revolutions, from 1808 to 1830*), Lorenzo de Zavala writes of his desire to write a *true* history, noting that past historians, according their own doctrines and in order to defend their own interests, have designated “los

independientes” as “rebeldes, ingratos, infáme” (4) (“rebels, ingrates, infamous [ones]). Zavala rightly notes that language either legitimizes or delegitimizes actions, but what happens when both are performed simultaneously? What happens, then, when justificatory language of revolution is combined with the recognition that revolution involves piratical practices and bloodlust? When the Texas revolution and some of the founding narratives of the U.S. are read in such a double vision?

One of the Alcalde’s declarations helps address these questions. The Alcalde, uncannily echoing Morse’s earlier words about wandering in a circle, declares, “Euch bloß sagen, daß die Welt mit jedem Jahrzehende anders und doch immer und ewig dieselbe bleibt” (118). (“I only wanted to tell you that the world changes every ten years, and yet remains always the same.”) The Alcalde here seems to be suggesting an older cyclical vision of history rather than one of progressive regeneration and rebirth. Given that this section of the novel centers on the Texas Revolution, it is imperative to ask just what the Alcalde’s words do to the idea of revolution. The Alcalde’s response, however, also links the Texas Revolution and the American Revolution—the supposed breaks from past despotism—with all past revolutions. In the Alcalde’s logic, the United States, then, is not a “City on a Hill” that all the nations look to but a city amongst many, in the valleys of greed and the will to power. Seeming to respond to the Alcalde’s concept of historical temporality, the novel spatially diffuses out, revealing the large parameters and implications of the Alcalde’s comment. It is to this spatial diffusion to which I now turn.

4. Hemispheric and Oceanic Space

The Alcalde's philosophy challenges nationalistic narratives of uniqueness and superiority. While *Das Kajütenbuch* has often been read as participating in such nationalistic discourse, particularly due to the abridged versions and reproductions, the book as a whole challenges such thinking. Sealsfield, too, has been narrowed into nationalistic discourses, as Ritter argues with his "navel-gazing" critique, and his liminal position has gone unnoticed. Ritter in fact argues that this misunderstanding of Sealsfield and his *Das Kajütenbuch* is because of the abridgements that divorce parts from the whole.

That Sealsfield's novel is more than just a nationally focused text is evidenced in the textual and paratextual details that place *Das Kajütenbuch* at the very heart of borderlands and hemispheric history. The novel is dedicated to the "Hon. Joel R. Poinsett," who, going on U.S. government-appointed missions to Mexico in 1822 and 1823, published his experiences in *Notes on Mexico* in 1824. He then became the first U.S. Minister to Mexico from 1825 to 1829. Deeply interested in Mexican politics, he became known for his officious, intrusive manner, for which the Mexicans coined the word *poinsettismo*. Additionally, Captain Morse ends up having such adventures in the Jacinto Prairie because of failed land scrip issued by the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company, managed in part by Lorenzo de Zavala, who received an *empresario* grant from the Mexican government in 1829.⁴³ De Zavala also served intermittently as a governor of Mexico and eventually became the vice president of the Texas

⁴³ Empresario grants were a system established by the Mexican government as a means of colonization.

Republic. A final example of *das Kajütenbuch*'s appreciation of and entwining with transnational histories, Captain Murkey travels about in his ship, the *Perseverance*, a name which tantalizingly echoes Amasa Delano's ship in Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno*, a novel which positions the slave trade in a hemispheric perspective.

Das Kajütenbuch and its paratextual and textual details, including the Alcalde's political philosophy section, performs boundary crossings through its positioning of itself within hemispheric history and in its temporally-diffuse comparisons. Such complex positionality is significant, in that it allows for different viewpoints, a polyvocality, on narratives of Americanness. As Brickhouse contends, through such polyvocality, we glean "insights originating beyond the national and Anglophone borders" rather than "allowing that period's intense cultural nationalism to generate all the questions" (*Transamerican* 29-30). While *das Kajütenbuch* does not fully subvert or silence nationalistic and imperialistic narratives, its multifaceted text calls for subversive readings.

Along with the complexity that is present through the novel's spatial and temporal boundary crossings, *Das Kajütenbuch*'s exploration of nation and revolution becomes even more complicated. Perhaps even more significant than the Alcalde's view is the perspective that emerges by linking the prairie section with the rest of the novel. Building off of Ritter's aforementioned argument regarding a generic and spatial narrowing of *das Kajütenbuch*, I think it imperative to recognize that from the moment of its title, the novel sets up an inherent spatial tension: *Das Kajütenbuch*—

Kajüte, meaning a ship's cabin—and *Nationale Charakteristiken*—national characteristics.

The idea of oceanic space abounds even in the prairie section, as Captain Morse claims that it is nearly impossible to distinguish the boundary between the Gulf of Mexico and Texas and then obsessively invokes the image of the prairie as the sea. Oceanic space again returns in “das Kåpitan” section, where, as we have seen, the story shifts its focus from Army Captain Morse to Ship Captain Murkey, a Yankee who helps a Columbian prisoner escape from Cuba, who sells goods to both the Spanish and the rebels during the Latin American Wars for Independence, and who ends up fighting with his former stow-away (the Columbian rebel) against the Spanish forces in Peru. And the story ends in Mississippi in Captain Murkey's *kajüte*—his house built to resemble a ship's cabin. What does it mean, then, that an exploration of a national revolution does not stay in place...especially given that the beginning of the novel narrates the search for a harbor (Texas) in which they can find anchor (their land scrip) to secure their life's ship?

Anthropologist Bjørn Thomassen argues that revolutions, in their effort for transformation and justification, very much resemble rituals. Rituals, a way for the collective to respond to and process extraordinary events, require a framed space; likewise, Thomassen notes that anthropologists emphasize the importance of concrete spaces in which social actions take place. He writes, “revolutionaries, just like any tribal society, need the ritual circle: they need to create and conquer...in performance. The study of...revolutions is to a large extent the anthropological study of

appropriations of space via ritual” (694). Given Thomassen’s argument, is there a way to read *Das Kajütenbuch*, a novel that responds to the Texas Revolution, as a type of ritual that appropriates and performs nationalistic and revolutionary narratives? And, if as Thomassen suggests, framed space is of utmost importance to both revolution and ritual, what happens in a book that constantly performs boundary crossings and diffuses space? What happens in a book that invokes oceanic space as one of its main motifs? Considering Thomassen’s argument, that the ritual space is necessary to “conquer,” it seems that if *das Kajütenbuch* is a type of ritual performance, the performance fails to succeed—the narrative strands exceed the frame.

This excess is embodied in the strange ending of the novel. As critics and readers alike often comment, the ending in its excessive sentimentality does not seem to fit generically or qualitatively with the rest of the novel. Ritter suggests that the ending seems to be a representative converging between the United States (as represented by Alexandra) and the republic of Texas (as represented by Morse) (511-512). Such a view echoes Doris Sommer's argument in her seminal text *Foundational Fictions*, that heterosexual romance goes hand in hand with national consolidation in nineteenth-century literature of the Americas.

Such consolidation is represented spatially in *Das Kajütenbuch*. In the opening of the novel, Captain Morse explains how the invalidity of their land scrip frustrates his search for an anchor to settle in the harbor of Texas: “Etwas aber fanden wir...und dies war die Entdeckung, dass unsere Scripts sich nicht ganz als die Sicherheitsanker

erwiesen, die unsere Lebensarche in Texashafen festzuhalten versprochen“ (22).

(“But we found something...and this was the discovery that our script proved itself not entirely the security anchor which would hold our life’s arc.”) Yet in the ending, Morse has still not found an anchor in Texas, but a Kajüte in Mississippi.

Whereas in the opening Morse is the one navigating the sea of Texas, in the end, he has chosen a house that resembles a ship’s cabin. The edenic possibilities of Texas are replaced with, in the closing words of Morse and the novel, “die Kajüte” (“the cabin”) which “war ihnen zum Paradiese geworden” (395) (“had become a paradise to us.”) In the ending, the novel's ambiguity and its obsession with oceanic and diffuse space is replaced with a center...a fixed *Kajüte*...a singular place. Yet, as the ending of the novel is not fully convincing as a conclusion to the book, multiple possibilities remain—the center does not hold. In typical *das Kajütenbuch* style, ambiguities abound, even in an ending that attempts to solve them.

5. Conclusions

Current hemispheric scholarship calls for studies that acknowledge the interdependency of nation-state formations and highlight the historically produced, contingent, and evolving nature of borders as well as temporally and spatially reframing national borders. In many ways, Sealsfield’s 1841 text is ahead of its time, performing such reframings through its hemispheric movements and multitemporal comparisons. Its polyvocality, as evinced in the Alcalde’s unorthodox political philosophy and Morse’s more nationalistic ideology about expansion and revolution,

reveal, in the words of José David Saldívar, the borderlands of U.S.-Mexico to be a “place of hybridity and betweenness” (153). Such representations are vital as they expose the “serious contest of codes and representations” that take place in U.S. and Mexican history rather than naturalizing borders and narratives (80). Saldívar, in the long history of scholars such as Herbert Bolton, Edmundo O’Gorman, and Gloria Anzaldúa, is proposing the borderlands as a challenge to narratives of the frontier which naturalize the westward movement of the U.S., portraying it as inevitable and justified.

As a book that has often been read as a wild-west story, particularly in its abridgments of “die Prärie am Jacinto” section, and as engaging with common nationalistic ideas of the frontier, *das Kajütenbuch*, when taken as a complex whole in its hemispheric context, tells a much different and more subversive story. For instance, “Das Kapitän,” a section which Sealsfield scholar Jeffrey Sammons describes as “an increasingly sentimental tale of love, courtship, and marriage, [that] has been dismissed by some...critics as the weakest of his works” (Sammons 7), is actually crucial to understanding the whole tale of *Das Kajütenbuch* and its exposure of the dark side of United States expansion and transnational interactions. Such a doubleness causes pause even for Sealsfield's seemingly laudatory epigraph to his friend. While it would be possible to read this epigraph as an expression of Sealsfield's support of Poinsett's (and the United States') involvement in Mexican affairs, I want to suggest a different reading, where we read the epigraph not as some “true” expression of the author but as a paratext to the larger novel. In such, I believe

we have to ask, if the Alcalde's insistence that heroes are actually pirates with superimposed halos, then how do we read the dedication to the "Honorable Joel Poinsett?"

As a whole, *Das Kajütenbuch* is not a wholesale idealization of the frontier and the United States, like a reading of an abridged version of "Die Jacinto Prärie" might suggest. This violent inscription highlights the inherent contradictions more so than a majority of English-language texts emerging around this time in the United States, particularly the ones with which it is often linked, such as Cooper's *Leather-Stocking Tales*. While it does not explicitly reference them, Sealsfield's text motions towards hemispheric happenings that scholars such as Gretchen Murphy, in *Hemispheric Imaginings*, highlight as integral to understandings of United States history—for instance, the Monroe doctrine and the desired annexation of Cuba. By framing the tale of the Texas Revolution in a transnational and hemispheric network, Sealsfield exposes parts of the United States often effaced.

Yet, unfortunately, Sealsfield's text does not enact full condemnation of this underbelly it exposes and at times even seems to advocate for slavery and the belatedness of Latin American nations. In a typical narratorial move that occurs throughout the various sections and narrators, the bank director moves from his exposure of the shadiness of Captain Murkey and the republican and American support of despotism for monetary advantage to an acclamation of "we" Americans. The bank director, reversing what he has just stated (and the connection the Alcalde in an earlier section made), sidesteps American responsibility and corruptness and

turns to the British, who he claims are more money hungry and capitalistic, like the Norman pirates, serving “Turk, and Jew, Carlist and Christino” for the sake of money. Yet, the bank president maintains, “we” Americans “fight only for liberty!” Even though he has just described them as doing the exact same thing of which he accuses the British, the irony escapes him. Likewise, his damning reflection that the Captain is “untroubled” as to whether his taking over the battle and commanding of the Latin American patriots is “agreeable or not” as well as the bank president’s subsequent likening of the Captain’s actions to settlers taking other people’s land and “making themselves at home” with no concern for the prior residents, is ultimately lost on the bank president and *Das Kajütenbuch* as a whole.

Despite its hemispheric and transnational framings, *Das Kajütenbuch* fails to completely break out of the framing categories of the coloniality of power. The fear and utter belief that Captain Morse expresses toward the Alcalde’s words take over in the end. This fear is, I argue, evinced in the blatant erasure of Indians, particularly the Comanche, from the novel, a concern to which I now turn.

Chapter 2

Absent Presence: The Comanche, Raiding, and Revolution

1. Wo sind die Komantschen? (Where are the Comanches)

“These communities [in Texas] have disappeared entirely; in some of them residents dying to the last man.... Many early settlers and their descendants have been sacrificed to the barbarians...Every last one of us is probably threatened with total extermination by the new Comanche uprising.”
– from an 1832 petition by Texas communities to Mexico City

The Comanches were a powerful and feared presence in the space that would become the United States-Mexico borderlands. From their arrival in the Spanish archival record in 1706 until their decline in the 1870s, they troubled, tantalized, and sometimes tormented the inhabitants and governing officials of the shifting space that was first New Spain, then the state of Texas-Coahuila in the newly-independent Mexico, followed by the Texas Republic, and finally the state of Texas. In fact, Pekka Hämäläinen, in his esteemed book *The Comanche Empire*, contends: “More than a historical glitch, [more than] a momentary rupture in the process of European colonization of indigenous America.... the Comanches were the dominant people in the Southwest” for a century, from approximately 1750-1850 (2).

Such incredible impact is evident in the oscillating revulsion and attraction that both Spanish and Anglo Texans held for the Comanches. In an admixture of both, Spanish officer Athanase de Mézières depicted the Comanches in 1770 as, “a people

so numerous and so haughty that when asked their number, they make no difficulty of comparing it to that of the stars. They are so skillful in horsemanship that they have no equal; so daring that they never ask for or grant truces” (qtd in Bolton 218-219). Over fifty years later, Empresario and Texas revolutionary Stephan F. Austin deplored the attraction of many United States’ merchants to Comanche raiding and trading, terming their patronage, “a species of land Piracy” (qtd in Barker 508). Soon-to-be-president of the Texas Republic Sam Houston, cognizant of the power of the Comanches, desperately tried to enlist their aid in repelling Santa Ana after the devastation at the Alamo. Such examples attest to the fact that this volatile space of Texas was a society permeated with Comanche presence. Yet, in *Das Kajütenbuch*—a book acclaimed by the Texas State Historical Association as “the first important discussion of Texas in the German language”—there is not a mention of the Comanches (Lich). While fictional, this novel aspires to a type of historicity, particularly in the narrating of the wars and in its array of historical details. Ritter has even argued that the fictional characters are shaped after historical models (507).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ For instance, Ritter argues that Captain Morse is a fictionalized James Fannin, a Texas Revolutionary war leader, and the Alcalde, Stephen F. Austin.

Given *Das Kajütenbuch*'s focus on the space of Texas and its interest in historical accounts and figures, the absence of the Comanches—a people who populated and largely controlled massive spaces directly to the northwest of the novel's setting and made trading and raiding excursions far outside its borders—is indeed strange. (See the map of Comanchería, taken from Hämäläinen.) Yet this omission becomes even stranger given that Sealsfield provides many details about mustangs in *Das Kajütenbuch* yet leaves out the people who are closely associated with riding, raiding, and trading them. Sealsfield was not an author in the vein of Nathaniel Hawthorne, who largely avoided writing about Indians; on the contrary, Sealsfield wrote much about Indians in other texts, including his *Tokeah; or the White Rose*, a text focused on an



Indian character.⁴⁵ In fact, Sealsfield's works are most often compared to James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*, texts fascinated with Indians. Indians also were a source of intrigue for many German writers who were contemporaries of Sealsfield. For instance, Friedrich Gerstäcker—another German *Erfolgsautor* of the period—focused many of his works on Indians, such as *Die Regulatoren in Arkansas* (*The Arkansas Regulators*), a novel that follows a noble savage named Assowaum as he attempts to survive the changing landscape now replete with settlers. Why then does Sealsfield not write about the Comanche Indians? The Comanche absence becomes even more confounding considering the source text Sealsfield used. *Das Kajütenbuch* is derivative of the 1834 anonymous journal, *A Visit to Texas*, which is replete with Indians and even mentions the Comanches by name.⁴⁶

More perplexing yet, for all of the challenges to bounded spaces in *Das Kajütenbuch*, what happened to Comanchería, an empire that controlled massive spaces of the southwest? The Comanche empire in many ways concretely embodied the vision of *das Kajütenbuch*, as the Comanches created an empire that traversed and refused national, mapped boundaries, whose goal was not to establish a European-style imperial system or a rigid structure held together by a singular central authority, but rather a vast network of interrelations.

⁴⁵ I used the term Indian when it appropriate for the nineteenth-century context I am discussing. In other contexts, I utilize the term indigenous.

⁴⁶ The complete title is *A Visit to Texas: Being the Journal of a Traveler Through the Parts Most Interesting to American Settlers*, published in New York in 1834, with a second edition in 1836.

Author and critic Toni Morrison, writing of the Afro-American presence in American literature in her seminal article, “Unspeakable Things Unspoken” argues,

We can agree, I think, that invisible things are not necessarily ‘not-there’; that a void may be empty, but is not a vacuum. In addition, certain absences are so stressed, so ornate, so planned, they call attention to themselves; arrest us with intentionality and purpose, like neighborhoods that are defined by the population heading away from them. (11)

The Comanche absence in *Das Kajütenbuch* is such an absence that arrests our attention because all our extra-textual knowledge clamors that the Comanches (or at least a more generalized notion of Indians) should be included. Similar to the point Morrison makes of the Afro-American presence in American literature, while the Comanches may not be mentioned in *Das Kajütenbuch*, they are not fully absent; rather, their presence haunts the narrative. I argue that reading for their presence allows for a shadow reading, one that highlights disconcerting narrative strands of the novel while disturbing some of the more conventional and conclusive ones.

Specifically, reading for Comanche presence in *Das Kajütenbuch* unsettles and undermines the ideas of teleological progress and manifest destiny that the novel ultimately espouses and instead exposes the poetic and ideological glossing that hides the less-flattering realities of western expansion and the will to power.

The second half of my chapter recognizes that the effacement and subsequent haunting of the Comanches in *Das Kajütenbuch* may very well be historically accurate to representations of the Comanches in sources that preserve, like Sealsfield’s, an image of justified violence and taking of the land. In order to explore this supposition, I turn to the Spanish archives, to an earlier moment that sets the

stage for *Das Kajütenbuch*. During this period, while the Spanish possessed the land of the northern territories on paper, the Comanches rose in power and nearly decimated Spanish settlements and control. This period had far reaching repercussions for later events in this space. As a counterpoint to Comanche absence in *Das Kajütenbuch*, I follow a Comanche known only as Andrés who quietly slips in and out of New Spain's government records. While Andrés role is minimized, I contend his presence continues to haunt the records and explore how his presence offers alternative modes of understanding the Comanches.

2. Absent Presence and the Comanche Haunting of *Das Kajütenbuch*

As a way to begin to understand why the Comanche are absent from this novel—or, rather, haunt the narrative with their submerged presence—I turn to a handful of nominal references to Indians that are included in the text. While Indians in general are very scarce in this novel, it is important to comprehend how they are utilized in the text in order to begin to understand why the Comanche are not included in this novel.

The first mention of an Indian occurs when Captain Morse is recounting his four days of being lost and wandering in the Jacinto prairie. Having fallen off his horse headlong into the river in his exhausted state, he is saved by a wild stranger named Bob. Narrating his first full view of him, Morse shudders:

Ein grässlicheres Menschenantlitz war mir nie vorgekommen. Seine Züge waren die verwildertsten, die ich je gesehen. Die blutunterlaufenen Augen rollten wie glühende Ballen in dem Höhlen. Sein Wesen verriet den wütendsten innern Kampf....Sein Gesicht...war

sonnen- und wettergebräunt wie das eines Indianers, aber der Bart verriet weiße Abstammung....Die Furien der Hölle schienen sich in diesen Augen umherzutreiben (57-58).

(A more frightful countenance never came before one. His features were the wildest I had ever seen. His blood-shot eyes rolled like balls of fire in their sockets. His manner betrayed a raging inward struggle.... His face...was sun and weather-burnt, like that of an Indian, but his head bespoke white blood.)⁴⁷

For Morse, Bob embodies the concepts of wildness and fury. He is raging and red (his skin is burnt by the weather and his eyes are blood-shot), like a savage Indian. Yet it is important to note that in this first mention of an Indian, we find not actual presence but a metaphoric substitution. There is a remove here: Bob is not an actual Indian, only a white man who looks like an Indian. Hence, while the narrator is repulsed and even frightened by Bob, Bob is a safer threat than if Morse were to have encountered an actual Indian with blood-shot, rolling eyes that bespoke of the furies of hell within. As Bob is of white ancestry – like the narrator – Bob is more legible to the narrator, who claims to have comprehended Bob’s whole character in a few words. The trope of legibility fills this section, with Bob even demanding to know if his struggle, “Ist...denn gar so leserlich auf [seinem] Stirn geschrieben?” (59). (“Is written so plainly on [his] face?”) Moreover, instead of an external, communal threat – such as an Indian raid or the Comanche “uprising” feared in the opening epigraph – the threat, as embodied in Bob, is turned into a singular and more internal violence, a

⁴⁷ All translations are from the 1871 English-language edition unless otherwise noted.

much more containable and resolvable form.⁴⁸ That this violence is containable is echoed in the narrative, which in fact redeems the wild Bob.

The trope of legibility also continues if we consider the workings of Morse's simile, like that of an Indian. This comparison is a double remove; in all probability, Morse's knowledge is based on an image of an Indian as found in a book or a picture not an actual encounter, for by this time period, the northeast had largely resolved the so-called 'Indian problem.'⁴⁹ Hence, an Indian is a character found in books and drawings, a figure who has been written about earlier. Indians, therefore, can be fearful, but they are a fearful presence that has passed and is no longer. This passage,

⁴⁸ While Bob is a murderer (an outward violence), the text places the emphasis on his internal haunting, which has occurred due to his external actions.

⁴⁹ Vizenor argues that all notions of an "Indian" are based on an image, not reality. He finds the term "Indian" an "occidental misnomer": an invention that is mere simulation, a word has "no referent to real native cultures or communities" (vii). Vizenor argues that *Indian* exemplifies Umberto Eco's notion of hyperreality, "where the American imagination demands the real things, and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake" (9). Perhaps most exemplary of Vizenor's idea of Indian as simulation is his iteration of the refrain, "This portrait is not an Indian," echoing the example he gives of Rene Magritte's painting of an obvious pipe with the inscription, "This is not a pipe." Vizenor's repeated usage of "This portrait is not an Indian" reveals the simulation present in past and current societal portrayals (both by indigenous and non-indigenous peoples) of Indians.

In the nineteenth century in the northwest, Indians were not the threat they used to be. Hence McGuire notes that notions of Indians emerging from narratives of the northwest tended to focus on the idea of the Noble Savage, who could, in the proper environment, throw off the shackles of primitiveness and put on the accouterments of white civilization (817). The notion of the Savage Savage, the utterly incorrigible Indian incapable of being civilized, was more readily held on the frontier or more rural areas of America where the Indians were still a threat (820). It makes sense, then, that Bob is a type of Noble Savage figure – wild yet ultimately salvageable to civilization. For nineteenth-century literary examples of the various types of Indians, see Smith, Hall, and Simms.

therefore, displaces the Indian both metaphorically and temporally, allowing for a safer, more containable version in Bob.

The second significant passage regarding Indians (the only such extended passage in this novel) likewise connects with the character of Bob, who has just encountered his 'friend' Johnny, whom he originally met in his blotted and dark prior life in Sodoma, Alabama. Captain Morse reflects on his impression of this seedy place:

[Es war der] Freihafen aller Mörder und Geächteten des Westens und Südwestens, die hier unter indianischer Gerichtsbarkeit Schutz und Sicherheit gegen die Ahndung des Gesetzes fanden....die Mörderbande, mit Messern, Dolchen, Stutzern bewaffnet, über den Chatahoochie, tobte...in Columbus ein, stieß nieder, wer in den Weg kam, brach in die Häuser, raubte, plünderte, mordete, tat Mädchen und Weibern Gewalt an und...dann...über den Fluss in ihre Mordhöhle zurück....An Verfolgung oder Gerechtigkeit war nicht zu denken, denn Sodoma stand unter indianischer Gerichtsbarkeit (69).

([It was] the resort of all the murderers and outcasts of the West and Southwest, who found here, under the Indian government, protection and security from the vengeance of the law....Bands of these wretches would cross the Chatahootchee, armed with knives, swords, and pistols, rush into Columbia like madmen, stab whoever opposed them, break into houses, rob, plunder, kill or ravish the women...and then return over the river to their den. Pursuit and punishment were not to be thought of, for Sodoma was within the Indian territory.)

In Morse's estimation, Sodoma and the circumscribing Indian Territory exhibit a gross reversal of values: instead of advocating for the law-abiding, the homesteader, and the vulnerable, this territory protects the madman, the murderer, and the ravisher. More than just the reversal of values, however, is the angst about a territory outside of white government, where entering it to enact justice was prohibited as the territory is sovereign. As feared in the passage, this sort of protected space allowed for the

diffusion and safe return of criminals, and hence the possibility of spreading terror with impunity into the surrounding areas. What should happen to this sort of space is hinted at by the fictional name of Sodoma, which calls to mind the biblical Sodom and Gomorrah, a place of wickedness deserving of the ultimate destruction it faces.⁵⁰

Morse quickly contains the threat fostered by Sodoma and this Indian Territory by testifying that Sodoma, and the entire Indian Territory encompassing it, has in fact finally received the vengeance of the law:

Mehrere der indianischen Häuptlinge waren mit den Mördern einverstanden; ein Grund, der denn auch endlich die Veranlassung zu ihrer Fortschaffung wurde.... Die Indianer mussten über den Mississippi, wie Sie wissen, und seit der Zeit sind auch Räuber, Mörder und – Sodoma verschwunden, und Columbia blüht und gedeiht, eine so respektable, geachtete Stadt als irgendeine im Westen (69-70).

(And many of the Indian chiefs were associated with the murderers; which, indeed, was the cause of their removal.... The Indians were driven over the Mississippi; and from that time robbers, murderers, and Sodoma itself, have disappeared, and Columbia is now as flourishing and as respectable a town as any in the West.)

In the logic of Morse, the presence of a sanctuary (Indian Territory) was not just compounding the problem of Sodoma but creating it, as now that the Indians have been removed, the wretches of Sodoma have wondrously disappeared. Haunting this passage, however, is a fact established in the novel that many of these wretches went further west to Texas. The novel tries to contain this fearful detail through the character of Bob, who embodies the criminal wretch moved west and who is ultimately redeemed. Yet, this ability to be redeemed is challenged by Morse's own

⁵⁰ In Sodom and Gomorrah, God's divine judgment is passed on these unrepentant cities, which are totally consumed by fire and brimstone.

logic. If the wretches of Sodoma disappearing are in fact linked with the Indians disappearing, can in fact these wretches be redeemed in Texas, a place replete with Indians and their territories? Perhaps this is in fact a reason why there are no Indians in the space of Texas in the novel, as Indians are only removable not redeemable.

That Indians cannot assimilate into white society is intimated as this passage alludes to the 1830 Indian Removal Act, which displaced the Five Civilized Tribes from their lands in the southern portions of the U.S. to the federal lands west of the Mississippi. This displacement included the Cherokee, who, having been encouraged by the U.S. government to become “civilized” (aka redeemed) had created a government modeled after the United States’ as well as a written alphabet. Yet, the Cherokee were still removed.

That the Indian Removal sparked protest is not unknown to Morse, who derogates those who were too emotionally frail: “Diese Fortschaffung hat, wie Sie wissen, die Tränendrüsen aller unserer alten politischen Weiber in hohem Grade geöffnet, erstaunlich viele Gegner unter unsern guten Yankees gefunden.... Glücklicherweise hatte Jacksons Eisenseele auch keinen Funken dieses... Liebesreichtums” (69-70). (“This removal, as you know, drew forth, in profusion, the tears of all our old political women; and, still more astonishing, found many opposers amongst our good Yankees.... Happily, Jackson’s iron soul had not a spark of their superfluity!”) Comparing Morse’s statement with the words of his lauded Jackson provides a greater understanding of the link between Sodoma and removal. Jackson,

in his second annual message to Congress in 1830, sought to justify his Indian policies:

Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country.... To follow to the tomb the last of his race and to tread on the graves of extinct nations excite melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another. In the monuments and fortresses of an unknown people, spread over the extensive regions of the West, we behold the memorials of a once powerful race, which was exterminated or has disappeared to make room for the existing savage tribes.... What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms...and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?

Underlying Jackson's justification is the notion of progress and the cost that it entails—extinction. Extinction – be it of the “once powerful race” of the Mound Builders or of a past generation – allows for space for the next generation to progress. While technically Jackson is not saying the current tribes will go extinct, there is an underlying logic that they will shrink and vanish, for there are now only a “few thousand savages” compared to “our extensive Republic.” Combining Morse's quote with Jackson's statement, we see not only a justification of removal but also the making of a safer Indian. As the Indian is made safer in the figure of Bob (a singular savage-like man with inward struggles), here we have the Indian made safer by removal and containment—away from white civilization—and on its way to extinction, where the grave will provide the ultimate removal and containment. As Sodoma disappeared, so will the Indians. And so have they already disappeared from the space of this novel.

These brief references to Indians in *Das Kajütenbuch* reveal that Indians need to be made safe, either by being in a distant past or safely removed and contained far from white civilization. Yet, the Comanches refused this mold. They were not safely in the past but actively present in the contemporaneous moment; they were not safely removed far from white civilization but intimately close and intertwined with white settlers and traders; they were not, in the words of Jackson, a “few thousand savages [compared] to [the] extensive Republic” but, in most estimates, still numbered between twenty and thirty thousand in the 1820s and 1830s—even after devastating epidemics of smallpox (Hämäläinen 179).⁵¹ Even more threatening, Comanchería, much like the Indian Territory surrounding Sodoma, was an area from which Comanches radiated outward to trade and raid. In all, the Comanches were a threat that was not containable in the ways the novel, particularly Morse, makes safe other Indians.

Yet the Indian problem is not the only thing Morse strives to make safe. While in large part respectful and idealizing of the Alcalde, Morse also is quite bothered by some of the political and ideological ideas the Alcalde espouses in his extended speech. In this section, the Alcalde advocates for an alternative, clearer way of seeing: “Geht Euch aber...in der Prärie wieder ein ganz anderes Licht als in euren Städten auf“ (120). (“But in the prairie, you perceive things in a quite a different light than in towns.”) I argue that this complex and intriguing section instigates a ‘prairie perception’ that unravels much of the rationale and justifications narrated by Morse

⁵¹ This estimate is for both the western and the eastern Comanches.

(and by extension Jackson) in the previous section; it hence is vital in seeing the Comanche absence in this text.

In the Alcalde's speech, in a comparative link between the Puritans and the Israelites, he mentions Indians briefly: "War der liebe Gott unsern frommen Plymouth-Vätern auch richtig immer zur Hand, wenn sie unsern roten Philistern, Amalekitern, Moabitem, das heißt – unsern Indianern einen Hieb versetzen, einen freisinnig aufgeklärten. Mann in irgendeine Teufelei oder die Klauen ihrer blue laws zu bringen gedachten" (119-120). ("The good God was always just at the hand of our pious Plymouth fathers whenever they intended to give our Philistines, Amalekites, and Moabites, that is our red Indians, a blow, or to bring a self-thinking, enlightened man into a scrape of the claws of their dark laws.") While this could seem like the Alcalde is justifying the killing and the dispossession of the Indians in a religiously inflected version of Jackson's progressive rationale, this reading would be missing the Alcalde's sardonic tone regarding the Puritans and their invocations of God to justify what they wanted to do.

The Alcalde's comment is dangerous as it challenges the justifications Captain Morse, and by extension Andrew Jackson, gave about the removal of the Indians. The Puritans, as declared by John Winthrop in 1630, believed they had a God-given right to land, as they saw the land in America as being *vacuum domicilium*, or legally waste: "The Indians had not 'subdued' [the lands] by methods recognized in English law and therefore had no 'natural' right to it; the alternative of 'civil' right was impossible for the Indians because they did not have civil government. In operational

terms civil government meant European government” (Wilson 16). Through vacuum domicilium, the Puritans reasoned that they had both a right and a duty to the land since it was being ‘wasted’ by Native Americans. Many later American citizens continued to embrace this conviction, developing in the mid-nineteenth century into the idea of Manifest Destiny.

We see a similar line of logic in Jackson’s quote (and in Morse’s acclaim of his removal policies): “What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms...and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?” Jackson, in other places, even ridiculed Indian claims “to tracts of country on which they have neither dwelt nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain or passed them in the chase” (Prucha 532). Yet the Alcalde’s commentary about the Puritans, applicable also to Morse’s and Jackson’s thinking, reveals that notions of duty and religious mandate are created as a means to justify what has already been done or is about to be done.

The Alcalde’s thinking becomes even more dangerous around this idea of the will – specifically the will to power. Schuchalter elucidates:

In *Das Kajütenbuch* his spokesman in the novel – the *Alcalde* – compares the Anglo-Americans in Texas with the Norman conquest of England. According to this analogy, the Texans, like the Normans before them, are supposed to sweep the old aristocracy aside and regenerate society. Their only claim to rule, as Sealsfield’s mentor figure argues, rests ultimately on their will to power. In this sense, then, Sealsfield is not only an important precursor of the frontier thesis, but, in addition, an unsettling voice in its ideological deconstruction (120).

As Schuchalter points out, the Alcalde's statement allows for unsettling deconstructions, particularly of ideology that justifies itself through notions of religion, duty or moral superiority – as did the Puritans, the Jacksonians, and the Texas Revolutionaries. Schuchalter, reading Sealsfield as a precursor to Frederick Jackson Turner and his frontier thesis, delineates: “In contrast to Turner, Sealsfield's epic of Western expansion is ultimately based on *Machtstreben*” (Schuchalter 2000: 119). However, he qualifies his contrast, noting, “Turner's conception of the frontier was also based on power, since he defined the frontier for the most part as ‘free land’ or empty space subdued by the virtuous pioneer” (125). ‘Virtuous’ is key here, as the notion of the virtuous pioneer subduing the empty land is still attempting to cloak the concept of pure power with notions of vacuum domicilium, duty, and superiority – exactly what the Alcalde is sardonically undermining. Hence, while other notions of the pioneer are based on power, the Alcalde puts that unadulterated power on a pedestal for all to see.

While the Alcalde acclaims the piratical Normans and their will to power, he does not depict them as virtuous. Instead, they were illegitimate and so desperate as „gewalttätige Bluthunde” (116); (“violent bloodhounds”). Hence, “das ganze Land [war] ein und derselbe Schauplatz von Notzucht, Blutschande, Mord, Raub und Plünderung” (116). (“The whole land was one scene of incessant violence, murder, robbery, and plunder.”) Compare this last statement to Morse's previous one about Sodoma being a place where bands of these wretches cross the river to kill and rob. There is a remarkable overlap in the two actions. What Morse uses to justify the need

for removal, the Alcalde highlights as necessary to all successful societies. If Morse fails to make this connection, he cannot miss the next one, as the Alcalde links the Normans and the current Texas very explicitly. Hence, the not-so-subtle implication is that they too are acting as piratical robbers and murderers; that just as the Normans who illegitimately stole land and plundered, they too are doing this currently in the settlement of Texas.⁵²

Captain Morse, realizing both the unorthodoxy and the threat to the Alcalde's assertion, objects vehemently and tries to reinterpret the Normans: they may have been terrifying to their enemies, but they were "Abenteurer hohen Sinnes" and "ritterlich" (116). (Adventurers of high mind" and "chivalrous.") The Alcalde's response is significant and becomes a key idea expressed in this novel: That embellishment surrounds all histories, an embellishment where, "trotz Aufklärung, das Ruchloseste, Gottloseste, Schmutzigste als fromm, gerecht, rein, staatsklug und wer weiß was alles dargestellt...als zur Ordnung, zur Ruhe gehörig" (118). ("Despite the Enlightenment, the vilest most abandoned godless wretch is represented as pious, upright, pure, polite, and goodness knows what...[where] butchery is reparalleled as a heroic deed, necessary to order and peace.") The Alcalde continues, informing Captain Morse that he must remove the "der Nimbus" ("aura" or "halo") from his heroes, a halo that has been created by the passing of time and writers. Whereas Captain Morse attempts to lessen the harshness of the Alcalde's words and nobly

⁵² While this book was written in 1841 and is explicitly addressing the Texas Revolution, the Alcalde's words seem an interesting prophecy of what is to happen in this space in the future, in the U.S. Mexico War where land robbery may be the only apt description.

portray the Normans, the Alcalde refuses such a poetic portrayal as accurate; he sees that past writers have not portrayed what stark reality of what happened but have romanticized the past and have turned the murderers, robbers, and pirates appear into pious heroes. Consequently, all assumptions of supposed ‘rightness,’ ‘morality,’ or ‘God’s will’ of actions are always anachronistically imposed. From the Alcalde’s words, a shadow threat emerges—that of the Comanches.

The Alcalde’s upholding of the piratical Normans and likewise deconstruction of other righteous, respected figures allows for an unsettling reading of the Comanches, for many of the key descriptions of the Comanches during this time period are uncannily similar to the Alcalde’s depictions of the Normans. The Comanches, perhaps more than any other Indian tribe, had become the epitome of savage power.⁵³ Consider the nineteenth-century comment that the Comanches are “the most wealthy as well as the most powerful of the most savage nations of North America” (Hämäläinen 223). The Comanches were renowned for their raiding and their violent power—not much different from the Norman pirates. Consider also the comments made by American visitor to Texas, Joseph Gregg: the Comanches “acknowledge no boundaries, but call themselves the lords of the entire prairies—all others are but ‘tenants at will’” (qtd. in Hämäläinen 179). Like the Normans, the Comanches do not follow boundaries imposed by civilized society. Rather, in a show of a will to power, they have designated themselves as lords. Others are only allowed

⁵³ Hämäläinen argues that it was not only their warfare that led to such power but also strong understanding of economics.

in their territories if the Comanches will it. What the Alcalde praises of the Normans was said and thought of the Comanches.

Moreover, consider the aforementioned *vacuum domicilium*: as espoused in various forms by a number of Americans (including the Puritans, Andrew Jackson, and Frederick Jackson Turner), white civilization had a duty to the land since the Indians had not used it appropriately. In this logic, the legitimate owner of the land is white, which would therefore make the Comanches illegitimate heirs of the land, just like the Normans. In a perhaps more unsettling comparison, the Alcalde has also said the Texas Revolutionaries (as well as the Puritans and the Jamestown colonists, the founding settlers of what would become the United States) are like the Normans. If we triangulate this comparison, this means that Normans, Americans, and Comanches are equal in robbery and butchery, a forceful challenge to the civilized/savage binary that existed in the nineteenth century.

Given the deconstructive power of the Alcalde's words, it is not surprising that they bother Morse. Yet, while immediately disturbed by the Alcalde's declarations about the Normans, he himself begins to slip between the Alcalde's language of the will to power – as exhibited in the Norman pirates (and the Comanches) – and the language of heroic patriotism in his descriptions of the Texas Revolutionaries. Morse consistently wants to frame the Texas Revolutionaries as just and honorable by linking them to the American Revolutionaries. Much like the American colonists did against the British, the Texans are casting off the political bonds and declaring freedom from Mexican servitude: “Aber dann waren wir

Amerikaner, hatten unsern Willen, frei zu sein, ausgesprochen“ (177). (“We were Americans, had spoken out our resolve to be free.”) Much like in the Declaration of Independence, this American resolve is then framed in the language of duty und “die hohen Interessen der Freiheit “ (239). (“In [the] high interests of liberty.”) It is their responsibility to fight against such a power guilty of so many abuses and usurpations.

Having not forgotten the Alcalde’s ideas, however, Morse admits, “Jede Gewalttätigkeit, Eroberung aber ist schon an und für sich ungerecht, Verbrechen. Bei jeder Eroberung sind Ungerechtigkeit, ja Verbrechen mit im Spiele“ (239). (“All violence, all revolution is, in itself and for itself, wrong. Every revolution is accompanied by injustice and crime.”) Yet, he quickly attempts to sanitize the Alcalde’s notions: “Es hat aber dieses Recht des Stärkeren wieder bei allem Unrechte, das es in seinem Gefolge mit sich bringt, sehre viel Gutes, ja so viel Gutes, dass es das Schlimme bei weitem überwiegt “ (239). (“The right of the strongest—brings much good, very much good, so that it far exceeds all evil; firmness of will, many virtues which rise above our faults and crimes.”) Morse softens the violence even further by coupling the notion of the ends justifying the means with the idea that the Texans’ victory, “[wird] in der Geschichte Texas’ gewiss als einer der schönsten glänzen wird, vor dem Makel unmännlicher Grausamkeit zu bewahren“ (231). (“Will certainly shine as one of the most glorious, free from the stain of unmanly cruelty.”) Yet the trajectory of Morse’s commentary (from stark realism to chivalric romanticism) is exactly what the Alcalde calls “der Nimbus” of history and poetic writing. It is thus strange that the Alcalde becomes, in Morse’s comparison, the new

George Washington, in that he directly challenges the notions of duty and rightness Morse is trying so hard to establish.

Despite Captain Morse's insistence of the rightness of the Revolution and his justification of violence, there are moments where the Alcalde's words seem to sink in and "der Nimbus" he keeps placing on the revolution removed. Morse, while describing one of the battles, declares, "der angenehmste Nachbar ist immer der, welcher am meisten Feinde niederwirft – das Totschlagen am erfolgreichsten betreibt; das rohe Bluthandwerk, in dem man begriffen, erstickt für den Augenblick jede zartere Empfindung" (196). (The most agreeable neighbour is always he who puts down the greatest number of enemies, who carries on the slaughter with the greatest success. The rude, blood work in which one is engaged overpowers, for the time, every humane feeling."). Consider this language of slaughter and brute, blood work compared to another comment made by Morse, that the revolutionaries "gegen diese nichtswürdigste aller Herrschaften den Schild zu erheben" (172). ("Rais[ed]... the shield against the most worthless of power.") Whereas the first quote gives concrete and vivid assessment of the Texas, the latter quote uses an abstract notion of violence and deprecations of the enemy to simultaneously deemphasize and necessitate the violence.

While it is significant that Morse switches between a romanticized poetic language ("der Nimbus") and the more 'prairie-vision' language, it is critical to question what begets this change. What causes Morse to remove the veil and see differently in these moments? The moments when Morse performs this switch in

language are the moments when Bob reappears into the story. While Morse thought Bob was hanged for murder, the Alcalde actually saved and redeemed him; now, Bob keeps reappearing and continues to save Morse's life. It is Bob's appearance that I argue is the catalyst of Morse's slips into Alcalde-like language.

When Bob appears during the war, it is important to note that Morse consistently describes him as ghost-like—a specter—both to himself and to the other men. Upon Bob's first reappearance, Morse notes that right in front of him stood a tall, gaunt figure with strange and wild features: “ich [mag] so seltsam dieses klingen, den Mann empört, ja schauernd und wie betäubt anstarrte. Und nicht nur ich, auch meine Leute waren nicht weniger ergriffen von seinem wie gespenstischen Wesen” (196). (“I stared at him and shuddered. And not I only, but my men also were struck with his ghostlike mien.”) When Bob reappears a second time, Morse has a horror-filled vision. He remembers a legend he heard in his childhood about a murderer who had been hung and quartered twelve times, but that after each execution, his severed body parts would come back together and be reanimated. Morse here equates Bob not only with a ghost but also with a Frankenstein-like figure who can never be done away with: this monster, this ghost will never cease to inflict violence.

Perhaps we could read Bob as the return of the traumatic memory of Morse's near-death experience on the prairie. Yet, all the other men on the field also see him as a ghost, which suggests that he is something more. Furthermore, even throughout the frame and forward-moving parts of the novel, the listeners can't quite accept Bob. While they begin to acknowledge the Texas Revolution as more honorable, they

cannot come to accept Morse's story about Bob. Captain Murkey (the man who rescued a Cuban prisoner, tricked the Cubans, and fought in the Latin American Wars for Independence) even declares, "Es ist dieser Ihr Bob ein gräßlicher Charakter" (262). ("This Bob of yours is a fearful character.") Even more significant is a command from his uncle at the very end of the novel. Before Morse can happily marry Alexandra and live in paradise, his uncle commands him, "Darum wollen wir nun Bob Bob sein lassen" (363). ("We will, therefore, now leave Bob at rest.") There is something about Bob that all of these men cannot quite accept, that haunts these men.

Captain Morse, while narrating Bob's ghost-like appearance during the Texas Revolution, makes an apt comparison that I argue is the crux of why Bob is such a haunting character. Morse states, "Stand ich gerade, als ob das Grab eines von mir Gemordeten sich geöffnet, das Opfer meiner Bluttat aus diesem sich erhöbe, mit klaffender Wunde mir entgegenschritte" (196-7). ("I stood, with my eyes raised to the spectre, just as if the grave of a person I had murdered had opened itself, and the victim of my bloody deed had raised himself from it, and approached me with his gaping wounds.") While Morse details this vision figuratively, I suggest that the specter-like Bob reminds Morse of the violence and the murder he and his men have actually committed, a notion far from Morse's frantic insistence that the revolution is good and honorable and Americans deeds are right and progressive.

Given the centrality of Bob to the Alcalde's vision, Bob appears to be a haunting of the ideas of the Alcalde – that encodings such as 'honor' and 'duty' are

anachronistic applications and all that really exists is a will to power. There is no legitimacy, merely butchery. Hence Bob haunts by reminding of the violence within civilization itself, the violence that civilization is founded on and continues to utilize in order to prosper. This acknowledgement undercuts notions of honor, moral superiority, and duty and upsets the typical civilized/savage binary. Therefore, the strong Comanches who declared themselves lords of the prairie and exhibited intense *Machtstreben* cannot be included in this novel, for in the Alcalde's logic, the Comanches and the Texans are equal.⁵⁴ I assert that this equation is why *Das Kajütenbuch* is not able to include the Comanches but the source text Sealsfield used is. *A Visit to Texas* is able to focus on present-day Indians and the “numerous and very savage” Comanches as its logic maintains that Americans are superior to the Indians (184).

Das Kajütenbuch begins to show the hard realities and dark underbelly of settlement, expansion, and civilization. Yet, like Morse, it cannot quite hold on to these realities. While the Alcalde is a seminal figure in this novel, his ‘prairie perception’ is ultimately rejected by the novel, which instead returns to notions of teleological progress and racial superiority. As noted in the previous chapter, significantly the novel does not end in Texas but in Mississippi on a slave plantation, described as paradise. The edenic Texas prairie has been replaced with the plantation, the harbor of Texas with Murkey's *Kajüte*. Returning to the Alcalde's comment that it

⁵⁴The Mexicans in the Alcalde's logic, however, can be disparaged due their weakness and lack of manly character (the opposite of the will to power) and hence are included in this novel.

is in the prairie where history can be seen in a different light, I would suggest that the novel ends in Mississippi because here Bob and the Alcalde's philosophy can be left behind and the more comfortable ideas of justified progress and white superiority reinstated. Yet despite the novel's attempt to exclude them, Bob and the Alcalde still haunt the ending, as evinced in the excessively sentimental ending—an ending that many scholars have noted does not fit with the rest of the novel. It is this excess, this over-compensation that hints at a continued haunting and is a reminder that nothing really has been solved, only left behind.

And the ending helps to answer the question of why the Comanche are excluded from this novel. While the Alcalde's line of thinking is troubling to notions of civilization, it is not nearly as troubling as the notion of the Comanches being equal to the Texans. While the Alcalde's perspective allows for such a dangerous reading, it does not advocate it. Whereas the Alcalde's prairie perspective iconoclastically deconstructs common and revered nineteenth-century ideologies, the Alcalde holding up the Comanche as one version of the ideal Normans (along with the American colonists and the Texas Revolutionaries) would irreparably shatter them. Paradigms of civilization and savagery, of government, of the use of land and ideas regarding place, and even the notion of history as necessarily written that emerged in this time period could not remain the same if the Comanche were held up as a viable example of society.⁵⁵ If this were to happen, the Comanche would no

⁵⁵ History became associated with written history. Hence, indigenous peoples who relied on oral sources were thought to be outside of history. See Conn for more specifics.

longer be haunting *Das Kajütenbuch*, they would be the figure from Morse's childhood legend that could live forever.

3: Political Maneuvering on the Plains

Y el día de oy era regresado un Indio, llamado Andrés de los que valieron con Mares, y esta aquí desde el mes Octubre ultimo, diciendo me haría determinado volverse y quedarse con los Españoles ~~porque era haciendo frío~~. Siendo era muy recomendado por el preciado Sojais, para que lo cuidaron, y atendiera, y el indio acceden ello por lo afable, y apasionado a nosotros [sic].

(Today, an Indian named Andrés returned from the party which had set out with Mares. He has been here since last October, and he told me that he had decided to stay with the Spanish ~~because it was cold~~. He was highly recommended by [a Comanche chief] so that he might be cared for and attended, and the Indian [is] deserving of it, because he is so friendly and devoted to us.)⁵⁶

--Texas Interim Governor Raphael Martínez Pacheco to Lord Commandent General of the Interior Provinces Don Juan de Ugalde, San Antonio de Bexar, January 19, 1788

As a counterpoint to the absence of the Comanches in *Das Kajütenbuch*, I follow Comanche presence in New Spain's official government archives, approximately forty years prior to the setting of *Das Kajütenbuch*. I move backward in time to the late 1780s in order to examine the political dynamics that would ultimately end in the Texas Revolution. The late 1780s in New Spain, as the 1830s in Mexican Texas, were a tumultuous period marked by multiple sovereignties seeking control over this space, including the Spanish, British, Comanches, and Apaches. These contestations—particularly by the Comanches against the Spanish—weakened

⁵⁶ Translations provided by the Bexar archives. Spanish transcriptions mine.

Spain's hold on these territories, making them vulnerable to the future invasion of the United States. While not ignoring the vast imperial ambitions and resources of the United States, Hämäläinen argues that "the stunning success of American imperialism in the southwest can be understood only if placed in the context of indigenous imperialism" (142). The Comanche, then, that are effaced from *Das Kajütenbuch* are actually those that laid the groundwork for the events in the novel.

Specifically, I trace a singular Comanche and his interactions with the Spanish to question how Comanche presence challenges non-indigenous notions held about the Comanches and, more largely, indigenous tribes. By following an individual, I counter the tendency of nineteenth-century sources to group the indigenous together, reading them as a whole (the Indians) or as a type (noble savage or savage savage) rather than as distinct individuals.⁵⁷

On January 19, 1788, a Comanche identified only as Andrés quietly slips into the Spanish archival record. Amongst reports of trade routes, Indian raids, peace contracts, and financial expenditures, the Interim Governor of the Spanish province of Texas, Raphael Martínez Pacheco atypically devotes three sentences to a singular Indian in a letter to his superior, the Lord Commandant General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain, Don Juan de Ugalde.⁵⁸ Nestled amongst highly pertinent

⁵⁷ See McGuire.

⁵⁸ Pacheco and Ugalde both have interesting histories in and of themselves. After successfully petitioning for a post in Texas, he was charged with being inadequate in his failure to report to then Governor Angel de Martos y Navarrete. As Navarrete ordered his removal and arrest, Pacheco fled. However, the inspector general of the Internal Provinces, Hugo O'Connor, cleared him, and Pacheco returned to his post. On December 5, 1786, Pacheco was appointed interim Governor of Texas, which he held

information about the search to find a direct route from San Antonio de Bexar to the trade center of Santa Fe, New Mexico, Andrés seems a random, unimportant inclusion. Yet Pacheco continues—for the next two years—to include Andrés in his reports to Ugalde, mentioning him over thirty times.

While Pacheco's reports are replete with details of Indian comings and goings within the capital walls—an understandable inclusion in this time of intensified need for New Spain to pacify the surrounding tribes in order to gain control of these northern provinces—Pacheco typically does not include individual names, merely tribal associations. At most, he might record the band, distinguishing, say, between the Lipan Apaches or the Mescalero Apaches if it seems especially important for the Ugalde or other members of the New Spain government to know the difference. But the only time individual names enter into Pacheco's reports are for people whom Pacheco designates as important to Spanish pursuits, namely powerful chiefs. So why then does Pacheco continue to write about “the Indian known as Andrés,” mentioning him more than the chiefs he writes about? Why does Andrés figure so heavily into Pacheco's records? More significantly, what does an exploration of this peculiar figure of Andrés do to the Spanish archives and its portrayal of Spanish-Indigenous

until he was removed in 1790 due to a change in the Viceroy. Ugalde was a renown “Indian fighter” who campaigned against the Apaches. He too was suspended of his duties as then governor of San Francisco under the auspices that he had left his settlements unprotected to go fight the Apaches. He eventually was appointed as the Commander of the Internal Provinces in 1786 and, proving himself successful, was promoted to the Commandant General on December 3, 1787, a year after Pacheco. He too was removed from the position in 1790.

relations, particularly Spanish-Comanche relations? What does it do to understandings of the Comanches?

Approximately a decade before Pacheco pens this letter introducing Andrés to Ugalde, the Comanches had launched a raiding war against the Spanish and reduced Texas to a captive territory (Hämäläinen 97-98). Spanish officer Mézières acknowledged that the Comanches were “now masters in the region” (97).⁵⁹ Teodoro de Croix, New Spain’s inspector of troops, lamented the:

incessant attacks of the Comanche, so horrible and bloody that, if they continue with the same steadfastness, the desolation of the province will be consequent, irremediable, and immediate, and (as the governor believes) very few vassals of the king may remain to contemplate this misfortune.... The province is overrun with these Indians... At the moment not a foot of land is free of hostility. (99)

Hämäläinen argues that it was these very attacks which allowed the Comanches to create a “Comanche-centric order,” one in which Spanish officials were powerless to stop Comanche raiding of ranches and farms in Texas and the latter trading of these same horses in Louisiana (90, 92). Part of the Spanish powerlessness had come about from a considerable miscalculation. After the 1763 Treaty of Paris, Spanish officials, in an increasing fear of British infiltration into Spanish lands, sent forces to the far-off borders of their territory where they feared British infiltration (100). In so doing, the Spanish failed to leave themselves enough resources to fully protect against the threat within their borders—the Comanches.

⁵⁹ For the Spanish archival records that Hämäläinen cites, such as these by Mézières and Croix, I utilize his translations.

King Carlos III, in what was largely an emergency and unprecedented measure, created a new semiautonomous administrative entity in 1776, the *Comandancia General de Provincias Internal* (Commandancy General of the Interior Provinces), in hopes of preventing Comanche and Apache expansion by cultivating military defenses and economic growth in the northern territories (Hämäläinen 100, 108). These Bourbon reforms seemingly gave New Spain the necessary power to stop the Comanche onslaught as it brought top-level administrative attention to this region and more funds, something Texas particularly needed (108). Including eight larger provinces, the *Provincias Internal* were a vast creation, spanning from the Pacific Ocean through New Mexico and Texas to the Mississippi Valley (100). Hämäläinen contends that this vast land was in fact a “cartographic illusion” as the geopolitical grounds kept shifting. The Comanches continued to expand into the interior, “drawing their own map of dominion over the continents’ entire midsection” (101). Rather than a base for Spanish control and expansion as Spanish officials had envisioned, Texas had become a peripheral territory of the Comanches (101). By the 1780s Spanish Texas had reached economic and political paralysis (100). Comanche raiding had even forced Texas ranchers to forego their economically significant livestock drives to Louisiana (112).

This state of paralysis caused New Spain to rethink their strategies with the Comanches. Rather than conversion and coercion as had been used previously, now officials were to use treaties, trade, and gifts to gain allegiance (Hämäläinen 112). At this time, the Comanches were more receptive to the Spanish as a small pox epidemic

had wiped out large numbers of the Comanches and they, too, had to rethink their foreign policy. In 1785 and 1786, the Spanish and the Comanches agreed to peace. The peace treaty stipulated that the Spanish and Comanches must agree to war together against the Apaches, to cease of all other hostilities, to engage in mutual trade, and to exchange political gifts (115). This treaty came with a large financial toll to the already-struggling Spanish Texas, as Spanish officials recognized that for the Comanches to cease raiding, they must receive the equivalent of what they made raiding—a sizeable amount (116). The late 1780s, then, were marked by Spanish and Comanche coexistence and cooperation (130).

However, this coexistence and cooperation were merely surface level. Hämäläinen contends that below the apparent cooperation, the Spanish government was “working methodically to reduce the Comanches to dependence and vassalages, using the very acts and institutions—gifts, trade, and political-military collaboration—that seemingly were creating a common ground between the nations” (130). Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez, in his 1786 *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain*, advised using trade as a means to control the Indians. Gálvez believed that the Indians raided because they were poor—“if they do not rob, they perish of hunger and misery”—and that they “cannot live without [Spanish] aid.” As poor, primitive, and foraging nomads, they would therefore be easy to manipulate (qtd. in Hämäläinen 131). As will be shown, Andrés political manipulation of the Spanish reveals that Gálvez was overconfident in his conclusions,

as does the continued Comanche raiding that perplexed and frustrated Spanish officials.

This post-treaty period particularly cements notions of the Comanches in the Spanish archives. As the most numerous of the indigenous nations found in Texas, the Comanches enter often in the archives, mainly as a dangerous threat that needs to be subdued either by violence or by treaty. It is in this period of supposed peace but continuing aggression that Andrés arrives at San Antonio de Bexar and appears in the Spanish records. Pacheco's introduction of Andrés to Ugalde is in keeping with Spanish dialogue regarding the Comanche: while from a dangerous and violent tribe, Andrés has been subdued through Spanish gift giving and he is, in Pacheco's portrayal, the poor, primitive, and easily manipulated nomad that Gálvez envisioned.

As seen in this section's opening epigraph, Pacheco's supposition that Andrés is friendly and devoted to the Spanish and needs to be cared for and attended to reveals a patriarchal infantilizing of Andrés, a common assessment of Indians that emerge throughout the archives. The Spanish saw their relationship with the Comanches as a father commanding his children; the Comanches, however, saw a relationship of kinship and mutual care (Hämäläinen 138). The phrase crossed out in the manuscript, the one mentioning that Andrés returned because he was cold, only further reinforces the idea that Andrés is in need of Spanish care. As a subdued Comanche, Andrés can be trained to serve the Spanish and their purposes of controlling the Comanches. After Pacheco narrates Andrés' many instances of

working for the Spanish, Andrés disappears from the archives even more inconspicuously than he slips in.

As we never hear Andrés speak, never are told about his background or any action that is not associated with the Spanish, it would be easy to read Andrés as Pacheco does. Yet, doing such would be enacting the cameo theory of history that indigenous scholar Vine Deloria problematizes—the theory that Indians came, aided, and disappeared. Such a reading establishes the Spanish as the primary actors and the Comanches as the mere reactors. In Jose David Saldívar’s words, such a reading depersonalizes the first subjects, taking away agency. At first glance, this problematic is not easily resolved in understanding this figure of Andrés, for he seems to come, aid, and disappear.

Yet what if we push back against Pacheco’s representations and consider that perhaps they obscure details about Andrés that don’t easily fit into Spanish understandings of the Comanches? What happens if we read the Spanish archives with an eye for the lacunae—for absence, not just presence? By entering into the time-space and cultural axes of Comanchería during the 1780s, a very different and more complicated story emerges. Here, I am in dialogue with Pekka Hämäläinen’s revisionist history, *The Comanche Empire* (2008) in its proffering of a “basic visual reorientation” of the long history of the southwest, looking at “developments from Comanchería outward” (12). My project likewise reads the archives and Andrés from this reoriented perspective. Such a reading performs a type of violent inscription, as it

contests the Spanish portrayals of the Comanches in their records and breaks out of the confining epistemological categories that shape these depictions.

I converse as well with Anna Brickhouse's *The Unsettling of America* (2015) and her heuristic of unsettling. Unsettling, a project undertaken by an indigenous subject, "involves the concrete attempt to annihilate or otherwise put an end to a European colony, or to forestall or eliminate a future colonial project" (xi-xii). Unsettling, then, "signals not merely the contingency and noninevitability but the glaring incompleteness of the history of the New World as we currently know and write it" (xii). Necessarily speculative at times, my reading pieces together the fragments of the archival record to suggest an alternative story, one that speaks to the contingency, noninevitability, and glaring incompleteness of history to which Brickhouse points. In such work, I additionally echo indigenous scholar Robert Warrior's invocation to read not only for what can be documented but also for what might be possible. This type of imaginative reading is vital when reading these Spanish archives, for what is documented is shaped by European ways of seeing the world and indigenous peoples.

In such a contrapuntal reading, I suggest we take Andrés seriously as an individual who, having been colonized, has been made to live a "forced comparativism," in the words of Harry Harootunian (26). In such forced comparativism, Andrés would have learned how best to negotiate amongst these various cultures and influences. I contend Andrés embodies Jose David Saldívar's migrating "intellectual whose condition is not exile but hybridity and betweenness"

(xvii). Reading Andrés as an intellectual, one associated with the mind and not just the body, as stereotypical depictions of Indians do, radically changes the story. I therefore revisit Pacheco's letters on Andrés in order to look carefully at the incidents that he references and read for the gaps between the events and Pacheco's commentaries of them.

Who is Andrés? As mentioned previously, Pacheco's reading of Andrés seems to suggest that he is a type of intermediary between the Spanish and the Comanches and, at times, a pawn of the Spanish. Returning to Pacheco's first reference to Andrés, he passes off Andrés as just an Indian who stayed behind with the Spanish.⁶⁰ Yet, Pacheco's reference that Andrés has been there since the eighth of October allows us to recognize there is more to the story of Andrés. Pacheco's October 12 letter, in typical detailed fashion, reports that four eastern Comanche chiefs, ten Indian leaders, thirty-eight warriors, twenty-three women, and six children arrived at the capitol four days previously.⁶¹ As we know Andrés was among these people, he must either be a leader or a warrior. Given the Comanche chief's recommendation of Andrés to the Spanish, it is highly probable that Andrés was a Comanche leader, whose position would have been under the chiefs but still a powerful voice in the community.

Other references that Pacheco mentions but doesn't elaborate upon seem to agree that Andrés did have power among the Comanches and even other indigenous tribes. Andrés is often sent out to track and retrieve stolen horses and bring in the

⁶⁰ Pacheco to Ugalde. 1/19/1788.

⁶¹ Pacheco to Ugalde. 10/12/1787.

raiding Indians.⁶² While Pacheco never comments on the significance of this task when speaking of Andrés, when writing of a Spanish trader who was highly acquainted with the indigenous tribes in Texas and whose job was the same as Andrés, Pacheco writes of the danger of this position and notes that this man was murdered by the Indians for trying to retrieve stolen horses. Yet, Andrés goes out regularly and returns very much alive after engaging with the raiding Indians, indicating that he has some level of power or some sort of rapport or influence amongst these indigenous tribes, perhaps mainly because of his status as a powerful and feared Comanche and the added power that would come from his association with the Spanish.

Yet Andrés' power is not only amongst the indigenous but, I argue, over the Spanish as well, at least Pacheco. Piecing together the fragments of Pacheco's details about Andrés reveals him not to be a Spanish pawn but a political manipulator. The main way this manipulation becomes clear is through tracing Pacheco's letters that reference a message Andrés is supposed to deliver to the key Comanche chiefs about meeting with Ugalde at San Antonio in April of that year. Both Pacheco and Ugalde comment on the importance of meeting, a meeting that they stipulate must be done at all costs given the torment that the Comanche had inflicted upon the Spanish prior to the peace treaty.⁶³ In order to maintain this peace and continue to bend the Comanches to their will, meetings with high-level chiefs were a must.

⁶² For instance, see Pacheco to Ugalde, 8/2/1788, where six privates were sent with Andrés to make a sweep of the northern entrances.

⁶³ Pacheco to Ugalde. 2/2/1788; Pacheco to Ugalde. 2/18/1788.

Pacheco's reports of Andrés message delivery reveal a disparity between the governor's commentary of Andrés' actions and the situation at hand. On February 18, 1788, the governor first reports to Ugalde that Andrés had been dispatched to his nation five days earlier on the thirteenth yet never arrived to Comanchería, having instead returned to San Antonio the same night he left because he had lost all of his things, including the letter and his knife, while chasing a bear near the spring by the presidio. Considering the import of this matter—one which Pacheco emphasized to Andrés—that Andrés was chasing a bear instead of travelling and somehow loses the letter and all his things seems, at the least, irresponsible and even slightly comical. Moreover, given the Spanish provided Andrés with provision for his trip, he would not have been in need of hunting.⁶⁴ It seems that Andrés was either distracted or stalling. In this same February 18 letter, Pacheco reports to Ugalde that he dispatched Andrés again on this day, and that this time he had him escorted out as far as the Guadalupe River by two soldiers, in all probability to ensure that Andrés did not have the same issue as the last episode.⁶⁵

Yet, on the twenty-ninth of February, Pacheco has to report that Andrés once again failed to make the delivery. Pacheco details that he has sent Andrés out to deliver the message only to have him, again, on the same night that he was escorted out, return, this time claiming that he is afraid to travel alone to the Comanche Rancherías because of the Apaches.⁶⁶ While the Comanches and the Apaches were

⁶⁴ Pacheco to the chiefs and the Cumanche nation. 2/15/1788.

⁶⁵ Pacheco to Ugalde. 2/18/1788.

⁶⁶ Pacheco to Ugalde. 2/29/1788.

rivals and hence this claim might seem truthful, Andrés is often sent out into dangerous zones, including Apache territory, making his claim seem perhaps exaggerated or at the very least inconsistent.⁶⁷ Andrés furthermore knew the plan beforehand; if he were truly afraid, why wouldn't he have told Pacheco back at San Antonio—particularly if he were as child-like and in need of protecting as Pacheco suggests.

Because of this once-again-failed delivery, the governor yet again dispatches Andrés. To Ugalde, he reports that he will have him escorted far away this time, so as to fulfill Ugalde's command. The building frustration and worry is prevalent in Pacheco's letter, as this will now be the third time Andrés is sent out to fulfill this relatively simple task, yet a task with huge repercussions. Time is running out as Ugalde desires to meet with the Comanche chiefs in April, and it is now the end of February—the twenty-ninth.⁶⁸ Despite this need for immediate action, Andrés is not actually dispatched again until the twelfth of March. When Martínez Pacheco again reports to Ugalde on the sixteenth, he writes that Andrés was dispatched with the soldiers, another Comanche, and provided with his own horse. One wonders, were Andrés and his demands, such as for a horse, the reason for the delay? As reported in his earlier letter, the governor has Andrés and the other Comanche escorted out one

⁶⁷ See, for instance, Pacheco to Ugalde. 1/19/1788; Pacheco to Ugalde. 8/2/1788; Pacheco to Ugalde. 9/14/1788.

⁶⁸ Pacheco to Ugalde. 2/29/1788.

day's travel. The soldiers return the next day, the thirteenth, reporting that they left the two quite content.⁶⁹

Yet, once again, Pacheco is forced to report, at the end of March nonetheless—two months after he first sends Andrés out—that Andrés had once again failed to deliver the letter. Sometime between the thirteenth and the end of the month, Andrés had returned, stating that at the river of Los Pedernales, they were chased off by the Apaches, and came back for this reason.⁷⁰ While this seems plausible given the historical context, geographic knowledge rules this excuse quite questionable, for the river that Andrés reached was nearer to the territory of the Comanches than it was to San Antonio. Why would Andrés run away from the Apaches for that long of a distance when he could have just sought help from his kinsmen who lived close by, kinsmen that the Apaches reportedly feared? At this point in the archives, it is almost comical if one sets aside the historical distance and envisions the scene. The governor has a hugely important yet relatively simple task, and yet Andrés cannot seem to complete it. Either Andrés is the most hapless and foolish fellow alive or there is something else occurring that is obscured in the Pacheco's narration. What is obscured becomes clearer in the latter references to Andrés in the archives.

In the middle of March of the following year, 1789, the governor reports to Ugalde that Andrés is insisting to meet with him but that Pacheco has commanded Andrés that he must wait to get approval from the Lord Commandant General

⁶⁹ Pacheco to Ugalde. 3/16/1788.

⁷⁰ Pacheco to Ugalde. 3/30/1788.

himself.⁷¹ However, in April, Pacheco again has to report that something has gone awry with Andrés, that “le huyó” (“he fled”) from San Antonio in order to go meet with Ugalde.⁷² The governor’s language here is interesting, as it calls to mind images of an escaped slave or servant—a fleeing from the place of subservience and authority. Yet, in this instance, it becomes quite clear who actually is in charge, as Andrés is allowed to stay for seven days and receives many gifts from Ugalde and no punishment from Pacheco, despite the fact that to visit Ugalde, Andrés has defied Ugalde’s command that no Comanches cross the Rio Grande into his territory.⁷³

In later correspondence, it becomes clear why Andrés fled. Upon arriving to Ugalde, Andrés reports that the Comanche chiefs had commanded him to come in order to praise Ugalde for his defeat of the Apaches and offer their help to take down the rest. Ugalde somewhat egotistically responds, stating that he and the Spanish forces do not need anyone’s help anymore and commands Andrés to instruct the chiefs to stay away.⁷⁴ What is interesting is that up to this point, Pacheco has portrayed Andrés as a servant of the Spanish, yet this episode makes it clear that Andrés is actually acting on behalf of his tribe. This point is furthered in that Pacheco again has to report to Ugalde that Andrés has not followed the Lord Commandant General’s commands; instead, he has set out on a campaign with a Comanche chief

⁷¹ Pacheco to Ugalde. 3/16/1789.

⁷² Pacheco to Ugalde. 4/26/1789.

⁷³ Ugalde to Pacheco. 5/27/1789; Pacheco to Ugalde. 2/1/1788.

⁷⁴ Ugalde to Pacheco. 5/27/1789.

and other men in search of Ugalde's camp to greet him and help him attack the Apaches, the very things he was explicitly forbid not to do.⁷⁵

I contend that taking all of this evidence together reveals that all of Andrés seeming incompetence is actually a type of politician manipulation, a project of unsettlement in Brickhouse's term. Andrés, yes, is working as a messenger between the Spanish and the Comanches, but he does not serve the Spanish; instead, he is a leader of the Comanches working from the inside, one who hears what the Spanish say but selectively responds as effective and appropriate for the Comanches. Hämäläinen writes of the typicality of such actions, where the Comanches "purposely misunderstood" Spanish directions (138). Such independent maneuverings reveal the fallacy of the Spanish belief of Comanche submission to Spanish control (140). Yet Andrés skillfully—intellectually—somehow convinces the governor that—despite his many incidents—he is loyal to the Spanish and should be trusted with further tasks. The fact that Pacheco keeps sending Andrés shows that Andrés' guile works. Furthermore, Andrés' cleverness helps defeat Spanish goals: Regarding the meeting with the Comanche chiefs that Ugalde and Pacheco are so insistent upon, Pacheco has to report to Ugalde that he is still trying to send Andres out to send the message—the next year.⁷⁶

Perhaps more poignantly, Andrés is the only one who meets with Ugalde, not the higher up Comanche chiefs. In Comanche culture, "power without physical presence was meaningless" as the Comanches "believed that authority could be

⁷⁵ Pacheco to Ugalde. 8/24/1789.

⁷⁶ Pacheco to Ugalde. 11/11/1789.

exercised and validated only in direct face-to-face interaction” (Hämäläinen 135).

Hence, Andrés demand to see Ugalde is not only a demand to convey the Comanche chiefs’ message; it is also a demand for recognition of power and authority. Andrés, as a Comanche leader, here demands to be shown respect as an authority figure by the Lord Commandant General of the Provinces of the Interior.

It is at this point in the archive that Andrés disappears. He is mentioned only one time after the Ugalde incident, in a passing reference that his Spaniard translator was needed. One wonders if his disappearance is linked to Pacheco’s growing understanding of whom Andrés really is—not a loyal, hapless subject or a fierce, violent warrior, but a skillful and shrewd intellectual. Much different from embodying Vine Deloria’s cameo theory of history of an Indian who came, served, and disappeared, Andrés is Saldívar’s “intellectual whose condition is not exile but hybridity and betweenness.” Andrés has successfully learned to negotiate his position as one in between the Spanish and the Comanches. And his skillful guile has served his nation well. Such an image of an “Indian,” let alone a Comanche, is diametrically opposed to Spanish views that Comanches were incapable of planning and thinking—of using their minds and not just their bodies (Hämäläinen 15). Hence, Andrés is illegible to Pacheco’s and Ugalde’s ways of seeing the world.

5. The Spatial Politics of Raiding

En 14 del corriente se me partiápó que cinco indios de la nación Cumanche se habían rogado quince varias cavallos y dos mulas. Ver a los que fue infructosa seguir inmediatamente por llevan dos días ventaja, y que iban e huída con variante violencia según el parte. El 17 del mismo di para que el

indio Andrés, de la misma nación, fueres a sus rancherías acompañado a otro para que avisare a sus capitanes el rovo, y me trageran la cavallo....prometiendo trayenlo y que los malhechores serían castigados, como han prometido desde que tienen dada la pas [sic].

(On the 14th of the current [month] it was reported to me that five Indians of the Cumanche nation had stolen fifteen horses and two mules. It was fruitless to pursue them right away since they had two days' head start and were fleeing in such haste, according to the report. On the 17th of the same [month] I arranged for the Indian Andrés, from the same nation, to go to their Rancherías accompanied by another [Cumanche] in order to inform their chiefs about the theft and to bring the horses back to me.... [Andrés] promised to bring [the animals] back and the culprits would be punished, as [the Cumanche] have promised since they made peace.)

--Rafael Martínez Pacheco to Lord Commandant General Don Juan de Ugalde, San Antonio de Béjar, January 19, 1789

Andrés illegibility to Pacheco and Ugalde as a political and intellectual being speaks to conceptions the Spanish held toward the Comanches as a whole.

Hämäläinen sums up the issue:

To Spanish officials...Comanches were savages who were incapable of planning or organization. Puzzled and put off by their constant shifts between raiding and trading and violence and mediation, they labeled Comanche maneuvers as prepolitical acts sprung from 'bizarre discipline' or such inborn impulses as 'cruelty' or 'propensity to steal.' They saw little or no planning behind Comanche actions. (15)

As Hämäläinen explains, a large part of this Spanish belief of supposed Comanche savageness and capriciousness came from an imposing of Spanish categories onto Comanche actions. For the Spanish, the Comanche actions fell into "unambiguous categories—trading, raiding, enslaving—that were easily recognizable and understandable" to them (15). The Comanches themselves fell into the unambiguous categories of violent savages or pacified supplicants; yet, the Comanches

“transcended [these] familiar categories and defied [such] easy labeling” (16). This transcendence of familiar categories and easy labeling particularly relates to the issue of raiding.

Pacheco’s letter to Ugalde aligns with Spanish categories and ways of thinking about the Comanches. It is significant to note that Pacheco does not establish this theft as an act of the whole tribe but as an act of five individuals. In fact, the Comanche chiefs are the ones to whom Pacheco turns, as they have promised to punish those within their tribe who act in this way. This promise that Pacheco notes seems to suggest, then, that these five individuals have acted upon their own whims and desires, in typical impulsive Comanche fashion. In this logic, then, these five Comanches are motivated only by savage instinct, not by any overarching or larger purpose.

Yet, these individuals have fled back to their Rancherías, where Andrés is instructed to go. Perhaps they will in fact be punished there. However, when running from repercussion, one typically flees to a safer location. Their travel to the Rancherías then suggests that perhaps they believed they were safer in Comanchería than in Spanish territory. Such movement—a small band entering into another territory to steal and then returning back to home territory—has resonances with *Das Kajütenbuch*’s depiction of Sodoma, Alabama and the Indian Territory in which law cannot penetrate. While Pacheco’s letter makes it appear that these individuals will be punished, it is by their chiefs and not the Spanish law, a circumstance that reveals

Comanche political sovereignty, something which the Comanches “jealously guarded” (Hämäläinen 144).

Pacheco’s classification of these five Comanches’ raiding as stealing indicates a difference in Spanish and Comanche ways of thinking. While raiding for the Spanish was theft and the direct opposite of peaceful trade, for the Comanches these actions were not mutually exclusive. Hämäläinen explains that, for the Comanches, raiding and peaceful trading were “two expressions of a broad continuum of reciprocity. Raiding, when not aimed at killing, was not the antithesis of exchange but an alternative to it, a culturally sanctioned way to circulate material goods when peaceful exchange was not an option. {However} [s]uch logic was alien to Spaniards” (82). For the Spanish, the Comanches were breaking the peace treaty by raiding; for the Comanches, the Spanish were breaking the treaty by not providing them with enough political gifts. Pacheco regularly notes in his letters the lack of money and supplies that his government had in Texas, a problem that the very creation of the Interior Provinces was supposed to solve but did not. Therefore, to the Comanches, the Spanish were not always meeting their end of the political bargain and raiding was a culturally accepted way to keep both the peace and the goods coming.

Such raiding is an example of Comanche political maneuvering. As Hämäläinen notes, “The raids were more than simple plundering excursions; they were also an instrument of power politics that helped restructure Texas and its borderlands for further exploitation. [They served a] “double function: they yielded valuable goods while also creating markets for those plundered goods” (99). Raiding

allowed the Comanche to maintain their hegemony over the area, including over the Spanish. As the Spanish were attempting to subvert Comanche power through peace treaties and gift giving, the Comanche, too, were working to destabilize Spanish power.

As previously indicated, Pacheco's letter suggests that this incident of raiding was not an act of the nation but an act of a few individuals, an assessment in line with other Spanish officials and even modern scholarship that, according to Hämäläinen, often echoes past assessments of raiding, depicting the Comanches "as a collection of autonomous bands that spontaneously responded to local conditions rather than to centralized leadership and planning" (102). According to this understanding, these five Comanche raiders were spontaneously acting on their own behalf, or perhaps on the behalf of a small, local band.

However, this assessment may not be the case. Hämäläinen contends that a closer look at the Comanches and political actions such as raiding reveals "that underneath the localism and individuals that permeated Comanche political culture, there were compelling centralizing elements that instilled coherence and coordination to Comanche foreign policy" (103). The approximately eight thousand eastern Comanche were organized in twelve local Rancherías. Ranchería chiefs would compete for loyalty and occupancy, and individuals and families moved freely amongst the Rancherías. This mobility allowed for groups "to move swiftly to exploit emerging opportunities for raiding, trading, and diplomacy on Comanchería's expansive borders" (104). While this information might seem to support Pacheco's

portrayal of the raid, we must recognize that within this diffuse nature of Comanche political structure, centralizing institutions were also at play.

The twelve Rancheria chiefs as well as individuals and families living within these Rancherias would gather together for general councils and forums in which decision-making was based on consensus. Two head chiefs, elected by the twelve Rancherias, guided the proceedings. Strong centralizing institutions therefore balanced the diffuse elements of Comanche politics (Hämäläinen 105). While we cannot definitively know, perhaps this raid that Pacheco writes of was in fact voted on within one of these forums. Perhaps the general council believed that an act of raiding was necessary for one of these twelve Rancherias. Perhaps these five individuals were chosen for their raiding prowess. Whether or not the case, at the very least the Rancheria of which they were apart would have most likely been aware of this raiding venture and not have needed the Spanish to tell them what had occurred. Moreover, if the Rancheria chiefs in fact punished these five individuals as promised to the Spanish, it was not because they believed raiding was morally wrong but because they were attempting to keep peace with the Spanish as a way to benefit the whole of Comanchería.

It was, in fact, these centralized yet diffuse political policies and regions that helped the Comanches successfully subvert Spanish control. Hämäläinen contends: “that Comanches did things differently may well have been one of their greatest political assets. Their ability to move nimbly from raiding to trading, from diplomacy to violence, and from enslaving to adoption not only left their colonial rivals

confused; it often left them helpless” (16). This Comanche political structure was in stark contrast with Spanish centralized state bureaucracies, which “rendered their polities slow and heavy-handed in comparison to Comanche’s strategic fluidity” (16). Even with the creation of the Interior Provinces, which had unprecedented levels of autonomy, New Spain’s policies and decisions took time, as evinced in the continual writing of Pacheco to his superior Ugalde to get approval for his decisions and the accompanying delay in action. Analyzing the trail of letters between Pacheco and Ugalde shows that often it took up to two or three weeks to get a response.

The Comanches’ centralized yet diffuse political structures also speak to the spatial politics in which they were engaged. If we return to Pacheco’s letter to Ugalde regarding the Comanche raiders, Andrés and other Comanches are sent to the Rancherías, not Spaniards. In other episodes where Andrés is sent out, he is accompanied by Spanish troops.⁷⁷ That he is not in this case suggests that either Spanish troops are not allowed in the space of Comanchería or that Pacheco deemed it an unwise choice to send troops into a nation with whom they have only recently agreed to peace.⁷⁸ Yet, the Comanches regularly entered into the space of Spanish territory, and not just to receive gifts. In raiding, the Comanches penetrated into the spaces that the Spanish believed they possessed. This penetration was a political act of defiance, a refusal to agree to Spanish notions of space. Hämäläinen supports my supposition, noting that Comanches refused “to accept the Western notions of

⁷⁷ See, for instance, Pacheco to Ugalde. 1/19/1788; Pacheco to Ugalde. 8/2/1788; Pacheco to Ugalde. 9/14/1788.

⁷⁸ In other government documents, there are Spaniards in the space of Comanchería, but these are typically other officials conducting exploration not soldiers.

sovereign, undivided colonial realms” (9). While the Comanches knew where the Spanish had mapped their borders, they refused to accept them.

Rather, the Comanches used these borderland spaces to build their own imperial system (Hämäläinen 69). Yet this imperial system was not about claiming or mapping territory as their possession, for the notion of land as property was absent in Comanche culture. Land was used for resources, not owned (5). Yet this notion of the land was not about utopic harmony with others. As Hämäläinen notes, the goal of the Comanches was to colonize these spaces, to “bend the bordering regions to their own uses.” As such, “Comanchería’s borders were sites of mutualistic trade and cultural fusion, but they were also sites of extortion, systematic violence, coerced exchange, [and] political manipulation” (11). It is these spatial politics, Hämäläinen contends, that allowed the Comanche to build their empire, an empire that was largely illegible to the Spanish and the Anglo-Americans that would enter into the space. Rather than empire and political strategy, the Spanish and the Anglo-Americans saw savageness and the unsanctified notion of raiding.

Why, though, were Comanche actions, particularly raiding, consistently encoded as savage and unjustified? Particularly when the Spanish and the Anglo-Americans also engaged in violent practices? While this is in part due to who wrote the records and histories, I contend there is also a spatial component in such encodings. Both the Spanish and the Texans mapped their territory, a way of claiming it as their possession. Therefore, what they did in that space they deemed their prerogative. Yet the Comanches did not map their space nor did they stay out of

Spanish lands; rather, they crossed borders as they pleased in order to utilize the resources within the space. We therefore see a different view of space as well as an act of spatial defiance when Andrés visits Ugalde despite his command to not cross the Rio Grande—a border imposed by the Spanish onto the Comanches. Likewise, Comanche raiding performed a defiance of western notions of territory and property and hence is encoded as unsanctified and savage.

5. Conclusions: Raiding, Revolution, and the German Comanches

Like *Das Kajütenbuch*, the Spanish archive is also haunted by Comanche presence. While the Comanches in Pacheco's letters are accounted for, their presence as human subjects is lacking. Hence, the governor's letters are haunted by the presence of Andrés who challenges Spanish ways of seeing the Comanches. This challenge threatens justifications of Spanish authority and presence in this space. If the Comanches are human subjects with intellectual capabilities equal to that of the Spanish, if the Comanches are not primitive savages, and if the Comanches are capable of political negotiation, then the Spanish justifications for New Spain and its at times violent policies are weakened. Yet the threat the Comanches pose is not merely a conceptual one, but a tangible one to Spanish territory as Comanche raiding, defying the very notions of property that the Spanish held, turned the Interior Provinces into Spanish territory only on paper.

As I have suggested earlier, Sealsfield's *Das Kajütenbuch*, particularly the Alcalde's philosophy, allows for an unsettling reading of both the Comanches and the Texas revolutionaries as pursuing savage, piratical practices. I want to push this comparison further, questioning if there is a way we can view Comanche raiding as a type of revolution. In a way, Comanche actions are similar to Texan ones—both faced Spanish control of the territory, warred against the Spanish, and established an empire. Yet is this comparison flattening differences?

In the modern conception, revolution is a chartable and iterable course where an established political system is overthrown in order to reestablish a new system in its place. Comanche raiding does not fit this definition as raiding does not conform to a set path but varies according to the contingencies of time and place. Furthermore, Comanche raiding was not about taking possession of the land but rather a continuance of long-held cultural practices designed to get resources from space. Most significantly, from a reoriented viewpoint, the Comanches did not need to overthrow the Spanish and reassert the land as theirs; they had always already been the ones in control of it. Comanche raiding, then, reveals that there are more ways to challenge another political entity than just the modernized notion of revolution and its concept of overthrow and possession of the land. Border crossings—whether termed raiding, settling, or colonizing—are also a means of gaining control over a space and enacting change.

While it therefore makes sense why the Comanches are figured as they are in the Spanish archives, why are they absent in Sealsfield's text? Sealsfield, while

interested in the space of Texas, was not personally invested in the space. In fact, by the time *Das Kajütenbuch* was published, Sealsfield had returned to Europe, never to live in the United States again. My hypothesis is that we need to take Sealsfield's comparative positionality into consideration. As noted earlier, Sealsfield was a man born into a loose confederation of sovereign states (the Deutscher Bund), specifically Moravia, a country invaded several times by the militaristic and aggressive German kingdom of Prussia. He escaped from the repressive regime of Metternich without a trace and reappeared with a new name and a new identity in the United States.

While, like much about Sealsfield's life, there may never be a concrete answer regarding the glaring absence of the Comanches in his novel, perhaps a comparative association might suggest one possibility. The Comanches were renowned in the American context for their overwhelming military power. The Prussians, the kingdom that invaded Sealsfield's home country, have been described as "not a country with an army, but an army with a country" (Cioc). And the Germans, using a transnational comparison, have often referred to the Prussians as the German Comanches (Cioc).

Chapter 3

Temporal Border Crossings: Lorenzo de Zavala, John Lloyd Stephens, and the Contested Space of the Uxmal Ruins

1. Preface

The age of modern revolutions was also the age when ruins became an obsession. Complementing the exploration of revolution and alternative notions of spatial crossings and movements explored in my first two chapters, my final two chapters explore contested temporal crossings, specifically those enacted by narratives depicting ruins. In this chapter, I focus on the commercial circulation of images and writings on Mesoamerican ruins during the nineteenth century and excavate the temporal dialectics between ruins and revolution, specifically asking how ruins help us challenge the modern notions of revolution as taken from the supposedly exemplary French and American Revolutions. In order to tease out the implications of the interrelatedness of revolution and ruins, I turn to two nineteenth-century writings on the Uxmal ruins: the renowned John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel* texts and the largely unknown Lorenzo de Zavala's "Article Upon the Ancient Monuments of Yucatan." Before, however, considering the significance of ruins as depicted in Zavala's and Stephens' texts, I first excavate the relationship between Zavala and the space of Texas explored in the previous two chapters.

2. Contested Spaces and Crossings

“Donde otros envian ejércitos invasores, [los estadounidenses] envian a sus colonos.”

(Where others send invading armies, [the Americans] send their colonists.)

-Lucas Alamán, author of colonization law of April 1830⁷⁹

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the northern provinces of New Spain in the late eighteenth century were under near-constant raids by various indigenous groups, especially the Comanche, and struggled to counter them due to the dearth of population as well as a lack of funding and support from the central government. While Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, the problems in the Far North persisted; in fact, how to populate the Far North—the main strategy to develop and defend these territories—was one of the first problems surmounted by Agustín Iturbide’s newly established government (Weber 161). Texas was of utmost concern: the boundary established by the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty had not yet been ratified, and the *norteamericanos* were rapidly encroaching upon and even entering into Mexican territory.⁸⁰ By 1823, while around 3,000 North Americans lived illegally in Texas, Mexican troops only numbered 200, a disparity that gave the newly established Mexican nation good reason to fear usurpation of their lands (162).

⁷⁹ From Alamán’s *Mexico City, ca 1830*. Quoted in Weber, pg. 158.

⁸⁰ The Adams-Onís Treaty was enacted between the United States and Spain; in it, Spain ceded Florida to the United States and the United States renounced their claim to Texas. A new boundary between Spain and the United States was therefore defined.

Incidents such as the filibustering attempt led by James Long in October 1821⁸¹ and Haden Edwards' declaration of the Fredonia Republic in December 1826 reinforced these fears.⁸²

In order to mitigate such attempts at usurpation and prevent incursion from the United States or its peoples, the newly established independent Mexico debated issues of colonization and passed laws to ensure the prospering of Mexican lands in the Far North. Iturbide's rump Congress, the *Junta Instituyente*, passed the Imperial Colonization Law in February 1823, which allowed for Catholic immigrants to settle in the Far North of Mexico; however, as Iturbide abdicated his reign merely a month later, this law was quickly annulled. In August of the following year, the new Congress passed the National Colonization Law, which remained in play until the United States gained control over these lands after the U.S. Mexican War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This law, while it gave precedence to Mexican citizens, allowed foreigners to settle in the land, as long as they did not settle within twenty leagues of a foreign nation or ten leagues of the coast, a consideration designed to

⁸¹ James Long led what was known as the Long expedition. The Long expedition came about as a reaction to the Adams-Onís Treaty: well-known citizens in Natchez proposed a filibustering expedition to take over Texas and drafted Long to lead it. Long was imprisoned in Mexico and eventually shot.

⁸² Hayden Edwards was a Texas empresario for the Mexican government. (An empresario was a person who made a contract with the Mexican government to bring in settlers in exchange for a large grant of land.) However, after increasing tension between himself, the other empresarios and older settlers, and the Mexican government, he decided that the only way to maintain his colony was to separate from Mexico. He declared independence from Mexico and named his colony the Fredonia Republic. When Mexican troops invaded, he fled and was eventually killed by Indians.

prevent the feared seizure of land by other nations, particularly the United States.⁸³

Yet, rather than prescribe how to distribute property, the Mexican Congress left the specifics up to the states, which was fitting given the federalist-leaning majority currently in control of the government.⁸⁴

Even before this legislation was enacted by the Mexican Congress, both the positives and the negatives of the colonization laws had been anticipated by a move made by the New Spain government on the eve of Mexican Independence: On January 17, 1821, the eastern division of the *Provincias Internas* promised Moses Austin a large tract of land in the southeastern part of Texas, with the proviso that he settle 300 Catholic families from Louisiana there.⁸⁵ This decision foreshadowed the empresario system that would be implemented in Texas and reveals the complex situation that Mexico was to face with settling Texas. Austin, while having been a former Spanish subject in Louisiana, was also a United States citizen. Despite the justified fear of Anglo usurpation and deep reservations toward Anglo settlement held

⁸³ For more on the Imperial Colonization and National Colonization Laws, as well as the colonization laws and empresario system, see Weber, particularly Chapter 9, and Barker.

⁸⁴ Federalists, who were typically more liberal in philosophy, supported limited centralized government and autonomous states. Centralists, who were typically conservative, wanted a strong central government and wanted to conserve the vice regal tradition that had occurred under New Spain. Centralists were heavily supported by *hacendados*, the military, and the clergy.

⁸⁵ The *Provincias Internas* are the same division over which Don Juan Ugalde, of the previous chapter, presided over at the end of the eighteenth century. As Moses Austin died before the fruition of this grant, his son, future Texas Revolutionary, Stephen Austin, became the successor to the land. With the August 24, 1821 signing of the Treaty of Cordoba, which granted Mexico independence from Spain under the *Plan de Iguala*, Austin's grant lost government recognition for a short time.

by many in the New Spain government, Austin was granted permission to colonize his tract in Texas due to the desire to see the Far North survive, develop, and prosper.⁸⁶

New Spain's decision to give Austin a large tract of land to settle was one with which the Mexican state of Coahuila y Texas would have to contend. Coahuila y Texas, a state that heavily faced the Anglo predicament, was one of the first to implement the New Mexican Congress's law, by passing its own Colonization Law in March of 1825. This state law established the amount of land one could receive and prescribed that only those colonists who proved "their Christianity, morality, and good habits" could receive it (Weber 163). Most colonists came and gained their property under the empresario system, meaning they could apply and be given land scrip by the empresario. Texas empresarios, who worked for the Mexican government bringing in colonists and distributing property, received large tracts of land to settle and improve, much like Austin did in his early grant. From 1825 to 1832, at least twenty-four empresario contracts were signed, with 17 going to foreigners, mostly those from the United States. While this may seem odd given fears of U.S. takeover, Weber argues that Mexico pragmatically had little choice, given the amount of Anglo-American foreigners already in the land. It perhaps seemed best to make them legal immigrants and try to win their loyalty (162). Moreover, the Mexican government hoped that Mexican and European colonists would offset the amount of U.S. immigration, something that did not, in fact, happen.

⁸⁶ For more on Austin's land grant, see Barker.

However, the Mexican government had foreseen the possibility of dangerous immigrants and hence had written into the National Colonization Laws of 1824 that the federal government could stop immigration from certain countries in the interest of national security. This occurred with the passage of the August 6, 1824 law, which forbade immigrants from the United States from settling in Texas and suspended contracts that previously had allowed for such immigrants. This law was in many ways instigated by Commandant General of the Internal Provinces, Manuel Mier y Terán, who foresaw the United States' desire to acquire Texas and warned that strong measures must be implemented to avoid that happening.⁸⁷ Although Stephen Austin was able to successfully petition the government for the continuance of his father's land grant, under the law of 1830, other empresario settlements were not so successful, including the Galveston Bay and Land Company, which was suspended.⁸⁸

As seen in Chapter One, Charles Sealsfield's *Das Kajütenbuch* begins its adventures in Texas with Captain Morse's realization of his lack of property within the Texas prairie. While fictional, Morse's lack of land stems from these aforementioned contests over land and space, particularly the suspending of the Galveston Bay and Land Company due the immigration law of April 1830. The Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company was a New York managed company, consisting of the empresario grants of David Burnett, Joseph Vehlein, and Lorenzo de Zavala, the latter a figure who will feature heavily in this chapter. In the novel,

⁸⁷ For more information on Mier y Terán's perspectives and fears over Anglo-immigration, see Mier y Terán and Jackson.

⁸⁸ Austin's success seems to have led to the enshrining and mythologizing of Austin's settlement but not others in contemporary Anglo-Texas memory.

Captain Morse buys land scrip from The Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company, only to arrive in Texas to find out it is no longer valid. Morse's loss of his land—what is termed his “anchor” amidst the Texas “sea” —is what mobilizes the novel's exploration of the diffuse space of revolution.

As I have argued in Chapter One, Sealsfield presents a de-centered view of revolution, a concept fundamentally at odds with the modern notion of revolution itself: the idea of a chartable and iterable course around a *center* and its reference to the overthrow of an established political system. Sealsfield's exploration of revolution, therefore, questions the spatial bounds of revolution, instead proposing an interrelation of nations and lands past and present. This affiliation, however, is not utopic; rather, the linkage emerges through a shared strategy of piracy. Moreover, Sealsfield's text opens up the possibility for alternative conceptions of revolution and space, such as seen with the Comanche's interwoven yet decentered tribal relations and disregard of hegemonic notions of bound and mapped space, a way of being in the world which renders them illegible to the Spanish government. This illegibility causes the Spanish to encode the Comanche actions as raiding rather than the more “justified” notions of rebellion, uprising, or revolution, a difference that Sealsfield's text reveals to be mere poetic semantics. Yet Comanche raiding as well as this chapter's opening epigraph (Lucas Alamán's proclamation regarding U.S colonists) reveal that there are more ways to overthrow an established political system than just the modernized notion of revolution. Border crossings—whether termed raiding,

settling, or colonizing—are a means of gaining control of a space and enacting change.

As I stated previously, my final two chapters complement the notions of spatial crossings and movements by exploring contested temporal crossings, specifically those enacted by narratives depicting ruins. By focusing on the commercial circulation of images and writings on Mesoamerican ruins during the nineteenth century, I excavate the temporal dialectics between ruins and revolution, specifically asking how ruins contest the modern notion of revolution as taken from the French and American Revolutions. The age of modern revolutions is also the age where ruins became an obsession.⁸⁹ In order to explore the interrelatedness of revolution and ruins, I turn to two nineteenth-century writings on the Uxmal ruins: the renowned John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel* texts and the largely unknown Lorenzo de Zavala's "Article Upon the Ancient Monuments of Yucatan."

John Lloyd Stephens, along with his illustrator Frederick Catherwood, are renowned in U.S. history for their narratives and illustrations of ruins that captured the nineteenth-century American imagination. In July of 1841, *The Knickerbocker, or New York Monthly Magazine* captured the common sentiment regarding Stephens' texts, proclaiming, "What discoveries of the present century can compare with those laid bare by Stephens?" As evinced in *The Knickerbocker* critic's boast, John Lloyd Stephens' texts, particularly *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1841) and *Incidents of Travel in the Yucatan* (1843)—were considered the

⁸⁹ For more information about the development of the obsession with ruins, see DeSilvey and Edensor, Hussyen, and Thomas.

epitome of such narratives in the mid-nineteenth century. *Incidents of Travel in Central America* alone went through twelve printings and sold twenty thousand copies in three months (Lenz 4). Much of the acclaim centered on the “truthfulness” and “frankness” of Stephens’ texts, which created an intimate relationship with his readership. For instance, *Putnam’s Monthly Magazine* lauded Stephens: “In truth, he eschewed trickery of all kinds, and was incapable of employing it as he wrote, as he was of carrying it into the business transactions of life.”⁹⁰

In stark contrast, Zavala’s 1834 “Article on the Ancient Monuments of Yucatan (Ushmal or Uxmal)” ruins received slight attention during the nineteenth century—as far as I can ascertain, circulating only in French in Guillaume Dupaix’s *Antiquités Mexicaines*. France commissioned Captain Dupaix’s expedition in 1805 and again in 1806 to 1807 to conduct antiquities research, particularly of Palenque. In 1834 and 1836, Dupaix compiled his writings on Mexican antiquities along with articles and excerpts by a variety of others, including the renowned Alexander von Humboldt, French Geography Society Member Monsieur Jomard, and Spanish Captain Antonio del Río.

John Lloyd Stephens himself slighted Zavala’s article. Despite using it as a source text, he never cites it and, more treacherously, claims that no one in Merida or the surrounding areas knew anything about the Uxmal ruins (Temple). In *Incidents* Stephens laments the “absence of all historical record,” of which Uxmal “had none

⁹⁰ For more information regarding the reception and circulation of Stephens’s *Incidents*, see Lenz’s extensive book on the subject. The quotes from *The Knickerbocker* and *Putnam’s* are both taken from this work.

whatever,” lacking the “ray of historic light” which “beams” upon other locations (95). Stephens also claims that the work of Waldeck (published in 1835) is “the only account that has ever been published of the ruins at Uxmal” (*Incidents* 297).

Following Stephens’ effacement of Zavala’s text, eminent historian and ethnologist Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his 1886 *The Native Races*, mentions Zavala’s article only to dismiss it as trivial: he asserts that Zavala’s article is “of little value...and is mentioned in this note only as being the earliest account extant” (145).

Stephen’s and Bancroft’s disregard of Zavala seems to ominously foreshadow the continuing reception of Zavala’s text. I have found no trace of it being discussed as an important text in any past or current scholarly work, only being referenced in passing by the few historians who even write about Zavala.⁹¹ Zavala’s French and English manuscript of his article has come to rest in the Bexar archives amidst the other Lorenzo de Zavala papers, with the archives themselves having no information on where the manuscript came from or even where it was published. Considering Barbara Herrnstein-Smith’s notion of the contingencies of value, which argues that value is not an intrinsic aesthetic essence but created over time by markets, prominent peoples, and popular philosophies, what are the interacting economies, judgments, and ideas that have caused Zavala’s text to be largely ignored since its publication in 1834? Why has this text been essentially termed a failure in Bancroft’s critique and in practice over the last century and a half?

⁹¹ These historians are ones who focus solely on Zavala. See Estep and Swett Henson’s books, the two main English-language biographies on Zavala’s life. For an exploration of Zavala as Mexican politician and writer, see Luz.

Interestingly, the “failure” of Zavala’s text echoes the perceived failure of and dearth of study on Zavala’s life. If remembered at all, Lorenzo de Zavala—Minister Plenipotentiary to France, Governor of the State of Mexico, writer of the Mexican and Texan Constitutions, and Vice-President of the Texas Republic, to name only a few of his titles—tends to evoke polemical perspectives that largely center on his participation in Texas. As mentioned earlier, Lorenzo de Zavala, along with being one of the empresarios who combined their land and sold it to the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company, was a key proponent of the Mexican colonization laws. As such, Zavala was susceptible to much criticism by his Mexican contemporaries, particularly due to what some saw as his vested interest in the situation. Zavala remarks of what he feels is unfounded and malevolent criticism:

Mis enemigos de México comentaron este paso, no solamente inocente sino benéfico al país, de una manera odiosa, diciendo que yo había vendido la parte de Texas a los Estados Unidos, y que me había enriquecido con aquella venta. El tiempo y mis pobreza han hecho desaparecer todas estas calumnias. El gobierno del Estado ha hecho justicia a mis esfuerzos patrióticos... (*Viaje* 275).

(My enemies in Mexico had many disagreeable remarks to make concerning this action, not only innocent but beneficial to the country; they said that I had sold a part of Texas to the United States, and that I had made myself rich by the sale. Time and my own poverty have caused all this slander to disappear. The government of the State has made a fair disposition of my patriotic efforts... (*Journey* 78).⁹²

While Zavala may have been “justified” by the state government against what he saw as the persecution and obstacles placed in his way by his political enemies, future events were not excused so easily. The nail in the coffin of Zavala’s reputation

⁹² For my translations of *Viaje*, I utilize the published 2005 translation.

took place a mere five years later in the same locale, when Zavala signed the Texas Declaration of Independence. This action, in the words of Zavala biographer Raymond Estep, was “labeled treasonable by the Mexican people, [and] gained him the undying hatred of most of his former compatriots” (361). Despite earlier acclaimed actions in the struggle for Mexican independence and the establishment of the Mexican nation, Mexican history has primarily continued to remember him as a traitor.⁹³ In large part, this view centers on the massive loss of Mexican lands to the United States with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at the end of the U.S. Mexican War. While Zavala had been dead for more than ten years when this event occurred, many Mexicans see his act of signing Texas’s declaration of independence from Mexico as leading to this cataclysmic event. Recently, there has been an attempt to recover Zavala as a proto-Latino by the Arte Publico Press’s publication of *Viaje* under the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Project in 2005. The introduction to this book reveals the problematic of this recovery; John Michael Rivera’s recuperation of Zavala is still primarily related to Texas and the United States.

In stark contrast to his Mexican compatriots, his Texas collaborators acclaimed Zavala for his work in Texas and his establishment of the Constitution of the Texas Republic. His granddaughter, Adina de Zavala, in her history of Texas, writes of the reasons for such commendation: “He desired progress, light, and all the social improvements to which a nation had a right to aspire, and to this all his plans

⁹³ See Estep’s biography for more information, particularly chapters 10 and 11. Also see the articles by Estep, Brack, and Henson.

and inclinations and tendencies” (198). Yet, this acclaim has faded over the last two centuries: Zavala is rarely remembered in Texas and U.S. history. Aside from the Lorenzo de Zavala State Archives and Library Building, a few place names, such as Zavala County, and several schools, such as Lorenzo de Zavala Elementary School in San Antonio, Zavala is largely overlooked in favor of Anglo-American so-called “heroes of the west,” such as Sam Houston, Davy Crockett, and Stephen Austin. In part, this lack of remembrance stems from the quintessential myth of the frontier: white civilization conquers the wild lands and dark inhabitants. As a Mexican, Lorenzo de Zavala does not quite fit into this myth. The “lazy” and “degraded” Mexicans are the ones to whom the United States is supposed to be bringing civilization, not vice versa.⁹⁴ This ideological dissonance in fact resonated in Zavala’s time as well, as many of the Anglo-Texas settlers originally treated Zavala with contempt and coldness, as they did not want a Mexican leading “their” revolution (Estep 342).

Despite the seeming polemics of the Mexican and Anglo perspectives, they share a significant—and problematic—commonality. Both focus on Zavala’s time in Texas, despite the fact that he only was in Texas for the last year and a half of his life.⁹⁵ My purpose is not to condone Zavala’s choice, which had cataclysmic effects for Mexico; it is to argue that Zavala’s life and contributions entail much more than this last year and half in Texas. My problem with these polemical perspectives is that

⁹⁴ This language of Mexicans being lazy and degraded is seen in much nineteenth-century rhetoric, particularly during the years leading up to and during the U.S.-Mexican War. See, for instance, Kendall and Nebel.

⁹⁵ Zavala arrived in Texas in July 1835; he died in November 1836.

they enact a spatial and temporal narrowing which leads to a radical simplification of Zavala's complicated and chaotic transamerican and transnational life. These perspectives perform a type of synecdoche by making Zavala's time in Texas—a period that constituted less than one-twentieth of his life—representative of his life. Recuperating more than just this short period reveals a complex, cosmopolitan life that cannot be fit into what would become the state of Texas.

The state of Yucatán in which Zavala was born, does remember Zavala heroically, designating him a *Benemérito del Estado* and even renaming the Yucatán to Yucatán de Zavala in 1878, a designation which has since fallen out of use.⁹⁶ Zavala's legacy in the Yucatán highlights the necessity of reinstating Zavala as the transamerican, transnational figure he was. That Zavala is remembered heroically in another location than Texas and by a Mexican state suggests that Zavala has much more to offer us than just his time in Texas. Zavala's service to the Yucatán and then to the State of Mexico and finally to the government of the nation of Mexico enables us to recognize Zavala as an important founder of the Mexican nation, who lived in a liminal and chaotic time period and strove, albeit sometimes unsuccessfully, to create a strong and equitable nation.

It is for this reason, therefore, that I focus on his text about his native Yucatán, “Article Upon the Ancient Monuments Of Yucatán,” which records Zavala's reflections in the middle of a critical moment in Zavala's life and in Mexican

⁹⁶ Although not my focus here, interestingly, the Yucatan sees itself as a distinct and special state within Mexico, as does Texas. See Temple for more information on this campaign led by Justo Sierra O'Reilly. Also, see Estep's biography of Zavala.

history—when Zavala is in France, still deeply involved in Mexican politics, and when Mexico is embroiled in continuing turmoil post-independence from Spain. As it is written during a liminal moment and by a complex figure, I suggest that Zavala’s article presents a starkly different view of Mesoamerican ruins than the typical westernized versions. I argue that in fact the relative effacement of Zavala’s text has occurred precisely because this text refuses—or fails in Bancroft’s critique—to engage many of the common conventions of nineteenth-century narratives on ruins. In order to understand what Zavala’s text does not do and the significance of the choices he does make, we need to first understand what ruins’ writing looked like in the century.

3. Ruins Obsession and Commodity Circulation

The “cult of ruins” arose in the eighteenth century (Huysen 6). During this time period, the English devotion to the picturesque and the beautification of ruins emerged and later the German *Ruinenlust* (as evinced in the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich and the writings of Goethe) (DeSilvey and Edensor 466, Huysen 14). In these modes, ruin gazing spoke of “an elevated aesthetic sensibility, a mark of sophistication and sensitivity.” (DeSilvey and Edensor 466).⁹⁷ In the nineteenth century, ruins were highly privileged in the search for national origins, evoked especially in notions of authenticity, originality, immediacy, and origin points. As Andreas Huysen writes, “The positing of stable origins and of a historical telos is

⁹⁷ See DeSilvey and Edensor for more information regarding this belief in an elevated aesthetic sensibility.

never far when the authenticity tune is being played. The same is true for the discourse of ruins that has played such a central role in legitimizing the claims to power by modern nation states” (12).⁹⁸ I explore the role of the discourse of ruins in the Spanish Americas, particularly in relation to the legitimizing of the American (United States and Mexico) national projects of the nineteenth century.

Both the United States and Mexico utilized the discourse of ruins to help establish themselves as proper nations with a deep history. Samuel Truett observes that the emergence of the early republic brought with it an “unprecedented accumulation” of theories and ideas about ancient America as the “obsession with American antiquity grew” (315). During the colonial period and then the early republic, most interest centered on indigenous ruins and mounds found in what are now the boundaries of the United States, relics that were often taken to be of European origins.⁹⁹ In the late 1780s and after, as the United States began to look west toward further expansion, Mesoamerican ruins (particularly from Mexico) begin to be incorporated into this obsession, where tales and ruins of former indigenous civilizations “would capture the American imagination like no other” (319). Yet, this incorporation of Spanish American ruins was complicated, as the history of Mexico came through New Spain and hence “added a new layer of entanglement, in which prior appropriations at the borderlands of one empire found new significance at the acquisitive edges of another” (319).

⁹⁸ For more information regarding the ruined form as one of the most enduring and complex representational devices in western tradition and the various facets, see DeSilvey and Edensor, Huyssen, and Thomas.

⁹⁹ See Truett’s article for more information.

Yet the end of colonial rule was not the end of the production of ruins culture. After the establishment of the Mexican nation, the Creole elites participated in the circulation of ruins' commodities. Robert Aguirre explains that while these elites may have politically separated themselves from Spain, they had not culturally and socially enacted such a split. Hence, in many ways, they still identified with Spanish and thus European hegemonic structures, ideals, and practices. Aguirre argues that Creoles, therefore, participated in the problematic circulation of European ruins' commodities:

European knowledge about pre-Columbian antiquities was heavily dependent on existing Creole scholarship, partly because Creole intellectuals and antiquarians were eager for Europeans to appreciate the greatness of the pre-Hispanic past. That eagerness, however, could also lead to deep complicity with the acquisitive impulses of European elites, and Creoles at points bargained away their nations' cultural inheritance for the political and economic equivalent of a pot of porridge. (Aguirre xviii)

The acquisitive impulses of European elites and fascination of Anglo-American scholars turned the Spanish Americas into, in the words of Anna Brickhouse, "passive objects of 'prolific' historical study" (81). As Brickhouse asserts, the specific fascination of these ruins, particularly for Anglo scholars, lay in the racial question: Who were the original builders and inhabitants? Were they the ancestors of the current Yucatan Maya or were they built by some unknown race of people, perhaps with Egyptian or even European connections?¹⁰⁰ For Anglo-Americans living in the period between the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and the annexation of Texas (1845), such questions represented not only literary and

¹⁰⁰ See Brickhouse, *Transamerican*, particularly pages 81 and 191. Truett also writes of the purported European builders in early North American ruins.

archeological fascination but also political significance—the relationship of the United States to Mexico and Mexican lands, a subject that provoked both anticipation and fear.¹⁰¹

Anglo-American and Mexican Creole elites, then, utilized ruins for their present political moment. Writing of the function of the ruin, Thomas asserts that the ruin is actually superfluous, valuable only in the present for the meaning made, a meaning that is adapted to present needs, often political: “the historicity of the ruin is a function of the present (itself, of course, an historically relative series of moments). Ruins thus represent the historical relation, rather than history ‘itself’” and therefore have a “necessarily *constructed* relationship” to history, in order to aid the present (181).¹⁰²

Within the nineteenth-century United States, this “constructed relationship” with Mesoamerican ruins, provided an ancient past, comparable to a European classical past. As Brickhouse notes, travel writers sought to locate a classical heritage within an American locale through the sublime architecture of the ruins (192). In many ways, Creole elites also made similar uses of ruins and aimed to craft a narrative that would elevate their new nation’s status. Kirsten Silva Gruesz notes that poets such as José Mariá Heredia “participated intently in their age’s fascination with a pre-Columbian past, and integrated those nationalistic anxieties into their

¹⁰¹ The space of Texas and its possible annexation particularly provoked debate, especially as it heightened tensions between slave-holding and free states. Would Texas become a slave state and thus tip the balance of representation to the southern states?

¹⁰² For more information on the constructed nature of historicity in regards to ruins, particularly folly or sham ruins, see Thomas’ article.

conceptions of the American sublime...which lent itself to effusions of national pride [but] was also fraught with connotations of mourning, grief, and racial guilt” (38). However, ruins presented a paradox: they gave prestige to the American past yet they also presented a challenge to conceptions of European superiority (192). Yet, that paradox was often resolved through the stipulation that even if the Yucatecan Maya ancestors had built these sublimes edifices, the present ones were degraded and exhibited no trace of that ancient culture.¹⁰³ Therefore, the ruins were used in a way to provide a type of historical prestige for both of these incipient nations, yet allow for them to act in expedient ways in the present toward the remaining indigenous.¹⁰⁴

Particularly for Anglo-Americans and the United States, these ruins allowed not just for conceptions of an ancient origin point but also for the conception of the United States participating in a unique historical telos. As Steven Conn writes, Americans developed a “new historical consciousness” during the nineteenth century that stipulated the “exceptional place of the United States in the flow of history” (6). Rather than the more classical view of the rise and necessary fall of nations, some began to reason that “the very act of establishing the nation itself represented a break from the inexorable cycle of history’s rise and fall.... They began to replace the

¹⁰³ Aztec ruins and Mayan ruins were at times depicted differently due to different perceptions toward the Aztecs and the Mayans. The Aztecs were often lauded for heroic resistance to Spanish conquest whereas the Mayan strategy of ambush and at times flight is looked on with less respect.

¹⁰⁴ Treatment of the contemporaneous indigenous varied in Mexico and the United States. Within the United States, policies of removal and extermination were largely enacted. Within New Spain and then within Mexico, indigenous peoples were marginalized but somewhat protected through the paternalistic structure. See Caplan for more an in-depth exploration of indigenous communities in the Yucatan.

cyclical view of history with one in which ‘perpetual life’ might be possible” (6). The United States, in establishing a nation that broke away from the Old World and its conventions, would therefore be on a different trajectory than the Old World, one of perpetual futurity.

The ruins also belonged to the past from which the United States had broken away. The United States, conceived as starkly different from this ancient civilization, would have a different trajectory. Ruins, therefore, were the original point from which the United States could move forward in perpetual futurity. As Truett notes, while ruins challenged the ideas of a young America and “virgin land,” they also provided a “mythical terrain of once and further kings, princes, and civilizations...in which heroic or monumental beginnings point to equally heroic, monumental end” (310). While circular in the sense that the past created the conditions for the present, this use of the past was less a story of continuity and more a story marked by “perceived points of disjuncture,” marked by “what made *this* America different (301).

An example of this use of the past is evident in Thomas Jefferson, who according to Truett, desired to turn indigenous “relics into road markers” (309); in other words, Jefferson desired to use the past as a starting point from which to build the American future (308). Jefferson’s image of road markers insinuates another function of the ruins—to justify expansion. As Truett notes, “visions of a new nation’s expansion were energized in part by earlier lost worlds (310). In fact, no

matter what the viewpoint toward these lost worlds, “it is impossible to disentangle these spaces from the acquisitive impulses of empire and nation” (324).

Written right before the U.S.-Mexican War, Stephens’ *Incidents of Travel* volumes very much speak to the national desire for expansion by engaging in this perceived point of disjuncture, capturing the stark difference between the United States and Anglo-Americans and the past (and present) indigenous and criollo peoples of Mexico. For instance, Stephens is consistently referencing his virility compared to the enervated nature of the surrounding inhabitants. Yet, while very much participating in the mythical terrain of which Truett writes, Stephens attempts to cultivate a “truthfulness” and “frankness” and make his text as a marked departure from past romanticized travel writings of Central America, particularly Jean Frédéric de Waldeck’s *Voyage Pittoresque at Archéologique dans la Province d’ Yucatán* (1838). David Johnson argues that Stephens in fact “writes against the texts of discovery in Central America, against discovery’s romanticization” (4). It was Waldeck’s travelogue itself that “induced Stephens to visit Central America in order to set the record straight, to subordinate tales of the ruins to a scientifically rigorous discourse” (7). In place of a more romanticized, artificial style, Stephens desired to write an accurate representation of the facts of his journey.

Bancroft’s writings on Stephens at the end nineteenth century reveal an investment in the use of ruins discussed above and add to the notions of authentic origins and historical telos the idea of Anglo discoverers, in the vein of prominent discoverers of old. As collector and preserver of historical documents for posterity,

Bancroft valued Stephens and his work and someone invested in similar enterprises. Bancroft lauds Stephens as he “boldly left the beaten track” and “brought to the knowledge of the world” information about “forty ruined cities whose very existence had been previously unknown even to the residents of the larger cities of the very state in whose territory they lie” (Bancroft 145-6). Bancroft continues his bombast, declaring that the *Incidents of Travel* books were “the first” and in “most cases the last.” After Stephens and Catherwood left, the “wrecks of Maya architecture have been left to slumber undisturbed in their forest winding sheet” (146). Citing Stephens himself, Bancroft emphasizes this motif of silence:

For a brief space, the stillness that reigned around them was broken, and they were again left to solitude and silence. Time and the elements are hastening them to utter destruction. It has been the fortune of the author to step between them and the entire destruction to which they are destined; and it is his hope to snatch from oblivion these perishing, but still gigantic, memorials of a mysterious people. (Stephens *Yucatan* iiv-iv; cited in Bolton 146-7)

Analyzing Bancroft’s claims, we see that Bancroft frames them as primary discoverers who have salvaged important knowledge of the past. As first discoverers, then, Stephens and Catherwood gain ownership of sorts, something which Stephens himself pridefully acknowledges and of which he takes full advantage, removing pieces of the ruins—“relics”—to “preserve” them; he even attempts to seize skulls of the indigenous dead and replace them with gourds in order to ostensibly add to the eventual museum collection. In this frame, Bancroft elevates Stephens and, with them, Anglo-Americans in general who are, through the examples of Stephens, Catherwood, and Bancroft himself, implied to be superior to those Mexican residents

who didn't even know about this past, despite living right next to the ruins. Hence Bancroft's bombastic claims belittle the Mexican people and Mexico and aggrandize Anglo-Americans and the United States. For the above reasons, Bancroft proposes Stephens and Catherwood's text "as a model, both as a journey of travel and personal adventure and as a record of antiquarian research" (147).

Yet, despite being invested in establishing the primacy of Stephens and Catherwood's *Incidents*—even claiming, as seen above, that they were the “first,” Bancroft has to admit that this is not fully the case, that other writers had visited some of the ruins, including Waldeck, Charney, Norman, and Zavala, whom he lists. However, they “confined their observations to from one to four of the principal ruins” (145); put more bluntly, these authors didn't explore enough and did not bestow upon the “world” enough knowledge. Bancroft also has to address another claim that is not fully the case, one that is even more problematic for him: The name Zavala included in the list of other writers throws into question Bancroft's claim that the residents in the large cities of Mexico did not even know of the ruins next to them. Lorenzo de Zavala, born in the Yucatan, lived in Merida, a large city near the Uxmal ruins, of which he wrote. Bancroft “forgets” the information he surely knew about Zavala's birthplace and early life and career, and instead designates him only as “the Ambassador of the Mexican government in France” who published in *Antiquités Mexicaines*, a move which links Zavala as much to Europe as to Mexico and is in accord with Bancroft's subtle disparagement of Mexico. Conveniently, this information is delegated to the footnote, along with another detail about Zavala which

challenges Bancroft's claim of Stephens and Catherwoods' texts: that Zavala's article is "the earliest account extant" of all the modern ruins' writers (145).

Bancroft, still writing within the confines of the secondary status of the footnote, quickly discounts Zavala's article:

His communication gives a tolerably good general idea of the ruins, but it is brief, unaccompanied by drawings, and relates only to one city. It is, therefore, of little value when compared with later and more extensive words on the subject, and is mentioned in this note only as being the earliest account extant. (144)

Along with dismissively critiquing the content and value of Zavala's article with details that clearly contrast Bancroft's effusive praise of Stephens' extensive studies, Bancroft, in a strange move, disputes his own claim that Zavala's is the earliest extant *modern* text. Immediately after this statement, Bancroft stipulates: "Yet long before Zavala's visit, Padre Thomas de Soza, a Franciscan friar of the convent of Mérida, had observed the ruins during his frequent trips through the province, and he gave a slight account of them to Antonio del Rio, who mentioned it in his *Description of an Ancient City*" (145). In Bancroft's convoluted logic, Zavala's article is not really the earliest extant modern account because del Rio's, which elsewhere in his writing he implies is not modern, exists.

While this may seem a strange and unnecessary excursus for Bancroft to take in his footnote, it is significant to our study when considering Bancroft's claims about Stephens: that Stephens is really the first discoverer of the ruins and his text is a model for all that follow. Therefore, in a strange temporal admixture, Zavala's text is lacking because it does not follow the model of Stephens. Significantly, Bancroft's relegation

of Zavala's text to a footnote as well as its dismissal as not significant and lacking compared to Stephens' aligns with the language often used to describe Latin American texts and, more largely, Latin America—the language of belatedness and lack. I now turn to Stephens' writings to analyze the reasons Bancroft and others esteemed them as a model and through which judged Zavala's text inferior.

4. Stephens Writes the Uxmal Ruins

As opposed to Bancroft's lauding of Stephens, much current scholarship on Stephens and *Incidents* is rightfully critical, pointing out issues of appropriation of the indigenous past, the effacing of the indigenous present, and racialized notions of Anglo superiority. William Lenz writes that Stephens sees the racial landscape of Central America in stark categories: he is “culturally superior to decadent Spaniards, lazy ‘Mestitzoes,’ childlike mulattos, and fanatical Indians” (5). Moreover, as Stephens presents the ancient ruins as “mystical creations of an unknown people,” Lenz points out how Stephens disconnects the ruins from not only the present-day Maya but from the North American Indians who had been “displaced by the progressive engine of Manifest Destiny” as brought about by the culturally superior Anglos (5).

Anna Brickhouse, while also noting Stephens' contrast between self and other (the “virility of the Anglo American traveler in Yucatan highlighted against the degradation of the contemporary Mayan Indian”) argues that Stephens in fact has a “genealogical obsession with Indian origins” which lends itself “to the production of

a coherent narrative about the indigenous past and present throughout the Americas” (210, 12, 194). Likewise to Lenz and Brickhouse, Johnson notes the “depreciation of indigenous culture” in Stephens’ works (16). In the vein of Stephen Greenblatt’s *Marvelous Possessions*, Johnson focuses on Stephens’ oscillation between “science and wonder” when addressing the indigenous culture (8). He sees himself as the “arbitrator of knowledge” yet he is unable to comprehend Amerindian aesthetics and is stymied by the supposed “darkness” and “obscurity” – the “absence of history” (8, 18).

Stephens does show remarkable disdain toward indigenous history and ownership while simultaneously exhibiting self-aggrandizing opinions of self, for instance exhibited when he gleefully exclaims, “We were now in absolute possession of the ruins of Uxmal” (159) and declares, “for being first on the ground, and having all at my choice, I of course selected only those objects which were most curious and valuable” (180). The problematics of travel writing and antiquities research as qualitatively imperialistic and appropriative has been firmly established by scholarship on the subject.¹⁰⁵ Writing of the commodification of Mesoamerican ruins, Aguirre notes that the first appropriation of ruins’ architecture is archi-text-ure. Building on past scholarship, I focus here on how Stephens writes the ruins, how he turns ruins’ architecture into archi-text-ure: On what details does Stephens concentrate in his texts? How does he narrate these focal points? What do these focal points indicate about Stephens’ concerns?

¹⁰⁵ See, for instance, Pratt and Greenblatt.

As others have observed, throughout Stephens' *Incidents*, he reveals a commitment to documentation characteristic of enlightenment science.¹⁰⁶ In many ways, this commitment speaks to Stephens' desire to write against the romanticized texts of discovery, such as Waldeck's. Stephens' rejection of past romantic approaches and his insistence on the realness of his exploration become evident when he informs the reader that his team had to make clearings in order to access parts of the ruins. Stephens makes sure to note that, "these [clearings] were not required for picturesque effect" (163), referencing the English obsession with the picturesque, reflected in their gardens with their featured ruins and even sham ruins. Stephens establishes that he is not creating the effect; rather, he is only doing what is necessary to document it. As part of his scientific documentation, Stephens consistently makes hypotheses about the material that he is finding, such as, "from its conspicuous position, it doubtless had some important use" (181). While wanting to stay true to scientific evidence, Stephens also wants to inscribe meaning and import to what he is finding.

Yet his desire to find meaning and import in what he is finding is overshadowed by his desire to fully represent the ruins. Stephens' devotion to scientific documentation quickly turns from desire to fetishistic obsession. We see this obsession through his repeated anxieties that he cannot capture Uxmal through language and his text.¹⁰⁷ In one moment of intense failure to capture, Stephens is

¹⁰⁶ See Truett and Johnson.

¹⁰⁷ Catherwood also struggles with this inability to fully capture all the detail in his illustrations due to issues of light and shadow.

examining a large, intricately engraved courtyard. Lamenting that he cannot fully depict every detail and the overall impact of such details, he writes that it would be “utterly unprofitable...to attempt a verbal description of such a façade” (172-73). He also notes at other points that even the pictures cannot fully capture the ruins. While Stephens is definitely highlighting the limits of language and representation more generally, by closely analyzing his own language during his laments, we see that his anxiety actually pertains more to issues of scale and size. He consistently points out the “lofty structures” that gave “grandeur and effect” to the ruins (304) and conveyed “the ideas of vastness and magnificence rather than that of taste and refinement” (204). Yet, he bemoans that one would need the “scope to get the full effect” (167), expresses that he has “many causes of regret for the small scale of which I am obliged to present the drawings” (302) and apologetically writes that he had to “compress” his book “within the smallest possible limits” or it would have had to have been “extend[ed] indefinitely” to fully capture the whole of Uxmal (321). His language reveals his anxiety over his inability to capture the totality of the ruins.

As such, Stephens’ anxiety for capturing the totality relates to the Kantian notion of the sublime. For Kant and others, the sublime (highly related with nature) originally overwhelms one’s senses, yet, through reason, one is able to overcome this overwhelm with the mind. Put differently, through the power of reason, one is able to apprehend the magnificent and totality of the sublime. One, therefore, gains a feeling of superiority of one’s one power over nature and over imagination. As such, rationality proves itself supreme and in control. Stephens has many moments of

experiencing the sublime, where he notes the lonely grandeur, the untrammelled wonder, and the vast scale of these ruins that stand in wild nature. And Stephens quickly attempts to turn this wonder, this experience, into knowledge and comprehension of what the buildings and engravings are and their import.

However, he is frustrated that he cannot use his rational mind and the effects of his rational mind (his scientific language) to capture all of Uxmal for his readership. He cannot fully capture it in his book, and he cannot fully preserve the ruins as they are “tottering and crumbling” (223). In a moment of pathos, he bemoans that in a “few more returns of the rainy season, it will be a mass of ruins, and perhaps on the whole continent of America, there will be no such monument of the purity and simplicity of aboriginal art” (185-6). He is unable to fully represent and unable to preserve these ruins that represent an authentic origin point from which the United States can progressively move forward. And, as Stephens is writing in the forties, right before the U.S.-Mexican war and as the United States is moving further westward, the excitement yet anxiety over conquering wild lands and bringing civilization is evident in his writings. And Stephens’ dilemma echoes the national dilemma: What if rationality—civilization—cannot conquer and control the wild?

If the verbal cannot capture the totality, how then does Stephens capture the ruins? As Johnson notes, Stephens’ lack of incomprehension always attempts to move to knowledge and understanding, even if this is frustrated. A fascinating moment in the narrative comes when Stephens discusses with some of the men with whom he is working his dream of moving Uxmal to Mississippi; there it won’t decay as there is

no “rank vegetation which is now hurrying it to destruction” (232). Don Simon, the Creole elite in his party, thinks they could then use all the stones from Uxmal to pave the streets of New Orleans. In his mind, they could dismantle Uxmal and put it to pragmatic use for the present. However, Stephens and his other men think this a travesty and insist that they would erect a fence around it and sell tickets, so that Uxmal, Mississippi “would stand like Herculaneum and Pompeii, a place of pilgrimage for the curious” (232). The image of a preserved place with a fence setting it apart reveals Stephens desire to prevent the forward progress of time and the decay it inevitably brings. The control over nature that Stephens seeks is the control over temporality.

While Stephens obviously realizes that transporting Uxmal to Mississippi is not possible, he attempts to do so in other ways. For one, he notes that he has the exact dimensions of the buildings at Uxmal so Catherwood can reconstruct them exactly in a panorama. If he can recreate the scale exactly in another place, then perhaps Stephens can salvage the significance of Uxmal. He also attempts to salvage items from the ruins, taking them back to the national museum at Washington to display. While not capturing the totality, at least he can capture and salvage the authentic. Yet, this attempt is frustrated as these relics burned in a fire next to the museum sections on Thebes and the Jews (180). Again, despite his best attempts, he cannot prevent the change and the contingencies that necessarily come with time.

Stephens’ agitation over his lack of control of time shows when he, lamenting that he cannot capture the scope and grandeur of the courtyard, asserts that they are

“too ruined” anyway (302). Stephen’s assertion consists of a strange logic—the ruins are already ruined. Yet, if we take into account the different uses of the word ruin, his frustration becomes clear. The ruins not only were ruined in the past but they are still ruining. The noun has become a verb. Time is moving forward and change is happening.¹⁰⁸ What Stephens is attempting to do, which is frustrated by the ruins ruining, is to freeze time, stop the forward movement and the subsequent effects of temporality. Stephen’s strategy is what Certeau calls a victory of space over time.

Certeau explores the nature of temporality in narrative, what he terms spatial stories. Certeau cites the research of Linde and Labov, who researched how people speak about their home. Tabling the results, they discovered there existed two major trends: that either people described what existed (“there is”) or how to get there (“you go”). When speaking of their own home, the majority described how to get there, by the enunciation of their body in the narration. Certeau classifies these two major oscillations of description: “either *seeing* (the knowledge of an order of places) or *going* (spatializing actions). Either it presents a *tableau* (“there are,” “it is”), or it organizes *movements* (“you enter, you go across, you turn...”) (119). Certeau terms these two oscillations as the map and the tour, noting that maps have changed over the centuries, particularly since the introduction of the Cartesian points on maps. Whereas maps used to be more of an itinerary, now what *is* is divorced from how one got there. The enunciative focus of the body in motion is removed in favor of what

¹⁰⁸ This notion of ruins ruining points out the typically simplified nature of the term (and the concept) of the ruin itself. For more on how the term ruins ignores scales of abandonment, see Stanton and Magnoni.

Certeau terms a “totalizing eye,” a “voyeur” engendered by the “scopic drive” (92).

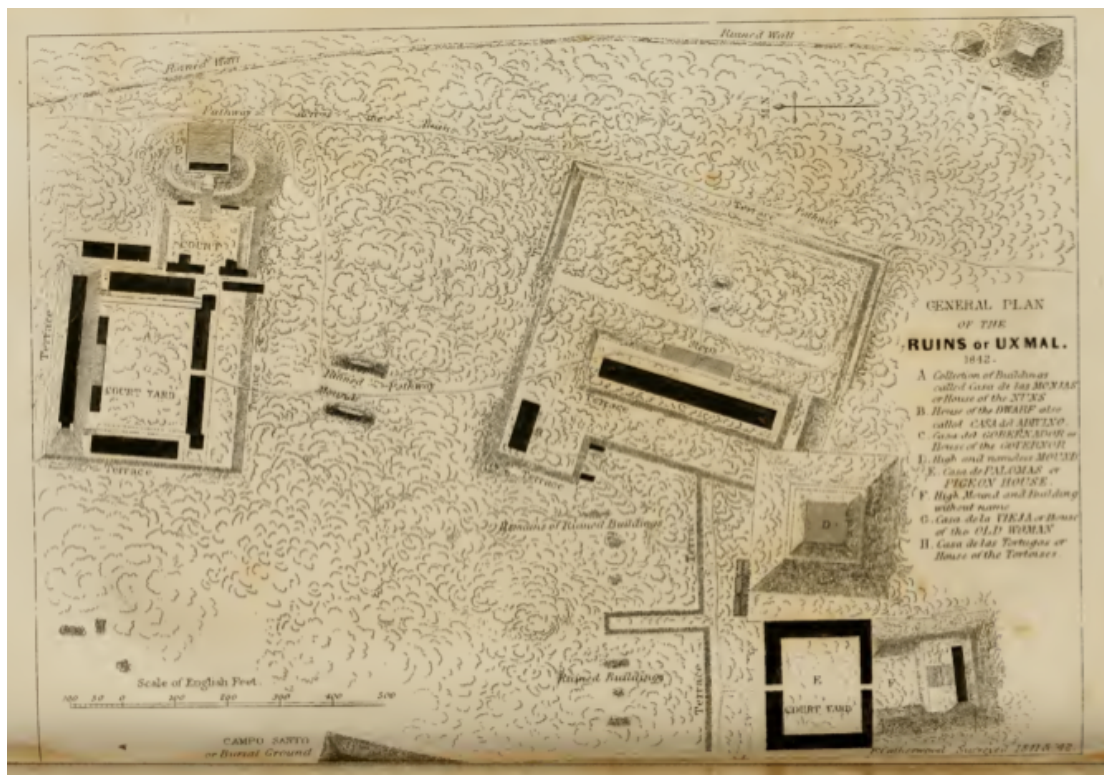
Certeau writes:

His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur. It puts him at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world by which one was ‘possessed’ into a text that lies before one’s eyes. It allows one to read it, to be a solar Eye, looking down like a god. The exaltation of a scopic and gnostic drive: the fiction of knowledge is related to this lust to be a viewpoint and nothing more” (92).

For Certeau, the key is found in the transformation of the world—the stopping of temporality—from a distance. By looking from afar—or more precisely—from above, one is able to ignore the contingencies and chaos of the everyday and see the totality, which provides a sort of protection from the world and its constant change. Hence, the eye is associated with a freezing of temporality, of the victory of space over time (121).

Looking at Stephens’ language carefully, not surprisingly we see that he consistently describes Uxmal as what existed. Put differently, his words make Uxmal into a tableau—where time is frozen and space triumphs. Therefore, although he cannot fully preserve Uxmal through representation, his words at least freeze Uxmal in moments of ekphrasis. In his introduction to his reader of the ruins of Uxmal, he begins with a reference to Catherwood’s sketch of the plan of the “ancient city”

which is located in the book on the previous page (see image below).



Looking at the sketch, we immediately notice the birds' eye view. From this position, one cannot see the ruins ruining—Stephens' lament—but only a clearly delineated map that shows a definitive, static picture of the location of the various buildings of the Uxmal ruins.

Stephens' language mimics the scopic view of Catherwood's sketch. For instance, speaking of the *Casa del Gobernador*, the first building he presents to the reader, he notes, "The building *was constructed* entirely of stone. Up to the cornice, *which runs round* it the whole length and on all four of its sides, *the façade presents* a smooth surface; *above is* one solid mass of rich, complicated, and elaborately sculptured *ornaments, forming* a sort of arabesque" (166 *emphases mine*). Note his

verbal constructions. For one, all of them are tableau-like in nature, describing the pieces of this ruin as a given, not as an experience of the body in time. Moreover, in his opening description (“The building was constructed entirely out of stone”) he doubly effaces human agency. Written in passive voice, the sentence expunges the original constructors of the building and instead puts the focus on the building. Along with the original constructors, Stephens also removes himself and the actions and movements that he had to undertake to encounter the building and ascertain the materials of which the building was constructed. His continuing observations persist in such effacement of a human subject who is making the observations; instead, he posits aspects of the ruins as the subjects of his sentences: “the façade presents,” “the cornice...runs round it,” “the ornaments [form] a sort of arabesque.” The object itself essentially speaks without him having to narrate his own subjectivity into it. Put differently, Stephens depicts the object as *das Ding in sich selbst*, an object that speaks the reality about its own self, rather than noting that the “reality” it is speaking is one which which is filtered through his own consciousness. As such, the object does not change in different moments or by different observers; it is frozen in his moment of ekphrasis: the façade will always present; the cornice will always run round, the ornaments will always form a sort of arabesque.

In a further telling section, Zavala describes the “three great terraces which hold [the *Casa del Gobernador*] aloft, and give it its grandeur of position” (180). Note his focus on the height of the *Casa del Gobernador*, which is particularly intriguing given what Stephens has just narrated. Immediately prior to this section is

when Stephens leaves the time of the narrative to reveal what has since happened—the fire that burned all that he collected. Switching to the hypothetical tense, he laments that if he were to return to the ruins again “and if I were to go over the whole ground again, I could not find others equal to them” (189). His statement reveals his recognition that he cannot alter or make up for what has happened in time, even if he were to return to the exact same space again. Essentially, he is powerless against the vagaries and contingencies of time.

Immediately after staging this lament that reveals his powerlessness, Stephens begins describing the three grand terraces, moving from the lowest to the highest, noting that he and Catherwood had used the height of these terraces “to make a panoramic sketch of the whole field of ruins” (186). Stephens’ narrative literally enacts here what Certeau theorizes—the gaining control over temporality by gazing from afar. Stephens further adds that on this trip, the *Casa del Gobernador* and the terraces are “the place which we had fixed upon our residence,” a place from which the “strange spectacle [of the ruins was]...constantly before our eyes” (186). Stephens here is again illustrating Certeau’s theory—the controlling of time through space. By “fix[ing]” this location as their residence, a location from which they could stand from afar and voyeuristically take in the scene, Stephens stations himself in a place of control, from which he can look out over the “strange spectacle” and ekphrastically freeze the view in that moment in time.

In its narrative focus and its temporality, Zavala's text provides a significant counterpoint to Stephens' *Incidents*. It is therefore to Zavala's "Article Upon the Ancient Monuments" that I now turn.

5. Zavala Writes the Uxmal Ruins

Gentleman—

You have expressed the wish to have some information about the ruins of Ushmal. I will now undertake to fulfill this task, recalling as well as possible my memories of a date several years back.

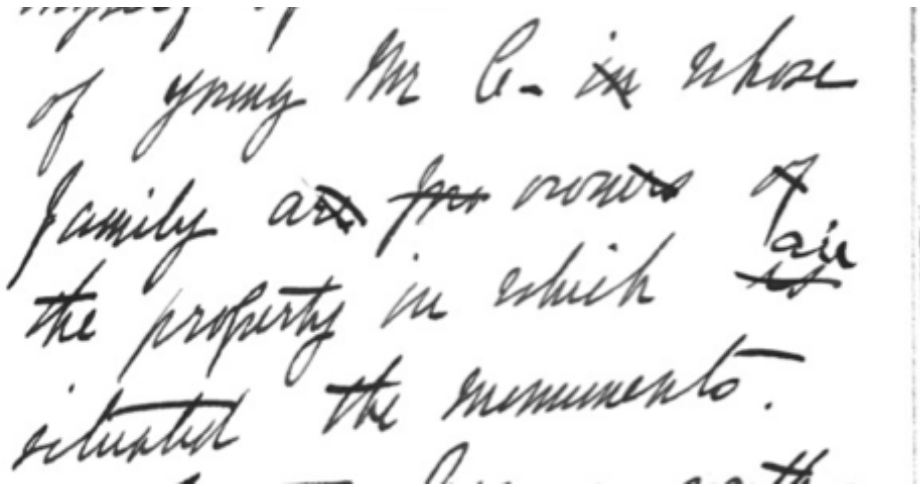
--Lorenzo de Zavala,

"Article upon the Ancient Monuments of Yucatan (Ushmal or Uxmal)

Zavala's invoking of his audience at the opening of his article seems to reveal that Zavala's text comes at the behest of others and not his own interest as explorer and "discoverer" of these Yucatecan ruins such as Stephens presents himself. Furthering this supposition of request are the circumstances surrounding the presentation and production of this text. As noted previously, Zavala's article had been published in French in Dupaix's compilation text on Mexican antiquities, *Antiquités Mexicaines* (1834, 1836). Yet, the Bexar archives hold both a French manuscript and an English one. For what purpose was the English manuscript? Comparing the two manuscripts, it appears as if the English one was the original, as the English one contains revisions in Zavala's own hand throughout. The French version, however, is free of such revisions, suggesting that either Zavala had an early manuscript written in the French which has not survived or that he wrote his article in

English first and then translated it into French. However, if this is the case, why would Zavala write first in English, not Spanish, his native language?

That English is not his native language becomes immediately evident in the latter part of the second sentence of the manuscript, which contains multiple revisions (see image below).



In this second sentence, Zavala explains his methodology to his audience, writing, “I will now undertake to fulfill this task, recalling as well as possible my memories of a date several years back, and availing myself of the written notes of young Mr. C. whose family own the property in which air [sic] situated the monuments.” As clear in the image of the latter part of this sentence, the manuscript actually reads, “...of young Mr. C. ~~in~~ whose family ~~are no~~ owners of the property in which ~~is~~ air situated the monuments.” Without the revisions, Zavala’s original sentence would have read, “...of young Mr. C in whose family are no [sic] owners of the property in which is situated the monuments.” Having corrected the verbal, clausal, and spelling issues of the first sentence, Zavala misspells one last word, “air” for “are,” which perhaps is

indicative of pronunciation differences between English and Yucatecan Spanish of the early nineteenth century.

Returning to my original question, why does Zavala write in English only to translate his manuscript into French when English was not his first language? Why not write in Spanish and then translate to English? My hypothesis is that the English manuscript was the one that he presented to *la Société de Géographie* (the French Geographical Society), the presentation that then probably led to the publication of his article. *La Société de Géographie*, established in 1821, was founded by some of the most eminent scientific names of the time, such as Georges Cuvier, Joseph Fourier, Alexander von Humboldt, and François-René de Chateaubriand.¹⁰⁹ The society also had key figures as members—French novelist Jules Verne, Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, and the emperor of Brazil Dom Pedro, to name a few. After the establishment of the French one, the idea of the geographical society idea soon spread throughout Europe and then to the Americas: Berlin (1828), London (1830), Frankfurt (1836), St. Petersburg (1845), New York (1852), Vienna (1856), Mexico City (1859), and so on.¹¹⁰ The society also boasted of international status and influence, citing its hosting of both national and international meetings, such as the 1889 International Geographical Congress. Given the range of members and its status

¹⁰⁹ Cuvier was a French scientist and naturalist and is something referred to as the “Father of Paleontology”; Fourier was a French physicist and mathematician, credited for discovering the greenhouse effect; Humboldt was an influential Prussian naturalist, geographer, and explorer, who in fact wrote about Latin America; Chateaubriand was an French writer and politician, who wrote the influential book, *Voyage en Amérique*

¹¹⁰ For more information regarding the history of the French Geographical Society, see the society’s page, *Société de Géographie*.

as befitting international matters, perhaps English was a language in which they communicated. Or, having just visited the United States a few years earlier (which he records in *Viaje a los Estados Unidos*), perhaps Zavala chose English as a sign of alignment with the United States and the political thinkers with whom he had just been corresponding. While I have not been able to verify my supposition about why he presents in English, I imagine it had very much to do with the rhetorical situation into which he was speaking. A skilled politician and effective persuader, Zavala must have made the choice in order to positively enhance his purpose for his given audience in some way.

This directed rhetoric is the case as well with the scientific documentation Zavala includes throughout his article, where he inhabits the amateur-scientist tradition of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Considering his audience, Zavala's use of Enlightenment sciences and geometry was necessary. Without such, they probably would not have acclaimed his presentation as they did, even admitting Zavala into the society after this talk. Similar to Stephens, he documents heights, distances, and measurements: "At fifty or sixty metres from the road one perceives one of these monuments.... Advancing to the foot one sees a flight of steps.... The flight of steps set against the hill is composed of one hundred and eighty steps of twelve to fifteen centimeters in height and width" (2). As part of his scientific documentation, Zavala's text engages with Euclidean geometry. Euclid's *The Elements*, originally written around 300 BC, was first printed in Venice in 1492 and was one of the earliest mathematical books set into type. Since its first printing, at

least a thousand editions have been printed, with some scholars claiming that no other book than the Bible has had so many editions and that it is the book on mathematics that has had the most influence (Boyer “Euclid of Alexandria” 1991). As a learned traveler and connoisseur of world texts, *The Elements* was a text Zavala certainly would have read or at the very least been acquainted with.

Zavala includes many geometric references: he writes of the degrees of the angles of the doorsills and the buildings and consistently references the geometric shapes of parallelopipedons, parallelograms, cubes, and rectangles to describes the shapes of the exterior and interior of the building: “The interior structure forms a paralliopipedon very regular up to the height of two meters and a half and ends in a vault in the form of a three-sided prison”; “The stones with which the walls are built are very well set in the forms of squares or cubes”; “On coming out of the apartments one is led to the two others placed on the adjoining side of the parallelogram which forms the court”; “Facing the entrance is another door of quadrangular shape which opens into another apartment very dark”; “Making the tour of the enclosure one notices at the four principal angels of the parallelopipedon, stones which project for three or four centimeters” (sic).

Through his geometric references, Zavala makes his text legible to his European readership. He is, as Aguirre argues citing Latour, using his writing to reduce “ungainly, three-dimensional objects to flat, combinable ‘inscriptions.’” He is making the ruins “available to structures of citation and reference” (Aguirre 26). These geometric structures of citation and reference that Zavala utilizes were believed

to be universal givens, established and demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt. These universal givens, therefore, are fungible; hence, Zavala's European readership could ostensibly make a copy of the Uxmal ruins. As such, Zavala's text seems comparable to Stephens. Stephens wanted to write his text, make his observations, and have Catherwood's illustrations be so accurate and precise so that the ruins would be salvaged as well as transplantable. In providing the information about ruins in a legible way for Europeans interested in acquiring knowledge of ruins, Zavala's text seems to be functioning similarly as to what Stephens' *Incidents* do for the United States audience. Yet, we must note the ethical differences between these situations. Zavala is from the Yucatan and, from all available evidence, the local inhabitants were fine with him touring the building—unlike Stephens whom the local inhabitants attempt to chase out. Zavala is presenting this to a smaller group that will become his colleagues while he is on a diplomatic mission from Mexico; Stephens is recording this information to circulate and sell to a large audience who wants to voyeuristically consume it; Zavala only gives measurements; Stephens steals beams and skulls from the ruins.

Yet, in including this sort of detail geared toward a European elite audience, Zavala's text does participate in what Aguirre critiques, Creole participation in the co-opting and appropriation of the pre-Columbian past. Zavala—despite being an instigator in rejecting Spain's rule and continuing influence over Mexico—with his service as minister plenipotentiary to France, his extended travels across the Continent, and his rampant engagement with Renaissance texts, he in many ways did

identify with Europe and its ideals and practices. While he wanted to separate from Spain, he wanted to be viewed as an equally modern nation. Perhaps this is why, like Stephens, he stakes his claim in the passionate debates over the source of the ruins, writing that these ruins “must have been built by the ancient aboriginal race of the Peninsula of Yucatan.” While Stephens and Zavala come to the same conclusion, the conclusion has a very different valence coming from someone whose family genealogy went back six generations in Latin America (Estep 1).

Yet, while Zavala did in many ways identify with Europe and its renaissance ideals, it is important to unearth the unevenness in his ideals—particularly as expressed in this text. Put differently, Zavala identifying with some European and Renaissance ideals does not mean that he was wholeheartedly a Renaissance liberal and left behind his Spanish past. To term him a “prophet of liberalism” or a wholehearted subscriber to the United States’ ideals, as he has been designated, is to read him too simplistically.¹¹¹ In many ways, it is to exhibit a scopophilic drive—a desire to simplify, map, and make legible—and stand as a voyeur from afar rather than walk with Zavala through the complexity of his life. Raúl Coronado, speaking of ideological configurations such as the Enlightenment, revolution, independence, writes:

These categories...are susceptible to multiple temporalities that may lead to familiar forms but with contents that have had distinct genealogies. That is, while revolutions erupted throughout the turn-of

¹¹¹ “Prophet of liberalism” is the title of Estep’s concluding chapter on Zavala. While Estep typically reads Zavala in a nuanced and complex way, in this designation he seems to oversimplify him. Also, Rivera’s introduction to the Arte Publico Press’ edition of *Viaje*.

the nineteenth-century Atlantic world, they all did so with their own particular ideological configurations with distinct intellectual genealogies that, while of the surface all ostensibly yearned for liberty and equality, often resulted in incommensurable understandings of those very terms, liberty and equality. For example, as we will see, when Spanish-American revolutionaries during the early nineteenth century declared themselves independent, at times using republican language, they ‘were at once deeply rooted in the Spanish past and at the same time appeared rather modern on the surface’” (9).

I argue that such a nuanced approach must be taken with Zavala, too, and his ideas on ruins and his corresponding ideas of revolution and nation. If not, we lose much of Zavala’s complexity—a complexity that has been largely overlooked in scholarship. And, more treacherously, we risk applying notions of belatedness to Latin American thinking, similar to how Bancroft does in his classification of Zavala’s text as a failed imitation. If we read Zavala’s text as merely following the conventions expected by European elites, then we largely take away his agency, turning him into a mere sponge of ideas rather than a producer of them.

From the beginning, while acknowledging and speaking to his audience, Zavala also seems to somewhat defer their desire for meaningful, or at least interesting, information. After he recounts that he will “undertake to fulfill this task” they have requested of him, his first description of the ruins is rather lackluster: “At fifty or sixty metres from the road one perceives one of these monuments of little importance on a rather high hill.” Rather than stipulate the exotic and unknown nature of the ruins or their monumental presence, Zavala notes an unimportant monument that is merely on a “rather” high hill. From this point, Zavala continues to describe the stairs, which are “well-matched but showing many irregularities in size caused by

the ravages of past centuries.” Rather than pursuing this intriguing possible inquiry about the ravages of the past centuries, Zavala immediately continues, discussing the stairs: “This flight of steps set against the hill is composed of one hundred and eighty steps of twelve to fifteen centimeters in height and width.”

At this point, it is important to return to Bancroft’s critique of Zavala’s text. Bancroft dismissively writes that Zavala’s text is not useful for anything as it is not complete and provides no pictures or images. In other words, Zavala’s text does not present a totality, like Stephens’ *Incidents* are obsessed with doing. In one way, Bancroft’s critique seems to be literally about the fact that Zavala only documents three buildings, and the last one he doesn’t even explore but just notes that it appeared similar to the other two. Even Zavala’s geometric forms and measuring do not account for everything in the buildings he does explore and they do not conjure up a complete mental picture in our minds.

In fact Zavala, rather than aiming to present a picture of totality, seems to be perfectly fine with presenting a partial picture. He does not seem too concerned about capturing the totality of the Uxmal ruins. For instance, when discussing the third monument he comes upon, he writes: “Going out of this monument one easily discover the ruins of another, situated opposite at a distance of forty to fifty meters but as night was falling, we had no time to visit it—however I saw by its outside appearance that it differed in no important respects from the preceding one.” Put more colloquially, Zavala writes that it got too dark and so he didn’t see everything, but it does not matter really because all the buildings look the same. Contrast this to

Stephens' obsessive lamenting of the fact that he was unable to capture Uxmal in all its details. Zavala's article, therefore, not only foregoes the totality Stephens' texts seek, it is somewhat dismissive of seeking totality.

Visions of totality are further challenged by Zavala's admission that he wrote much of this text out of memory: "You have expressed the wish to have some information about the ruins of Ushmal. I will now undertake to fulfill this task, recalling as well as possible my memories of a date several years back." Memory—notoriously changeable and inaccurate—does not provide full confidence of the accuracy of the details—as Bancroft acclaims Stephens' text for doing. Whereas Stephens ostensibly charts all the information while he is at the ruins, Zavala writes largely from what he remembered. As scholars on memory have established, memory is not fixed, like a document pulled out of a file cabinet, but created anew every time we access it.¹¹²

Additionally, Bancroft's critique appears to be focused on the fact that Stephens' texts abound in illustrations, and Zavala's text contains none. This contrast is a point of derision for Bancroft, who apparently did not take into consideration that Stephens had a trained collaborator in Catherwood. Aguirre, analyzing ruins' antiquarians and their use of the panoramic—a technique used by Catherwood's presentations of his illustrations, writes:

Yet if one effect of the panoramic illusion was to surround the observer with a totalizing image, another was to place the observer...in a superior position *over* the represented landscape, to play on the psychological associations of height, and thus to promote a

¹¹² See, for instance, Trouillot, especially Chapter One.

vision of the land as available of domination or control.... In geographical terms, the panorama symbolized the center/periphery relation at the heart of imperial ideology. (Aguirre 40-41)

Such visions of superiority, of domination, of control through the totalizing image and the scopic drive abound, as shown, throughout Stephens' text. With this point in mind, we need to question whether Bancroft's critique was merely about what Zavala does not represent (totality), as it ostensibly seems, or if it also was about what Zavala does represent and how he represents it.

Notions of totality, as explored in the previous section, have much to do with the sublime, which in turn has to do with the domination and control of the rational mind over nature. In Stephen's text, part of this nature includes the ruins themselves as well as the primitive inhabitants. In such, Stephens is revealing a supposed superiority of the rational mind over the primitive mind and its production of the exotic. Yet Zavala is unconcerned with notions of the sublime. While it would be possible to read this as a lack, as *Zavala* incapable of this sort of aesthetic sophistication (much how Stephens presents the Maya architecture—as exotic, interesting, but rude and lacking the higher refinements), this is not a lack but a choice. *Zavala*—the world traveler, avid reader, and bright intellectual—would have been well versed in notions of the sublime, a fact he reveals in his usage of it in other writings.

Take for instance the grandly sublime passage from his *Viaje a Los Estados Unidos*. Joining the host of other nineteenth century writers who capture the sublime of the Niagara.¹¹³ Zavala writes of the:

Un río caudaloso que se precipita desde la altura de ciento setenta pies en una profundidad desconocida. El choque de las aguas hace formarse nubes del vapor en que se convierten esta agua...el ruido es sordo, la vista queda fija involuntariamente por algún tiempo sobre este fenómeno, esta maravilla de la naturaleza. Los precipicios que le rodean, el movimiento de las aguas que dan cierta vista a la perspectiva y avisan del peligro...en fin las corrientes rápidas que antes de precipitarse en aquel abismo parece que se detienen en las rocas que encuentran, todo produce sensaciones de admiración, placer, horror y melancolía. Parece que el alma se siente oprimida por sentimientos que no puede resistir: las aguas del torrente ahogan en la imaginación todas las ideas: es un gigante de cien brazos que estrecha al mortal entre su cuerpo con una fuerza irresistible. (*Viaje* 253-4)

(Mighty river that dashes down from a height of 170 feet into an unknown depth. The force of the waters causes clouds to be formed from the vapor into which these waters are converted...the noise is deafening; the gaze remains fixed involuntarily for some time upon this phenomenon, this marvel of nature. The precipices which surround it; the movement of the waters that give vista and perspective and warn of the danger...in short the swift current that before plunging into the abyss seem to stop on the rocks that they encounter, all produced sensations of wonder and pleasure, horror and melancholy. It seems that the soul feels itself oppressed by feelings that it cannot resist. The waters of the torrent smother all ideas in the imagination; it is a giant of a hundred arms that presses the mortal against its body with irresistible force). (*Journey* 54-55)

This passage on Niagra Falls is in no way his only sublime reference; Zavala consistently employs the sublime aesthetic throughout *Viaje*. Why then does he not employ the sublime in his article on Uxmal? More significantly, what does he employ instead?

¹¹³ For more on these writings on Niagara, see Silva-Gruesz, Chapter Two.

Rather than the sublime, Zavala employs a descriptive tone focused on the ordinary aspects of the ruins. After locating the Uxmal ruins for the reader (“twenty leagues south-east of the City of Merida”), Zavala begins his description, as noted previously, not with the grand but the seemingly insignificant, noting the monument of “little importance on a rather high hill whose inclination is so steep that the inhabitants accustomed, as they are to climb, are obliged to help themselves by clinging to shrubs on their way.” Note the juxtaposition of expectations in this passage. Height and steepness indicate being set-apart—a separateness and significance. His depiction of the high hill with the exceptionally steep inclination seems a step in the direction of the sublime; this notion of size and the huge scale is precisely what confounds Stephens throughout his *Incidents*, eluding his attempt at rational representation. In fact, one can almost insert Stephens’ typical shift in narration in this comment: after noting the size and scale, Stephens would “suppose” that surely this means that this must have been a significant structure. Zavala, too, is moving into the inferential with his comment, but he downplays the significance whereas Stephens seems to be consistently enlarging the significance of an object or buildings, which seems fitting with notions of the sublime.

Zavala also confounds the sublime with his mention of inhabitants who, it appears, regularly climb the steep steps to the monument. While it is impossible to ascertain definitively whom he means, it seems as if he is writing about the contemporaneous Maya, given his present tense choice of his verb. Zavala, therefore, locates the present use of these ruins. In that the sublime typically refers to nature or

dwellings isolated in nature (think Stephens' silent ruins), humans do not fit into pictures of the sublime. By locating inhabitants currently using the ruins, Zavala is in fact positing a different view of the ruins—that they are still in use or at least visited. While Stephens notes this point occasionally (for instance, he notes the indigenous use of the rock for *milpas*), his depictions of the ruins get lost in the sublime. Put differently, the ruins must become rid of humans for the sublime to work.

Zavala continues the focus on the commonplace throughout his article rather than focus primarily on the exotic hieroglyphics and sculptures as Stephens does. It is important to note that the ruins of Uxmal follow a common construction pattern: the bottom of the buildings consists of plain stone and brick with no ornamentation. The top parts are the places that include the elaborately carved figures. Whereas Stephens focuses heavily on the exotic top part of the buildings, in stark contrast, Zavala focuses on the unornamented bottom. While he briefly mentions “a head and hieroglyphics in relief” and a “serpent in stone... which surrounds the entire monument,” he does so in a flat descriptive tone, not a tone of wonder like Stephens'. He notes that the serpent's head “no longer exists” but instead of bemoaning the workings of time ruining the exotic features of the building, he notes that the “part of the body” which remains is able to “testify to its former existence” and that “even the inhabitants of the neighbourhood have assured me that they have seen this head.” For Zavala, then, the focus seems to be that it did exist—as a testimony perhaps to the great skill in building—rather than a feeling of loss. Additionally, his notation of the

neighboring inhabitants who know of this building is in stark relief to Stephen's depiction of the residents surrounding Uxmal as knowing nothing of the building.

Most significantly, when Zavala writes of the Uxmal ruins, he narrates them in a starkly different way than Stephens. Whereas Stephens consistently presents his information as a map or a tableau, Zavala's is presented like an itinerary or a "tour," a word he actually uses to describe what is occurring in his manuscript ("making the tour...one notices..."). He is guiding the readers through a phenomenal experience—the enunciation of the body in the space of the ruin: "*one is obliged* to make a divergence in order to aim at the entrance," "here *one enters* by a door-way," "*one finds* on this mountain only wild plants and rocks," "coming out of this monument...*one is astonished to see* that the external form does not respond to that of the interior," "on the outside the stones are bare, and *one distinguishes* them easily," "having passed the entrance *one faces* the wall of the building." Note in these statements that he is consistently locating the body in relationship to the ruins—where one must stand and what one must do in order to see these things.

Even his first description that deemphasizes the monument of "little important" emphasizes the phenomenal experience—"one perceives one of these monuments"). In fact, in one of the above quotes in the manuscript, he even revises his sentence to take out a redundant enunciation of the body in space: "In reaching the summit, where one finds stands the building, *one is obliged* to make a divergence." His editing seemingly suggests that even he recognizes his continual usage of this phrasing. His observations locate his body—as well as his reader's—in space; put

differently, his words describe to the reader what she has to do to experience what he has experienced. In this sense, what becomes iterable is not so much the monuments themselves but the experience of the monuments. Put differently, if one were to travel to Uxmal and follow Zavala's tour, one would be able to see these things first hand. Note the key difference: In Stephens' *Incidents*, he attempts to literally bring the ruins to the United States. Here, Zavala is bringing the members of the French Geographical Society to the ruins.

Rather than Stephens' attempt to freeze time through mapped space, de Zavala locates his experience very much in time and his movement through space. In this sense, Zavala is returning to older notions of mapping where the bodily experience had not yet been effaced from the map; he is presenting what can be (if you follow his tour) and not what is. Even in his geometric references and measurements, he is only able to get to these conclusions by his actions. For Zavala, the ruins are not *das Ding in sich selbst*, but *das Ding* as perceived by him and remembered later by him—a double displacement of certainty and empiricism.

In his memory of Uxmal, the main thing Zavala highlights is looking at the foundations of the building in order to discover how Uxmal was built. He is consistently interested in how the building is constructed. He notes how the terrace “only slanted at the edges enough to allow the rains to wash off,” how the “walls are built are very well set in the forms of squares or cubes,” how these cubes are “placed upon another” and held together by a “fine layer of calcareous sulphate,” how the “form of this doorway is exactly like that of the doorway on the neighboring height,”

how stucco “formed the flooring,” and how in the apartments, the entrance was larger than the other buildings, and hence “the sun’s rays spread over a larger surface.”

These observations reveal an attention to the commonplace details of the buildings, which becomes even more significant and perhaps atypical when we consider that the buildings he is exploring are covered with the exotic and the uncommon, and he is speaking to a group of people who have never been there and whose culture is obsessed with the exotic and sublime nature of ruins.

Like Stephens, Zavala also notes how time has decayed these structures, how time “nearly destroyed” the flooring or how the “stones” have been “decayed by time.” Yet, unlike Stephens, there is not a tone of lament about being unable to salvage the ruins in their totality. Rather, to Zavala, time’s decay seems a given. Zavala even seems to believe that the passage of time can bring strengthening, not just decay. He notes that time has actually “rendered [the fine layer of calcareous sulphate] equal in hardness to the stone itself” (2). Time has made something that is fine and could be fragile into strength.

In his focus on the construction of these buildings, Zavala, unlike Stephens, does not try to infer the symbolic meaning of these things, for instance as signifying religious practices. Zavala instead speculates about the materials of which the buildings are constructed. He “advance[s] this as a probability,” that the majority of the stones of the building are made from calcareous carbonate, as “the majority of stones to be found in Yucatan are calcareous.” He continues to explain how “even extracts from the inner coating of cellars or artificial caves called *salenaberas*, a great

quantity of carbonate in a state of chalk.” He also notes in another place that a beam in the apartments is constructed on *zapote*, a very hard wood “used in the construction of buildings.” He shows a strong sense of the geological being connected to social formations and seems invested in noting that these buildings were constructed with local materials. Even in his brief joining of the historical debate over who created these monuments, Zavala’s assertion that it “must have been built by the ancient aboriginal race of the Peninsula of Yucatan” remains place-specific. For Zavala, this is a very local building, a local ruins.

Of import is Zavala’s repeated description of the building materials and the monument construction: Zavala consistently refers to the “perfect uniformity” and “regularity” of these stones. The “irregularity” he does note is caused by time, not by the original constructors. In fact, Zavala’s short manuscript contains eighteen mentions of phrasing of this sort, and if one includes the additional references where this phrasing is not used but implied by measurements and geometric references, the manuscript contains twenty-seven references.¹¹⁴ Early on in the document, Zavala asserts that, “The most perfect uniformity exists throughout the whole edifice” (2). Most of his measurements and references depict how these monuments are in perfect uniformity with each other—from the buildings to one another to the stones making up the individual bricks themselves. Compared to Stephens who dismissively writes of the stones—that they are of little import except in the creation of the whole, Zavala

¹¹⁴ Typewritten, the document stands at five pages. In manuscript form, it is twenty-five pages including a title page, but the manuscript is written in extra large hand, typically with a mere five words per line.

seems rather fixated on them, writing, “I am very certain that [these stones] are much better matched than those of today “(5). This statement, towards the end of his documentation of the ruins, seems to explain why Zavala is so fixated upon the stones and the uniformity: They have lasted—despite the passage of time, the onsets of nature, and the war of humans—they remain, in some places weakened, in some places stronger. The way the monuments have been built and the way the stones have been matched together in order to construct the foundations of the building (the bottom half) is what has allowed it to survive.

In order to better understand Zavala’s focus, we need to contextualize this writing. Zavala wrote this article on Uxmal, as noted previously, while serving as minister plenipotentiary in France and presented this article to the French Royal Society, which proved his admission piece into the prestigious society. During this time, Zavala worked to gain better recognition for Mexico amongst the European nations, but he also was focused on the building—the constructing—of a stronger Mexico. Zavala biographer, Raymond Estep, notes that during this time in France, Zavala was heavily involved with former bitter rival Carlos Bustamante, discussing how to build up Mexico and prevent it from dissolving in chaos.¹¹⁵ Much of his correspondence with his friend José Antonio Mexía concerned how Zavala could lead Mexico away from the stage of revolution, with its protest and dismantling, to the stage of regeneration of Mexican society and the necessary construction that it would

¹¹⁵ See Estep Chapter Nine.

entail. In all, this time period revealed Zavala to be very concerned with building the nation.

6. Temporalizing Ruins and Revolution

Returning to my opening question, as the age of modern revolutions is also the age where ruins became an obsession, what is the interrelatedness of revolution and ruins? Specifically, what are the temporal dialectics between ruins and revolutions? As I have stated, in the nineteenth century ruins were valuable as they provided an ancient past, comparable to the European classical past, and brought a type of prestige to the “New World” nations. This past provided a national origin point, from which a nation could initiate its future.

In the United States, during the time when ruins became increasingly more of an obsession, notions of history also were changing and developing. As Conn points out, the classical view of the rise and fall of nations was largely rejected for a “new historical consciousness” where the United States was seen as outside of this cycle that had occurred for other nations and empires past, both in Europe as well as the ancient Mesoamerican civilizations. The United States had broken this cycle in establishing their new and exceptional nation—through the act of revolution—and therefore would not follow the same cyclical path of rise and fall; rather, the United States was on a path of perpetual progress and futurity.

Ruins, therefore, did not so much provide a reflection point to Anglo-Americans of what could also happen to their nation—that hundreds of years later a

“discoverer” might be standing in Washington exploring the ruins of what once was a democratic society; rather, the way Anglo-Americans such as Stephens looked at the ruins was one of utter difference from the United States and its society. This dissimilarity, therefore, “proved” the different outcome the United States would have. Such stakes explain Stephens’ investment in establishing the primitiveness and utter difference of the society that once lived in the ruins.

In a moment worthy of a National Geographic magazine, Stephens imagines a future explorer visiting Uxmal and summons a fanciful image of what Uxmal once was:

Perhaps, as we did, he will imagine the scene that must have been present when all these buildings were entire, occupied by people in costumes strange and fanciful as the ornaments on their buildings, and possessing all these minor arts which must have been coexistent with architecture and sculpture and which the imperishable stone has survived (321).

Stephens’ imaginative scene, while not directly staging a comparison with the United States, presents this society as one of utter difference—exotic (“strange,” “fanciful”), culturally primitive (“possessing all these minor arts”), and extinct (only the “imperishable stone has survived”). The necessity of this difference is why, then, Stephens has such a moment of shock in realizing that all the aqueducts were not natural but instead constructed by the ancient inhabitants of Uxmal. Technological advancement is at odds with Stephens’ vision of the past, primitive, and wholly-different peoples.

Stephens’ narration of departing Uxmal speaks to this difference as well, inscribing it as a temporal difference. After noting that his anxiousness to leave

Uxmal, he concludes, “As we descended the steps, Mr. C suggested that it was New Year’s Day. It was the first time this fact had presented itself; it called upon scenes strikingly contrasted with our own miserable condition, and for the moment we would have been glad to be at home” (326). Note Stephens’ description of descending the stairs only to be told it was New Year’s Day: Stephens is leaving the voyeuristic space of the terraces and the *Casa del Gobernador* and entering back into modern conceptions of temporality—the calendar year. Note too the day—New Year’s—a time of newness, progress, and plans for the future, a day Stephens claims to be “strikingly contrasted with [their] own miserable condition” at Uxmal. Ekphrastically freezing it in time and difference, Stephens contrasts Uxmal to the telos of the United States. As the revolving of the earth inaugurates a new year of possibility and progress, the American revolution inaugurated a new era of progress and futurity through its rupture with the past, as embodied in Uxmal.

Yet, this perception of the American Revolution seems to have ignored the paradox of revolution: that despite proclamations of difference and disjuncture, revolution is a cycle that is chartable, meaning that it is therefore iterable and not singular. As the New Year will come again, so will revolution. Such aspect of revolution is one that Zavala, unlike Stephens, understands. As we have seen, Zavala’s narrative on Uxmal is starkly different in narrative focus from Stephens’ *Incidents*. Likewise, I contend, Zavala offers up a different temporality from which to consider the ruins and revolution.

Important to consider in excavating the differences between Stephens' and Zavala's narratives is the temporality of revolution itself. Revolution, as it is occurring, is inherently liminal: suspended between expectation and fulfillment, between augural proclamation and retrospective classification, lies an unknowable future and an ambiguous present rife with unknown or partially conceived possibilities and perspectives. The term revolution, therefore, is a retrospective classification—it must have been brought to fruition for it to be declared an actual revolution. For Stephens, revolution is a completed cycle that has cut the ties with the past and has ushered in a perpetual, progress-oriented future. Such a view is conceivable when Stephens is writing: the American Revolution in sixty plus years in the past and the United States is expanding and growing. Yet, this moment in the United States was also a time of anxiety, a wondering if the experiment of the United States was going to work.¹¹⁶ Such anxiety Stephens effaces in his narrative with his focus on the rupture from the past.

¹¹⁶ By the 1830s, the prior confidence in the upward trajectory of the Union was waning due to the onset of industrialization. Industrialization brought new opportunities for employment and cheaper goods but also amplified national conflict due to increased poverty, disparities between economic classes, and new liberal market values. According to Karafilis, as the nation espoused these liberal market values, “republican values and ideals were coming into question” (xiv). The traditional republican values of solidarity, sacrifice, and prudence were being replaced by the new liberal market values of individualism, consumerism, and materialism. Past conceptualizations of what it meant to belong to the nation were fracturing since the Revolutionary War generation, as well as its values, was literally dying: Charles Carroll, the last living signer of the Declaration of Independence, died in 1832, “leaving the legacy of that heroic age in jeopardy” (xiv). Not only were past values in danger but the very nation itself was threatened with dissolution by the Nullification Crisis (1832-1833) and later the Civil War (1861-1865).

Yet Zavala is writing in a much more liminal and turbulent moment than Stephens. While Mexico had gained independence from Spain, there is much continuing internal unrest. In *Viaje*, Zavala describes the upheavals and positive changes that he has witnessed since entering Mexico City in April of 1822 but notes that there is still dissension brewing:

Ocho años habían transcurrido y había visto representar los mas importantes dramas históricos; levantarse una grande nación desde su nulidad colonial; formarse un imperio; congregarse una asamblea nacional; coronarse un general mexicano, descender del trono y disolverse el imperio; elevarse de los escombros de la monarquía una república federativa; darse este pueblo una constitución, y organizarse sus Estados, soberanos e independientes, establecer relaciones diplomáticas con las primeras potencias, y figurar entre las naciones del globo. Pero ¡ah! ¡que gérmenes de desencones civiles!!! (205).

(Eight years had passed, and I had seen the enactment of the most important historical dramas—a great nation lift itself up from a colonial nonentity, an empire formed, a national assembly convened, a Mexican general crowned, the throne in eclipse and the empire dissolved, the elevation from the embers of the monarchy of a federated republic, this people given a constitution and its states organized sovereign and independent, diplomatic relations established with the leading powers, with the republic taking its place among the nation of the earth But, ah! What germs of civil dissention” (6).

While the war for independence against Spain has occurred, Zavala recognizes that revolution—or at least the revolutionary spirit—in many ways is still occurring due to the “gérmenes de desencones civiles.” Zavala reveals the notion of the completed cycle of revolution to be an illusion. Revolution is not done when independence is proclaimed, as the “new” does not solve all the past problems. Zavala therefore experiences and proclaims a different temporality than Stephens; he recognizes he is within a liminal moment, where fruition has not yet been assured. Instead of effacing

the uncertainty that comes within such a moment, Zavala writes of his concerns about revolution and revolutions. In a letter to Manuel Sabariego, a prisoner from Goliad, Zavala proclaims, “Revolutionists are like a deep river, which it is impossible to direct when in flood.”¹¹⁷ In his words, revolution is figured not as a chartable (and hence knowable) course but as a river that can exceed its bounds and sweep many away. It is with this recognition and in this liminal moment that Zavala writes the Uxmal ruins.

It would seem, then, that Zavala would use the ruins as a sign of the terrifying and real possibility of collapse of civilization; that what once happened to the Maya could happen again to the Mexican nation. It would seem, moreover, that Zavala would conquer over such fears with the sublime, hence proving that rational minds will conquer over the chaos. Yet, as we have seen, he does not invoke the sublime to conquer over the past; rather, he looks back at the past to see how to build the future. The past becomes not something to break from, a rupture into modernity, but becomes an example of how the current nation can build well. Hence, Zavala’s focus on the stones—the foundation of the ruins—makes perfect sense; he is returning to local history to look at what has survived. In such, he is recognizing the ancient Maya civilization as a successful civilization, one from which the new Mexican nation in this uncertain moment can learn.

Zavala’s portrayal of the present-day inhabitants of the ruins and the surrounding areas also factor into his notions of the relationship between the past and

¹¹⁷ Cited and translated by Estep, pg. 340.

the present. While he does erroneously and somewhat deprecatingly claim in his article that “the living race really preserves in its traditions nothing which can help us discover the origin of these ruins or of their inhabitants,” by inscribing the Maya into his present-day observation of the ruins, he is showing recognition that they are still here. The recognition that indigenous tribes are still present is echoed in his time as Governor of Mexico, a time in which Estep contends Zavala largely had control over everything that passed.¹¹⁸ As governor, Zavala confiscated church lands (which went back to the time of the Spanish conquest) in order to distribute these lands back to the indigenous tribes communally. Zavala also, in many of his letters, wrote of the problems with current-day land tenure, recognizing that many of the continuing upheavals were due to inequalities with land distribution. Estep even suggests that Zavala, in many ways, saw the issues that would ultimately culminate in the Caste War in the Yucatan. Here, Zavala shows a similarity to older scholastic thinking that propagated ideas of distributive justice.¹¹⁹ This alternative view of property challenges notions of private property as held by Lockean liberalism and by many in the United States.

¹¹⁸ Of Zavala, Estep notes, “His concept of an executive was that of an individual who both ruled and reigned” (396), evinced when he had “domination” of the legislature while governor of Mexico. Estep asserts, the Gubernatorial job probably pleased Zavala the most as “here he was able to feel that Latin American sense of power, not quite so keenly experienced by the Anglo-Saxon” (397). While Estep’s comment is a bit problematic, it does point to the fact of Zavala’s control of the government as well as Zavala’s mixed notions of governing.

¹¹⁹ I am thinking here of Aristotle’s notion of distributive justice as well as Francisco Suarez’s adaptation of his ideas. For more information, see Caneque and Coujou.

Such information shows that while in many ways Zavala identified with the United States' ideals, in many ways he did not. Zavala is a much more complex individual than how he has been viewed. The main issue with how Zavala has been remembered is a temporal one. As Estep notes, if Zavala would have died prior to his signing of the documents for Texas Independence, he would have been remembered as a Mexican hero, one who helped establish the Mexican nation. Yet the memory of Zavala is posited on the last moments of his life, not the middle or beginning. He is judged by the end. Such a judgment reflects a teleological belief of the lifespan. In other words, one's life is viewed to be a continued trajectory of learning and growth, culminating in a "Good Death."¹²⁰ What matters is the end, not the middle or the beginning. Such a view effaces the long stretch that constitutes the most of life.

Zavala's life calls for more than just a focus on the end—the culmination—and rather an exploration of the entire lifecycle and all the complex relationships that occur within it. Likewise, his writings, including his article on the ruins of Uxmal, call for a focus on the interrelations of past and present. Revolution need not entail a sharp rupture with the past but rather a dialectical relationship with it.

¹²⁰ See Faust. While Faust primarily is focused on the United States and Protestant beliefs, we see this phenomenon in Mexican Catholicism as well, seen for instance in the priestly administration of final rites.

Chapter Four
Raced Space and Sublime Aesthetics: Sault Ste. Marie, Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

1. Introduction: From South to North; Other Borderlands

On the walls of this desolate edifice were prints of the ‘mano colorado,’ or red hand. Often as I saw this print, it never failed to interest me. It was the stamp of the living hand; it always brought me nearer to the builders of these cities, and at times, amid stillness, desolation, and ruin, it seemed as if from behind the curtain that concealed them from view was extended the hand of greeting.

–John Lloyd Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (46)

This use of the hand is not confined to a single tribe or people. I have noticed it alike among the Dacotahs, the Winnebagoes, and other Western tribes, as among the numerous branches of the red race still located east of the Mississippi River, above the latitude of 42°, who speak dialects of the Algonquin language.

–Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, “The Red Hand,” Appendix to *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (477)

*The simple Indian, as the work he spies,
Looks up to nature’s God above the skies....
But, guided by a purer-led surprise,
Points to the great good sovereign of the skies.*

--Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, “On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior”

John Lloyd Stephens becomes enraptured with the *mano colorado*, the red hand found throughout the ruins of the Yucatán. For him, these hands indicate both the past lives that built these now-ruined edifices as well as the rightness of his investigation of these very ruins as embodied in the “hand of greeting” which he

envisions being “extended” to him (46). Anna Brickhouse argues, more than just an obsession in and of itself, the *mano colorado* are the symbolic expression of his obsession with indigenous origins, not just in the Yucatán but throughout the American hemisphere (*Transamerican* 12). Brickhouse unearths how, in Stephens’ imagination, “the symbol of the red hand will travel as a ray of light between past and present to become a source of inter-American mediation, crossing national, cultural, and linguistic borders and ultimately lending itself to the production of a coherent narrative about the indigenous past and present throughout the Americas” (194). Stephens, therefore, posits an inter-American hypothesis, supposing that the red hand “must have made its way from an ancient North American context to an ancient Mexican one, forging an indigenous genealogical link between the two present-day nation states” (Brickhouse 194).

In order to gain greater validity for his inter-American hypothesis, Stephens consults famed ethnographer Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the first Anglo-American to set out systematically to record a large volume of indigenous stories, and attaches Schoolcraft’s communication regarding the red hands as an appendix to his *Incidents*. Schoolcraft’s epigraph attempts to buttress Stephen’s inter-American hypothesis, stipulating that he has seen the *mano colorado* throughout the United States, even in the far off northern borderlands of present-day indigenous tribes speaking the Algonquin language, tribes with ostensibly little connection—spatial, temporal, or linguistic—to the ancient Mayans of Mesoamerica. Schoolcraft’s letter helps Stephens forge his indigenous genealogical link, a link that reduces not only

geographical and temporal unevenness but also individual tribal complexities in order to craft a useable past for the ever-expanding, westward movement of the United States and its supposed Manifest Destiny.

Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's poem also seems to allude to the *mano colorado*, not by the term itself but by the action associated with it by her ethnographer husband. In Henry's letter appended to Stephens' *Incidents*, he unpacks the symbol of the red hand and the actions associated with it: "The figure of the human hand is used by the North American Indians to denote supplication to the Deity or Great Spirit.... Their priests are usually drawn with outstretched and uplifted hands. Sometimes one hand and one arm, but more commonly both are uplifted" (478). Jane's "simple Indian....point[ing] to the great good sovreign of the skies" appears to be a reference to the *mano colorado*. As a member of the Alquonquin-speaking peoples, specifically of the Ojibwe tribe, it would seem to provide greater support for Stephens' and Henry's theories. Yet I contend that Jane's position in this web of relations is not so straightforward.¹²¹

Therefore, I pursue this link made by Henry and seemingly invoked by Jane not to flatten difference but to tease out connections and differences simultaneously in order to explore indigenous contestations to coherent narratives of expansion. In bringing together the spaces of the Yucatán from Chapter Three and Mexico/Texas in Chapters One and Two, I am broadening the commonplace perception within

¹²¹ I utilize their first names, Jane and Henry, rather than Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, or just Schoolcraft from here on in order to avoid both confusion as well as cumbersome and lengthy appellations.

American borderlands scholarship that has so often becomes synonymous with the Mexican-U.S. borderlands. This more capacious understanding of the borderlands as well as hemispheric studies allows for a continued interrogation of the supposed naturalness of borders as well as brings into focus another large sovereign space that is often ignored in hemispheric and borderlands studies despite literally encompassing the borderlands—that of the Algonquin-speaking tribes which Schoolcraft references, specifically the Ojibwe who were apart of the Anishinaabe peoples.

The Anishinaabe peoples largely controlled masses of territory spanning what is now the United States/Canadian border.¹²² The Ojibwe alone (also spelled Ojibwa or Ojibway), prior to multiple cessions of land, controlled territories spanning what are now the borders of the United States and Canada and the states of North Dakota, Minnesota Wisconsin, Michigan, Toronto, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. The Ojibwe, along with their fellow Anishinaabeg, dealt with multiple layers of European colonialists, from the French to the British and finally the Anglo-Americans. They largely interacted with these colonists, particularly the French, through fur trade and intermarriage, a situation out of which the Métis culture, or “middle-ground” in Richard White’s famous term, emerged. In this chapter I focus on the Ojibwe (also called the Chippewa in nineteenth-century Anglo American culture) and one of the central spaces of their nation, Sault Ste. Marie (the Falls of St. Marie).

¹²² The Anishinaabe peoples within the Great Lakes Region were broken into six nations, all of whom spoke closely-related dialects of the Anishinaabe language—the Algonquin, Nipissing, Missisauga, Odawa, Potawatomi, and the Ojibwa.

Located at the northern tip of Michigan's peninsula, the Sault was a key seat of power for the Ojibwe.

It is in this middle-ground, the seat of Ojibwe power, that Jane spent the majority of her life. Her writing—mostly poetry and some oral stories she recorded from her people—centers largely around her experiences in this place and with the people who inhabited it and traveled through it. Some of her writings survive in the Ojibwe language; others do not. Some of her poetry invokes western models and aesthetics; others read as radically other. Some of her writings seem to condemn expansion while others seem more ambivalent to it. Such ambivalence can be seen in her life as well, particularly in her marriage to Henry, who brokered the treaty between the U.S. government and the Ojibwe, resulting in the Ojibwe signing over the majority of their lands in Michigan Territory.

The complex entanglement of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and her poetry with Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's ethnographic writings of the Ojibwa is the focus of this chapter. I explore how Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's writing speaks to and engages with her husband's ethnographic portrayals of the Sault and its Ojibwa inhabitants, including herself. While different in both form and content, they both invoke the sublime and the sublime ruins in their writings. I question how they use the sublime and to what ends. Particularly, what does an indigenous writer's use of the sublime do to conceptions of the sublime established by western philosophers such as Kant? In such inquiry, I continue my exploration of my larger themes of this dissertation, that of how space and time are mapped as well as how violent inscriptions offer up

alternative mappings. I argue that by reading her writing within a textual and relational web of interactions, her poetry inscribes indigenous presence back into the very spaces in which it was effaced. However, before we can understand Jane's use of the sublime, we must first understand her relationship to her work, which I where I now turn.

2. Reading Jane: The Difficulties of Finding Indigenous Voice

*Nyau nin de nain dum
May kow e yaun in
Ain dah nuk ki yaun
Waus saw a kom eg
Ain dah nuk ki yaun*

*When I find you
My land
Far in the west
My land*

*Ne dau nis ainse e
Ne gwis is ainse e
Ishe nau gun ug wau
Waus saw a kom eg*

*My little daughter
My little son
I leave them behind
Far away land*

*She gwau go sha ween
Bas ho waud e we
Nin zhe ka e yea
Ishe ez hau jau yaun
Ain dah nuk ke yaun*

*[emphatically] But soon
It is close however
To my home I shall return
That is the way that I am, my being
My land*

*Ain dah nuk ke yaun
Nin zhe ke we yea
Ishe ke way aun e
Nyau ne gush kain dum*

*My land
To my home I shall return
I begin to make my way home
Ahh but I am sad*

*--Jane Johnston Schoolcraft,
undated*

--2005 translation

*As I am thinking
Ah! when thought reverts to my country so dear,
My heart fills with pleasure, and throbs with a fear:
My country, my country, my own native land,
So lovely in aspect, in features so grand,*

*Far, far in the West. What are cities to me,
Oh! land of my mother, compared unto thee?*

*Fair land of the lakes! thou art blest to my sight,
With thy beaming bright waters, and landscapes of light;
The breeze and the murmur, the dash and the roar,
That summer and autumn cast over the shore,
They spring to my thoughts, like the lullaby tongue,
That soothed me to slumber when youthful and young.*

*One feeling more strongly still binds me to thee,
There roved my forefathers, in liberty free—
There shook they the war lance, and sported the plume,
Ere Europe had cast o'er this country a gloom;
Nor thought they that kingdoms more happy could be,
White lords of a land so resplendent and free.*

*Yet it is not alone that my country is fair,
And my home and my friends are inviting me there;
While they beckon me onward, my heart is still here,
With my sweet lovely daughter, and bonny boy dear:
And oh! What's the joy that a home can impart,
Removed from the dear ones who cling to my heart.*

*It is learning that calls them; but tell me, can schools
Repay for my love, or give nature new rules?
They may teach them the lore of the wit and the sage,
To be grave in their youth, and be gay in their age;
But ah! my poor heart, what are schools to they view,
While severed from children thou lovest so true!*

*I return to my country, I haste on my way,
For duty commands me, and duty must sway;
Yet I leave the bright land where my little ones dwell,
With a sober regret, and a bitter farewell;
For there I must leave the dear jewels I love,
The dearest of gifts from my Master above.*

“On leaving my children John and Jane at School, in the Atlantic states, and preparing to return to the interior”
--translation, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

Jane was a prolific producer of poems, letters, and Ojibwa oral stories. Her most-recent biographer Robert Dale Parker notes that Jane wrote not for publication but as a private expression of feelings and responses to places, peoples, and events. For example, her poems include an ode to a pine tree upon returning to the Sault, an elegy to her dead son, a celebratory ode to her maternal grandfather, and even a funny limerick about her missing earrings. Whether not publishing was a personal choice, one related to gender or race, the location in which she lived, or some combination thereof is not known (48).

Jane left no set of organized manuscripts. What we do have is what Henry chose to preserve. At times, Henry published Jane's pieces in translation within his works under his own name. In the manuscripts that he saved, some exist in Jane's own hand but many have been copied into Henry's hand (221). Given this mediation, we are unaware of the extent of editing which Henry performed. Parker has even found documentation that at times she requested him to edit her work (221). In Parker's assessment, while we only have her writings because Henry saved them, "the recovery of the writings of this intriguingly early Native woman rely on the mediations, tastes, and habits of an unsavory white male colonialist" (220). Yet, this is how Jane lives on, in Henry's publications such as *Algic Researches* (1839) (his own collection of Indian stories), *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley* (1825), *Personal Memoirs* (1851), and even a hand-written magazine of which he self-produced during a long, cold winter in the Sault, *The Muzzeniegun or Literary Voyager* (1826-7). There also exists in Henry's papers a volume of Jane's poems

entitled *Poetry 1815-1836*, written in Henry's hand and with an introduction implying that he was planning on publishing them; yet, this volume of poems was never published and not even catalogued, remaining in a box in the Illinois State Historical Library until 2002 (223).

To explore the issues that ensue due to the mediated quality of her work, I turn to the opening poems of this section. The three versions of Jane's poem point to the complexities of reading Jane's works and suggest several key aspects that must be taken into account in reading them. Henry preserved this poem in his *Personal Memoirs*, a journal he kept and published regarding his thirty-year residence with various indigenous tribes. Henry includes the Ojibwe version of Jane's poem in his January 14, 1839 entry. Why, though, does he include Jane's Ojibwe version in this case when he does not in other cases? It seems as if the inclusion of the Ojibwe poem here is to address and complete a previous section in his book. At the end of the previous chapter, on the 30th of December, Henry remarks of "[t]he euphony of the aboriginal vocabulary impresses most persons....The most musical words are found in the great Muscogee and Algonquin families" (628). The Ojibwe version, then, seems to exist in this version as evidence of the musicality of Algonquin words, words that will perhaps "impress" his intended readers?

Henry includes the Ojibwe version with the following introduction: "Mrs. Schoolcraft, having left her children at school, at Philadelphia and Princeton, remained pensive, and wrote the following lines in the Indian tongue, on parting from them, which I thought so just that I made a translation of them" (632). Immediately

after the Ojibwe version, he notes in parenthesis, “Free Translation,” and then writes out his translation included in the epigraph. He affixes a place and date at the end: “New York, March 18th, 1839.” Whether this is the date of the translation or her poem or both is unclear. This date of March 18, a little over two months later than the journal entry itself, points to a level of editing on Henry’s part of his own journal. This discrepancy of dates is evident on a larger scale in the publication date of this journal, 1851, approximately thirteen years after the purported January 14, 1839 journal entry and nine years after Jane died in 1842. The belatedness of the publication speaks to the issues of dating Jane’s poems.

Along with these issues of dating, the opening poem speaks to the level of unknowns that can occur in studying the surviving editions of Jane’s works. The Ojibwe version of the poem consists of four short stanzas made up of either four or five unrhymed lines. The word *yaun* is repeated six times and appears in three of the four stanzas. *Yaun* means “land”; however, “land” is only used five times in the current translation and does not exist as a word in current Ojibwe dictionaries. Yet, the current translation appears to follow the structure of the Ojibwe version, including the amount of stanzas and lines and the non-rhymed structure and is, according to Parker, a more literal translation (49).

While the new translation is not unmediated access to Jane’s words, Henry’s “free” translation is even more markedly different. Henry turns Jane’s short four stanza Ojibwe poem into a six-stanza poem consisting of six lines each with rhyming couplets. *Yaun*, figured as *land* in the translation, is turned into longer, more

romanticized phrases: “my own native land,” “land of my mother,” “landscapes of light,” “bright land.” This conversion of land to more romanticized phrasing also points to the elevated and stylized diction of the rest of the poem.

Whereas Jane’s poem provides her experience of leaving her children at boarding school, Henry’s translation turns the poem into a celebratory ode to her native land combined with elegiac lament. Speaking from Jane’s perspective, Henry’s version begins with a celebratory reflection of the beauty of her native land, juxtaposing this natural space “far in the West” to that of cities. Expanding on the first stanza’s reference to the “land of my mother,” the second stanza continues this link, associating the Sault (“fair land of the lakes”) with infancy: The sounds and sights of nature “spring to [her] thoughts, like the lullaby tongue/that soothed me to slumber when youthful and young.” The third stanza reflects on a period even further past, to the time of her “forefathers” who lived “in liberty free...[e]re Europe had cast o’er this country a gloom.” This stanza’s somewhat morose reflection on what has passed links with the next stanza, which returns to the present to lament leaving her children at boarding school. The ending two stanzas continue in the present moment. In stanza four, the speaker questions the value of education, wondering how schools can add anything to her love for her children or to the laws—“rules”—of nature. The final stanza ends with a reflection on her “duty” to return home and leave her children at the schools, an action committed with “sober regret, and a bitter farewell.”

Throughout this version, the poem is structured around a series of binaries such as native land/city, west/east, home/away, infancy/adulthood, and Indians/white

civilization. These oppositions point to an implication of the poem—that of the continued development (and westward movement) of white civilization and the eventual fate of American Indians. The third stanza of reflection on her forefathers is especially telling, as it sets up this “liberty free” that once existed as something of the past that is longed for but cannot be returned to; this land of the lakes has been forever changed from the incursion of Europe. Yet, while perhaps still referring to Europe, “white lords of a land so resplendent and free” seems to also refer to the new “kingdom” of this land, the United States, and its peoples, suggesting that they are in fact bringing a better way of life. The duty, then, of the speaker to leave her children in the eastern schools points to the “duty” of the current Indians with an ominous undercurrent—they will have to change to accommodate white civilization or they too, as their forefathers, will no longer be able to return to how things once were. Yet, this is not fully negative, as the speaker does not end her reflection with the gloom that Europe “had cast o’er this country.” Rather, the speaker also notes that this “liberty free” in which her forefathers “roved,” was a time before “thought they that kingdoms more happy could be/white lords of a land so resplendent and free.” The concluding couplet of this stanza suggests, then, that the freedom brought by white civilization is greater than the freedom her forefathers once had.

Henry’s translation and its implications are fitting given the context that surrounds this poem in his *Personal Memoirs*. His previous chapter ends with a reflection on the year of 1838, noting that it has been “a marked one in our Indian relationships. The southern Indians have experienced an extensive break up, in their

social institutions, and been thrown, by the process of emigration, west of the Mississippi” (628). After this acknowledgement, Schoolcraft highlights specifically the Cherokee situation: how “they clung to [their country] with almost a death grasp.... Nothing but the drum of the Anglo-Saxon race could have given them an effectual warning to go” (628-629). While these acknowledgments contain a slight sentiment of the injustice of this “throwing out,” it is quickly countered by focusing on the west and how it will bring their “salvation”:

It is now evident to all, that the salvation of these interesting relics of Oriental races lies in colonization west. Their teachers, the last to see the truth, have fully assented to it. Public sentiment has settled on that ground; sound policy dictates it; and the most enlarged philanthropy for the Indian race perceives its best hopes in the measure. (629)

This note concludes the section and sets the same message as the poem, which he will include and translate in the beginning of the next chapter: while it is lamentable what has happened to the Indian race, it is just and necessary. The future lies in western civilization, not these “relics of Oriental races,” relics which will have to change or die. Henry’s translation speaks to the normative ideologies of the early nineteenth century and inscribes his translation into the poetic conventions of his moment in the United States.

Jane’s Ojibwa version is markedly different from Henry’s translation, particularly in form. In contrast to Henry’s translation replete with stylized diction and abundant imagery, Jane’s poem consists of concrete diction and is absent of imagery. Parker describes this poem as resonating in form with later imagist poems such as Ezra Pound’s “In a Station of the Metro” (1913), just minus the concrete

images (49). Rather than imagery, Jane's poem largely focuses on places (my land, the west) and people (my daughter, my son) as well as her emotional response ("Ahh but I am sad"). Rather than providing mental pictures for the reader, her poem records her experience of the situation, which is perhaps determined by her writing for personal expression not publication. Perhaps, too, the form is evidence of Jane inscribing her poem within normative Ojibwe conventions.

Along with concrete words and no images, Jane's Ojibwe version is also distinct from Henry's translation in its open form. Henry's version, replete with rhymed couplets, complete sentences and thoughts, and a clear trajectory, stands in contrast to Jane's version. Along with a lack of punctuation, the thoughts in Jane's version are often not completed. The opening line—"As I am thinking"—is particularly indicative of this openness. About what is she thinking? There is no clear object. Perhaps it is land, perhaps it is her son and daughter, perhaps it is something else, or all of the above. The openness of this line is also echoed in the verbal tense—"as I *am thinking*." As the thinking is occurring and continuing in the moment, there is the possibility of many thoughts, of many evaluations.

This beginning line sets up how the poem will be structured. Rather than tight, clearly interrelated lines, there is no clear continuity in many of the lines or in the rhyme scheme. Rather, many of the lines read almost as separate thoughts she could be thinking during this moment. Take, for instance, stanza three: "But soon/It is close however/To my home I shall return/That is the way that I am, my being/My land." Syntactically, each line is its own thought, almost as if the speaker begins an idea but

never completes it, instead having a new thought that then in turn leads to the next new one and so on. The ending stanza also does not contain the level of closure that Henry's translation does. While there is the resolution that "To my home I shall return," the poem ends with "Ahh but I am sad," an emotional state that is currently occurring and is not resolved by the end of the line. This openness and incompleteness speaks to the temporality of the poem.

As opposed to Henry's more past-looking poem, Jane's is set in the present, incomplete moment. In such, there are no overt reflections on the past or even on the changes that have occurred in her society, to her culture. The main contrast centers on the distance between "My land/Far in the west" to "Far away land" where she leaves her children behind. This contrast could, however, hint at the differences between her life in her land and the different land in which her children are now living, but there is no conspicuous contrast made. Perhaps this is because the poem seems more invested in expressing emotion rather than establishing a history or an explanation. The ending, then, along with expressing incompleteness, also ends with expressing emotion, one that the reader too can enter into.

Between the simple form, the concrete words, and the focus on emotion, we could read Jane's version as an expression of her authentic, indigenous voice. This, too, would fit with Parker's assertion that she wrote for expression not for publication. This poem, then, could be seen as allowing us access to her interiority and also showing a pure form of expression, unencumbered by the stilted language of the nineteenth century, as is Henry's version. We might also comment that her poem

in its style is indicative of a resisting of white civilization and its form, a staying true to herself, her culture, and her language.

Turning to another of her poems of which we have the Ojibwa version seems to echo this interpretation. “To A Pine,” according to Henry, is a poem which conveys Jane’s feelings upon returning home from her time in Europe as a child, feelings which he asked her to recall later in the form of this poem, which she writes in Ojibwa (Parker 90). Unlike the other poem, we do not have a current translation available. However, looking at the original translation seems to indicate a similar dynamic with the translation being full of stylized diction, imagery, and clearly-related lines and stanzas.

*Shing wauk! Shing wauk! nin ge ik id,
Waish kee wau bum ug, shing wauk
Tuh quish in aun nau aub, ain dak nuk i yaun.
Shing wauk, shing wauk No sa
Shi e gwuh ke do dis au naun
Kau gega way zhau wus co zid.*

*Mes ah nah, shi egwuh tah gwish en aung
Sin da mik kea um baun
Ka gait suh, ne meen wain dum
Me nah wau, wau bun dah maun
Gi yut wi au, wau bun dah maun een
Shing wauk, shing wauk nosa
Shi e gwuh ke do dis au naun.*

*Ka ween ga go, kau wau bun duh e yun
Tib isht co, izz henau gooz ze no an
Shing wauk wah zhau wush co zid*

*The pine! The pine! I eager cried,
The pine, my father! see it stand,
At first that cherished tree I spied
Returning to my native land.
The pine! the pine! oh lovely scene!
The pine, that is forever green.*

*Ah beauteous tree! ah happy sight!
That greets me on my native strand
And hails me, with a friend’s delight,
To my own dear bright mother land
Oh ‘tis to me a heart-sweet scene,
The pine—the pine! that’s ever green.*

*Not all the trees of England bright,
Not Erin’s lawns of green and light
Are half so sweet to memory’s eye,
As this dear type of northern sky
Oh ‘tis to me a heart-sweet scene,
The pine—the pine! that’s ever green.*

Like Henry's translation of the last poem, this translation, too, establishes a contrast between civilization, here figured as England, and her native land, represented by the pine. The juxtaposition between nature and cultivated landscapes also exists: the pine that is "ever green" does not need human upkeep or intervention whereas the "lawns of green and light" are very much created and maintained. The translation, too, inscribes Jane's reflection into a western model of poetry, not just in rhyme and diction, but also in its apostrophe to the pine and its description of a traveler returning home, poetic modes that echo many other romantic poems. In such, the preservation of this poem seems to frustrate our attempts to understand Jane's authentic Ojibwe self. Without speaking Ojibwe and without a more current literal translation, we cannot access what she is really saying.

Yet this poem challenges the notions of authenticity and Ojibwe-ness that I have purported as possibilities, notions of getting at indigenous voice that are appealing to twenty-first century scholars. While it seems as if Henry would have made this translation, particularly with the crossover of phrasing (for instance, "native land" rather than land) from the other poem, this translation was actually done by Jane (Parker 90). This information, therefore, suggests the complexity of Jane and the positionality she inhabited in the early-nineteenth-century space of the Sault.

As her biographer describes it, Jane Johnston Schoolcraft was born and raised in Sault Ste. Marie, which is located in the upper peninsula of Michigan territory, and was one of the cultural capitals of Lake Superior Ojibwa culture (Parker 12). Born to Ojibwa mother Ozhaguscodaywayquay (also known as Susan) and Irish-born-father-

turned-British-citizen John Johnston, Jane grew up in a family with a powerful lineage and place in their society. Jane's grandfather was Ojibwa war chief Waubojeeg, who was renowned for his leadership in both peace and war as well as his eloquence in oral stories and songs, which Jane seems to have inherited (Parker 4). Her father was a successful fur trader and both her parents were leaders within their community at Sault Ste. Marie and within the larger métis (French for mixed-blood) culture of the American northwest (4, 9). Ozhaguscodaywayquay held great sway over Ojibwe leaders, often acting as a diplomat, a businesswoman, and an oral historian (16). While she refused to speak English and trained her children in traditional Ojibwe ways, Jane's father taught Jane and her siblings to read and write in English. Because of her father's initiative to build a large library, Jane had access to around, according to a traveler to the area, "a thousand well-bound and well-selected volumes," something quite uncommon in an area where books and newspapers were scarce (13). Jane even participated in overseas travel and perhaps attended Irish schools for a short time, as her father took Jane in 1809 with him to Ireland and then to England for a year (15).

Hence, from birth, Schoolcraft lived in a mixed world, evinced in her written and spoken fluency in both Ojibwe and English. She experienced tensions between western and Ojibwe ways of being and doing within her very family as well as large and complicated shifts from Ojibwe and French-Canadian cultural hegemony to British rule and influence and then to the encroaching United States and ultimately its rule and cultural hegemony (Parker 4). Her father fought in the War of 1812 as a

British captain and helped take Mackinac Island from the Americans in 1812. Jane's brother Lewis also fought for the British and was heavily wounded (12-13). American troops ransacked and burned her family's home and business in 1814, from which they never fully recovered financially (13). Yet Jane's mother helped negotiate a treaty with the Americans, a treaty that would allow the Americans to build their fort and assert American influence and sovereignty over the area. Such details speak to the complex world in which Jane and her family lived and had to negotiate within. Moreover, that Jane married Henry, who negotiated the treaty between the U.S. government and her tribe, which resulted in the Ojibwe losing much of their land in the Michigan territory, also speaks to this complicatedness. How could a woman who maintained connections to her tribe and her tribal space marry a man who was working with the U.S. government to get them to leave their tribal space and to give up their culture?

Such details speak to the complicated positionality that Schoolcraft inhabited in her time. This was a time of great change to indigenous communities. Moreover, her mixed heritage particularly placed her in a convoluted racial matrix within early nineteenth-century Anglo-American racial politics. Citing Vine Deloria, Scott Michaelson argues, "All types of anthropology necessarily fabricate an ideal Amerindian against which 'Indian people begin to feel that they are merely shadows of a mythical, super-Indian'" (4). This quote about anthropology could be said about racial ideologies in the nineteenth century United States. Nineteenth century Anglo-Americans, coming from a long line of such thinking, had certain conceptions of what

“authentic” Indians looked like.¹²³ Whether exotic Indian princes or degraded squaws, noble warriors or depraved savages, “real” Indians were fully other than western civilization; such otherness placed them firmly in the past, with the inability to be a part of the current society. As Jean O’Brien establishes in *Firsting and Lasting*, mixed Indians were often not considered Indians at all because they were mixed with white blood and therefore not authentic.

This notion of authenticity remains even in current scholarship. For instance, Arnold Krupat—a well known scholar of indigenous literature—writes of Jane’s elegies to her son in his 2012 *‘That the People Might Live’: Loss and Renewal in Native American Elegy*: “The identity of their author requires us to see all of these poems as Native American elegies, but little or nothing of Schoolcraft’s Ojibwe heritage has made its ways into her laments.” (127) Rather, they are “from the conventional perceptions of the dominant society” and display white Christian society’s “epistemology. In adopting the written poetic forms of the Western tradition, they adopt its modes of reasoning” (129). Krupat’s reasoning continues the line of thinking established in Henry’s translation of Jane’s boarding school poem: native is juxtaposed against civilization; the two cannot mix together. Moreover, Krupat’s contention is based on an underlying notion of an authentic Indian, removed from the taints of western society. If her poems are written in a westernized poetic form, then they are not really Indian anymore. Indigenous scholars such as Craig Womack, Gerald Vizenor, and Louis Owens have countered such notions, arguing

¹²³ For more on expectations of “authentic” Indians, see Raibmon.

that mixed does not mean not native. Rather, they point to how the vanishing principle in fact stills structures attitudes toward modern-day natives. Binaries such as white/Indian, English/indigenous language, written/oral, modernity/tradition shapes narratives so as to make it where native people are viewed as not native if, say, they write in English, employ a westernized genre, or utilize modern technology. In this viewpoint, an authentic Indian, then, still must be primitive and stuck in nature.

How, then, do we read Jane, a mixed women living in a Métis society who writes in both Ojibwe and English? In keeping with scholars such as Womack and Owens, I suggest we need to still read Jane as indigenous, but with a conception of her indigeneity as something other than “authentic Indian.” Owens wryly remarks, “Few looking at photos of mixed-bloods would be likely to say, ‘But they don’t look like Irishmen’” (103). Yet, this is what we often do with “mixed-blood” Indians or mixed forms, such as in Krupat’s reading. However, reading her as indigenous does not mean reading her as primitive, one with nature, or opposed to civilization. It means reading her as the complex person she was and not as some representative of some ideal Indianness. She was an indigenous person who wrote from an indigenous perspective, not the indigenous perspective. She, like other writers of that period, lived and wrote in a complex web of relations and influences that impacted her point of view.

Yet, even if we read her as indigenous, how do we read her work? What if it was in fact Henry’s work, attributed to her? Yes, we can look to see who translated it and if a manuscript exists in her hand, but in many cases we don’t know who

translated it and the poems only exist in Henry's manuscripts or published works. It is therefore difficult in reading them to make an assessment of her indigenous voice. Perhaps this is why so little has been written on Jane's work. Yes, many works reference her, particularly in relation to Henry's works or note that she was a poet, but few actually read her poetry and focus on it.¹²⁴ How then do we deal with her work? Do we not critically engage with her work, remaining instead with only her biography? Do we not suggest anything about her poetry just because of the layers of unknown mediation her work may have gone through?

In many ways, though, we have to realize these problems are the problems with all authorship in general. While western society, stemming from Platonic and Romantic ideals and Bloomian anxieties of influence, still likes to hold onto ideas of the individual author writing from the store of their personal authentic self, those theories have long been debunked.¹²⁵ Rather, there are always editors, publishers, mediators, and a web of influential people and texts. I suggest, then, that we read Jane's poems with an eye for the contingencies, revisions, and material information we know, placing them into a network of texts with which she would have been acquainted and peoples amongst whom she would have circulated. In doing so, we can advance possible readings of her work.

¹²⁴ Parker's anthology offers up readings of a select number of poems and Schneider also engages with two of her poems. Krupat does as well, but in a cursory and problematic way. Most books including Jane are anthologies of indigenous women writers that include her work but only give her biography. See, for instance, Kilcup.

¹²⁵ See, for instance, Foucault.

One of these key influences for Jane would have been her husband himself—his ideas as well as his earlier works. I therefore now turn to Henry and his description of the Sault.

3. Subduing the Sault: Sublime Aesthetics and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft

In 1820 the Cass Expedition canoed into upper Michigan Territory into the heart of Ojibwe power, Sault Ste. Marie. Beginning in Detroit that spring, the expedition, led by Michigan Territorial Governor Lewis Cass, sought to determine the sources of the Mississippi River, explore the Great Lakes region, and settle the question of an undetermined boundary between the United States and British Canada. The Cass expedition traveled almost 2000 miles along Lake Huron and Lake Superior, then westward to the Mississippi River, then to present-day Iowa, and finally returned to Detroit (Hubach 50). Henry, the official geologist and mineralogist of the expedition, journalled his experience and published it a year later under the title, *Narrative Journal of Travels through the Northwestern Regions of the United States* (New York, 1821).¹²⁶ Henry revised and extended his *Narrative Journal of*

¹²⁶ Schoolcraft came to the attention of Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun (who termed him “a man of industry, ambition, and insatiable curiosity”) through his published studies of *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri* (1819) and *Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas*. Calhoun recommended Schoolcraft to Lewis Cass, Michigan Territorial Governor (Krause 68). The full title of Schoolcraft’s 1821 publication is *Narrative Journal of Travels through the Northwestern Regions of the United States Extending from Detroit through the Great Chain of American Lakes to the Sources of the Mississippi River, Performed as a Member of the Expedition under Governor Cass in the Year 1821*.

Travels in 1855, publishing it under the title of *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River* (Philadelphia, 1855).¹²⁷

These narratives detail the area of the Sault and its significance to the United States. Henry notes “the commanding position of [the Sault] which, although always known to the traders, has but lately been perceived by our government” (*Narrative Journal* 135). This commanding position was in large part due to its strategic location for trade, the place where, according to Henry, “all the fur trade of the northwest is compelled to pass” (134). Henry continues, “It is the grand thoroughfare of Indian communication for the upper countries, as far as the arctic circle. . . . No place could, therefore, be better adapted to acquire an influence over the savage tribes, to monopolize their commerce, and to guard the frontier settlements against their incursions (134). This strategic position, then, explains the need to appoint the first U.S. Indian agent to the region just a couple years later, an agent who was no other than Henry himself.

Yet, while a highly significant area in which to expand settlement, the Sault was an area that was challenging to access due to its stark geographical barrier—the rapids below the outlet of the lake at Sault Ste. Marie. At this barrier, only birch bark canoes and twelve-oared barges could make it through. Such geographical limitations rendered this region isolated, and one that hence had changed little in 160 years

¹²⁷ The full title is *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River, in 1830: Resumed and Completed, by the Discovery of Its Origin in Itasca Lake, in 1832*. The first part is a revision of his 1820 journal; the second part is an abridgment of his 1834 publication, *Narrative of an Expedition through the Upper Mississippi Valley to Itaska Lake* (New York, 1834).

(Olmansen 19). These limitations and isolation rendered the Sault unknown and dangerous to Anglo-American settlers. Eric Olmanson contends that the most important step, then, to induce settlement in this particular region was bringing it “into the realm of the nation’s mental map: the place had to be experienced, described, and popularized” (20). Henry’s 1821 and 1855 narratives played an important role in bringing this region into the realm of the nation’s map. In fact, his *Narrative Journal* was so popular that it went through multiple editions (Hubach 50).

In *Narrative Journal*, as well as his revised *Summary Narrative*, Henry spends much time detailing the landscape, which he figures as stunning yet dangerous. An area which he spends much effort representing are the Pictured Rocks, multicolored sandstone rocks which span fifteen miles along the south shore of Lake Superior. Theodore J. Karamanski contends that Pictured Rocks would most likely have become a tourist destination in the likes of the sublime Niagara Falls if not for its nearly inaccessible geography (6). Schoolcraft seems to have thought similarly, as he details the Pictured Rocks as a beautiful and awe-inducing encounter with sublimity. Schoolcraft recounts:

[This] series of lofty bluffs... present some of the most sublime and commanding views in nature. We had been told, by our Canadian guide, of the variety in the colour and form of these rocks, but were wholly unprepared to encounter the surprising groupes of overhanging precipices, towering walls, caverns, water falls, and prostrate ruins.... All these front upon the lake, in a line of aspiring promontories, which, at a distance, present the terrible array of dilapidated battlements and desolate towers. (*Narrative Journal* 150, 152)

Henry’s narrative is intriguing in its wide array of common tropes. The images of “overhanging precipices” and “towering walls” are quintessential aspects of sublime

aesthetics, in that they evoke a grandness in size that cannot be captured in all one glance by the rational mind. These imposing structures tower over the human who is small and powerless in their stead. While Henry notes that these features were shaped by the waves and the wind, he switches between the language of the natural world and that of the human one, comparing this space with “dilapidated battlements,” “desolate towers,” and “prostrate ruins,” seeming to signify a civilization that was once but is no more. In such descriptions, Henry is explicitly inscribing his narrative of the Great Lakes spaces into the culture of obsession with ruins explored in Chapter Three. This culture of obsession with ruins would lead to John Lloyd Stephens’s publications of his *Incidents* a little over ten years later.

Henry continues this connection with ruins, rapturously breaking out into poetry to convey the landscape, which again he links to human-hewn architecture: “Their rocky summits split and rent,/Form'd turret, dome, or battlement,/ Or seemed fantastically set/With cupola or minaret,/Wild crests as pagod ever decked,/Or mosque of eastern architect” (152). Moving away from more war-like medieval imagery (turret, battlement), he notes the aesthetic qualities of the rocks, which he links to the far east through his depictions of the rocks as looking like a minaret (a slender, tall tower typically in a mosque from which a muezzin calls Muslims to prayer), a mosque crafted by eastern architect, and a pagod, an image of a far eastern deity. Schoolcraft figures this place in the language of Orientalist fantasy.

Yet links to ruins and structures of the Orient seem not to be enough for Henry, as he adds another layer of comparison onto these rocks. From the Orient, he

now moves to the coasts of Scotland and Italy, noting, “All that we have read of the natural physiognomy of the Hebrides--of Staffa,--the Doreholm, and the romantic Isles of the Sicilian coast, is forcibly recalled on viewing this scene” (152). In this comparison, Henry moves back into the language of the natural world through his link with the Hebrides, an archipelago, and the Doreholm, an isle noted for its natural and unique arches. Through Henry’s comparison, the New World is shown to have as striking of features as the Old World.

This connection to the Old World continues in his description of one site that “attracted particular attention” even amongst the “striking features” of all the rocks—Doric Rock, also known as Chapel Rock (153). Schoolcraft writes: “The Doric Rock, of which a profile is given in the title page, is an isolated mass of sand stone, consisting of four natural pillars, supporting a stratum or entablature of the same material, and presenting the appearance of a work of art” (153). With these comparisons, Schoolcraft makes a final geographical move, this time to Greece, invoking one of three orders of ancient Greek and classical architecture. Doric columns, having no base but standing directly on the foundation, held up a horizontal superstructure of moldings and bands, known as an “entablature,” a term from classical architecture that Schoolcraft utilizes. The Parthenon is perhaps the quintessential example of Doric architecture. Here Henry pushes his previous connection to the space of Europe further, linking the natural world of the Great Lakes to the cultural world of the Old World. As Karamanski argues, “By describing and exalting the landscape of the Lake Superior country, Schoolcraft was using the

scenery of the frontier to build an American identity that would meet European standards of culture. . . . Even the name, Doric or Chapel Rock, reveals “the inclination of European-American writers to subordinate the Lake Superior wilderness to Old World images of grandeur and beauty” (11, 13).¹²⁸

In his use of the sublime and his descriptions of the surrounding regions of the Sault as linked to the culture of the Old World, Henry is working to make the space known and hence safer to future Anglo settlers. Yet, the ease with which Schoolcraft subdues the Pictured Rocks is not the case in an earlier incident he narrates, where he encounters a different form of terror. It is in the center of Sault Ste. Marie that the terror of the sublime becomes located not so much in the landscape and nature, but in the dark body of the Indian. This extended moment of terror centers around the Flag Incident, a conflict that ensues between the Cass Expedition and some of the leaders of the Ojibwe tribe when it becomes clear to them that the representatives of the U.S. are not there to negotiate.

According to Henry, the purpose of his expedition’s stop in the Sault was to “adjust the relations of the tribe with the United States” through a council that would be convened the day after their arrival. Despite the promise of the convening council, it soon becomes clear that this visit is in no way about collaboration or compromise. When some of the Ojibwe chiefs attempt to protest, Governor Cass replies that U.S. occupancy, particularly the establishment of a garrison, “was a settled point, and so

¹²⁸ Longfellow, using Schoolcraft’s ethnographic stories for his 1855 *The Song of Hiawatha*, references these pictured rocks and even has his protagonist, Hiawatha, destroy his enemy here.

sure as the sun that was rising would set, so sure would there be an American garrison sent to that point, whether they renewed the grant or not” (*Summary Narrative* 79).

That negotiation is never the point of this expedition is exceedingly clear at this point.

This fomenting tension intensifies, engendering a “perilous position,” according to Schoolcraft (*Summary Narrative* 76). One of the Ojibwe chiefs, named Sassaba, speaks up against Cass’s pronouncement, leading to a halting of the deliberations. The representatives from the Cass Expedition return to their tents, only to discover that Sassaba and a group of Ojibwes had raised the British flag, a sign the Cass Expedition understands, rightfully so, to be an act of defiance toward them and U.S. rule. At this point, Henry notes that the affair had reached a “crisis” and armed conflict seemed “inevitable” (78). Governor Cass, however, heads to the Ojibwe village, tears down the British flag, forbids the Ojibwe to raise anything but a U.S. flag, and then marches back to his tent with the British flag in hand. After Cass snatches down the flag, Henry notes that the expedition expected an attack of their camp as the “Indians cleared their lodges of every woman and child” and blocked the river with their canoes, which the expedition viewed as a “preparatory movement to the savage war whoop” (*Narrative Journal* 139). As the expedition members were outnumbered by the Ojibwe, they were in a “state of alarm for some time” (139). Eventually, the Ojibwe “ceased to hold themselves in a hostile attitude” and the crisis passed (139). Treaty negotiations were renewed the next day, with the Ojibwe agreeing to U.S. demands as presented by the Cass Expedition (*Summary Narrative* 80).

In this extended moment of peril and alarm, Henry locates the danger not in nature but in the dark body of the Indian: Sassaba comes to embody for Henry the terror of the sublime. Whereas Henry groups the rest of the Ojibwe together, not distinguishing between individuals, Henry spends much time detailing Sassaba in both *Narrative Journal* (1820) and *Summary Narrative* (1855), as well as another of his works, *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1851). Henry depicts Sassaba as an “ambitious chief...a war-captain who had led the Chippewas into action” during the War of 1812 (*Historical* 386). Already showing him to be a sworn enemy of the U.S., Henry takes the description a step further by linking him to a dangerous genealogy, that of Tecumseh, a pan-Indian leader who warred against the U.S. and envisioned a separate indigenous nation east of the Mississippi. Sassaba’s brother had been killed fighting beside Tecumseh, at the battle of the Thames (386). Henry notes that Sassaba “nourished a deep resentment against the United States” and during the Flag Incident, it was he who incited “the hostiles” with his “defiant tone,” halting the deliberations despite the presence of more “moderate Chippewas” who were willing to negotiate (*Summary Narrative* 79). It is Sassaba, too, who in “insolence” raises the British flag (79).

Henry’s 1821 journal perhaps provides the most dangerous picture of Sassaba. Interestingly, it is only in this account that Sassaba remains unnamed, instead only being referred to as a chief and a savage; Sassaba’s individual identity seems not matter, only the terror he represents. Henry describes the intense moment that ensues

at the council: “The last chief who spoke...drew his war-lance and struck it furiously in the ground before him, and assumed a look a savage wildness, which appeared to produce a corresponding effect upon the other Indians...when he left the marquee he kicked away the present which had been laid before him” (*Narrative Journal* 138). Henry continues that it was this chief who raised the flag, “the same who had before drawn his war-lance in council” (138). It is right after this narration that Henry notes the extended state of alarm in which they at any moment expected the savage war whoop (139). The body of Sassaba, as did the “towering walls” and “overhanging precipices” of the Painted Rocks, represents for Henry the sublime—wild nature that threatens the human. However, unlike the “towering walls” and “overhanging precipices,” threats which Henry can mitigate through depictions as “prostrate ruins,” “dilapidated battlements,” and “desolate towers,” the threat embodied in Sassaba’s body is not of the past. Sassaba, and the Ojibwe tribe, are in fact still very powerful and represent a threat that is not so easily contained. In Henry’s journal, the threat passes only because “the Indians ceased to hold themselves in a hostile attitude” (139). The Ojibwes’ actions are depicted with a reflexive pronoun; in other words, the threat is ended because they decide to cease their hostilities.

It is after this encounter with the sublime Indian body that Henry’s narrative moves to the sublime being located in nature (the Pictured Rocks). In such a move, Schoolcraft follows the development of the sublime that many scholars have pointed out—the move from the racialized body to a more sanitized version in nature. Tracing the history of the sublime, Armstrong, Pugliese, and Perera reveal how Kant’s ideas

of the sublime are linked to bodies of difference. Armstrong convincingly demonstrates that Kant grounded his notion of the sublime in an earlier lesser-known essay written before his *Critiques*. In this earlier essay, Kant locates the sublime experience in dark bodies—bodies of the other. Armstrong therefore argues that Kant sanitized his later version of the sublime by using nature and natural threats to replace gendered and racialized bodies.

Similarly, Pugliese and Perera argue that by situating Kant's concept of the sublime in the context of all of his writings, it becomes clear that the sublime is very much racialized: "the 'power of reason' that ensures a recovery of the imagination on the very brink of nature's abyss is a racialized attribute, one only available to the European mind. It serves to mark the 'sublime experience as something exclusive to the Western subject' (27). The sublime experience, whereby the subject conquers sublime terror with reason, is only available to the western, normally masculine, subject. Meaghan Morris, speaking of Australian history, describes the "plot of the sublime," as "a scenario in which a dynamic self, normalized white and male, is overwhelmingly threatened by a fearsome power of alterity; freezes in astonishment...then bounces back with renewed strength and vigor by making sense of the threatening power, while appropriating some of its force" (242). Perera writes that it is in fact this raced ability to make sense of and to appropriate the terrifying alterity of nature that is the essence of the Kantian sublime (36).

Pugliese notes the larger effect of this "plot of the sublime," particularly in relation to the white, Anglo-American subject:

[The sublime experience] underwrites the Western advance through the awe-inducing and terrifying theatre of the natural world that it alone is biologically, mentally and materially equipped to confront and master. In the context of this terrifying theatre of sublime trauma as representational and affective spectacle, the Western subject is positioned as both spectator and actor, a benevolent interventionist (as colonizer, missionary, aid organization, or volunteer).

Taking into consideration Pugliese and Morris' arguments, Henry's narration of Cass's "intrepid act" takes on greater significance, as it is Henry's attempt to diminish the sublime threat of the dark body (*Summary Narrative* 80). In Henry's account, Cass is Morris' "dynamic self, normalized white and male" who in the face of alterity "bounces back with renewed strength...making sense of the threatening power, while appropriating it some of its force." After Sassaba's threat during the negotiations, Henry narrates that everyone, including Cass, returned to camp. Yet, after hearing about the raising of the British flag, Cass commands everyone but his interpreter to stay back at the camp and "decidedly refuse[s]" any support, including from Schoolcraft, and walks into the heart of danger, to Sassaba's lodge in the middle of the "hostile camp," "naked handed and alone" with renewed strength and vigor (78-79). Upon reaching the lodge of the "hostile chief, before whose door the flag had been raised, [Cass] pulled it down with his own hands. He then entered the lodge, and address[ed] the chief calmly but firmly" (80). Henry recounts the effect Cass's action supposedly had on the Ojibwe: it "had struck the Indians with amazement" (80).

Henry's explanation of why they were struck in amazement is key: "The march of our force, on that occasion, would have been responded to, instantly, by eighty or a hundred Indian guns; but to behold an unarmed man walk boldly into their

camp and seize the symbol of their power, betokened a cast of character which brought them to reflection” (*Summary Narrative* 80). Henry here acknowledges that the threat of the sublime cannot be overcome with military power—bodily might—but only through the mind’s assessment of the threat and its use of rational thinking to overcome it. Henry notes that Cass’s act “betokened a knowledge of Indian character of which we never dreamed” (80). Cass, recognizing the power of the symbol of the flag for the Ojibwe, tears it down and takes it back to his camp. Without shooting a bullet, Cass has shown symbolically who is in control. His address of Sassaba in a calm but firm manner reveals Cass’s control over his emotions, one that allows him to utilize rhetoric to put Sassaba in his place. In Henry’s account, Cass—representing the strong and rational white male—is able to subdue the danger of the sublime, embodied by Sassaba.

Yet Sassaba’s is not the only dark body to figure into this narrative. Whereas Sassaba threatens, the other dark body—that of a female dark body—assists in subduing the threat. In his 1821 journal, Henry only alludes to this event, writing that Cass’s actions “produced an effect,—[of] which we were not at the moment sensible, was all that prevented an open rupture” (*Narrative Journal* 139). In his 1855 revision, Henry provides the behind-the-scenes account of this “effect...that prevented an open rupture,” locating the “effect” in the dark female body, “the daughter of Wäbojeeg,” the head chief of the Ojibwe (*Summary Narrative* 80). Henry writes that Cass’s “act had a controlling effect” on her, so much so that she counseled her father to submit to the treaty with the Americans: “She told the chief that their mediated scheme of

resistance to the Americans was madness; the day for such resistance was passed; and this man, Cass, had the air of a great man, and could carry his flag through the country (80).

Schoolcraft here inscribes his tale within a common emplotment, that of the female Indian mediator. Speaking of figures such as Pocahontas and Sacagawea, Brickhouse writes of the “prominence of female interpreters and the implied role of gender in the Anglophone myth of successful translation” (*Unsettlement* 17). While not performing a literal translation, the daughter of Wäbojeeg interprets Cass’s act to her father, helping him see that Cass’s action revealed his greatness and the subsequent need for the Ojibwe to stop resisting the United States. Like Pocahontas, then, “the daughter of Wäbojeeg” is a mediatory figure that white civilization can easily, in Henry’s words, have a “controlling effect” upon. Also as Pocahontas, a romantic entanglement engenders this role as mediator, as “the daughter of Wäbojeeg” is married to John Johnston, a white wealthy fur trader and prominent leader in the community of Sault Ste. Marie.

Henry effaces this woman’s name, only identifying her through her father or her husband (calling her Mrs. Johnston). What is significant to Henry is not Ozhaguscodaywayquay herself (also known as Susan), but the family line of which she is a part and the role that she hence plays. Wäbojeeg was a famous warrior and chief of the Ojibwe. As Wäbojeeg and John Johnston held such prominent positions in the community inhabiting this isolated space, Ozhaguscodaywayquay inhabits the ideal position for Henry and his expedition’s interests. As the place of the Sault for

Henry is the best place to “acquire an influence over the savage tribes,” the body of Ozhaguscodaywayquay is the best person with which to acquire this same influence (*Narrative Journal* 134).

Ozhaguscodaywayquay’s connection to Pocahontas in this narrative is not merely in her role as peacemaker. Rather, Henry uses her as a figure to further inscribe his narrative into a distinctly “American” genealogy. Prior to discussing her role as a mediator, Henry introduces the Johnstons to the reader, depicting Mr. Johnston (Ozhaguscodaywayquay’s husband), who was “now absent on a visit to Europe,” as a “polite, intelligent, and well-bred man, from a manifestly refined circle; who, soon, after the close of the American Revolution, settled here, and married the daughter of a distinguished Indian chief” (*Summary Narrative* 77). Appended to this description is a lengthy footnote entitled “Inter-European Amalgamation.” Henry begins by elaborating on John Johnston’s background:

[He] was a native of the North of Ireland, where his family possessed an estate...He came to this country during the first Presidential term of Washington, and settled at St. Mary’s, about 1793...his residence was long known as the seat of hospitality and refinement to all who visited the region (77).

While acknowledging him as a first-generation immigrant to the country, Henry is clearly invested in inscribing him as a worthy addition to the country, one who is now thoroughly American. Moreover, he is training his children in these worthy ways: his learned and cultivated status “enabled him to direct the education of his children, an object to which he assiduously devoted himself” (77).

While technically accurate, Schoolcraft's statement that Johnston came to "this country during the first Presidential term of Washington" invites the casual U.S. reader to read "this country" as the United States, or at least as the Sault as being a part of the United States. While accurate at the time when Schoolcraft was writing, when Johnston left Ireland, he emigrated to Canada, of which the Sault was then a part. Henry is naturalizing a border that had been constantly in flux and contestation. Moreover, Henry is naturalizing John Johnston as a citizen of the United States, which he never was. In fact, even after the Sault became a part of the United States, Johnston retained his British citizenship (Parker 13).

The high level of significance of Johnston being American becomes clear in Henry's interpretive move that concludes the footnote, a footnote set at the introduction of Henry's narration of the flag incident at the Sault:

Mr. Johnston, by marrying the daughter of the ruling chief of this region, placed himself in the position of another Rolfe. Espousing, in Christian marriage, the daughter of daughter of Wabjeeg, he became the son-in-law of another Powhatan; thus establishing such a connection between the Hibernian and Chippewa races, as the former had done between the English and Powhetanic stocks (*Summary Narrative* 77).

In this footnote, then, Schoolcraft is clearly inscribing John Johnston into this mythical lineage. Johnston is the second John Rolfe, a fur trader rather than tobacco exporter, and his wife saves not John Smith but Cass and the expedition. Schoolcraft is also writing the Sault, therefore, as a new Jamestown. It is the next wilderness, the next frontier.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ See Slotkin for an in-depth elaboration of the different stages of the frontier.

In this comparison, Henry is writing himself into the narrative, as he was married to the daughter of John Johnston and Ozhaguscodaywayquay—Jane Johnston. While the heroic and brave Cass is the John Smith figure in this narrative, Henry also becomes a type of John Smith, writing the narrative that will inscribe this expedition, this heroic saving, into the annals of American history and mythology. This seems to be the reason that Ozhaguscodaywayquay figures heavily into the later 1855 version and not Henry's 1821 journal, as in 1821, we have no records that Henry even had met Jane.

Therefore, for Henry, whereas the dark masculine body of the Indian, as figured in Sassaba, embodies the threat of the sublime, the dark female body, in Ozhaguscodaywayquay, represents the way white civilization can subdue the same threat. What happens, however, when the dark female body is not so easily subdued and instead when she speaks? I now turn to Jane's poetry and her speaking back to Henry's narrative.

4. The Sublime Speaks: Jane Johnston Schoolcraft Writes the Sault

In her poetry, Jane often depicts the natural world of the Sault. As does Henry in his 1821 journal and his 1855 revision, Jane writes about the Painted Rocks, specifically the notable Doric Rock. "On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior" is a three stanza, thirty-two line poem apart of the bound yet unpublished manuscript that Parker found in the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library. This manuscript, entitled *Poetry, 1815-1836*, is entirely in Henry's handwriting and consists of an introduction

written by Henry, two poems by Henry, and many of Jane's poems. There is no existing Ojibwe copy of this poem, so it is unknown if this copy is a translation done by Henry or Jane, or if in fact Jane wrote it originally in English. The poem is also undated, but the dating of the manuscript gives us an idea of the general date range, 1815-1836. However, Parker suggests that Jane probably wrote this poem around 1831 in response to Henry's and a friend's visit to Doric Rock and the letters they wrote her about it; at the very least, Parker asserts that these letters were "closely contemporary analogue[s]" (96). Parker notes that Jane would have also been familiar with Henry's 1821 *Narrative Journal* that, along with his sublime descriptions of the Painted Rocks, had a illustration of Doric Rock on the frontispiece (95). Following Parker's suggestion, I read this poem as a part of the network of these texts, particularly Henry's journal.

"On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior," begins with a six-line stanza consisting of rhyming couplets:

Dwellers at home, in indolence and ease,
How deep their debt, to those that roam the seas,
Or cross the lands, in quest of every art
That science, knowledge, pity can impart
To help mankind, or guild the lettered page
The bold discoverers of every age.

The form as well as the diction of the opening stanza is markedly different from Jane's Ojibwe-language boarding school poem but similar to her translation of "To the Pine." If we take Parker's contention seriously, that she was in fact responding the letters of Henry and his friend as well as Henry's journal, then it seems that she is utilizing diction and a formal style that would be familiar to them in their early

nineteenth-century context.¹³⁰ She is employing a language and form of prestige. True, we do not know that she wrote this poem in English or translated it herself; however, from her translation “To the Pine,” we know she is capable of invoking Anglicized phrasing and forms.

In this first stanza, the speaker invokes the long history of exploration, probably within the Americas since this would be the context with which Jane was most familiar. The phrasing of “those that roam the seas,/Or cross the lands.../The bold discoverers of every age” could be referencing a hemispheric American history from Columbus and Cortés (perhaps learned about from her father’s library and instruction, from her husband, or from her time in Europe) to more current explorers such as Captain John Smith and even her own husband. While Henry did not actually “roam the seas,” he does in his journal describe his expedition on the river into the Sault as one through “the seas.” In fact, the 1831 expedition Henry led—the one that visited Doric Rock—was in part to vaccinate the different indigenous groups, which would fit with the stanza’s declaration of the debt the dwellers at home have to these explorers (Parker 95). Or, this stanza could be speaking to a more localized history—that of Sault Ste. Marie itself, which had experienced French, British, and American explorers. If we take this stanza as primarily about the Americas—be it the larger hemispheric Americas or just the space of the Great Lakes region, it seems, then, that “dwellers at home, in indolence and ease,” seems to be referencing indigenous peoples such as herself.

¹³⁰ For a reading of this poem as responding to Henry’s friend, Melancthon Woolsey, see Schneider.

In such a description of these dwellers at home as indolent and at ease, Jane would be utilizing a common description of Indians in the nineteenth century, including those in the Great Lakes region. Take for instance the comment of an editor of a Michigan newspaper publishing at the end of the nineteenth century, reflecting back on the early nineteenth century before Anglo-Americans settlers began to arrive: "The spot...was the resort only of the untutored and indolent Indians, whose sole object in life was to gain food and scant covering for their bodies in the easiest possible manner" (qtd in Norton). Seeming to take on these adjectives as viable ones to describe those dwellers at home, the speaker notes the "debt" that is due to those explorers. Such a position echoes Henry's translation of Jane's boarding school poem, which depicted the past Indians as, although living in "liberty free," not cognizant of the fact that a far greater freedom existed, brought by the "white lords."

The extended second stanza continues in this vein and turns to a reflection on what these "bold discoverers" found when they entered into these newly discovered spaces:

This spirit—in thy breast the ardent guide
To seek new lands, and wastes as yet untried
Where none but hunters trod the field before
Unveiled the grandeur of Superior's show
Where nature's form in varied shape and guise
Break on the view, with wonder and surprize.
Not least, among these forms, the traveller's tale,
These pillared rocks and castle pomps prevail,
Standing, like some vast ruin of the plain,
Where ancient victims by their priests were slain
But far more wondrous,—for the fair design
No architect drew out, with measured line
'Twas nature's wildest flower, that graved the Rock,
The wave's loud fury, and the tempest's shock

Yet all that arts can do, here frowning shine,
In mimic pride, and grandeur of design.

The speaker's language of "new lands" and "wastes as yet untried" evokes common parlance in U.S. history—from conceptions of *vacuum domicilium* to concepts of necessary expansion into the frontiers that would eventually be embodied in the term of Manifest Destiny.¹³¹ The stanza's notation that "none but hunters trod the field before" both exposes one of the contradictions of the concepts surrounding empty land (it's actually not empty!) and points to one of the key justifications used by proponents of expansion—that hunting was not really using or improving the land; hence, it was available as property for anyone that was willing to subdue and improve the land.

Linking concepts of empty land to specifically the space of Lake Superior and the Sault, the speaker's contention that the adventurers, "[u]nveiled the grandeur of Superior's show/Where nature's form in varied shape and guise/Break on the view, with wonder and surprize," employs uncannily similar language to Henry's description in his 1821 journal of his first sublime viewing of the Pictured Rocks, where he discusses his wonder and surprise at encountering these rocks with their different forms, crevices, indentations, and colors. The stanza continues in this vein,

¹³¹ See Allen on Winthrop: "It is a Principle in Nature, That in a vacant soyle, hee that taketh possession of it, and bestoweth culture and husbandry upon it' has an inviolable right to the land. To those who held contrary views, Puritan leaders in particular were quick to offer challenges. It was our land by possession, John Winthrop argued, 'which we took peaceably, built a house upon it, and so it hath continued in our peaceable possession ever since without any interruption or Claim..., which being thus taken and possessed as vacuum domicilium gives us a sufficient title against all men.'"

referencing similar imagery to Henry's, such as the "pillared rocks and castle poms." The speaker's comment that it is these images that "prevail" in "the traveller's tale" could very well be referencing Henry's journal, as these images, as we have seen, abound throughout, with Henry repeatedly referring to both in his invocation of "turrets, domes, and battlements" and the structure of the "natural pillars" that are the eminent part of Doric architecture.

The next line invokes the ruins' imagery Henry repeatedly uses and which was also, as we have seen in the last chapter, a key part of the early nineteenth-century imagination. The speaker's extended simile, "like some vast ruins of the plain,/Where ancient victims by their priests were slain," seems to return again to the opening stanza's invocation of hemispheric American history as the Ojibwe did not practice human sacrifice. In this case, it could be referencing the Aztec and Mayan pyramids and the human sacrifices that occurred there. However, the speaker may very well be referencing early European legends surrounding Doric Rock as well. French adventurer and trader Pierre Esprit Radisson's record, the first European one of the region, contends that Doric Rock was a place of veneration and sacrifice (Parker 95).

The last six lines of this stanza again echo Henry's descriptions of the Painted Rocks in that they move from imagining a human origin to admitting a natural one. Similar to Henry's notion of how the Pictured Rocks were formed, the poem also ascribes agency to the winds and the waves: "[t]he wave's loud fury" and "the tempest's shock." The final two lines of the stanza express an understanding of what

the sublime experience entails: all human “art”—be it science, rational knowledge, or emotions that the opening stanza of the poem references—cannot compete with sublime nature. “Art” can only “here frowning shine,/In mimic pride, and grandeur of design.” The human arts are merely imitation of the natural world. Yet the understanding of the sublime that these final two lines offer up is not fully the same as Kant’s notions and Henry’s use of the sublime. In these, yes, the human is shown to be less than nature, but there is a terror that is associated with this understanding, a terror that is absent in Jane’s poem. Moreover, in the Kantian sublime, the masculine, white subject conquers this terror with his rationality, which is also missing in this poem.

Rather, than ending stanza offers up an alternative means of dealing with the natural sublime:

The simple Indian, as the work he spies,
Looks up to nature’s God above the skies
And though, his lot be rugged wild and dear,
Yet owns the ruling power with soul sincere,
Not as where, Asia’s piles of marble high,
For idol gods the beast was doomed to die,
But, guided by a purer-lead surprise,
Points to great good sovrein of the skies
And thinks the power that built the upper sphere,
Hath left but traces of his fingers here.

The opening line alone is a challenge to notions of the sublime as espoused by Kant and Henry in its stipulation of an indigenous view of sublime nature. As we have seen, Kant’s notion of overcoming the sublime is limited to the white, male subject. A “simple Indian” gazing at sublime nature and responding to it does not fit into this understanding. Moreover, if we consider that the author of this poem—who is

utilizing the sublime aesthetic as well as her white male husband does—is indigenous, this too challenges the paradigm of the sublime. The dark body of the Indian here is not an embodiment of the sublime; rather, she is using her rational mind to depict the sublime. Furthermore, if we consider the distinction between gendered bodies that Henry ascribes to—that of the dangerous body of the Indian male and that of the easily controlled body of the Indian female—this poem contends against this gender binary as well. Jane, the author of this poem, is the one in control—of her poem, of her use of language (be that in Ojibwe or English), and of her utilization of the sublime aesthetic.

The rest of the stanza continues offering an indigenous intervention by looking at an alternative reaction to the sublime. In one way, these lines seem to indicate a different response to sublime nature, one of submission, not control, as the “simple Indian” “[l]ooks up to nature’s God above the skies.” Who, though, is “nature’s God?” “Nature’s God” could very well be alluding to the western notion of God as found in the Declaration of Independence, indicating the Indian’s submission to the Christian God and perhaps Christian ways of life. But the latter lines that reference the “great good sovreign of the skies...the power that built the upper sphere” could suggest a more tempered reading. In Ojibwe belief, there were multiple spirits, including the creator of all things, Gichi-Manidoo. Perhaps, then, this stanza refers to multiple gods, including the Christian one and the Ojibwe creator figure. In this case, then, the poem is offering up not a full-scale submission to westernized Christian ways but a creation of a hybrid system of belief.

Whatever the case, the Indian's action in this stanza is markedly different from westernized reactions to the sublime in that it is one of submission to a higher power or powers. In its reference to this spiritual act, the stanza challenges notions of Ojibwe superstition and sacrifice as circulated in legends of Doric Rock: "And though, his lot be rugged wild and dear/Yet owns the ruling power with soul sincere,/Not as where, Asia's piles of marble high,/For idol gods the beast was doomed to die." Playing into western Orientalist fantasies where believers superstitiously submit to their gods by offering up sacrifices, the stanza contrasts the simple Indian's response as one of sincerity, seemingly to show that the Indian's "own[ing]"—admitting of a higher power—is a genuine submission, not a utilizing of religion to gain unjust power over other beings—animal or human.

This stanza furthermore suggests an alternative view of submission, one other than that of yielding to a superior force. As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the simple Indian pointing to the skies seems to reference Henry's understanding of the actions associated with the *mano colorado*, where priests or other Indians denote their supplication to a higher power with outstretched arms. Yet, I suggest that this poem does so not in acquiescence to Henry's ethnographic assumptions but to play off of these assumptions to establish an alternative point—that of indigenous power. As Henry explains in his letter attached to Stephens'

Incidents:

The figure of the human hand...stands in the system of picture writing as the symbol for strength, power, or mastery, thus derived [from supplication].... the human hand denotes strength, or power, or mastery arising from devotional acts. The want or absence

of the hand or arm, therefore, in these symbolical figures, should imply impotence, weakness, or cowardice, arising from fright, subjugation, or other causes. (478)

I am not suggesting that the poem's use of the figure of the outreached hand is collaborating with and confirming Henry's assumption. Rather, I am suggesting that the speaker is utilizing these western assumptions to make a point. While the Indian in this stanza may be "simple" and submissive to a higher power, this does not mean the Indian is impotent or weak or frightened. Rather, the Indian is marked by strength, mastery, and power.

In such, I suggest that the opening two stanzas are perhaps not as sincere as they originally might seem. Rather, as with the symbol of the *mano colorado*, the poem's use of Henry's (and common nineteenth-century) diction and imagery is not done to collaborate with the implicit assumptions but to ironize them. That an indigenous female is the author of this poem belies the assumptions of these explorers in the poem. The "simple Indian" is not so simple after all and the plot of the sublime, then, is turned on its head. If, as Morris asserts, the plot of sublime involves a white and male self threatened by the sublime other who "bounces back with renewed strength and vigor by making sense of the threatening power, while appropriating it some of its force (242), Jane's poem and her presence as indigenous female writer inverts this statement. In this inversion, the threatening other is white civilization, the one threatened yet who bounces back by appropriating some of its force (its language and aesthetics) is the indigenous female body. This thought might in fact help us read the looking up to "nature's God" not as a submission to white ways of believing but

as a looking up to what the “Laws of Nature and Nature’s God,” as proclaimed in the U.S. Declaration of Independence, supposedly entitles to all: “separate and equal station.”

Jane’s poem reveals alternative views of indigeneity and of interactions between white and Indian societies, such as she herself experienced in her complicated positionality as part Ojibwe, part Irish, living in the rapidly-changing métis society of Sault Ste. Marie. Her writings, therefore, allow us to read back against the grain of her own husband’s encounters with her people, particularly that of her mother and of Sassaba.

While Henry attempts to portray Ozhaguscodaywayquay as being “controlled” by the superior rationality of Cass, even his own representation of her words—particularly taken in conjunction with Jane’s writings—suggest not a passive, easily-manipulated female but an active thinker dealing with the impossible situation now at hand. If we listen to her words, even through Henry’s pen, we see thought-filled counsel: “she told the chief that their mediated scheme of resistance to the Americans was madness; the day for such resistance was passed” (*Summary Narrative* 80). Henry’s implication in the larger narrative seems to be that Ozhaguscodaywayquay’s council to her tribe was because she saw the “truth,” i.e., the greatness of Cass and by extension the United State. However, if we read closely her words, even as accounted for by Henry, we see that in fact she is negotiating how to respond to what seemed an inevitable situation—the incursion of the U.S. into their tribal space. Her words that the time for resistance had passed and that it would be madness to continue in this

way make known Ozhaguscodaywayquay's realization of the impossible situation her tribal members were in: Cass had already threatened to crush them; hence full resistance (ie, expelling the U.S. from the area and living as they had before with the British) was "madness" at this point, as it would inevitably result in a catastrophic loss of Ojibwe lives. Seeing as how the small exploratory party arrived with military might and that Cass's threat was par for the course for much of U.S.-indigenous relations, her words seem to grasp the situation in its dire actuality.

A similar re-interpretation is both possible and necessary in the case of Sassaba—the dark, dangerous figure associated with nature and the body in Henry's narrative. Henry's own account gives information about Sassaba and the other resistant Ojibwes that undercut his own interpretation and dichotomy between mind and body, white and Indian; Sassaba and the other "hostiles" in a refusal to "disguise their insolence," raise the British flag (*Summary Narrative* 79). These are the same men, along with the rest of the Ojibwe chiefs, who came wearing medals given to them from the British—medals they received for fighting against the Americans in the War of 1812 (78). Clearly, the Ojibwe chiefs know what the flag and these medals symbolize to the Americans; they do not need to be enlightened by Cass.

Therefore, the "insolence" of their action of raising the British flag, the "symbol of their power," is not so much disrespect as defiance and political maneuvering, something that, as in the case of the Comanche Andrés and the Spanish rulers, is not legible to Schoolcraft due to his preconceived notions of Indianness. The council has proved not to be one for deliberations as seen explicitly in one of

declarations from the Americans: The Ojibwe are told that what the U.S. wanted was a “settled point” (79). When it becomes clear to Sassaba and other Ojibwe leaders that they would not be listened to, something which was most probably anticipated, they reverse the power—they refuse to listen to Cass and, essentially, provoke him by showing that they and their land does not belong to the United States, despite what Cass and his expedition might assert. Raising the British flag, then, is not so much a “symbol of their [Ojibwe] power” as Schoolcraft interprets it, but as a symbol of defiance. The British was never the Ojibwe national symbol as Henry claims; it was a symbol of the powerful friends they had, friends who were a powerful foe to the Americans.

5. Conclusion: Racial Reckonings

In some ways and on some levels, perhaps even in the control he tries to hold over his narrative, Henry seems to grasp the danger of indigeneity to white ways of being: a political maneuverer like Sassaba who uses his mind not his body to contest illegitimate control; a skilled poet who is able to well use the English language and western ways of expression to ironically point out the contradictions within the United States’ society and mythologies; a fierce female leader who attempts to make the best choice possible in an unknown and unwinnable situation—all of these figures challenge the justifications made by U.S. society in western expansion.

Henry’s fear, perhaps, is also reflected in his changing views of race later in his life. Mielke notes that in his earlier career, Henry reflected more of sentimental

culture's "preoccupation with familial attachments, its fascination with sympathy in the presence of difference" (151), similar to views expressed by Thomas Jefferson and others on how to deal with the "Indian Problem."¹³² In this more sympathetic viewpoint, indigenous culture was believed to be able to amalgamate with white culture, mixing the two cultures, with the indigenous largely taking on the characteristics of white culture. This solution would be how Henry originally viewed his relationship with Jane. On one hand, she was already "amalgamated," as her Ojibwe mother had married a white man. In this point of view, then, Jane was a successful case of amalgamation—she was beginning to take on the aspects of white civilization. Henry and Jane's children would become even more "white," as they had less Ojibwe in them and also as Henry was having them fully educated in white ways of being, for instance by sending them to boarding school in the eastern cities.

Yet, by the 1850s, Mielke writes that Henry had come to reject earlier, more sympathetic notions of the indigenous race, replacing them with "an account of savagery as a result of perpetual decline" (164). Richard G. Bremer explains further:

Schoolcraft rejected the model of cultural development which he had followed in varying degrees over the previous four decades in favor of a rigorously fundamentalist conception of human history. Thus he wrote that God had originally created man in the agricultural and not

¹³² See Nash. For instance, in the third year of his presidency, Thomas Jefferson asked "to let our settlements and theirs [Indians'] meet and blend together, to intermix, and become one people." Six years later, Jefferson promised a group of Indian chiefs, "you will unite yourselves with us...and we shall all be Americans; you will mix with us by marriage, your blood will run in our veins, and will spread with us over this great island." In 1784 Patrick Henry in Virginia, tried to push through a law offering bounties for white-Indian marriages and free public education for interracial children (11).

the hunter state. Therefore, the latter condition represented not the first stage along the road of human progress, but rather a declension from civilization owing to the neglect of its higher principles.... The Indian as savage, then, represented the end product of a process of moral degeneration (324-5).

In Henry's new account, amalgamation will not work, as the savage Indian is already irredeemably in decline.¹³³ Henry's changing views of race may have been influenced in large part by his second wife. After Jane died in 1842, he had remarried his second wife, Mary Howard Schoolcraft, and moved to the south. Complicating things even further was his new wife's status: Mary Howard was from a slave-owning family in South Carolina. At the time of her marriage to Schoolcraft, she owned at least twenty slaves at the time of their wedding and was horrified by her husband's first marriage and their "debased offspring" (Mielke 150-152). In 1860, Mary Howard even published a revisionist *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the pro-slavery *The Black Gauntlet; a Tale of Plantation Life in Southern California*, which includes a barely-disguised portrait of her husband that praises his ethnography yet also presents his debased first family as a warning against racial mixing (Mielke 163).¹³⁴

¹³³ Within later works, Henry often discusses why amalgamated peoples or systems do not work. For instance, in his *Historical and Statistical Information* (1857), he writes of Jamestown: "European intercourse with the Indians' had, during a period of one hundred years, produced no appreciable good effects on their general manners, opinions, and modes of life" (183). Speaking of "Indian country," "the territories, and to the vast and unincorporated wilderness, called the 'Indian country'," Schoolcraft writes: "It was impossible that two systems of governments, so diverse as the Indian and the American, would co-exist on the same territory. All history proved this" (373).

¹³⁴ Interestingly to this chapter, is that Howard Schoolcraft's *The Black Gauntlet* also includes another thinly-veiled criticism of the marriage of John and Susan Johnston through the characters of the Earl of Nottingham who "rashly consented to this dangerous amalgamation of races...culminating in his marriage with a genuine North American Indian squaw" (BG 492) and Roland Walsingham who married an

Henry's changing views of race are reflected in his introduction to his bound yet unpublished transcription of Jane's poems, the same volume that Jane's Doric Rock poem is found in. In this introduction, he writes:

If the calm resignation, the pious reverence, and the deep and habitual reliance on the Almighty, as exhibited under the character and sufferings of the Saviour, may be deemed a trait foreign to the natural state of the Indian mind, the truth of the engrafting of these principles, upon the native stock, and the feasibility of their extension of the entire tribes, will more than compensate for the deviation from aboriginal sentiment, in this one particular.... To draw from the ordinary incidents of domestic life, subjects of poetic interest calculated to please, and worthy of being remembered, in the evidence of no ordinary talent, and has fallen to the lot of but few. And the degree in which the object is supposed to have been attained in these pieces, is not such as would perhaps, justify their exhibition, under other, and ordinary circumstances. It is conceived that public feeling, will regard with a more indulgent eye, the simple impromptings of an Indian girl, wife, and mother. (qtd in Parker 238)

Henry's introduction is quite dismissive of the quality of his wife's work, writing that it does not live up to other poets' work, poets who have extraordinary talent; rather, her writing are merely "simple impromptings"—works that are not fully prepared or ready. Henry makes sure to stipulate, however, that he is justified in his exhibition of her poetry, as she is just a simple Indian and thus her works reveals the positive impact of white civilization upon her. Seemingly anticipating his reader's response,

unnamed "Pocahontas wife" (BG 495). Howard Schoolcraft held that "the servility of the African American and the foolish pride of the American Indian are natural traits, and relations among the three races should follow the familial modal without creating interracial children" (Mielke 156). Also, Howard Schoolcraft defended slavery "through ethnographic observation of American Indians and African Americans and of an immediate and a national family endangered by challenges to the racial hierarchy" (163).

questioning how Jane—merely a “simple Indian”—came to have these traits, Henry invokes a plant metaphor.

Henry uses the botanical metaphor of grafting to explain his relationship with his wife rather than that of amalgamation (or in the plant world hybridity).¹³⁵ He deemphasizes that Jane is, in fact, an example of someone who is “hybrid” or mixed in race by terming her an Indian. Similarly, earlier in his introduction, he describes Jane as a “descendent, in the first degree, of a war chief of the northwest” (qtd. in Parker 238). Nowhere does he mention that she is also the descendent of a white and British fur trader. His effacement of Jane’s hybridity makes sense when we consider the difference between hybridity and grafting in botanical sciences.

Both hybridization and grafting are two means of plant propagation. Hybridization is a sexual reproduction of a plant, when two different plants come together to reproduce a new hybrid plant, a metaphor that fits with amalgamation theories. Grafting, however, is a type of asexual propagation where a mature scion is attached to the stock—or stump—of a plant that is native to a region. This allows for the mature plant that is not indigenous to the region to benefit from the stock’s natural

¹³⁵ While primarily an ethnologist, geographer, and geologist and while having requested an expert in botany and other areas to record the natural history for his expeditions (see *Summary Narrative* pg. 30), Schoolcraft still references notations to botany and agriculture in his work, and hence his utilization of a horticultural metaphor is not surprising. See, for instance, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge, Vol. I* (1860), Speaking of “antique” garden beds from parts of Michigan, Schoolcraft writes, “The areas are too large to admit the assumption of their being required for the purposes of ordinary horticulture” (60). Schoolcraft’s *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi in 1820* is even archived online within the collections of the *Biodiversity Heritage Library*, which, according to their website is “a consortium of natural history and botanical libraries that cooperate to digitize the legacy literature of biodiversity.”

propensity for existence in this area, yet remain genetically identical to the original mature plant. The very point of the graft is that the traits do not mingle.¹³⁶

In Henry's invoking of grafting, then, to describe Jane and her poetry, Henry is establishing to his imagined readers that his civilized nature has not mingled with—been affected by—her indigenous nature. More significant, however, is his insinuation, then, of how Jane became a poet and learned how to write as she does. Jane's learning and writing are not so much evidence of her talent or her learning, but of the grafting of white civilization onto her native body. In other words, white civilization is responsible for who she is, not Jane herself. This metaphor takes away any agency on the behalf of Jane and gives the credit both to white civilization as well as to the person that made the graft. As plant grafting in the nineteenth century was very much related to westernized notions of property and cultivation, we can read Henry's words as a claim that Jane's works are white civilization's property, as white civilizations was that which subdued and civilized her.¹³⁷ Perhaps it is not surprising then, that it is at this period that Henry especially begins to efface official records of

¹³⁶ Henry's use of the graft metaphor reveals some of his development of ideas of race, ones that eerily share some similarities with later eugenicist policies. For instance, see Roche: "In the case of human reproductive 'mixing,' as opposed to plant grafting, eugenic anxiety centered around the fact that hybridity was not checked by sterility" (185). See also Turde and Gillete on French eugenicist René Martial, who proposed interracial grafting to combat the increasing threat of other races on French society (208).

¹³⁷ See Erigon, who suggests that grafting, as seen in nineteenth-century fruit orchards, embodies fundamental ideals about property rights. The long-term investment and labor that went into caring for the orchard, as well as its presence on bounded land, reinforced the idea that both the tress and the unplucked fruit was property of that owner.

Jane's contribution to his ethnographic work and take credit for her work and writings (Mielke 166).

Yet Jane, too, offers us up another possible plant metaphor with which to think through her indigeneity. "To the Miscodeed," a twelve-line poem also from Henry's bound yet unpublished manuscript *Poetry 1815-183*, is a celebratory ode to the miscoded, an Ojibwe word for the *Claytonia Virginica*, a white wildflower with pink veins that can also sometimes be all pink (Parker 91).

Sweet pink of northern wood and glen,
E'er first to greet the eyes of men
In early spring,—a tender flower
Whilst still the wintry wind hath power
How welcome, in the sunny glade,
Or hazel copse, thy pretty head
Oft peeping out, whilst still the snow,
Doth here and there, its presence show
Soon leaf and bud quick opening spread
Thy modest petals—white with red
Like some sweet cherub—love's kind link,
With dress of white, adorned with pink.

While we could read this poem as a celebration of the beauty of nature, an ode to a flower in the vein of William Cullen Bryant's "The Yellow Violet" (1821) or Ralph Waldo Emerson's "The Rhodora" (1847), one of the Ojibwe tales that Jane records suggests another interpretation.

"Origin of the Miscodeed, or the Maid of Taquimenon" is an Ojibwe legend Jane recorded and that Henry included in his 1839 *Algic Researches*, a book which explored Henry's views on the "mental characteristics" of the American Indians and

highlighted Indian tales and legends.¹³⁸ “Origin of the Miscodeed” tells the tale of a beautiful young Ojibwe girl who reveled amidst the birds and the wildflowers in her native valley of Taquimenon. In this valley she meets a little bird that she believes to be her guardian spirit. However, in the winter an enemy tribe soon destroys this peace. As she and her family are sitting eating their morning meal, a “treacherous” war party sends a volley of arrows toward them and kills her mother and father (qtd. in Parker 182). In fear of what they will do to her, she cries out to her guardian spirit, the bird, and sinks lifeless into the ground. When the war party leader comes in, he finds the mother and father dead, but no signs of the daughter. Therefore, after taking the scalps of the mother and father, the war party leaves. When the other villagers come into the lodge, all they find is a “modest little white flower, bordered with pink”—a miscodeed.

It would be very tempting to read the poem and this tale together as a metaphor of indigenous survivance, particularly of Jane’s survivance. Amidst a symbolic winter of hardship, a war party (the United States explorers?) enters into the tribal space bringing death and suffering and grief. Yet, the beautiful young girl lives, just not in the same outward appearance; she must take on a different form in order to survive. Despite dying young, Jane was a survivor. She lived during a complicated and trying time within her tribal space and faced complex decisions and relationships. Yet, to read her as the miscodeed would be to overly simplify her world and her life.

¹³⁸ The entire title is *Algic Researchers, Comprising Inquiries Respecting the Mental Characteristics of the North American Indians. First Series. Indian Tales and Legends*.

It would be, in some ways, to read her as Henry reads the dark body of the Indian—as something dangerous to white civilization and in need of being subdued with the rational mind. For scholars of American literature, Jane presents a different “danger,” so to speak. We desire to get to indigenous knowledge, to possess an understanding of her indigenous selfhood; yet, with Jane, our desire for this sort of knowledge continues to be thwarted and is never fully attainable. Jane embodies the “danger” of unknowability, for she ultimately eludes our attempts to pin her down.

Coda

It is supposed by some to be derived from the plant.... but more generally it is derived from certain words supposed to have been spoken by the natives in answer to a question asked by the Spaniards on their first arrival. The supposed question is, 'What is the name of this country?' or 'How is this country called?' and the conjectured answer, 'I do not understand those words,' or 'I do not understand your words,' either of which expressions, in the language of the natives, has some resemblance in pronunciation to the word Yucatan.

John Lloyd Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*

Following in the footsteps of a long line of writers since the sixteenth century, Stephens narrates this supposed moment of Spanish encounter with the Maya and the subsequent naming of the Yucatán.¹³⁹ While apocryphal, I would like to reflect for a moment on this incident as recorded by Stephens. In this telling, we see a moment of transnational encounter, one marked by a failure of successful communication brought about by linguistic difference. More than just unsuccessful communication, however, this incident reveals a fundamental misapprehension on the part of the Spanish, as the Spanish think the Mayans have in fact answered their question. The Spanish non sequitur, then, is based on a belief that communication has in fact occurred. How, though, does this misbelief come to be? What allows the Spanish to

¹³⁹ For instance, Spaniards such as Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía), Hernán Cortés, and Bernal Díaz del Castillo all write about this legend.

enter into another space, another culture, and think that their Spanish words will be understood?

In order to suggest an answer, I turn to another moment in the Stephens' narrative. Rather than describing the Spanish encounter with the Yucatán and the Maya, Stephens depicts his first encounter with the *mano colorado* within the Uxmal ruins. Imagining the red hand as extended in greeting, Stephens narrates, "There was something lifelike...and almost presented the images of the departed inhabitants hovering about the building" (177-8). Stephens himself has a perceived moment of transtemporal communication with this hand and its maker. This moment of imagined communication quickly turns to observation, with Stephens noting the "one striking feature" of the red hand: It was "exceedingly small, as either of our own spread over and completely hid them" (178). Stephens' observation of the hand's size is not one of scientific measurement but of comparison to his and Catherwood's hands, a detail which reveals that his seemingly factual observation is actually circumstantial: Stephens' description only holds true for himself or someone else with a similar size of hand. If we invert this relation, establishing the Mayan hand as the norm, then Stephens is the one with an "exceptionally large" hand. Stephens' observation, therefore, posits his hand as the norm and the *mano colorado* as that marked by difference.

Returning to the purported encounter between the Spanish and the Maya, I contend that the Spaniards' misapprehension of the Mayan response reveals a similar dynamic. Their assumption that the Maya will understand their language stems from

an assumption of Spanish as the norm and Mayan as the outlier; in this hierarchy, the Maya, then, must accommodate to the Spanish language, not the other way around. This presumption, combined with the intent of the Francisco Hernández de Córdoba's expedition—to explore and take slaves—and the ultimate outcome of it—the finding of gold that leads to the continued exploration and eventual subjugation of this space—suggests that successful communication—exchange between two groups—was never the purpose. Conquest, not communication, was the goal. As is the Spanish language in the legend, Spanish desires and pursuits in the Yucatán are the criterion that the Maya must accommodate or be made to accommodate. This sense of being the criterion, then, comes with a sense of rightness, one evident in Stephens' actions as well, evinced in his imagining of himself as the justified explorer saving these silent ruins from oblivion.

Despite depictions that signal otherwise, both Stephens' and the Spaniards' encounters with the Maya are not marked by silence or a Mayan lack of understanding. While the Mayan may not understand the language, they understand correctly what is occurring. Shortly after the purported encounter between the Spanish and the Maya, the Maya invite the Spaniards to land, only to ambush them to prevent them from further "exploration." Stephens also encounters an ambush of sorts. During his group's first night at Uxmal, Stephens recounts, "the whole population...dividing into three swarms, came upon us as if determined to lift us up and eject us bodily from the premises" (159). While not stealing gold or planning on taking slaves, Stephens steals beams and other items under the auspices of salvage

and research. While clearly a difference in severity, Stephens' use of the Mayan ruins for his own purposes falls onto the same spectrum as the Spanish use of the Mayan lands for their own purposes.

In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith explores the intersections of imperialism and research, asserting that, "From the vantage point of the colonized...the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The words itself, 'research,' is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (1). To understand that research is a dirty word for indigenous peoples, we need to look no further than to the Spaniards who "researched" the Yucatán looking for gold and slaves or to Stephens, whose research included taking Mayan antiquities and deprecating the living Maya. It is easy to see the problematics of such research and to understand indigenous aversion to it. As twenty-first century scholars, it is also easy to look at the past and see the glaring issues, yet it is much harder to see our own set of issues, perhaps even our own complicity in systems of power that silence and use others. Smith contends that much contemporary research, even done with positive intentions, still performs a conquest of indigenous knowledge. Given her point, I wonder if the link between Spanish exploration and Stephens' research can extend to us as well.

Post-canon wars, American literary history has seen a broadening of the canon to include an array of voices—indigenous, female, African American, Latino/a, etc. My dissertation, too, works to expand what we as American Literary scholars read and view as significant. I wonder, though, if there are ways that we have "heard"

these voices, but, like the Spaniards in the legend of the naming of the Yucatán, we have not really understood. If these texts could speak back, they might, like the Maya, assert that they do not understand our words, our categories, our research. It is too easy to do as the Spanish in the legend, to ask questions in a language that the text does not speak, and hence to draw incorrect conclusions about what these texts do and say. I wonder if we have imposed our own categories of thinking about literature, about nation, about America, and have failed to understand what these texts are saying. In this project, I have attempted to really listen to these texts—these violent inscriptions—to follow them where they go, and to let their logic challenge the assumptions that still remain in American Literary studies. Like any scholar, I will no doubt have my thoughts amended and supplemented and even challenged by later work, a necessary continuance of all research.

Yet, one thing that I have established is the import and the impact of these texts that fail to fit into the categories of nation, language, or mono-cultural traditions often invoked in American literary history. These violent inscriptions have belied the logic of inscription, revealing that inscription is itself secondary. As the Ojibwe nation, as Comanchería, as Mexico, these violent inscriptions surpassed the borders that were later imposed upon them, both within the nineteenth century itself and today. These texts have always already been speaking. The question then remains: will we really listen?

References

- “A Sketch in the Tropics.” *Blackwood’s Magazine* 54. September 1843.
- “A Sketch in the Tropics.” *Wellington Independent*. 19. January 1847.
- A Visit to Texas: Being the Journal of a Traveller Through Those Parts Most Interesting to American Settlers*. Goodrich & Wiley, 1834.
- Aguirre, Robert D. *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. Print.
- Alcoff, Linda Martín. “Mignolo’s Epistemology of Coloniality.” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 7.3 (2007): 79-101. EBSCO.
- Alemán, Jesse, and Shelley Streeby, eds. *Empire and the Literature of Sensation: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Popular Fiction*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007. Print.
- Allen, Theodore. *The Invention of the White Race*. London, New York: Verso, 1994. Print.
- Allen, David Grayson. “The Social and Cultural Landscape of Seventeenth Century New England.” Memorial Hall Museum. 2014. Web. 11 May 2016.
- Anderson, Gary. *The Conquest of Texas : Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. Print.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera*. San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987. Print.
- Apter, Emily. *The Translation Zone : A New Comparative Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. Print.
- Armstrong, Jeannette C. “Land Speaking.” *Speaking for the Generations: Native Writers on Writing*. Ed. Simon J. Ortiz. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998. 174-195.

- Armstrong, Meg. “‘The Effects of Blackness’: Gender, Race, and the Sublime in Aesthetic Theories of Burke and Kant.” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 54.3 (1996): 213–236. *JSTOR*.
- Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis : The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953. Print.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Native Races. 1883-1886*. 1886. Print.
- Barker, Eugene C. *Mexico and Texas, 1821-1835*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1965. Print.
- . *The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836: A Chapter in the Westward Movement of the Anglo-American People*. New York: AMS Press, 1970. Print.
- Barr, Juliana, and Edward Countryman. *Contested Spaces of Early America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. Print.
- Bartow, Joanna. *Subject to Change : The Lessons of Latin American Women’s Testimonio for Truth, Fiction, and Theory*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Print.
- Basso, Keith H. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations*. New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1968. Print.
- Berger, Martin. *Sight Unseen: Whiteness and American Visual Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Berlandier, Jean Louis, and John C. Ewers. *The Indians of Texas in 1830*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969. Print.
- Bethany Schneider. “Not for Citation: Jane Johnston Schoolcraft’s Synchronic Strategies.” *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 54.1–4 (2009): 111–144. *EBSCO*.
- Blackhawk, Ned. *Violence over the Land : Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006. Print.
- Blaeser, Kimberly. *Gerald Vizenor : Writing in the Oral Tradition*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996. Print.

- Blake, Robert Bruce. "Martinez Pacheco, Rafael." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Texas State Historical Association. 15. June 2010.
- Bloom, Harold, ed. *Native American Women Writers*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 1998. Print.
- Boggs, Colleen. *Transnationalism and American Literature : Literary Translation 1773-1892*. New York: Routledge, 2007. Print.
- Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. Print.
- Bonde, Sheila, and Stephen D. Houston, eds. *Re-Presenting the Past: Archaeology through Text and Image*. Oxford, Oakville: Oxbow Books, 2013. Print.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism without Racists : Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. 3rd ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010. Print.
- Bové, Paul. *Poetry against Torture : Criticism, History, and the Human*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008. Print.
- Boyer, Carl B., and Uta C. Merzbach. *A History of Mathematics*. John Wiley & Sons, 2011. Print.
- Brack, Gene. "Mexican Opinion and the Texas Revolution." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 72.2 (1968): 170–182. EBSCO.
- . *Mexico Views Manifest Destiny, 1821-1846: An Essay on the Origins of the Mexican War*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975. Print.
- Braswell, Geoffrey E. *The Maya and Their Central American Neighbors: Settlement Patterns, Architecture, Hieroglyphic Texts and Ceramics*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014. Print.
- Bremer, Richard G. *Indian Agent and Wilderness Scholar: The Life of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft*. Mount Pleasant: Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University, 1987. Print.
- Brickhouse, Anna. *The Unsettling of America: Translation, Interpretation, and the Story of Don Luis de Velasco, 1560-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Print.

- . *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Print.
- Brodhead, Richard. *Cultures of Letters : Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. Print.
- Brooks, Peter. *Reading for the Plot : Design and Intention in Narrative*. 1st ed. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1984. Print.
- Brose, Eric Dorn. *German History 1789-1871: From the Holy Roman Empire to the Bismarckian Reich*. New York: Berghahn, 2013. Print.
- Brunhouse, Robert L. *Pursuit of the Ancient Maya: Some Archaeologists of Yesterday*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975. Print.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble : Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990. Print.
- Callicott, J. Baird, and Michael P. Nelson, eds. *The Great New Wilderness Debate*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. Print.
- Campbell, Donna. *Resisting Regionalism : Gender and Naturalism in American Fiction, 1885-1915*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997. Print.
- Caneque, Alejandro. *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico*. New York: Routledge, 2013. Print.
- Cantrell, Gregg. *Stephen F. Austin, Empresario of Texas*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999. Print.
- Caplan, Karen. *Indigenous Citizens: Local Liberalism in Early National Oaxaca and Yucatán*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2009. Print.
- Castillo, Bernal Díaz del. *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico*. Trans. Joshua Cushing. Cushing & Appleton, 1803. Print.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. Print.
- Cioc, Marc. University of California, Santa Cruz. Santa Cruz, CA. 10. October 2013. Lecture.

- Conn, Steven. *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006. Print.
- “Continental Correspondance.” *American Literary Gazette*. Ed. George W. Childs, 15. July 1864.
- Cooper, James Fenimore. *The “Leather-Stocking” Tales, Comprising The Deerslayer, The Pathfinder, The Last of the Mohicans, The Pioneers, The Prairie*. 1867.
- Coronado, Raúl. *A World Not to Come*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013. Print.
- Cottrell, Robert C. *The Czech Republic: The Velvet Revolution*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2005. Print.
- Coujou, Jean-Paul. “Political Thought and Legal Theory in Suárez. *A Companion to Francisco Suárez*. Eds. Victor M. Salas and Robert L. Fastiggi. Leiden: Brill, 2014. 29-71. Print.
- Cox, James. *Muting White Noise : Native American and European American Novel Traditions*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. Print.
- Crain, Patricia. *The Story of A: The Alphabetization of America from the New England Primer to the Scarlet Letter*. 1st ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000. Print.
- DeLay, Brian, ed. *North American Borderlands*. New York: Routledge, 2013. Print. *Rewriting Histories*.
- De Zavala, Adina, and Richard R. Flores. *History and Legends of the Alamo and Other Missions in Andaround San Antonio*. Houston, Tex: Arte Público Press, 1996. Print.
- Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic, eds. *Critical White Studies: Looking behind the Mirror*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997. Print.
- Deloria, Phillip. *Indians in Unexpected Places*. Lawrence & Wichita: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Print.
- Deloria, Vine. *Custer Died For Your Sins: an Indian Manifesto*. Norman: University of Chicago Press, 1988. Print.
- Denetdale, Jennifer. *Reclaiming Diné History : The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007. Print.

- Derrida, Jacques. *Acts of Literature*. New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.
- . *Limited Inc.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1988. Print.
- Dippie, Brian. *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy*. Lawrence: UP of Kansas, 1982. Print.
- DeSilvey, Caitlin, and Tim Edensor. "Reckoning with Ruins." *Progress in Human Geography* 37.4 (2013): 465–485. *EBSCO*.
- Dwyer, Augusta. *On the Line: Life on the US-Mexican Border*. London: Latin American Bureau, 1994. Print.
- Edwards, Laura. *The People and Their Peace : Legal Culture and the Transformation of Inequality in the Post-Revolutionary South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. Print.
- Ensor, Bradley E. *Crafting Prehispanic Maya Kinship*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2013. Print.
- Erdrich, Louise. "Where I Ought to Be: A Writer's Sense of Place." *Louise Erdrich's Love Medicine: A Casebook*. Ed. Hertha D. Sweet Wong. New York: Oxford UP, 2000. 43-52.
- Estep, Raymond. "Lorenzo de Zavala and the Texas Revolution." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 57.3 (1954): 322–335. *EBSCO*.
- . *The Life of Lorenzo de Zavala*. Austin: University of Texas, 1942. Print.
- Evans, R. Tripp. *Romancing the Maya: Mexican Antiquity in the American Imagination, 1820-1915*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004. Print.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967. Print.
- Faust, Drew. *This Republic of Suffering : Death and the American Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008. Print.
- Fetterley, Judith, and Pryse, Marjorie. *Writing out of Place : Regionalism, Women, and American Literary Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003. Print.
- Firmat, Gustavo Pérez. *Do the Americas Have a Common Literature?* Duke: Duke University Press, 1990. Print.

- Foote, Stephanie. *Regional Fictions : Culture and Identity in Nineteenth-Century American Literature*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000. Print.
- Foster, Tol. "Of One Blood: An Argument for Relations and Regionality in Native American Literary Studies." *The Native Critics Collective*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 265-302. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. "What is an Author?" *Screen* 20.1 (1979): 13-34. *EBSCO*.
- Frankenberg, Ruth. *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993. Print.
- Gálvez, Bernardo de. *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain*. 1786.
- Gerstäcker, Friedrich. *Aus Nord- und Südamerika; Erzählungen*. 1855.
- . *Black and White: In the Red River Swamp*. Ed. and Trans. Mark Gruettner and Robert Bareikis. Shreveport: Tintamarre, 2006.
- . *California Skizzen*. 1856.
- . *Die Flusspiraten des Mississippi: aus dem waldleben Amerikas*. 1848.
- . *Gerstäcker's Louisiana: Fiction and Travel Sketches from Antebellum Times through Reconstruction*. Ed. and Trans. Irene S. Di Maio. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006. Print.
- . *Die Regulatoren in Arkansas: aus dem Waldleben Amerikas*. 1846.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic : Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993. Print.
- Gillman, Susan, and Kirsten Silva Gruesz. "Worlding America: The Hemispheric Text-Network." *A Companion to American Literary Studies* (2011): 228-247.
- Goeman, Mishuana. "From Place to Territories and Back Again: Centering Storied Land in the discussion of Indigenous Nation-Building." *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies* 1 (2008): 23-34.
- . "(Re)Mapping Indigenous Presence on the Land in Native Women's Literature." *American Quarterly* 60.2 (2008): 295-302.

- Golden, Charles W., and Greg Borgstede, eds. *Continuities and Changes in Maya Archaeology: Perspectives at the Millennium*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Print.
- Goldman, Anne. *Continental Divides : Revisioning American Literature*. Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Press, 2000. Print.
- Gomel, Elena. *Bloodscripts: Writing the Violent Subject*. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 2003.
- González, John Morán. *Border Renaissance: The Texas Centennial and the Emergence of Mexican American Literature*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009. Print.
- Green, Stanley C. *The Mexican Republic: The First Decade, 1823-1832*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987. Print.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. Print.
- Griswold del Castillo, Richard. *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. Print.
- Gruesz, Kirsten Silva. "Alien Speech, Incorporated: On the Cultural History of Spanish in the U.S." *American Literary History* 25.1 (2013): 18-32. EBSCO.
- . *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2002. Print.
- . "The Occluded History of Transamerican Literature." *Critical Latin American and Latino Studies*. Ed. Juan Poblete. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- . "Translation: A Key(word) into the Language of America(nists)." *American Literary History* 16.1 (2004): 85-92. EBSCO.
- . "What Was Latino Literature?" *PMLA* 127.2 (2012): 335-341. EBSCO.
- Gruesz, Kirsten Silva and Anna Brickhouse. *The Hemispheric South and the [Un]Common Ground of Comparability*. C19: Society of Nineteenth-Century Americanists, 2014. Web 19 March 2015.
- Grünzweig, Walter. *Charles Sealsfield*. Boise, Idaho: Boise State University, 1985. Print.

- . "Charles Sealsfield." *Dictionary of Literary Biography 186: Nineteenth-Century American Western Writers*. Ed. by Robert L. Gale. Detroit: Gale, 1997. 345. Print.
- . *Das Demokratische Kanaan: Charles Sealsfields Amerika im Kontext amerikanischer Literatur und Ideologie*. Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1987. Print.
- . *Kulturelle Narrative und Dekonstruktion: von den American Studies zu den Cultural Studies*. Paderborn: Universität-Gesamthochschule, 1996. Print.
- Hagen, William W. *German History in Modern Times: Four Lives of the Nation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Print.
- Hamalainen, Pekka. *The Comanche Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008. Print.
- Hämäläinen, Pekka, and Samuel Truett. "On Borderlands." *Journal of American History* 98.2 (2011): 338–361. EBSCO.
- Hammond, Norman and Gordon R. Willey, eds. *Maya Archaeology and Ethnohistory*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979. Print.
- Haney-López, Ian. *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York: New York University Press, 2006. Print.
- Hanke, Lewis. *Do the Americas Have a Common History? A Critique of the Bolton Theory*. New York: Knopf, 1964.
- Hardmann, Francis. *Frontier Life: Or, Scenes and Adventures in the South West*. Miller, Orton & Company, 1857. Print.
- . *Scenes and Adventures in Central America*. W. Blackwood and Sons, 1852. Print.
- Harootunian, Harry. "Some Thoughts on Comparability and the Space-Time Problem." *boundary 2* 32.2 (2005): 23–52. Print.
- Heath Justice, Daniel. "Indigenous Literary Nationalism." www.danielheathjustice.com 15. March 2011.
- Heidegger, Martin. *The Question Concerning Technology, and Other Essays*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977. Print.

- Heller, Otto, and Theodore H. Leon. *The Language of Charles Sealsfield ; a Study in Atypical Usage*. St. Louis: St Louis, 1941. Print.
- Henson, Margaret Swett. *Lorenzo de Zavala: The Pragmatic Idealist*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1996. Print.
- . "Understanding Lorenzo de Zavala, Signer of the Texas Declaration of Independence." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 102.1 (1998): 1–17. EBSCO.
- Heredia, José María. *Niágara Y Otros Textos: Poesía Y Prosa Selectas*. Ed. Ángel Augier. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1990. Print.
- Hoxie, Frederick. *Talking Back to Civilization : Indian Voices from the Progressive Era*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001. Print.
- Hsu, Hsuan L. *Geography and the Production of Space in Nineteenth-Century American Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010. Print.
- Hubach, Robert R. *Early Midwestern Travel Narratives: An Annotated Bibliography 1634-1850*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998. Print.
- Huhndorf, Shari M. *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009. Print.
- Hurtado, Albert L. *Herbert Eugene Bolton: Historian of the American Borderlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. Print.
- Huyssen, Andreas. "Nostalgia for Ruins." *Grey Room* (2006): 6–21. *MIT Press Journals*.
- Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge, 2009. Print.
- Inness, Sherrie, and Royer, Diana. *Breaking Boundaries : New Perspectives on Women's Regional Writing*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997. Print.
- Jacobs, Harriet Ann, John S. Jacobs, and Jean Fagan Yellin. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself*. Harvard University Press, 2009. Print.
- Jacobs, Margaret. *White Mother to a Dark Race : Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. Print.

- Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999. Print.
- Jaehn, Tomas. *Germans in the Southwest, 1850-1920*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. Print.
- James, C.L.R. *Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways: the Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In*. New York: C.L.R. James, 1953. Print.
- Jaskoski, Helen, ed. *Early Native American Writing: New Critical Essays*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Print.
- Jehlen, Myra. *American Incarnation : The Individual, the Nation, and the Continent*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986. Print.
- Johnson, David E. "Writing in the Dark': The Political Fictions of American Travel Writing." *American Literary History* 7.1 (1995): 1-27. *JSTOR*
- Johnson, Mark. *The Meaning of the Body : Aesthetics of Human Understanding*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007. Print.
- Johnson, Walter. *Soul by Soul : Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999. Print.
- Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. Print.
- Kaplan, Amy. "Manifest Domesticity." *American Literature* 70.3 (1998): 581-606. *EBSCO*.
- Kaplan, Amy, and Donald E. Pease, eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993. Print.
- Karafilis, Maria. "Introduction." *The Linwoods, or "Sixty Years Since" in America*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002. Print.
- Karamanski, Theodore J. *The Pictured Rocks: An Administrative History of Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore*. Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995. Print.
- Kaye, Anthony. *Joining Places : Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. Print.

- Kazanjian, David. *The Brink of Freedom: Improvising Life in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.
- Kelly, Joyce. *An Archaeological Guide to Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993. Print.
- Kendall, George Wilkins, and Carl Nebel. *The War Between the United States and Mexico Illustrated, Embracing Pictorial Drawings of All the Principal Conflicts by Carl Nebel, with a Description of Each Battle, by Geo. Wilkins Kendall*. D. Appleton, 1851. Print.
- Kerrigan, William. "Apples on the Border: Orchards and the Contest for the Great Lakes." *Michigan Historical Review* 34.1 (2008): 25–41. Print.
- Kilcup, Karen L. *Native American Women's Writing: An Anthology C. 1800 - 1924*. Oxford, Malden: Blackwell, 2000. Print.
- King, Thomas. *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. Print.
- Kluge, Cora Lee, and Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, eds. *Other Witnesses: An Anthology of Literature of the German Americans, 1850-1914*. Madison, Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007. Print.
- Kolodny, Annette. *The Lay of the Land : Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975. Print.
- Kriegleder, Wynfrid. *Vorwärts in Die Vergangenheit: Das Bild Der USA Im Deutschsprachigen Roman von 1776 Bis 1855*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1999. Print.
- Kriegleder, Wynfrid, and Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, eds. *Literarische Narrationen der Migration Europa-Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert*. Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2012. Print.
- Kriegleder, Wynfrid, and Alexander Ritter, eds. *Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May und andere: Übersetzungen, Bearbeitungen, Adaptionen*. Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2014. Print.
- Kriegleder, Wynfrid, and Charles Sealsfield. *Die Geschichten des Charles Sealsfield: Zeitschriftenveröffentlichungen und Vorlagen*. Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2009. Print.

- Kristeva, Julia. *Strangers to Ourselves*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991. Print.
- Krupat, Arnold. *All That Remains: Varieties of Indigenous Expression*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. Print.
- . *For Those Who Came After: A Study of Native American Autobiography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. Print.
- . "That the People Might Live": *Loss and Renewal in Native American Elegy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012. Print.
- . *The Voice in the Margin: Native American Literature and the Canon*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. Print.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991. Print.
- LeMenager, Stephanie. "Imagining the Frontier." *Cambridge History of the American Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 515-536. Print.
- . *Manifest and Other Destinies : Territorial Fictions of the Nineteenth-Century United States*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. Print.
- Lenz, William E. *Ruins, Revolution, and Manifest Destiny: John Lloyd Stephens Creates the Maya*. New York: Peter Lang, 2013. Print.
- Levander, Caroline Field, and Robert S. Levine, eds. *Hemispheric American Studies*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008. Print.
- Lewis, G. Malcolm, ed. *Cartographic Encounters : Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. Print.
- Lewis, Michael. *American Wilderness: A New History*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. Print.
- Lich, Glen E. "Postl, Carl Anton." *Handbook of Texas Online*. 1 Apr 2016.
- Linenthal, Edward. *History Wars : The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*. 1st ed. New York: Metropolitan Books, 1996. Print.
- . *The Unfinished Bombing : Oklahoma City in American Memory*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Print.

- Lipsitz, George. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness : How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998. Print.
- Lomawaima, K. “*To Remain an Indian*” : *Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education*. New York: Teachers College Press, 2006. Print.
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. *The Song of Hiawatha*. 1856.
- Lott, Eric. *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Print.
- Lutz, Tom. *Cosmopolitan Vistas : American Regionalism and Literary Value*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004. Print.
- Maddox, Lucy. *Citizen Indians : Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. Print.
- Makkreel, Rudolf. “Imagination and Temporality in Kant’s Theory of the Sublime.” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 42.3 (1984): 303–315. *JSTOR*.
- Martinez, David. *Dakota Philosopher : Charles Eastman and American Indian Thought*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2009. Print.
- , ed. *The American Indian Intellectual Tradition : An Anthology of Writings from 1772 to 1972*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011. Print.
- May, Karl. *Winnetou*. New York: Continuum, 1998. Print. Collected Works of Karl May ser. 2, v. 1–2. Print.
- Mayer, Evelyn P. *Narrating North American Borderlands: Thomas King, Howard F. Moshier, and Jim Lynch*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang, 2014. Print.
- McCurry, Stephanie. *Confederate Reckoning : Power and Politics in the Civil War South*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010. Print.
- McGill, Meredith L. *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. Print.
- McGuire, Randall H. “Archeology and the First Americans.” *American Anthropologist* 94.4 (1992): 816-836.
- McKenzie, D. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Print.

- Melville, Herman. *Benito Cereno*. 1855/1856.
- Mexal, Stephen J. "The Logic of Liberalism: Lorenzo de Zavala's Transcultural Politics." *MELUS* 32.2 (2007): 79–106. *EBSCO*.
- Mielke, Laura L. *Moving Encounters: Sympathy and the Indian Question in Antebellum Literature*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008. Print.
- Mignolo, Walter. *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges and Border Thinking*. Princeton, Princeton UP: 1999.
- Miles, Tiya. *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Print.
- Miranda, Deborah. *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*. Berkeley: Heyday, 2013.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. Print.
- Momaday, N. Scott. "Native American Attitudes to the Environment." *Seeing with a Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion*. Ed. Walter Holden Capps. New York: Harper & Row, 1976. 79-85.
- Montejano, David. *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987. Print.
- Montejo, Victor. *Maya Intellectual Renaissance: Identity, Representation, and Leadership*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005. Print.
- Morley, Iain, and Colin Renfrew, eds. *The Archaeology of Measurement: Comprehending Heaven, Earth and Time in Ancient Societies*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Print.
- Morris, Meaghan. "White Panic or Max and the Sublime (The 'Costs' of Multiculturalism)." *Trajectories: Inter-Asia cultural studies*. Ed. Kuan-Hsing Chen. London: Routledge, 1998. 239-262. Print.
- Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992. Print.
- Motolinía, Toribio de Benavente de. *Historia de Los Indios de La Nueva España*. Ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta. 1858.

- Mudge, Ken et al. "A History of Grafting." *Horticultural Reviews*. (2009) 437–493. *Wiley Online Library*.
- Murphy, Gretchen. *Hemispheric Imaginings the Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- . *Shadowing the White Man's Burden: U.S. Imperialism and the Problem of the Color Line*. New York: New York University Press, 2010. Print.
- Murray, David. *Forked Tongues: Speech, Writing and Representation in North American Indian Texts*. London: Pinter, 1991. Print.
- Nash, Gary B., and Graham Russell Hodges. *Friends of Liberty: Thomas Jefferson, Tadeusz Kościuszko, and Agrippa Hull : A Tale of Three Patriots, Two Revolutions, and a Tragic Betrayal of Freedom in the New Nation*. New York: Basic Books, 2008. Print.
- Nelson, Holly Faith, Lynn R. Szabo, and Jens Zimmermann, eds. *Through a Glass Darkly: Suffering, the Sacred, and the Sublime in Literature and Theory*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010. Print.
- Norton, Mike. "TC History Full of Indian Traditions: Their Presence is Often Overlooked." *Travis City Record Eagle*. 14. Nov 1999.
- O'Brien, Jean M. *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. Print.
- O'Donovan, Susan. *Becoming Free in the Cotton South*. Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007. Print.
- Olmanson, Eric D. *The Future City on the Inland Sea: A History of Imaginative Geographies of Lake Superior*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007. Print.
- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States*. New York, London: Routledge, 2015. Print.
- "Our Continental Correspondence." *American Literary Gazette*. 15. July 1864.
- Owens, Louis. *I Hear the Train: Reflections, Inventions, Refractions*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. Print.
- Pacheco, Raphael Martínez. *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 12. Oct 1787. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.

- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 19. Jan 1788. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 1. Feb 1788. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 2. Feb 1788. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Los Jefes de la Nación Comanche*. 15. Feb 1788. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 18. Feb 1788. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 29. Feb 1788. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 16. Mar 1788. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 30. Mar 1788. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 2. Aug 1788. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 14. Sept 1788. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 19. Jan 1789. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 16. Mar 1789. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 26. Apr 1789. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 24. Sept 1789. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *A Don Juan de Ugalde*. 11. Nov 1789. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.

- Pacholec, M.E. "Time and the Sublime Self." *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 6.4 (1999): 70–84. EBSCO.
- Palmer, Alan. *Metternich: Councillor of Europe*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972. Print.
- Parcero, María de la Luz. *Lorenzo de Zavala, fuente y origen de la reforma liberal en México*. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1966. Print.
- Parker, Robert Dale. *Changing is Not Vanishing: A Collection of Early American Indian Poetry to 1930*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. Print.
- . *The Invention of Native American Literature*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003. Print.
- Pearce, Margaret Wickens and Renee Pualani Louis. "Mapping Indigenous Depth of Place." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 32.3 (2008): 107-126. EBSCO.
- Pease, Donald E. *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993. Print.
- . *The Futures of American Studies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002. Print.
- . *The New American Exceptionalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009. Print.
- . *Reframing the Transnational Turn in American Studies*. Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2011. Print.
- . *Revisionary Interventions into the Americanist Canon*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1994. Print.
- Perera, Suvendrini. "Torturous Dialogues: Geographies of Trauma and Spaces of Exception." *Continuum* 24.1 (2010): 31–45. EBSCO.
- Pérez Firmat, Gustavo. *Do the Americas Have a Common Literature?* Durham: Duke University Press, 1990. Print.
- Phillips, Mary E. *Edgar Allan Poe: The Man*, Vol. 2. Chicago: The John C. Winston Co., 1926. Print.

- Poe, Edgar Allan. "Doings of Gotham." *The Columbia Spy*. Ed. Thomas Ollive Mabbott. Pennsylvania: J. E. Spannuth, 1929, 51ff. Print.
- Powell, Timothy. *Ruthless Democracy: A Multicultural Interpretation of the American Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. Print.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London, New York: Routledge, 2007. Print.
- Prucha, F. P. "Andrew Jackson's Indian Policy: A Reassessment." *The Journal of American History* 56.3 (1969): 527–539. *JSTOR*.
- Pugliese, Joseph. "Indigeneity and the Racial Topography of Kant's 'Analytic of the Sublime.'" *Indigeneity and re/presentation*, ed. James N. Brown and Patricia M. Sants. New York: Nova Science Publishers, 1999. 15–31. Print.
- Raibmon, Paige. *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005. Print.
- Ramirez, Renya K. "Henry Roe Cloud: A Granddaughter's Native Feminist Biographical Account." *Wicazo Sa Review* 24.2 (2009): 77-103. *EBSCO*>
- Rancière, Jacques. *The Future of the Image*. London, New York: Verso, 2007. Print.
- Reichstein, Andreas. *Rise of the Lone Star: The Making of Texas*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1989. Print.
- Reinhartz, Dennis, Gerald D. Saxon, and ebrary, Inc, eds. *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005. Print.
- Reséndez, Andrés. *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Print.
- Retamar, Roberto Fernández. *Caliban and Other Essays*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989. Print.
- . *Nuestra América y el Occidente*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Coordinación de Humanidades, Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras; Unión de Universidades de América Latina, 1978. Print.

- . *Para una teoría de la literatura hispanoamericana*. Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1995. Print.
- Ridley, Hugh. *“Relations Stop Nowhere” : The Common Literary Foundations of German and American Literature 1830-1917*. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2007. Print.
- Rifkin, Mark. *The Erotics of Sovereignty: Queer Native Writing in the Era of Self-Determination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012. Print.
- . *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of U.S. National Space*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Print.
- . *Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014. Print.
- . *When did the Indians Become Straight?: Kinship, The History of Sexuality, and Native Sexuality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Print.
- Ritter, Alexander. “Charles Sealsfield (1793-1864): German and America Novelist of The Nineteenth Century. *Mississippi Quarterly* (47.4) 1994, 633-644.
- . *Charles Sealsfield im Schweizer Exil, 1831-1864: Republikanisches Refugium und Internationale Literatenkarriere*. Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2008. Print.
- . “Deutschlands Literarisches Amerikabild : Neuere Forschungen Zur Amerikarezeption Der Deutschen Literatur. Hildesheim: Olms, 1977. Print.
- . *Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl): die Deutung seines Werkes zwischen Positivismus und Funktionalität, europäischer Geistesgeschichte und amerikanischer Literaturgeschichte*. Stuttgart: n.p., 1972. Print.
- . *Darstellung und Funktion der Landschaft in den Amerika-Romanen von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl): eine Studie zum Prosa-Roman der deutschen und amerikanischen Literatur in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Kiel: n.p, 1969. Print.
- . *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild: neuere Forschungen zur Amerikarezeption d. dt. Literatur*. Hildesheim, New York: Olms, 1977. Print.
- . “Nachwort.” *Das Kajütenbuch oder Nationale Charakteristiken*. Charles Sealsfield. Frankfurt: Insel, 1989. 511-12.
- . *Sealsfield-Studien*. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1998. Print.

- Ritter, Alexander and Internationale Charles Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, et al., eds. *Charles Sealsfield: Perspektiven neuerer Forschung*. Wien: Edition Praesens, 2004. Print.
- Río, Antonio del, and Pablo Felix Cabrera. *Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City: Discovered Near Palenque, in the Kingdom of Guatemala* 1822. Print.
- Roche, Claire M. *Evolution and Eugenics in American Literature and Culture, 1880-1940: Essays on Ideological Conflict and Complicity*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2003. Print.
- Rockman, Seth. *Scraping By : Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. Print.
- Rodriguez, Jaime E. O, and Kathryn Vincent, eds. *Myths, Misdeeds, and Misunderstandings: The Roots of Conflict in U.S.-Mexican Relations*. Wilmington: SR Books, 1997. Print.
- Rodríguez, Jaime Javier. *The Literatures of the U.S.-Mexican War: Narrative, Time, and Identity*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010. Print.
- Roediger, David R. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso, 2007. Print.
- Rogin, Michael Paul. *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian*. New York: Knopf, 1975. Print.
- Rosen, Hannah. *Terror in the Heart of Freedom : Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Postemancipation South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. Print.
- Rothman, Adam. *Slave Country : American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005. Print.
- Rugeley, Terry. *Rebellion Now and Forever: Mayas, Hispanics, and Caste War Violence in Yucatán, 1800-1880*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. Print.
- . *Yucatán's Maya Peasantry and the Origins of the Caste War*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996. Print.

- Saldívar, José David. Saldívar, José David. "Cultural Theory in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands." *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1997. 17-35. Print.
- . *The Dialectics of Our America: Genealogy, Cultural Critique, and Literary History*. Duke: Duke University Press, 1991. Print.
- Sammons, Jeffrey L., and Jeffrey L. Sammons. *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy : Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstaecker, Karl May, and Other German Novelists of America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. Print.
- Sarris, Greg. *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. Print.
- Saxton, Alexander. *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth Century America*. London ; New York: Verso, 1990. Print.
- Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe. *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri: Including Some Observations of the Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities, Soil, Climate, Population, and Productions of Missouri and Arkansas, and Other Sections of the Western Country*. 1819. Print.
- . *Algic Researches, Comprising Inquiries Respecting the Mental Characteristics of the North American Indians*. Harper & Brothers, 1839. Print.
- . *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge: Containing All the Original Paper Laid Before Congress Respecting the History, Antiquities, Language, Ethnology, Pictography, Rites, Superstitions, and Mythology, of the Indian Tribes of the United States*. 1860. Print.
- . *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Per Act of Congress of March 3rd, 1847*. 1851. Print.
- . *Journal of a Tour Into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas: From Potosi, Or Mine a Burton, in Missouri Territory, in a South-West Direction, Toward the Rocky Mountains: Performed in the Years 1818 and 1819*. 1821. Print.
- . *Narrative Journal of Travels Through the Northwestern Regions of the United States: Extending from Detroit Through the Great Chain of American Lakes, to the Sources of the Mississippi River. Performed as a Member of the Expedition Under Governor Cass. In the Year 1820.1821*. Print.

---. *Narrative of an Expedition Through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake: The Actual Source of This River: Embracing an Exploratory Trip Through the St. Croix and Burntwood (or Broule) Rivers : In 1832.* 1834. Print.

---. *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers: With Brief Notices of Passing Events, Facts, and Opinions, A.D. 1812 to A.D. 1842.* 1851. Print.

---. *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River, in 1820: Resumed and Completed, by the Discovery of Its Origin in Itasca Lake, in 1832. By Authority of the United States. With Appendices, Comprising All of the Official Reports and Scientific Papers of Both Expeditions.* 1855. Print.

---. *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising Observations on Its Mineral Geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population. [Performed Under the Sanction of Government, in the Year 1821.]* 1825. Print.

Schoolcraft, Jane Johnston, and Robert Dale Parker. *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing Through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. Print.

Schoolcraft, Mary Howard. *The Black Gauntlet: A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina.* 1860. Print.

“School Notes.” *The School Journal.* New York: E.L. Kellogg & Company, 6. May 1882. Print.

Schuchalter, Jerry. *Frontier and Utopia in the Fiction of Charles Sealsfield: A Study of the ‘Lebensbilder Aus Der Westlichen Hemisphäre’.* Frankfurt am Main, New York: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 1986. Print.

---. *Narratives of America and the Frontier in Nineteenth-Century German Literature.* New York: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2000. Print.

Scully, Randolph. *Religion and the Making of Nat Turner’s Virginia : Baptist Community and Conflict, 1740-1840.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008. Print.

Sealsfield, Charles. *Austria as it is: or, sketches of Continental Courts. By an Eye-Witness.* London: Hurst, Chance and Co. 1828. Print.

- . *The Cabin Book: Or, National Characteristics*. Ingram, Cooke, & Company, 1852. Print.
- . *The Cabin Book: Or, National Characteristics*. St. John & Coffin, 1871. Print.
- . *Das Cajütenbuch oder nationale Charakteristiken*. Vom Verfasser des Legitimen, des Virey, der Lebensbilder aus beiden Hemisphären, etc. Erster Band und Zweiter Band. Zürich: Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Schulthess. 1841. Print.
- . *The Indian Chief; or, Tokeah and the White Rose. A Tale of the Indian and the Whites*. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey. 1829. And London: A.K.Newman & Co. 1829. Print.
- . *Nathan der Squatter-Regulator, oder der erste Amerikaner in Texas. Der transatlantischen Reiseskizzen sechster Theil*. Zürich: Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Schulthess. 1837. Print.
- . *Tokeah, or the White Rose*. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey. 1829. Print.
- . *The United States of North America as They Are*. London: W. Simpkin & R. Marshall. 1828. Print.
- . *Der Virey und die Aristokraten oder Mexiko im Jahre 1812. Vom Verfasser des Legitimen, der transatlantischen Reiseskizzen, etc. Erster Theil, Zweiter Theil, und Dritter Theil*. Zürich: Orrel, Füssli und Compagnie. 1835. Print.
- Sealsfield, Charles, Wynfrid Kriegleder, and Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg. *Die Geschichten Des Charles Sealsfield: Zeitschriftenveröffentlichungen Und Vorlagen*. Wien: Praesens, 2009. Print.
- Seatsfield, Charles. *Life in the New World, Or, Sketches of American Society*. Trans. Gustavus C. Hebbe and James Mackay. J. Winchester, 1844. Print.
- Seefeldt, Douglas, Jeffrey L. Hantman, and Peter S. Onuf, eds. *Across the Continent: Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and the Making of America*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005. Print.
- Sidons, C, Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika. *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika nach ihrem politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet. Mit einer Reise durch den westlichen Theil von Pennsylvanien, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, das Gebiet Arkansas, Mississippi und Louisiana*. Stuttgart und Tübingen: J. G. Cotta. 1827. Print

- Silko, Leslie Marmon. "Interior and Exterior Landscapes: The Pueblo Migration Stories." *Speaking for the Generations: Native Writers on Writing*. Ed. Simon J. Ortiz. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998. 2-25. Print.
- See, Sarita. *The Decolonized Eye : Filipino American Art and Performance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009. Print.
- Sellers, Stephanie. *Native American Autobiography Redefined : A Handbook*. New York: Peter Lang, 2007. Print.
- Shakespeare, William. *King Henry IV*. 1591.
- Sims, Harold. *The Expulsion of Mexico's Spaniards, 1821-1836*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990. Print.
- Sked, Alan. *Metternich and Austria: An Evaluation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Print.
- Slotkin, Richard. *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization 1800-1890*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985. Print.
- Smith, Andrea. *Conquest : Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge: South End Press, 2005. Print.
- Smith, Linda. *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London, New York: Zed Books; Dunedin: University of Otago Press. 1999. Print.
- Sollars, Werner. "German American Literary Relations." *A New History of German Literature*. Ed. David E. Wellbery and Judith Ryan. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2004. 598-603. Print.
- . "After the Culture Wars; or, From 'English Only' to 'English Plus.'" *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature*. New York: UP New York, 1998. 1-16. Print.
- Solnit, Rebecca. *Savage Dreams : A Journey into the Hidden Wars of the American West*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1994. Print.
- Sommer, Doris. *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. Print.

- Spence, Mark. *Dispossessing the Wilderness : Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Print.
- Spengemann, William. *The Forms of Autobiography : Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980. Print.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *Death of a Discipline*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. Print.
- . "Translation as Culture." *Parallax* 6.1 (2000): 13–24. EBSCO.
- Stanton, Travis W., and Aline Magnoni, eds. *Ruins of the Past: The Use and Perception of Abandoned Structures in the Maya Lowlands*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008. Print.
- Starnes, Gary B. "Ugalde, Juan De." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Texas State Historical Association. 15. June 2010.
- Steiner, George. *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975. Print.
- Stephens, John Lloyd, and Frederick Catherwood. *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*. 1854. Print.
- . *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan: Illustrated by 120 Engravings : In Two Volumes*. 1860. Print.
- Stewart, Kathleen. *Ordinary Affects*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007. Print.
- "The Story of Gratitude." *The New-York Mirror*. Ed. Nathaniel Willis. 14. Jan 1832. Print.
- "The Story of Gratitude." *The American Monthly Magazine* 1.6 Ed. Nathaniel Willis. September 1829.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. 1852. Print.
- Streeby, Shelley. *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. Print.
- Tatlock, Lynne, and Matt Erlin, eds. *German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Reception, Adaptation, Transformation*. Rochester: Camden House, 2005. Print.

- Temple, Robert. "Zavala: The Yucatecan Vice President of Texas Part 2 — To Mexico, New York, Paris, and Tejas." *The Yucatan Times*. 2 Mar. 2015.
- Terán, Manuel de Mier. *Texas by Terán: The Diary Kept by General Manuel de Mier Y Terán on His 1828 Inspection of Texas*. Ed. Jack Jackson. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. Print.
- Thomas, Sophie. "Assembling History: Fragments And Ruins." *European Romantic Review* 14.2 (2003): 177–186. EBSCO.
- Thomassen, Bjørn. "Notes Toward an Anthropology of Political Revolutions." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54 (3): 2012, 694f.
- Tijerina, Andrés. *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag, 1821-1836*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1994. Print.
- Tomanek, Robert J. *Moravia: Gem of the Czech Republic*. Penfield Books. 2015. Print.
- Tomlins, Christopher. *Freedom Bound: Law, Labor, and Civic Identity in Colonizing English America, 1580–1865*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Print.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995. Print.
- Truett, Samuel. "The Borderlands and Lost Worlds of Early America." *Contested Spaces of Early America*. Ed. Barr, Juliana, and Edward Countryman. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.
- . *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. Yale University Press, 2008. Print.
- Truett, Samuel, and Elliott Young. *Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History*. Duke: Duke University Press, 2004. Print.
- Turda, Marius, and Aaron Gillette. *Latin Eugenics in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014. Print.
- Ugalde, Don Juan. *A Raphael Martínez Pacheco*. 27. May 1789. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- Venuti, Lawrence. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London, New York: Routledge, 1995. Print.

- Vizenor, Gerald, ed. *Narrative Chance : Postmodern Discourse on Native American Indian Literatures*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989. Print.
- Waldeck, Jean-Frédéric. *Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la province d'Yucatan (Amérique centrale), pendant les années 1834 et 1836*. 1838. Print.
- Warrior, Robert. *The People and the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. Print.
- . *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995. Print.
- . *The World of Indigenous North America*. New York: Routledge, 2015. Print.
- Weaver, Jace. *That the People Might Live: Native American Literatures and Native American Community*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Print.
- . *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014. Print.
- "Splitting the Earth: First Utterances and Pluralist Separatism." *American Indian Literary Nationalism*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. 1-90. Print.
- Weaver, Jace, Craig S. Womack, and Robert Allen Warrior. *American Indian Literary Nationalism*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. Print.
- Weaver, Muriel Porter. *The Aztecs, Maya, and Their Predecessors: Archaeology of Mesoamerica*. San Diego: Academic Press, 1993. Print.
- Webber, Andrew. *The Doppelgänger : Double Visions in German Literature*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. Print.
- Weber, David J. *Foreigners in their Native Land: Historical roots of the Mexican Americans*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973. Print.
- . *The Idea of Spanish Borderlands*. New York: Garland, 1991. Print.
- . *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. Print.

- . *Northern Mexico on the Eve of the United States Invasion: Rare Imprints Concerning California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, 1821-1846*. New York: Arno Press, 1976.
- . *Spanish Bourbons and Wild Indians*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2004. Print.
- . *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. Print.
- . *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History*. Wilmington: SR Books, 1994. Print.
- Wertheimer, Eric. *Imagined Empires: Incas, Aztecs, and the New World of American Literature, 1771-1876*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Print.
- White, Hayden. *Tropics of Discourse : Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978. Print.
- White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Print.
- Williams, William Appleman. *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America's Present Predicament, along with a Few Thoughts about an Alternative*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. Print.
- . *From Colony to Empire; Essays in the History of American Foreign Relations*. New York: J. Wiley, 1972. Print.
- Wilson, Angela. *What Does Justice Look Like? : The Struggle for Liberation in Dakota Homeland*. St. Paul: Living Justice Press, 2008. Print.
- Wilson, Rob. *The Worlding Project : Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization*. Berkeley, Santa Cruz: New Pacific Press, 2007. Print.
- Wilson, Samuel P. *The Emperor's Giraffe*. Basic Books, 2007. Print.
- Winders, Richard Bruce. *Crisis in the Southwest: The United States, Mexico, and the Struggle over Texas*. Wilmington: SR Books, 2002. Print.
- Womack, Craig S. *Art as Performance, Story as Criticism: Reflections on Native Literary Aesthetics*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. Print.

- . "The Integrity of American Indian Claims: Or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love My Hybridity." *American Indian Literary Nationalism*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. 91-178.
- . *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism*. University of Minnesota Press, 1999. Print.
- Womack, Craig S., Daniel Heath Justice, and Christopher B. Teuton. *Reasoning Together: The Native Critics Collective*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. Print.
- Yarbrough, Fay. *Race and the Cherokee Nation : Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. Print.
- Zacharasiewicz, Waldemar. *Images of Germany in American Literature*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007. Print.
- Zavala, Lorenzo de. *Article Upon the Ancient Monuments of Uxmal (Ushmal)*. N.d. MS. Bexar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center. University of Texas, Austin.
- . *Journey to the United States of North America / Viaje a Los Estados Unidos Del Norte de America*. Arte Publico Press, 2014. Print.