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Indian Lyric: Nineteenth-Century Indigenous Poetics and the Making of American Literature

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in English

by

Claire Burdick

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Virginia Jackson, Chair
Distinguished Professor Gabriele Schwab
Associate Professor Alicia Carroll

2025

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Dedication

for Bob

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Vita

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Abstract of the Dissertation

Indian Lyric: Nineteenth-Century Indigenous Poetics and the Making of American Literature
by
Claire Burdick
Doctor of Philosophy in English
University of California, Irvine, 2025
Professor Virginia Jackson, Chair

Indian Lyric: Nineteenth-Century Indigenous Poetics and the Making of American Literature interrogates the critical tendency to overlook or misrecognize the genre and verse discourses at work in Indigenous texts written between 1829 and 1927. It brings an historical understanding of genre and verse discourses to bear on readings of "early" Indigenous poetry, showing how Indigenous writers appropriated and revised a variety of Euro-American verse and genre forms, including the "looking-glass" metaphor, the Spenserian stanza, and the Romantic loco-descriptive poem. The introduction positions the project within current and ongoing debates in Early American Studies and Native American and Indigenous Studies about whether and how to best anchor critical discussion of early Indigenous writing in English. While some scholars suggest that Early American Studies overprioritizes European genres like the autobiography, sermon, and conversion narrative, this project argues that the opposite is true of poetic texts. Contemporary reading practices have made it difficult to see the complex verse discourses at work in Native American poetry and have thus also limited us from seeing how Indigenous authors manipulated and changed them.

Chapter one, "A Printed Hall of Mirrors: American Looking-Glass History in William Apess and Peter Folger," reads William Apess's treatise "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" (1833) through the "looking-glass" pamphlet tradition, which I theorize begins in

America with Peter Folger's (Benjamin Franklin's maternal grandfather's) ballad on King Philip's War, "A looking glass for the times" (1676). Although Apess is one of the most researched figures in early Indigenous literature – Drew Lopenzina's 2017 "cultural biography" of Apess is even titled *Through an Indian's Looking-Glass* – no scholar has recognized Apess's essay as belonging to a distinct "looking-glass" genre tradition. This chapter shows how Apess's "looking-glass" draws upon a history of American polemical protest literature that explained Indian violence on the frontier in terms of sectarian bigotry.

Chapter two, "Songs of 'Exil'd Murmurings': Lydia Sigourney, Te-con-ees-kee, and the New World Spenserian Tradition" reads Cherokee poet Te-con-ees-kee's "Suggested by the report, in the Advocate, of the laying of the corner stone of the Pocahontas Female Seminary – Cherokee Nation" (1848) as a response to Lydia Sigourney's "Pocahontas" (1841) and other nineteenth-century "New World" Spenserian epics. These Spenserian epics, which include works by British and American Romantics, invoke the "remoteness" of Spenser's "faerie lond" to either escape or expand the logics of empire. Sigourney's "Pocahontas" engages in the latter project, memorializing the mytho-historic Pocahontas to advance a vision of American futurity, beneficent and maternal. Aware of the ways the figure of Pocahontas was abstracted and appropriated by Sigourney to articulate a vision of American futurity, Te-con-ees-kee intervenes to rehome Pocahontas's memory in the "Cherokee hearts" of the new Cherokee Female Seminary.

Chapter three, "'Our Barren Desert Yet': The Elegiac Discourses of Arsenius Chaleco's 'The Indian Requiem'" discovers Quechan poet Arsenius Chaleco's "The Indian Requiem" (1921, 1922, 1927) as a pastiche of William Cullen Bryant's "An Indian at the Burial-Place of His Fathers" (1824), a fact no other literary historian has discerned. My original research

uncovers Chaleco's biography as Phoenix Indian School student, WWI veteran, and anti-allotment activist. I use this biographical study to reveal and discuss additional discourses and intertexts at work in the poem and its framing by editors, including Du Bois's "sorrow songs," Irving J. Morgan's musical composition, "The Indian Requiem," which premiered at the groundbreaking of the National American Indian Memorial in 1913, and the rhetoric and ephemera of pan-Indian fraternal societies. Chaleco, I argue, literalizes the metaphorical desert of "An Indian" to comment on the very real process of desertification occurring in his homelands along the Colorado River.

Metaphor, the traditional function of indigenous ppl in the grand

canon of lit

Tommy Pico, *Nature Poem*

Introduction

This dissertation takes up the appropriation of Euro-American verse forms and genres by Indigenous poets writing between 1829 and 1927. While there is an existing body of scholarship on the language and verse forms white writers use to invoke "Indian themes," there is a smaller body of scholarship on the techniques and strategies Indigenous writers use when they take up those white-authored discourses. Philip Deloria's term "playing Indian" (he also uses the phrase "the making of Indian others"[1]) is perhaps the most famous expression of the former idea, though it describes social behavior more than poetics. "Playing Indian," however, less accurately describes the complexity of Native performances of Indianness, which Deloria acknowledges as a constant, but marginal, presence within the larger white tradition: "Throughout a long history of Indian play, native people have been present at the margins, insinuating their way into Euro-American discourse, often attempting to nudge notions of Indianness in directions they found useful." Such interventions became more legible in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Deloria continues, when "increasing numbers of Indians participated in white people's Indian play, assisting, confirming, co-opting, challenging, and legitimating the performative tradition of aboriginal American identity."[2] Although Deloria acknowledges that Native acts of "playing Indian" can challenge and perhaps subvert "ideas signified by Indianness," he recognizes that

[1] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (Yale UP, 1998), 125.
[2] Ibid., 8.

such ideas are "so deeply ingrained in the American cultural psyche and so ideologically powerful," that "native people playing Indian might also reaffirm [ideas about Indianness] for a stubborn white audience…creating a circular, reinforcing Catch-22 of meaning that would prove difficult [for Indigenous actors] to circumvent."[3] Deloria's analysis here is focused on the ability of Native performances of Indianness to shift the mainstream representation of Indigenous peoples. This shift is unlikely to occur via "playing Indian," he argues, because the idea of "Indianness" is overdetermined; as a result, Native engagement with white Indian play generates circumscribed cultural impact, and the risks associated with the practice are high. Although the idea of "Indianness" is certainly overdetermined in mainstream discourse, Native acts of "playing Indian" are persistent, complex, and often directed at Native audiences, who often use them for specifically Native social purposes.[4] The clunky doubleness of "Indian Indian play" is reflective of the "Catch-22" that Deloria identifies, and also indicates a reluctance by literary scholars to prioritize the complexity and meaning of such acts.[5]

Deloria's skepticism about Native Indian play overlaps with broader debates in Indigenous literary studies about how, or whether, to interpret Native cultural production using European methodologies, especially when that production replicates European conventions associated with the "making of Indian others." In their 2018 piece in *Early American Studies* (EAS), Alyssa Mt. Pleasant, Caroline Wigginton, and Kelly Wisecup criticize the field's persistent emphasis on "colonial representations" and "the dominant presence of colonial

[3] Ibid., 126.
[4] See Katy Young Evans, "The People's Pageant: The Stage as Native Space in Anishinaabe Dramatic Interpretations of 'Hiawatha.'" *MELUS*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2016, pp. 124–46. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44155244; and Michael D. McNally, "The Indian Passion Play: Contesting the Real Indian in 'Song of Hiawatha' Pageants, 1901-1965." *American Quarterly*, vol. 58, no. 1, 2006, pp. 105–36. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40068350.
[5] This is not to say that there are not scholars who are interested in these questions, just that the vocabulary for these acts, especially poetic acts, is lacking. Terms like Gerald Vizenor's "survivance" are helpful but lack a discursive specificity.

archives and their categories of inquiry, genre, language, and periodization over NAIS [Native American and Indigenous Studies] materials and categories."[6] The authors implore Early Americanists to focus their scholarship on "tribally specific genres, languages, chronologies, and geographic boundaries, which often contrast with European phenomena."[7] They point to the work of Craig Womack, Christopher Teuton, Daniel Heath Justice, and Lisa Brooks as potential roadmaps for more tribally-specific methodologies. Womack's "Native literary nationalism," for example, firmly rejects the idea "that all things Native are, in reality, filtered through contact with Europe, that there is no 'uncorrupted' Indian reality in this postcontact world we live in." "This," Womack contends, "is an assimilationist ideology, a retreat into sameness and blending in."[8] Womack focuses instead on "the ways in which tribal [in his research, Creek] authors are influenced by those writers in their own tribes who precede them."[9] Literary nationalism contrasts with the "intercultural literary criticism" of Joshua David Bellin, for example, who "maintains that *any* American text, whatever the putative ethnicity of its author…has been forged by the processes of encounter within which it exists."[10] The differences in these approaches are reflected in the way they understand the American literary canon, which Womack sees as separate from tribal canons, and which Bellin sees as inextricably bound up with them. While Bellin and Womack differ in their view of the importance of encounter as a framework for literary analysis, they share the assumption "that it is just as likely that things European are Indianized…than the anthropological assumption that things Indian are always swallowed up by

[6] Alyssa Mt. Pleasant, et al. "Materials and Methods in Native American and Indigenous Studies: Completing the Turn." *Early American Literature*, vol. 53, no. 2 (2018), 414. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/90022198.
[7] Ibid., 409.
[8] Craig S. Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (U of Minnesota P, 1999), 5.
[9] Ibid., 2.
[10] Joshua David Bellin, *The Demon of the Continent: Indians and the Shaping of American Literature* (U of Pennsylvania P, 2001), 5-6.

European culture."[11] Native Indian play sits somewhat uncomfortably at the intersections of these debates, as it is a particularly complex site of performance where the lines between exchange, cooptation, assimilation, and invention are blurred (sometimes intentionally so). This dissertation takes the position that Indigenous poets writing between 1829 and 1927 were highly conversant with Euro-American genre discourse (and, perhaps more importantly, with the constraints posed by that discourse) in a way that is often tribally specific, though perhaps not "epistemologically Native."[12] It argues that although poetic Native "Indian play," or Native engagement with European conventions associated with the representation of Indianness, might be risky, it is riskier still to ignore the explicit generic and intertextual terms of that poetry, even and especially when it does not seem sufficiently "Indian." That is, as Nikki Hessell reminds us via Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee), "*relationship* is the driving impetus behind the vast majority of texts by Indigenous writers,"[13] and Indigenous poets writing during this period are "responsive" rather than "reactive" to Euro-American verse practices, "deploy[ing] that responsiveness in the service of relationships between peoples, lands, generations, and systems."[14]

Of the handful of European genres – the captivity narrative, the novel, and the sermon – which take up a disproportionate amount of space in Early Americanist criticism in conversation with NAIS according to Mt. Pleasant et al., none are *poetic* genres.[15] The lack of interest in poetic genre discourse might help explain why scholars have largely neglected pre-20th century

[11] Womack, 12.
[12] Arnold Krupat, "*That the People Might Live": Loss and Renewal in Native American Elegy* (Cornell UP, 2012), 129.
[13] Daniel Heath Justice as qtd in Nikki Hessell, "Shelley, Treaty-Making, and Indigenous Poetry." *Percy Shelley for Our Times* (Cambridge UP, 2024), 38.
[14] Hessell, 38.
[15] Mt. Pleasant et al., 417.

Native poetry written in English. Without knowing the historical genre discourses Native poets operated within, it is difficult to see how or if they challenged them. For this reason, I argue it is productive to analyze Euro-American and Indigenous poetry together when they intersect on the basis of genre discourse, verse discourse, material production, and/or circulation. In this sense, the dissertation positions itself within the broader field of historical poetics where, as Yopie Prins writes, "we cannot separate the practice of reading a poem from the histories and theories of reading that mediate our ideas about poetry," and should thus "work recursively as a loop, reading simultaneously from inside out and from outside in."[16] Although most of the texts I examine are poems, I have included readings of William Apess's (Pequot) *The Experiences of Five Christian Indians* and "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" (1833) to show how misrecognition can happen as a result of a lack of attention to historical verse discourse, even in when the text under consideration is not a poem. This dissertation thus makes two gestures of recovery, one for nineteenth-century poetry written by Euro-Americans on "Indian themes," and one for nineteenth-century poetry and prose written by Indigenous writers that participates in the discourses of that white-authored poetry. Although I am focused in this dissertation on the intertextual moves of Indigenous poets, I do not exclude tribally-specific readings as possibilities and encourage other scholars to follow those paths of inquiry, which I hope I can have a small role in opening. Because tribally-specific readings are often intentionally made inaccessible to white readers by Native authors, I think it is unwise for non-Indigenous scholars to make blanket claims about what is or is not Indigenous about a text (especially when they do not have a deep knowledge of a particular tribal community/culture/language).

[16] Yopie Prins, "What is Historical Poetics?" *Modern Language Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 1 (2016), 13. https://doi.org/10.1215/00267929-3331577.

"Playing Indian" does not quite capture the great variety of poetic writing on Indian subjects produced by Euro-American authors in the early nineteenth century in part because it implies a certain level of legibility and performativity that is less immediately accessible in poetic texts, especially to contemporary readers who are unfamiliar with nineteenth-century reading practices and verse discourses. For this reason, I prefer Deloria's phrase "the making of Indian Others" to describe poetic acts of Indian appropriation/expropriation by white authors.[17] "Indian poems," (I might propose we use "Indianist poetry," a term used to usually used for musical works on "Indian themes" by Cadman, etc.) produced primarily in the antebellum period, range from fantastical to putatively ethnographic or historical. They include narrative poems inspired by "Indian" themes and settings which do not purport to be historical (Sarah Wentworth Morton's *Ouâbi; or, The Virtues of Nature: An Indian Tale in Four Cantos* [1790]); Romantic epics that describe historical events which include Indian wars and/or characters (Thomas Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming: A Pennsylvania Tale* [1809]; James Eastburn and George Sands's *Yamoyden; a Tale of the Wars of King Philip* [1820]; Lydia Sigourney's *Traits of the Aborigines of America* [1822] and "Pocahontas" [1841]); epics relating Indian myth/legend drawn from the pretense of ethnography (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* [1855]); loco-descriptive lyrics and pastoral elegies that employ Indian speakers (Philip Freneau's "The Dying Indian" [1784]; William Cullen Bryant's "An Indian at the Burial-place of His Fathers" [1824]; Sigourney's "The Cherokee Mother" [1831]) and those that do not (Freneau's "The Indian Burying Ground" [1787]; Bryant's "The Prairies" [1832]); and, in the twentieth century, "modern" poetic "interpretations" of Indian oral expression recorded by ethnographers and anthropologists (Mary Austin's contributions to the first anthology of Native

[17] Deloria, 125.

verse, *The Path on the Rainbow* [1918]). These works all, as Lockard notes, rely on "narrative borrowing…embroidery through poetic naturalism…and…outright invention of a nominally Indian voice."[18] While Lockard's "borrowing" refers to "Native American folklore and ethnography," I want to emphasize that these authors incorporated such materials into *European* verse forms such as the Spenserian stanzas, Wordsworthian blank verse, and in the case of the *Song of Hiawatha*, the Finnish Kalevala. When Native authors take up these Euro-American poems about Indianness, then, they are taking up both a diversity of verse traditions and the discourses embedded within them.

Nor do Native authors take up these discourses in isolation, but do so, as Jason Rudy argues "in the larger context of nineteenth-century literary copying and reprinting, which allows us to see British [or in *Hiawatha*'s case, "American"] colonial "derivativeness" as part of a global culture of replication and circulation."[19] In such a "culture of reprinting" (Rudy uses Meredith McGill's term), "the parodic double gesture – lovingly holding something at a distance – was constitutive of the colonial literary scene."[20] Rudy notes the global popularity of Longfellow's epic, and the "delight" readers took in its "parodic iterability."[21] This loving "delight" of course resonated differently for Indigenous Americans than it did for the European emigrant readers discussed by Rudy, as Native children were often forced to memorize and perform *Hiawatha* in federal boarding school settings, often for white audiences. Scholars have been understandably skeptical of Native *Hiawatha* performances and highlight the way such performances (especially those mandated by officials at federal boarding schools) appear to reify

[18] Joe Lockard, "The Universal Hiawatha." *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2000), 112. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1185993.
[19] Jason Rudy, *Imagined Homelands: British Poetry in the Colonies* (Johns Hopkins P, 2017), 46.
[20] Rudy, 29.
[21] Ibid.

Indian Otherness. Joe Lockard, for example, describes a 1900 Chippewa performance of *Hiawatha* in the form of an opera libretto – a performance completed in the Chippewa language– as "a perverse circularity in which expropriated and mistranslated Native stories have been retranslated into a new 'nativeness' and voiced by those from whom the stories were first taken."[22] More recent scholarship, however, has attempted to place these kinds of performances into tribal contexts by, as Katy Evans writes of Anishinaabe *Hiawatha* pageants, "paying more attention to the entire constellation of performance elements – historical and cultural contexts included – than the script [alone]."[23] The leap from written text to embodied performance presents a litany of opportunities for the expression of Native sovereignty over the material and its production. Evans tracks Native agency through the translation of the text into Anishinaabe; the selection and excision of parts of Longfellow's text from the performance; the creation of traditional materials for costumes and set-pieces; the incorporation of traditional music; and the presence of Native actors and audience members with specific individual/communal ties to the material beyond it as a literary production.

The changes that allow Evans to explore Native agency over *Hiawatha*'s performance of Indian Otherness are more difficult to identify in literary (re)appropriations of Indianist poems for at least three reasons. First, new mediums of representation and embodiment are not (always or often) introduced into poetic appropriations, resulting in a sameness or doubleness in language. The repetition of Indianist terminology sometimes troubles scholars interested in recovering Native "voices" in early American literature. Barry O'Connell, for example, seems

[22] Lockard, 121.
[23] See Katy Young Evans; Brad Evans and Aaron Glass, editors, *Return to the Land of the Headhunters: Edward S. Curtis, the Kwakwaka'wakw, and the Making of Modern Cinema* (U of Washington P, 2013); and Ruth Spack, "Zitkala-Sa, The Song of Hiawatha, and the Carlisle Indian Boarding School." *Legacy*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2008), pp. 211-224. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25679655.

unsure of what to do with portions of William Apess's writings where "the very terminologies of an Americanist discourse, which value Euro-Americans precisely through implied contrast to their Indian opposites, are expropriated, inverted, or used [by Apess] as though they could characterize Indians as aptly as Euro-Americans."[24] Second, literary, but especially poetic texts, can also more easily be abstracted from historic and cultural contexts than embodied performance, which takes place in a specific point of time, in a specific setting, for a specific audience. In order to abstract (poetic) performances/pageants from these contexts, the performance must be translated back into textual form. It is this retranslation, and not the performance itself, that can be accused of "perverse circularity." Lockard, for example, admits that he can only access the Chippewa *Hiawatha* performances via (non-Indigenous) newspaper reporting – what he is therefore identifying is a textual circularity, not a performative one. Finally, contemporary scholars are trained to read in lyric reading or modernist reading practices, that is, to prioritize "the lyric I' as a speaker or a dramatic fiction whose utterances are '...understood to be *historically indeterminate.*"[25] The retroactive attribution of a "speaker" to Indianist texts is particularly problematic because it obscures how white authors created disappearing Indian "speakers" whose utterances present, as Deloria notes, an overdetermined discourse landscape for Native writers. Readers eager to find a lyric Native "voice" in nineteenth-century Native poetry are likely to be disappointed, not due to some deficiency in the ability of Native writers to express complex ideas, but because of their assumption that poetry should be a vehicle of self or community expression that is historically indeterminate. Although "Fireside Poets" like Bryant and Longfellow are not central to contemporary accounts of

[24] William Apess, *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, a Pequot* (U of Massachusetts P, 1992), xxi. Edited by Barry O'Connell.
[25] Barbara Herrnstein Smith, as qtd in Virginia Jackson and Yopie Prins, editors, *The Lyric Theory Reader: A Critical Anthology* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2014), 5.

America poetics, they are among the authors most important to many early Native poets, not only because of their great popularity in the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, but because of how their innovations of generic abstraction overlap with their "making of Indian Others." Any account of early Native poetry should be attentive to the fact that *the texts most important to many Native writers are often the least important to contemporary scholars of American poetry.* Even when nineteenth-century verse discourses are recognized by more contemporary readers, like *Hiawatha*'s famous trochaic tetrameter, they still seem to have difficulty parsing whether their use can represent something beyond imitation. For example, Robert Dale Parker suggests that Mabel Washbourne Anderson's (Cherokee) use of the *Hiawatha* meter in her poem "Nowita, the Sweet Singer" (1900, 1903, 1906) is not parodic, but imitative.[26] Although Anderson introduces her poem by writing "[t]his Indian romance of local celebrity, is given below in parodical form," Parker argues that "since the poem is not comic, the metrical form comes across more as an imitation than as a parody."[27] Does the non-comedic use of European verse meters (we might also question what constitutes comedy) confine Indigenous poets to mere "imitation"? How might we discuss Anderson's appropriation of Longfellow's verse form – or any Indigenous appropriation of verse forms associated with Indianist themes – with greater nuance?

Scholars working in the field of nineteenth-century historical poetics have not, as a general rule, considered how their insights and theories of reading might apply to poetry written by Indigenous peoples. Recent work has considered Black poetics (Cohen, Jackson, Sandler) and colonial poets of the British Empire (Rudy, Martin), but it is unclear to what extent their theorizations might apply to Indigenous populations, who experience a different relation to the

[26] Karen Kilcup's introduction to the Anderson's writing in *Native Women's Writing 1800-1924* (Blackwell, 2000) does not mention the poem or its connection to Longfellow. Kilcup, 248.
[27] Robert Dale Parker, *Changing Is Not Vanishing: A Collection of American Indian Poetry to 1930* (U of Pennsylvania P, 2011), 251.

"nation" than do non-Indigenous colonial subjects. Jason Rudy's work, for example, is in many ways a kind of analog to my own, as it discusses the imitative and parodic poems written by nineteenth-century settler poets in the British colonies of Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Canada. British colonial poets, he argues, found a certain degree of comfort in the writings of "home" while adapting them, abstracting them, to fit their new contexts. Surprisingly, perhaps, Rudy's attention is often drawn to colonial adaptations of *American* poets (especially Bryant, Longfellow, and Sigourney). Rudy glosses over the distinction between British and American poetry by treating American poets as colonial poets themselves. Bryant, for example, "reads as a *colonial* poet because his poems are generic congeries: they 'blend…into one' elements borrowed from Wordsworth, Southey, and Collins."[28] Bryant creates "generic congeries" of British verse that British emigrants then embraced and extended. This, I think, is true, but part of what made Bryant, Longfellow, and Sigourney's particular brand of abstraction possible was the fact that European settlement in the Americas was, by the nineteenth century, not new. As chapter two's examination of white-authored Spenserian Indian epics shows, the temporal remove of these poets from their timeless or early modern Indian subjects was one of the ways they were able to create "universal" speakers. Bryant's "adherence to formal structures and emotional effects…would have been familiar to English-speaking readers around the world," as Rudy says, but that construction of sentiment was so successful and portable because of the pre-abstracted nature of his poems, accomplished often via "the making of Indian Others," a practice of American settler colonial thought.[29]

Where the "communal" poetry appropriated by emigrants might "afford...the colonial poet with a clear structure for critique," nineteenth-century Indigenous poets would have found

[28] Rudy, 49.
[29] Rudy, 64.

themselves in a discourse-landscape circumscribed by colonial language and populated with representational Indian Others.[30] While Indigenous writing may be defined in part via its response to such "constraints," the idea of "agency" in nineteenth-century verse should not be made analogous with formal experimentalism.[31] Scott Lyons's theorization of the "x-mark" is helpful here – the x-mark is "a contaminated and coerced sign of consent made under conditions that are not of one's making. It signifies power and a lack of power, agency and a lack of agency. It is a decision one makes when something has already been decided for you, but it is still a decision."[32] *Most* "generic" nineteenth-century poetry can be seen as exhibiting a lack of individual "voice"; the ubiquity of genre discourse does not necessarily preclude responses of critique or comfort.

There are striking parallels between the adaption of popular verses between emigrant poets and Indigenous poets, parallels that are worth considering despite the differences in relationship to colonial power. For example, Rudy notes that Bryant's "To a Waterfowl" (1818) was published in "the first anthology of English-language poetry in South Africa, *Poetry of the Cape of Good Hope*." The poem "was mistaken as an original of the Cape Colony" and the publisher "gave it pride of place as the introductory poem of his volume."[33] Chapter three of this dissertation discusses a parallel instance of the mistaken authenticity and subsequent anthologization of a Bryant poem. In 1921, Quechan poet Arsenius Chaleco published "The Indian Requiem" in *The Indian* magazine (a publication of the traditionalist Mission Indian Federation of California), in 1922 in the *Arizona Silver Belt* (a Miami, AZ newspaper), and in

[30] Rudy, 72. If the choice for Indigenous poets was between the individuated lyric, which Rudy argues was more suited to expressing settler alienation from their new homelands, and adaptive, generic, "communal" verse, it is perhaps easy to see why they would be attracted to the latter category.
[31] Fred Moten as qtd in Evie Shockley, *Renegade Poetics: Black Aesthetics and Formal Innovation in African American Poetry* (U of Iowa P, 2011), 13.
[32] Scott Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (U of Minnesota P, 2010), 2-3.
[33] Rudy, 48.

1927 in the *Indian Teepee* (the magazine of the Teepee Order, a fraternal society). Chaleco's poem is a pastiche of Bryant's "An Indian at the Burial-place of His Fathers" (1824), but has been mistaken as an Indian "sorrow song" and anthologized in many volumes of Native verse, including Robert Dale Parker's volume *Changing Is Not Vanishing* (2011). The misattribution of the Bryant as the utterance of a "native" stems from, as Rudy argues, the generic adaptability of Bryant's original, but the temporal remove between Chaleco's pastiche and "An Indian" is much larger than it is for the South African reproduction of "To a Waterfowl." Such large temporal gaps between Indigenous parodies/pastiches and their Euro-American intertexts are not uncommon in Indigenous poetics.[34] These gaps suggest that "early" Indigenous poetry may have been, as Michael Cohen argues of antislavery poetry, "grounded politically by the ease with which authors could borrow airs, meters, or stanza forms from recognizable sources in order to adapt familiar poems for new times and circumstances."[35] Indianist poetry continued to be familiar to Native writers and audiences into the twentieth century because of its circulation in missionary and federal boarding school curricula and because of adaptations in other media/genres such as film (Edgar Lewis's 1913 silent film *Hiawatha* and Disney's 1937 animated *Little Hiawatha*), theater (the aforementioned Hiawatha "passion plays"), and music (the Indianist movement).

The temporal gap allows non-Indigenous readers to map whatever current/contemporary reading practices are in vogue onto these Indigenous works. Thus, readers in the 1920s were primed to read Chaleco's poem as a "sorrow song," while contemporary readers might be primed

[34] William Apess's "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" (1836) references eighteenth-century pamphlet culture in the Northeastern United States which can be traced to a 1675 poem on King Philip's War published by Benjamin Franklin's grandfather, the early Nantucket settler Peter Folger. Alexander Posey and DeWitt Clinton Duncan also write poems citing Bryant, at a ~75 year remove. Te-con-ees-kee is perhaps the exception, but his Pocahontas poem (1848) was still published seven years after the publication of Sigourney's "Pocahontas" (1841).
[35] Michael Cohen, *The Social Lives of Poems in Nineteenth-Century America* (U of Penn P, 2015), 94.

to engage in what Anthony Reed calls "racialized reading," where "black writers (and other writers of color) are valuable insofar as they offer testimony or legitimate narratives about so-called race relations,"[36] and/or via Gates's "signifyin(g)," which Barry O'Connell uses to describe Apess's writings and glosses as "the use of two or more codes of language, or of several voices, but as though only one was being employed."[37] Although using Gates to understand acts of Native Indianist play makes sense given the lack of vocabulary we have to describe the appropriations at work in nineteenth-century Indigenous poetry written in English, establishing congruency between conditions of expressional constraint and/or racial experience in Black and Indigenous texts is not a simple task, especially when one acknowledges the great diversity of tribal languages, cultures, and experiences.[38] Furthermore, although it is possible that Indigenous poetry was designed to speak differently to different audiences, when we prioritize the idea that "straightforwardness is impossible," or that Indigenous authors are speaking in "code," we often do so at the expense of genre discourse and recognition (especially when the genres in question have been overlooked or forgotten by contemporary scholars).

These temporal gaps also help explain the scope of this dissertation, which is admittedly vast. Because many of the intertexts Indigenous poets and writers invoke or appropriate are themselves under researched, I have spent time tracking and tracing the development of many verse discourses across decades, and even centuries. Chapter one, "A Printed Hall of Mirrors: American Looking-Glass History in William Apess and Peter Folger" reads William Apess's treatise "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" (1833) through the "looking-glass"

[36] Anthony Reed, *Freedom Time: The Poetics and Politics of Black Experimental Writing* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2016), 7.
[37] Ibid., xxiii.
[38] For an account of encounters between Black and Native studies, see Tiffany Lethabo King, *The Black Shoals* (Duke UP, 2019).

pamphlet tradition, which I theorize begins in America with Peter Folger's (Benjamin Franklin's maternal grandfather's) ballad on King Philip's War, "A looking glass for the times. Or, the former spirit of New-England revived in this generation" (1676). Although Apess is one of the most researched figures in early Indigenous literature – Drew Lopenzina's 2017 "cultural biography" of Apess is even titled *Through an Indian's Looking-Glass* – no scholar has recognized Apess's essay as belonging to a distinct "looking-glass" genre tradition. I track the tradition from early modern "looking-glass" literature in England, to its deployment during King Philip's War, when it was used to point out the hypocrisy of Quaker persecution, and through the pamphlet wars of 1764, when it was used by pro-Quaker factions to criticize the violent expansionism of the Presbyterian-affiliated Paxton Boys. At each of these points, I argue, white writers turned to the looking-glass genre to explain Indian violence on the frontier in terms of sectarian bigotry. William Apess, who saw himself as a religious and racial outsider, chose the looking glass genre – its defense of minority sects, its political avocation against frontier expansionism, its historiographical reminder of seventeenth-century illiberalism – to protest Massachusetts laws preventing Indigenous peoples in the state from the ability to marry freely, to control their lands and forests, and select their own religious leaders.

Tracking how verse discourses persistent across decades or centuries is particularly difficult given the demarcation of American and British writing in relation to the American Revolutionary War and the academic siloing of British and American Romanticism as distinct fields. Chapter two, "Songs of 'Exil'd Murmurings': Lydia Sigourney, Te-con-ees-kee, and the New World Spenserian Tradition" reads Cherokee poet Te-con-ees-kee's "Suggested by the report, in the Advocate, of the laying of the corner stone of the Pocahontas Female Seminary – Cherokee Nation" (1848) as a response to Lydia Sigourney's "Pocahontas" (1841) and other

nineteenth-century "New World" Spenserian epics. These Spenserian epics, which include works by British and American Romantics (though they are not often discussed together), invoke the "remoteness" of Spenser's "faerie lond" to either escape or expand visions of empire. The Indian death song that closes Thomas Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1809), I argue, was particularly influential for American authors, providing them a template to represent "lyric" Indian speech within the larger structure of Spenserian epic. That is, while the British Romantics writing in New World contexts resisted the Christian futurity of the Spenserian stanza, American writers saw in the insertion of "lyric" Indian speech the ability to "clear discursive space" for a "sunnier, linear narrative of progress," that is, for one of Christian national expansion.[39] Sigourney's "Pocahontas" represents the apotheosis of such attempts, memorializing the mytho-historic Pocahontas to advance a vision of American futurity, beneficent and maternal. Aware of the ways the figure of Pocahontas was abstracted and appropriated by Sigourney to articulate a vision of American futurity, Te-con-ees-kee intervenes, in anapestic Venus and Adonis stanzas, to rehome Pocahontas's memory in the "Cherokee hearts" of the new Cherokee Female Seminary. In the book version of the dissertation, I will expand this chapter to think about how the appeal of the "New World" Spenserian imaginary was not limited to white poets. Albery Allson Whitman, "Poet Laureate of the Negro Race," takes up the Spenserian discourse of exile in *The Rape of Florida* (1884) to describe a history of war and contact that includes maroon communities.

Chapter three, "'Our Barren Desert Yet': The Elegiac Discourses of Arsenius Chaleco's 'The Indian Requiem'" discovers Quechan poet Arsenius Chaleco's "The Indian Requiem" (1921, 1922, 1927) as a pastiche of William Cullen Bryant's "An Indian at the Burial-Place of

[39] Stephen Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century* (U of Chicago P, 2004), 93.

His Fathers" (1824). Chaleco's poem represents what is perhaps the most egregious example of misrecognition in the dissertation. Because contemporary readers have failed to see the Bryant in the Chaleco, they have only understood Chaleco's poem as a mildly subversive iteration of the "vanishing Indian" trope. Chapter three uncovers Chaleco's biography as Phoenix Indian School student, WWI veteran, and anti-allotment activist. I then use this biographical study to reveal and discuss additional discourses and intertexts at work in the poem and its framing by editors, including Du Bois's "sorrow songs," Irving J. Morgan's musical composition, "The Indian Requiem," which premiered at the groundbreaking of the National American Indian Memorial in 1913, and the rhetoric and ephemera of pan-Indian fraternal societies. Chaleco, I argue, literalizes the metaphorical desert of Bryant's poem to show how white land management policies led to the desertification of "desert" Quechan homelands on the Colorado River. While Bryant coalesces white collectivity via the representation of Indian disappearance, Chaleco coalesces Indigenous collectivity via a constellation of elegiac discourses that mourn the destruction of, but nonetheless claim Indigenous sovereignty over, the "barren" Sonoran.

In attempting to cover such a broad range of verse discourses and intertexts, the dissertation presents the intriguing possibility that "old" Indianist discourses have persisted in "popular" print sources and in educational settings for much longer than literary scholars have appreciated. The texture and specificity of these discourses matter, because they clearly mattered to Indigenous writers. To give nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Indigenous poetry the attention it so clearly deserves, I offer that we start by challenging the lyric and racialized reading practices that often prevent us from seeing the complex currents of discourse at work in Indigenous writing.

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Chapter One: A Printed Hall of Mirrors: American Looking-Glass History in William Apess and Peter Folger

i. Essential Voices

As the introduction to this dissertation indicates, this project is largely about genre, or a moment of spontaneous recognition instantiated in discourse.[1] Although the primary texts or objects of my scholarly work are poems, the problematics that inform the generic recognition of Indigenous poetry also inform the recognition of much Indigenous prose and visual art. Readers often misrecognize or refuse to recognize the conventions at work in Indigenous genre discourse in the hope of uncovering a more "authentic" Indigenous voice or perspective. Of course, "early" Indigenous authors were not any less Indigenous for working with European genre discourses, nor did they engage with these discourses uncritically or without their own tribal precedents. Still, it is easy to feel trapped by the sedimentation of European convention, especially when it appears to make Indigenous expression impossible or overdetermined. Such overdetermination, after all, represents a longstanding thematic strain in both historical and contemporary Indigenous art. But while scholars are right to probe the injustices of this problem of representation, some, in a desire to escape the problem entirely, act as if there is not sedimentation at all, but a sheer, smooth cliff face. When they find a work that does not possess the requisite amount of authenticity, they point up to its face: what you see is convention, all the way up (and nothing more). The sheerness of the cliff face becomes even more severe in poetry, where it is today the operating assumption that all poetry is lyric. Is it more likely that early

[1] My definition genre is taken from Lisa Gittleman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents* (Duke UP, 2014) and Virginia Jackson, *Dickinson's Misery* (Princeton UP, 2005).

Indigenous writing lacks artistic merit, or that we lack the ability to recognize the discourses that animate it?

To begin a practice of reading early Indigenous poetry in English, we should first attend to the histories of conventions and verse forms, the building blocks that help spark recognition, that have been employed by Indigenous writers. This history is longer than normally discussed by scholars of poetry – by the time Indigenous writers started publishing poetry in the nineteenth century, many tribes had already had hundreds of years' worth of experience with Anglo-European political, literary, and legal practices. For this reason, I am choosing to begin this project with William Apess, who did not write poetry, but who, I will show, drew on early modern poetic genres of address to advocate for Indigenous sovereignty in the Northeast. Apess's inclusion is meant to show how even works by the most canonical Indigenous writers, even in non-poetic genres, are at risk of generic misrecognition. Apess's mastery of Anglo-European genres (including the autobiography, conversion narrative, sermon, eulogy, appeal, and declaration of rights, among others) also makes him a convenient case study for understanding recent scholarly debates surrounding methodologies for reading early Indigenous literature in English. The general critical trend has been to move from an understanding of Apess's work as a product of white/Christian rhetoric and systems, to an understanding of the work as a product of processes unique to Indigenous thinkers and creators. In most readings, his reliance on and familiarity with Anglo-European genre conventions presents a problem to be justified, explained away, or deemphasized. This chapter suggests that it is possible to read Apess in the generic terms he presents without seeing those terms as incompatible with his indigeneity. And while I think it likely that there are non-European conventions at work in Apess's writing, I caution us

against *only* ascribing import to conventions or traditions that we perceive to be purportedly uninfluenced by European discourses.

Apess is best known for his autobiography, *A Son of the Forest* (1829; revised and reprinted in 1831) and for his "most celebrated oration," the *Eulogy on King Philip* (1837), which he first performed in January of 1836 at the Odeon in Boston, "a luxurious lecture hall" which "would later see other liberal social reformers…ascend its stage."[2] These texts began to receive significant attention from scholars starting in the 1990s, but more recent scholarship has added to our understanding of Apess by examining the works Apess produced while living at Mashpee, the last Indian town on Cape Cod, works that include the pamphlet-book, *The Experiences of Five Christian Indians of the Pequod Tribe* (1833), the polemic essay "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" (published in *The Experiences*), and the generically flexible political "assemblage," to use Kelly Wisecup's term, *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts, Relative to the Marshpee Tribe* (1835).[3] In part because so much early attention was focused on Apess's autobiography, foundational scholarship on Apess, according Sandra Gustafson (writing in 1994), has centered

> …around the problem of understanding his Christianity. The central interpretive issues range from the conversion narrative conventions that shape his autobiographies to his struggles to be licensed as a Methodist minister to his missionary activities and their relation to his commitments to native rights. Critics including Arnold Krupat, David Murray, and Barry O'Connell have uncovered a tension between monologism and

[2] Mark Miller, "'Mouth for God': Temperate Labor, Race, and Methodist Reform in William Apess's *A Son of the Forest.*" *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2010), 226. *Project MUSE*, https://doi.org/10.1353/jer.0.0151.
[3] Kelly Wisecup, *Assembled for Use: Indigenous Compilation and the Archives of Early Native American Literatures* (Yale UP, 2021).

> polyphony in Apess's writings, the former identified with what Krupat has called the monological voice of Christian salvationism, the latter with hybridizing strategies designed to incorporate native voices.[4]

The "monological voice of Christian salvationism" articulated by Krupat "eliminates any possible inclusion of non-white or native voices in [Apess's] work and in turn 'proclaims a sense of self,...deriving entirely from Christian culture.'"[5] Nineteenth-century readers of Apess, expecting something more exotic and typological, were likewise disappointed by the Christian self articulated in the autobiography because, as Mielke notes, the "sentimental culture" of antebellum America "valu[ed] trans-racial communication while insisting on racial essentialism."[6]

The search for an Indigenous "self" in Apess's works has thus been a motivating concern for white readers across centuries, the measurement of the authenticity of that self changing in accordance with historical theorizations of "authentic" Indigenous expression. Krupat's expectations of Indigenous authenticity, for example, are shaped by recordings of oral stories, songs, and ceremonies translated and recorded by white ethnographers starting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[7] Antebellum readers' expectations, on the other hand, were shaped by white accounts of Indian life, some of which were putatively historical or

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[4] Sandra Gustafson, "Nations of Israelites: Prophecy and Cultural Autonomy in the Writings of William Apess." *Religion & Literature*, vol. 26, no. 1 (1994), 43. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40059580.
[5] Carolyn Haynes, "'A Mark for Them All to…Hiss at': The Formation of Methodist and Pequot Identity in the Conversion of William Apess." *Early American Literature*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1996), 22. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25057038.
[6] Laura M. Mielke, "'Native to the Question': William Apess, Black Hawk, and the Sentimental Context of Early American Autobiography." *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2002), 252-253. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/412846.1.
[7] Native participation in and use of the information recorded in ethnographic studies is complex. Ethnographic archives have been used by tribes to reclaim and revitalize culture and language, but the information they contain can also sometimes be incorrect, as Native informants often (understandably) withhold from or mislead white ethnographers.

observational (i.e., Puritan histories), others of which were romantic inventions that spoke more to European fears/desires than to any material or historical reality (i.e., Cooper's novels, *Metamora*, etc.). While the contents of these sets of expectations are different, they share a reliance on white interlocutors to translate/transmit Indigenous expression and an assumption that Indigenous self-expression should be contiguous with racial expression. In addition to potentially essentializing Indian expression, the concept of a "monological voice of Christian salvationism" also stabilizes and abstracts Christianity into an almost comically capacious category. Apess developed his faith at a time of intense sectarian debate, and his rhetorical choices often say more about his status as a Methodist "outsider," or of the specific dynamics between different Methodist denominations and activist groups, for example, than they do about a large "Christianity" understood only in opposition to "traditional" beliefs.

In a footnote to the introduction of *On Our Own Ground*, Barry O'Connell's edition of Apess's collected works, O'Connell argues that Krupat's reliance on "theoretical categories, in this case ones drawn from Bakhtin and Foucault, which help us to understand the discourses of power, can also reenact the very subordinations they mean to uncover."[8] O'Connell is less concerned with Krupat's essentialism, then, than he is with the way that discourses of power can lead to theoretical overdeterminations which limit the ways we might be able to imagine or discern alternative perspectives. In an effort to uncover rather than reenact "subordinate" perspectives, Murray and O'Connell identify "polyphonous" voices at work in Apess's texts, voices which represent hybridized or non-white/non-Christian perspectives. Despite their skepticism of Krupat's claims of monologism, however, Murray and O'Connell both end up returning to moments in Apess where it feels difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate between

[8] Barry O'Connell, "Introduction." *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, a Pequot* (U of Massachusetts P, 1992), xxiv.

the monological and polyphonous. Murray explains some of these moments of overlap as ventriloquistic, Apess adopting the white Christian or nationalistic rhetoric in order to point out hypocrisy.[9] In the *Eulogy*, for example, Apess "...slips into the Christians' own voice in giving their justifications of their actions, only then to reprove them in their own Christian terms."[10] Murray then connects this "slippage" to a later moment in the speech when Apess ventriloquizes the paternalistic rhetoric used by Andrew Jackson to justify removal of Southeastern tribes. In this instance, ventriloquism is a tool for critique, not evidence of a compromised Indigenous self. Critiques staged in familiar terms, Mielke argues, would have been especially effective for addressing nineteenth-century readers because they challenged the expected performance of Indian authenticity: "[t]he elements of Apess's writing that threaten his text's authenticity in the eyes of antebellum Euro-American readers become his most powerful tools for criticizing those readers."[11] Apess's ventriloquism is designed to show white readers a version of themselves made ugly via the process of Indian interpellation. But what happens when Apess uses language that might be read as ventriloquistic to describe his "brethren"? Can we still call this ventriloquism – or is it something else?

O'Connell, perhaps the critic most attentive to and perplexed by Apess's mirroring rhetoric, thinks that this doubling or overlapping is not merely ironic, but points to the inherent instability of racial and other binaries. O'Connell pauses to examine a moment of rhetorical mirroring/overlap in the *Eulogy* where Apess uses the term "patriot" to describe both King Philip and George Washington:

[9] For more on the connection between ventriloquism and prophecy in Apess's writings, see Gustafson.
[10] David Murray, *Forked Tongues: Speech, Writing & Representation in North American Indian Texts* (Pinter Publishers, 1991), 63.
[11] Mielke, 252-253.

> [Apess] employs, for example, the concept of "patriot" to set Indian Philip and Euro-American George side by side. The term seems to conflate while it also stresses the incongruity of the two...Something beyond irony is at play. The very terminologies of an Americanist discourse, which value Euro-Americans precisely through implied contrast to their Indian opposites, *are expropriated, inverted, or used as though they could characterize Indians as aptly as Euro-Americans*.[12]

If George Washington's status as "patriot" only becomes possible through an "implied contrast to...an Indian opposite," how are we to understand Apess's use of the same term to describe King Philip, or Metacom, the Wampanoag leader whose claims to sovereignty undermined those of both Britain (in 1675) and the United States (in 1836)? The distinction between the figures seems as if it should require a distinction in terminology, especially since the deployment of one term implies the negation of the other. O'Connell argues that the sameness of the terminology here and elsewhere in Apess's writing suggests a double perspective which is designed to "riddl[e] binaries" between the "savage and civilized, pagan and Christian, devil and saint, villain and hero, the polarities upon with Euro-American culture has built its sense of legitimacy, of its superiority to Native and African Americans."[13] O'Connell then goes on to suggest we understand Apess's double perspective as an example of Indigenous "signifyin(g)," which O'Connell glosses as "the use of two or more codes of language, or of several voices, but as though only one was being employed."[14] O'Connell offers "signifyin(g)" as a way of explaining rhetorical situations in which "straightforwardness is impossible," but does not explore how the

[12] O'Connell, xxi. Emphasis mine.
[13] Ibid., xxii.
[14] Ibid., xxiii.

term "patriot," or his use of Americanist rhetoric more generally, is the result of rhetorical constraint, or what message the term may have conveyed to non-white audiences.[15]

Although it is tempting to bring methodologies from other cultural traditions to bear on early Indigenous writing in English, the lack of concrete examples in this section shows that while applying the term "signifying" to Apess's rhetorical doubling might be suggestive, establishing congruency between conditions of expressional constraint and/or racial experience in Black and Indigenous texts is not a simple task, especially when one acknowledges the great diversity of tribal languages, cultures, and experiences.[16] Furthermore, although it is possible that Apess's language meant different things to different audiences, when we prioritize the idea that "straightforwardness is impossible," or that Indigenous authors are speaking in "code," we often do so at the expense of genre discourse and recognition (especially when the genres in question have been overlooked or forgotten by contemporary scholars). For example, O'Connell writes that the *Eulogy* should be understood, generically, as a "call to remember." This "call," he writes, implies two audiences, because while "Native Americans know Euro-Americans and their history…they, in person and historically, are at best only partially known to white Americans."[17] Although white audiences might not have been exposed to Indigenous historiographies, they certainly would have been familiar with the figure of King Philip and with King Philip's War –

[15] This is not to say that Apess's speech was not constrained by white publishers, but only that O'Connell doesn't offer a theory of how that constraint operated. Miller notes that Methodist presses did not publish Indian tracts because of their "notions of dependence": "Apess established Indian respectability by drawing on reformist periodicals' temperance rhetoric, but publication was more difficult for Indians and members of other groups whose identity was being defined, in reformist missionary and humanitarian writing, through notions of dependence. Apess's oft-observed parallelism in his description of Indians and Methodists directly confronts the reformist periodicals' missionary tracts, which drew parallels between Indian and Methodist religious practice but placed significant restrictions on Indian writing. The longest reformist Methodist missionary tract, 'Lectures on Missions to American Indians,' links church, temperance, and missionary reform through a sensationalist psychology in which nervous excitement produces socially proscribed behaviors." In Miller, 248.

[16] For an account of encounters between Black and Native studies, see Tiffany Lethabo King, *The Black Shoals* (Duke UP, 2019).

[17] O'Connell, xix.

they may even have been familiar with the use of the word "patriot" as a way of describing Metacomet. As O'Connell himself notes in a footnote, there were many stories, dramas, and poems written in the early nineteenth century on the subject of King Philip that may have influenced Apess, including Irving's "Philip of Pokanoket" in the *Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon* (1819), Eastburn and Sands's Indian Spenserian epic *Yamoyden* (1820), and John Augustus Stone's drama *Metamora; or, the Last of the Wampanoags* (1829). "Philip of Pokanoket," as Richter writes, "urge[d] those who sought precedents for the American Revolution to identify with the Indians rather than the Puritans. The Indian leader whose forces fought 'the whole British army,' Irving said, 'was a patriot, attached to his native soil.'"[18] Philip Gura gives us even more context, reminding us that Apess gave his address in Boston in early 1836, "when commemorations of the bravery and wisdom of the Pilgrim Fathers and the Massachusetts Bay Puritans were commonplace as many Massachusetts communities celebrated their bicentennials, and just a few months after the golden-tongued orator Edward Everett's 160th anniversary 'Commemoration of the Fall of the 'Flower of Essex,' at [Bloody Brook] in King Philip's War,' a battle in South Deerfield, Massachusetts, in which many militia men from Essex County on the Massachusetts North Shore were killed."[19] The shock value of the Eulogy lies precisely *in* the assumed recognition of the discourses animating celebrations and remembrances of the bicentennial, remembrances which included the celebration of Puritan military victories. The date of the speech also echoes other decisions Apess made to deliver challenges to American rhetoric/history on days of national symbolic significance, as when he planned the Mashpee Revolt for July 4, 1833.

[18] Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Harvard UP, 2003), 243.
[19] Philip F. Gura, "Son of the Forest: William Apess and the Fight for Indigenous Rights." *New England Review*, vol. 35, no. 4 (2015), 75. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24243113.

Ultimately, Krupat's monological voice and O'Connell's polyphonous voice both prioritize the idea of a "voice" over discourse. Such critical eliance on the concept of "voice" might be explained by the fact that many of the first published works by Native authors in English are autobiographies or "as told to" accounts. That is, an autobiography, like a lyric poem, allows critics to locate and abstract out a stable "voice" in which they might be able to measure something like, for example, racial expressivity. As O'Connell writes, although "[a]utobiography, like all writing, cannot escape being collaborative…to a special extent the genre requires and constructs the illusion of an individual in command of his life by his ability to give it an apparent coherence in its telling."[20] It is perhaps for this reason that Krupat admits that his theory of the "monological voice" does not work as well to describe works that are not designed to convey an authorial "voice," but that rely on the manipulation of recognizable conventions.[21] When today's readers are asked to search for encoded language or stabilized/essentialized racial voices in texts that rely on the recognition of convention, they are likely to miss genre discourses that are meant to be obvious, not covert. When we prioritize convention over voice, we prioritize the creative ways that conventions are assembled and altered over whether or not the conventions or genres by themselves are "Christian" or "Indian." Apess's *A Son of the Forest* is an important and unique record, but it, like all autobiographies during the period, cannot be read apart from Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*, whose "serious mission was nothing less than the education of a new nation, using Franklin's life and mind as its model."[22] Apess's autobiography, like his other writing, is thus always-already encoded in the

[20] O'Connell, xliv.
[21] O'Connell, xxv, footnote 13.
[22] Steven Forde, "Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography and the Education of America." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 86, no. 2 (1992), 357. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1964225.

"terminologies of an Americanist discourse" – yet we don't confuse his life, or his writing, for Franklin's.

ii. The Mirror as Figurative Tool

The rest of this chapter considers Apess's 1833 treatise, "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man," a text in which genre discourse has been overlooked in favor of monologism and by the critical rush away from that monologism toward polyphonism and tribally-specific epistemologies. Like Apess's use of the term "patriot" in the *Eulogy*, the subversive interpellation of the "Looking-Glass" is made possible *via* and not despite, European forms of address. Why has no critic, with the possible exception of Marcy Dinius, put Apess's "Looking-Glass" in conversation with the genre of "looking-glass" pamphlets, a genre with a long literary tradition including the medieval *specula principum,* the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and eighteenth-century "looking-glass" political pamphlets that circulated throughout the Native and Anglo Northeast? While Krupat and O'Connell prioritize "voice" over genre in Apess's autobiography, critics of the "Looking-Glass" essay have prioritized rhetorical inventiveness and the identification of Indigenous frameworks. Under the entry for "Colonial" in *Keywords for American Cultural Study*, for example, David Kazanjian writes that Apess's "essay," "reverses the dynamic of 'playing Indian'; [Apess] claims a European technology, the looking glass, and turns it on white men so that they may see themselves not as innocent colonials but as violent colonizers."[23] While Kazanjian is right that the essay is designed to reveal the violence inherent in settler colonial processes, by literalizing the mirror-metaphor of Apess's title, Kazanjian manages to sidestep its generic implications. No longer is Apess participating in a familiar

[23] David Kazanjian, "Colonial." *Keywords for American Cultural Studies, Second Edition*, edited by Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler, 2nd ed. (NYU P, 2014), pp. 48–53. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1287j69.15.

European genre with a history dating to the medieval period, he is instead being inventive, transforming a (non-literary) European tool into a rhetorical device. The mirror as a literary device for political expression is, however, an old idea and demonstrates Apess's knowledge of European genre discourse rather than his desire to engage in some kind of reverse Indian play. Apess does not take on a white persona as much as he invokes, via the looking-glass genre, an alternative logic that allows white readers to see themselves as historical Others.

Like Kazanjian, Drew Lopenzina and Lisa Brooks largely ignore the specific genre discourses attached to Apess's essay and instead theorize the mirror as a technology or framework for Indigenous praxis more generally. In *Through an Indian's Looking-Glass* (2017), his "cultural biography" of Apess, Lopenzina suggests that, in Apess's hands, the mirror is a tool whose reflections and refractions allow him to "discern in his own image and the image of his beleaguered people that which is holy." Instead of merely reflecting back "the archival body of work that comprised the looking-glass of a dominant colonial culture," the "negative work" of Apess's mirror aims "to fill th[e] absence [of traditional Pequot culture] with the material at hand, the bits and pieces of cultural flotsam he amassed in his travels."[24] Lopenzina and Brooks argue that this flotsam includes Indigenous (Haudenosaunee and Narragansett) materials, even if the traditional archive referenced by the mirror is European or English. For example, Brooks finds reflected in "An Indian's Looking-Glass" the Narragansett concept of *michachunk*, or "clear sight," which,

> The Narragansetts told [Rhode Island founder Roger] Williams…was like a "[l]ooking glass, or cleere resemblance, so that it hath its name from a cleere sight or discerning "

[24] Drew Lopenzina, *Through an Indian's Looking Glass: A Cultural Biography of William Apess, Pequot* (U of Massachusetts P, 2017), 12.

> (Williams 130). A concept prevalent in Native northeastern writing, treaty literature, and oral traditions, clear sight is rarely achieved, but rather suggests a dualistic activity of striving, involving both empathy and critical analysis, imagination and "discerning."[25]

The praxis of clear sight is defined, according to Brooks, by reciprocity and empathy. It "seeks proximity and participation" and "invites the kinds of strategic reversals that Apess performs, asking his readers to look at their world from the perspective of the Native people in their midst."[26] Centering the perspective of Native peoples via this methodology is Brooks's central goal in the rest of the article, which "maps" Indigenous presence in Mary Rowlandson's famous captivity narrative. While I admire Brooks's attempt to bring a tribally-specific term and concept to bear on Apess's essay, the word "michachunk"'s connection to the term "looking glass," proposed by Roger Williams in his *A Key Into the Language of America* (1643), is tenuous at best. Trumbull's *Natick Dictionary* (1903), for example, notes that "The word has no discoverable affinity with either of the two names (kaukakíneamuck and pebenochichauquanick) which Williams gives to 'looking glass.'"[27] Furthermore, although there are moments in *A Son of the Forest* where reflective services engender something like michachunk, there are passages in *The Experiences* (also an autobiographical narrative) that trouble the association between reflectivity and "cleere sight." Apess describes hell, for example, as an "awful lake," while "peace of mind" is "like a river, full, deep and wide, and flowing continually."[28] These

[25] Lisa Brooks, "Turning the Looking Glass on King Philip's War: Locating American Literature in Native Space." *American Literary History*, vol. 25, no. 4 (2013), 726. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43817600.
[26] Ibid.
[27] James Hammond Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary* (Washington Government Printing Office, 1903), 57. *Archive.org*, https://archive.org/details/natickdictionary0000trum/
[28] William Apess, *The Experiences of Five Christian Indians of the Pequod Tribe* (Boston, Printed by James B. Dow, 1833), 15, 16. *Archive.org*, https://archive.org/details/experiencesoffiv00apes/

distinctions seem not to matter to Lopenzina, who, writing four years after Brooks, includes William's definition of "michachunk" as an epigraph to the first chapter of his book.[29]

If, as Brooks suggests, Apess's goal in the "Looking-Glass" is to inspire a practice of Indigenous discerning ("cleere sight" being an Indigenous "praxis-based framework"), his choice of European genre (for there is no denying that his essay is directed at a white readers, as the title explicitly addresses them) should also cohere with that goal. It is perhaps for this reason that Brooks chooses to ground the European "looking-glass" tradition in Leonardo da Vinci who, she writes, quoting Philippa King, "used the mirror as a figurative tool, instructing the painter to 'keep his mind as clear as the surface of the mirror, which assumes colours as various as those of the different objects.'"[30] Brooks makes a strange and telling choice here; antebellum readers would have been far less familiar with da Vinci's artistic processes than they would have with "looking-glass" pamphlets, a popular genre from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries which were often polemical, not participatory, in nature.[31] In her account, Apess is not referencing a specific genre history or discourse, but engaging in a type of thinking with both European and Indigenous lineages. The state of mind which da Vinci says will produce artistic works (via the medium of paint) is made analogous to the state of mind which produces discernment (via the medium of the printed "looking-glass"). The "figurative tool" to produce the state of mind is, in both cases, reflectivity, clarity. This analogy allows Brooks to sidestep the issue of "dominant colonial culture" altogether. There is no colonial discourse here because there is no discourse community, only figurative tools which might be abstracted from their material

[29] Lopenzina, 1.
[30] Brooks, 726.
[31] There is a debate about whether/to what extent the didacticism of the mirror for magistrates is participatory. See: Jessica Winston, "'A Mirror for Magistrates' and Public Political Discourse in Elizabethan England." *Studies in Philology*, vol. 101, no. 4 (Autumn, 2004). *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4174800. There is probably a distinction to be made between public participatory discourse (based on proposed models of positive/negative behavior) and the kind of empathetic reflectivity theorized by Brooks.

and historical contexts. Brooks's methodology of michachunk also conveniently proposes a mode of analysis which includes empathy, therefore countering or subverting Enlightenment theories of objectivity that create white personhood at the expense of colonized Others. Lopenzina, for his part, does not linger on the essay's genre, calling it simply a "sermon." I have not been able to locate any evidence that the essay was understood as a sermon or that it was performed/recited (unlike, famously, the *Eulogy*).[32] Perhaps Lopenzina is using the term "sermon" to gesture broadly to the *Experiences* as a piece of religious propaganda.

The critic closest to acknowledging the genre discourse at work in "An Indian's Looking-Glass" is Marcy Dinius, who, in her chapter on Apess in *The Textual Effects of David Walker's "Appeal,"* acknowledges that the "looking-glass" convention or metaphorical structure

> …places [Apess's] essay both in a centuries-old tradition of radical political protest published in pamphlet form and a specific genre within the format: the didactic pamphlet, a genre it shares with both Walker's *Appeal* and Stewart's *Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality*. Even more specifically, Apes's use of what Herbert Grabes calls the "titular metaphor for the unmasking of concealed ills" – the mirror, or looking glass – places it within a subgenre of didactic literature that spans from the specula of antiquity and the Middle Ages through seventeenth-century broadsides and pamphlets titled *mirrors* and *looking-glasses*.[33]

Categorizing Apess's "Looking-Glass" as a "didactic pamphlet" (a classification I would argue actually broadens, rather than narrows, the generic category) allows Dinius to connect the essay

[32] Lopenzina, 10.
[33] Marcy J. Dinius, *The Textual Effects of David Walker's "Appeal"* (U of Pennsylvania P, 2022), 118. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1q6bn79.6

to Walker's *Appeal*, which Dinius argues was so influential to Apess that it was "almost as if Apes had annotated and abridged his copy of Walker's *Appeal* to keep only the sections in which Walker explicitly addresses his white readers as the model for his 'Looking-Glass.'"[34] But if Apess wanted the essay to be read as an "Appeal," why didn't he call it one? After all, Apess published his own (anonymous) "Appeal," "An Indian's Appeal to the White Men of Massachusetts" the same year as "An Indian's Looking-Glass." While Apess certainly drew from Walker's *Appeal*, the structure of the two pieces are quite different. Walker's is a book-length piece divided into "Articles," while Apess's relatively short essay, which does not have "Articles" or section breaks, is included at the end of the *Experiences*. That is to say that even Dinius, the critic most attentive to the historical conventions associated with the "looking glass" genre, seems to want Apess to be doing something other than participating in European convention, ultimately arguing that Apess "broadens his essay's view from the mirror metaphor to other ways of looking and seeing," by "'look[ing] at all the skins' of the peoples in the word as the medium for recording the historical deeds of the different races."[35] Apess's essay *does* unmask realities of colonialism for both Native and Black communities (Apess himself was likely mixed-race), but such unmasking is central to "looking-glass" conventions, not a formal or rhetorical invention.

Although most of the critics above turn to Herbert Grabes's *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-imagery in titles and texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance* (1982) to help them explain Apess's choice of the "looking-glass" metaphor, few of them mention the historicist argument undergirding Grabes's project. Grabes pushes forcefully against the application of "New Critical methods" to early modern imagery, arguing that "the particular effect of an

[34] Ibid., 122.
[35] Ibid., 125.

individual metaphorical usage can be pinpointed and correctly gauged only when it is seen to be the outcome of the fruitful tension between a text-specific function of metaphor and the potential force of conventional metaphors current at a given time."[36] Historical usage, therefore, helps us determine whether, for example, "an original twist has been given to a convention worn cliché smooth" or "a metaphor has been revitalized after going underground for decades or centuries."[37] Although looking-glass treatises share an operating metaphor or conceit – "the titular metaphor for the unmasking of concealed ills" – pinpointing a specific form is difficult because of the wide variety of genres in which "looking-glass" conceits/titles/metaphors operate, which can include "encyclopaedic or technical works, devotional or moral and didactic tracts, polemical writings of a religious or political nature, and sensation-mongering broadsheets."[38] Mirror titles appeared first, the *Mirrour for Magistrates* (1555) perhaps being the most well-known, and "offer[ed] positive models of conduct or [were] concerned with the polity or with spiritual edification," while looking-glass titles were typically "used to designate moral satires and political tracts typifying the religious and political concerns of seventeenth-century Puritanism."[39] In England, "looking-glass" titles reached their peak popularity in the mid-seventeenth century, but as Dinius notes, they were a familiar genre in America into at least the early nineteenth century (a search for "looking glass" in the Early American Imprints database produces 129 results). Unfortunately, Grabes's study is limited to England and, as a result, it is unclear how "looking-glass" discourses appeared in American colonial contexts. The publication of "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" in *The Experiences of Five Christian Indians, of the Pequod*

[36] Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-imagery in titles and texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance* (Cambridge UP, 2010), 7.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., 21.
[39] Ibid., 33-34 and 37.

*Trib*e gives us some clues that Apess was playing with both sixteenth-century "mirrors" promoting "positive models" (sometimes via negative example) *and* seventeenth- and eighteenth-century "looking-glasses" staging political/religious debates about Puritanism.

The *Experiences* are a set of five short biographical sketches of William Apess ("The Missionary"), his wife Mary Wood ("The Missionary's Consort"), Hannah Caleb, Sally George, and Anne Wamply. All of the sketches, with the exception of "The Missionary's Consort," were written by Apess. The *Experiences* share the general structure of a conversion narrative in which the subjects' pre-conversion lives are not defined by ignorance of God, but by socio-economic conditions which made moral action difficult. Apess and Mary Wood in particular emphasize the failure of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches to embrace Pequot peoples, writing that their conversions were not successful until they became Methodists. Each biographical sketch usually ends with a wish, call, or hope for the reader to follow the example of those profiled in the book.[40] Native peoples, so often the objects of exploratory "sketches," are here not only self-authoring, but, if read in the mirror tradition, also elevated to the same level as other historical personages deemed worthy of moral contemplation: knights, monarchs, saints. Together, the individual autobiographies of the *Experiences* form a collective biographical assemblage meant to instruct readers, who Apess imagines to be primarily white children, how to "read" the differences between their experiences of childhood and those of the Native/mixed-race, indentured subjects.

[40] Mary Wood writes, for example, "May this be the happy lot of us all, is the prayer of your unworthy writer" (*Experiences*, 36), while Apess ends Sally George's biography by imploring his readership to follow in her footsteps: "But while she sleeps in dust below, she bathes her weary soul in seas of heavenly rest, and not a wave of trouble rolls across her peaceful breast – O, reader, strive to meet her there" (*Experiences*, 47). William Apess, *The Experiences of Five Christian Indians of the Pequot Tribe* (Boston, James B. Dow, 1833). *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/experiencesoffiv00apes.

Apess writes that "[i]t is not my intention to descend to particulars in this pamphlet, any farther, than to notice the origin of my life, for the purpose of giving the youth a transient view between their condition and mine…"[41] This "transient view" includes the examination of the "conditions" of racism. "Little children," Apess addresses his readership, referencing his own impoverished childhood, "how thankful you ought to be that you are not in the same condition that we were – that you have not a nation to hiss at you, merely because your skins are white." By placing his own childhood parallel to the childhood of his reader, Apess can "teach" his pupils both to integrate the general lessons of his conversion and to develop a consistency in their behavior toward others, a consistency that "sectarian bigots" lack. These "bigots," whom Apess accuses of judging/defaming attendees of Methodist meetings, at one point force Apess into a sudden em-dash, breaking off his narrative to proclaim and ask:

> – I would to God that people were more consistent than what they are. Say, would you like to lose every thing that was near and dear to you, merely because your skin is white? I had to do it, merely because I had a red one. Judge ye if this is right; and if not, stop where you are, and cease to do evil and learn to do well.[42]

The purpose of The *Experiences*, therefore, is to provide a perspective that might encourage the reader to become "more consistent," therefore avoiding the Christian hypocrisy of "sectarian bigots." This goal aligns nicely with what Ezell describes of seventeenth-century looking-glasses, which provides the reader with "a narrative…which enables [them] to negotiate the perilous times of war and political instability," a narrative where, by "shifting the perspective to one side," they "become part of the story":

[41] *The Experiences,* 3.
[42] Ibid., 12

> By looking at these examples from the past, the reader is invited to insert him- or herself into the collage composed from other's histories, to project their image into the looking glass, as it were, and to become part of the story through "seeing themselves" as present in the representations of the past. In looking glass history, one sees oneself textually and knows oneself, not by gazing at one's own reflected image but by shifting the perspective to one side, looking awry, gazing first at others and then projecting oneself into others' images.[43]

Dinius has suggested that *The Experiences* merely serves as cover for "An Indian's Looking-Glass," in order "to increase the chances that potentially sympathetic white readers would read it and focus on the Christian and American principles at its core and take them to heart," looking-glass history allows us to see how *both* texts are designed to promote moral consistency in their readers by offering them new perspectives of themselves via the histories and perspectives of others.[44] While the *Experiences* give historical accounts of lives unfamiliar to white children, however, "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" addresses white men directly, dispensing with the negative/positive exemplars and engaging with a sectarian "looking-glass" tradition that has a longer history in America than scholars have realized, a tradition that uses the places the anti-Puritan pamphlets of seventeenth-century England in the context of Indian violence on the American frontier.

[43] Margaret J. M. Ezell, "Looking Glass Histories." *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 43, no. 3 (July 2004), 335, 336-7. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/383598.
[44] Dinius, 134.

iii. (Indian) Looking-Glass History

The rest of this chapter traces the history of the "looking-glass" political pamphlet genre in America through Peter Folger's "A looking glass for the times. Or, The former spirit of New-England revived in this generation," from its initial publication in 1676 during King Philip's War, to its eighteenth-century reprinting history, including the 1764 Pennsylvanian pamphlet war, to its nineteenth-century rediscovery following Benjamin Franklin's death and the publication of the *Autobiography*. It offers this history as a new way of interpreting Apess's own "looking-glass" treatise, "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" (1833). Such a "looking-glass history" also helps us connect *The Experiences* and "An Indian's Looking-Glass," which were published together in the same booklet, but which no critic has put into conversation in any meaningful way. As Ezell notes above, "looking-glasses" often invoke specific historiographies in order to shift the perspective of the present viewer. "Looking-glasses" are thus also sites of debates about history, about the causes of historical events, places for blame and judgment. And because such judgment is subjective, "looking-glasses" are often sites of sectarian disagreement, defamation, and debate. Writers of "looking-glasses," like Folger and Apess, often denounce "sectarian bigots" or offer moral arguments against illiberalism while themselves taking up sectarian positions. American "looking-glasses," in distinction to those produced in England, are uniquely defined by how these judgments incorporate assessments of Indian war and Indian subjects.

Peter Folger was one of the first English settlers of Nantucket, where he served in a variety of roles, including surveyor, miller, county clerk, and teacher and interpreter to the local Indigenous, largely Wampanoag, population. He is perhaps better known to later generations, however, as the maternal grandfather of Benjamin Franklin, who discusses and quotes from his

grandfather's poem at the beginning of the *Autobiography*. Franklin writes that his grandfather "addresses himself to the governors for the time being, speaks for liberty of conscience, and in favor of the Anabaptists, Quakers, and other sectaries, who had suffered persecution. To this persecution he attributes the wars with the Natives and other calamities which afflict the country, regarding them as judgments of God in punishment of so odious an offence, and he exhorts the government to the repeal of laws so contrary to charity."[45] The laws at issue were those passed by Massachusetts governors in the 1650s preventing Quakers from entering the Colony under threat of execution; a string of Quakers who refused to leave were executed in 1659, 1660, and 1661, prompting James II to outlaw Quaker executions in 1661. Folger published "A looking glass for the times" on April 23, 1676, a little more than a year after the start of King Philip's War and on the 112th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth and the 60th anniversary of his death.[46] The publication date thus recalls two historical moments of Puritan illiberalism, Puritan opposition of the *Globe Theater* in England and Puritan persecution of the Quakers in New England.

Folger's indictment of Puritan anti-Quakerism coheres with two contemporary "looking glass" pamphlets published in London by Quaker authors, George Bishop's 1668 *A Looking Glass for the Times. Being a Tract Concerning the Original and Rise of Truth, and the Original and Rise of Antichrist* and George Fox's 1674 *A looking-glass for the Jews: wherein they may clearly see that the Messiah is come, by the prophets in the Old Testament (above sixteen*

[45] Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Frank Woodworth Pine (Henry Holt and Company, 1916). *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/20203/20203-h/20203-h.htm.
[46] Stephen Grant's biography and bibliography alerted me to the importance of the publication date, which is recorded in the manuscript version of the poem. Jill Lepore dates the Folger poem to 1675 (see Lepore, 50), based on a reference in Winthrop. See Stephen Grant, "Benjamin Franklin's Grandfather, Peter Folger: A Chronology." *The Dukes County Intelligencer*, vol. 57, no. 2 (2016), 35-47. MV Museum, mvmuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/DCI_S16.pdf. See Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (Vintage Books, 1998).

hundred years since) and the manifest testimonies since.[47] The similarity in title and content suggests transatlantic alignment on the use of "looking glass" titles for pro-Quaker content and "confirms the view, widely held by historians of the book, that seventeenth-century New Englanders lived in a world of print continuous with that of Europe."[48] According to a biographical timeline compiled by Stephen Grant, Folger, a Baptist (and perhaps later in life a Quaker), was no stranger to political disagreements with local authorities, and left, or was forced out, of the Colony in 1662, when he moved his family to Roger Williams's community at Providence.[49] This experiment was short-lived, however, and Folger returned to Nantucket the following year, where, despite political rifts with the Coffins, another powerful family on the island, he was selected to serve in prominent positions, including town miller, interpreter/negotiator to the Indians, and county clerk. It was in the latter capacity that in 1676, "fearing some shenanigans" from the local magistrates, he refused to turn over the town record book, which included "the original deeds of land purchased from the Indians." As a result of this refusal, Folger, then 60 years old, was imprisoned in the Nantucket jail for 14 months, during which time he likely wrote "A looking glass for the times."[50]

Although the poem is explicitly addressed to local magistrates, its immediate impact is difficult to judge in part because seventeenth-century publication history is unconfirmed. A manuscript version of the poem exists in the archives of The Nantucket Historical Association, but for many years the earliest known publication of the poem was a 1883 printing in the Rhode Island Historical Tracts series, which, according to the publisher's note, was taken from a 1763

[47] In 1703, Bishop also published a history of Quaker persecution in New England titled *New-England judged, by the spirit of the Lord.*
[48] Lepore, 58.
[49] This is the theory of Lydia Hichman, according to Stephen Grant. See Lydia (Mitchell) Swain Hinchman, *Early Settlers of Nantucket 1650–1850: Their Associates and Descendants* (Philadelphia, Ferris & Leach, 1901).
[50] Grant, 39.

printing.[51] Most scholars reference this 1763 printing, but I have located a 1725 version, a date that makes sense given the 1763 printing's inclusion of a 1724 appendix.[52] I will return to this complicated reprinting history in more detail, but for now I want to note that although there is not an extant printed version of the published seventeenth-century version of the poem, Anderson notes that "the first page bears on the upper margin annotation in symbols best interpreted as a typesetter's directions."[53] This fact, combined with the poem's direct address to magistrates, its popular "looking glass" title, its publication on the anniversary of Shakespeare's birth/death date, and its reprinting history, all suggest that the poem *was*, or at the very least intended to be, published.

Folger thus participated in an explosion of printed discourse on King Philip's War that intersected with overlapping political debates about colonial governance and religion between Puritans and other sects, including Quakers and non-conformist figures like Roger Williams. Lepore notes that there was a demand for narratives about the war from its outset: "...even if the runs averaged only a moderate five hundred copies per printing, a minimum of fifteen thousand copies of printed accounts of King Philip's War would have descended on the very small Anglo-American book market between 1675 and 1682."[54, 55] Narratives were printed and shared

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[51] Florence Bennett Anderson, *A Grandfather for Benjamin Franklin: The true story of a Nantucket pioneer and his mates* (Boston: Meador, 1940), 302. *Google Books*, google.com/books/edition/A_Grandfather_for_Benjamin_Franklin/HJglAQAAMAAJ

[52] "A looking glass for the times. Or, The former spirit of New-England revived in this generation." Boston, 1725. *Readex: Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans,* https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info%3Asid/infoweb.newsbank.com&svc_dat=EVAN&req_dat=0D0F9A1261961D4A&rft_val_format=info%3Aofi/fmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=document_id%3Aimage%252Fv2%253A0F2B1FCB879B099B%2540EAIX-0F2F8296E9337088%254039827-%25401.

[53] Anderson, 302.

[54] Lepore, 52.

[55] This explosion in print discourse contrasts with the closure at the start of the war of the printing press at Harvard Indian School, the site of the first Indigenous printing practice in North America. As Phillip Round has discussed, before the onset of King Philip's War, James Printer, a Nipmuc translator and typesetter, helped John Eliot translate and print over a thousand copies of the first Bible written in an Indigenous language. At least two Wampanoag students trained by Peter Folger, Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck and Joel Hiacoomes, entered Harvard Indian School in

transatlantically, but those published in New England "emphasized the devastation and violence of the war, but always with a simple and much-stated purpose: moral instruction."[56,57] The type of "instruction" proposed depended on the writer's explanation of the cause of the War, which was often analogous with the writer's explanation of the cause of God's anger, as "everywhere the English found God writing his judgment onto New England's landscape or onto English bodies. [God] had made New England," Lepore continues, extending Folger's title to an abstraction of thought and praxis, "into a 'looking glasse' whose ravages reflected the colonists' own spiritual corruption." Puritans like Wait Winthrop believed God was responding to a general state of sinfulness in the Colony, while other nonconformists like Folger "understood the war as punishment for the Puritan's persecution of dissenters."[58] These dueling accounts of God's judgment were then recorded in verse and printed. The importance of print circulation and the role of the "looking-glass" to refute or counter recent histories is evident in Folger's many references to recent books which his reader may have seen "in print."[59] The subtitle of Folger's poem, "The former spirit of New England revived in this generation," also situates the poem as a kind of warning not to repeat the sins of the previous generation, the "former spirit" of Puritan extremism. The poem thus reflects current events back to the audience through the lens of the recent past, engaging in a kind of dialogical "reading" of present via past.

1661 and would have been at Harvard in 1663 when the Massachusetts Bible was first printed. Shortly before their graduation in 1665, Hiacoomes was involved in a shipwreck off the coast of Nantucket where he was murdered by robbers. Cheeshahteaumuck went on to graduate, but died shortly afterwards of tuberculosis. Many scholars cite Cheeshahteaumuck's letter (written in Latin) to supporters of the school as the first extant piece of writing by a Native American. The Indian College and its printing press closed at the onset of King Philip's War, and a second Wampanoag student did not graduate from Harvard until 2011. See Phillip Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* (U of North Carolina P, 2010).

[56] Lepore, 58.

[57] While Brooks connects figurative tools of reflection to secular empathy, Dinius notes that, historically, the genre was associated with religious moral instruction. See Dinius, 118.

[58] Lepore, 99.

[59] For example, referencing George Bishop: "Now to the Sufferings of these Men, / I have but gave a hint; / Because that in George Bishop's Book / you may see all in print."

Wait Winthrop and Folger agree that King Philip's War represented a form of divine judgement, and that the solution to this judgement should be humility, but differ in their depictions of Indian barbarity. Winthrop's 1675 broadside ballad, *Some meditations concerning our honourable gentlemen and fellow-souldiers, in pursuit of those barbarous natives in the Narragansit-Country,* instructs colonists to repent and prepare themselves for war. It begins not with divine judgement, but by blaming the outset of the War on the Indian desire, no longer willing to endure colonial subjection, to "play the man":

> These *Indians strong* have *waited long*
> But now intend to see,
> If they that can so play the man,
> That they themselves may free.[60]

By the middle of the poem, however, Indians no longer merely wish themselves free, but are acting in league with "their God the Devil." Winthrop pleads with God to "Cast thou a dread, and make afraid / these Indians strong and stout,"

> Lest they do boast of their great Host,
> And praise their God the Devil,
> From whom indeed, this doth proceed
> The Author of all Evil.

[60] Wait Winthrop, "Some meditations concerning our honourable gentleman and fellow-souldiers, in pursuit of those barbarous natives in the Nrragansit-Country; and their service there" (New London, 1721). Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2020776728.

Although Winthrop surely knew of the existence of Christian Indians, he does not admit their existence and certainly does not seek to make an exception for them. Lepore notes that this was common for white commentators on the War, who (with the exception of Daniel Gookin, whose writings were unpublished for a century after their composition), "…were likely to portray Indians, both Christian and non-Christian, in the worst possible light. Although earlier writing about the Indians had emphasized their potential for conversion, the King Philip's War narratives transformed New England's natives into irredeemable monsters."[61] We can observe this shift in real-time in Winthrop's poem, as Indians change from men seeking freedom, to devil worshippers, to, in an additional shift not anticipated by Lepore, Biblical pests – "a Swarm of Flies."[62] Addressing "New-England" directly, Winthrop warns against the underestimation of the Indian threat, even as he minimizes and dehumanizes that threat by framing Indians in the terms of Biblical plague:

> O New-England, I understand,
> With thee God is offended:
> And therefore He doth humble thee,
> Til thou thy ways hast mended.

[61] Lepore, 45.
[62] Winthrop's descriptions are tame, though, in comparison to Tompson's *New Englands Crisis*, which includes scenes of depravity so exaggerated that, as Van Der Woude notes, they seem almost "inappropriate" (435). Neither Winthrop nor Folger include quoted speech from their Indian subjects, but Tompson registers the shift toward monstrosity in King Philip's verse speech, which changes from heroic couplets to "an odd, undignified pidgin" and signals the poem's narrative shift toward violence and dehumanization (434). Van Der Woude argues that the dehumanization of Philip renders the poem's claims to epic incoherent, as the excessive/pointless violence of King Philip's War and the degeneration of the enemy are incompatible with the elevated status of epic subjects. See Joanne Van Der Woude, "Indians and Antiquity: Subversive Classicism in Early New England Poetry." *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 90, no. 3 (2017), pp. 418-441. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26405871.

Repent therefore, and do no more,
Advance they self so High,
But humbled be, and thou shalt see
These Indians soon will dy

A Swarm of Flies, they may arise,
A Nation to Annoy,
Yea Rats and Mice or Swarms of Lice
A Nation may destroy.

And now I shall my Neighbors all
Give one word of Advice,
Love and Care do you prepare
For War, if you be wise.

Get Ammunition with Expedition
Your Selves for to Defend,
And Pray to God that He His Rod
Will please for to suspend.

Winthrop reminds his audience that creatures typically associated with mere annoyance, when multiplied, can represent a real threat to political/colonial stability. Not convinced, perhaps, that his readers will be able to prevent Indian war through repentance or prayer alone, he encourages them to take up arms. Although Winthrop pleads with his neighbors to humble themselves,

Winthrop does not articulate a specific sin for which the colony as a whole must repent. The cause of God's displeasure remains abstract and as a result the agency of the Wampanoags as political actors is left ambiguous.

Folger's poem likely represents a direct response to Winthrop, even as it takes its titular convention from Bishop and Fox**.** Written in the same verse stanzas, Folger, like Winthrop, invokes the language of "flys" to analogize the Indian threat, but, as Lepore and Franklin acknowledge, does so largely to appeal to the local magistrates to amend/repeal persecutory laws against the Quakers, "whose Consequence is black." While Winthrop seeks to prepare his readers to meet increased violence, Folger argues that a shift to a rule of inner peace is the only sure way to achieve lasting outward peace. In Folger's logic of inner/outer mirroring, the number of Indians killed is irrelevant, for "God can make more arise":

> If that the Peace of God
> did rule with Power in our Heart,
> Then outward War would flee away,
> and Rest would be our Part.
>
> If we could love our Brethren,
> and do to them, I say,
> As we would they should do to us,
> we should be quiet straightway.
>
> But if that we a smiting go
> of Fellow-Servants so,

No marvel if our Wars encrease,

and things so heavy go.

'Tis like that some may think and say,

our War would not remain,

If so be that a thousand more

of Natives were but slain.

Alass! these are but foolish thoughts,

God can make more arise,

And if that there were none at all,

he can make War with Flys.[63]

Although Folger does not include Christian Indians amongst the "Brethren" experiencing mistreatment from Puritan magistrates, he does not dwell on Indian "monstrosity," nor does he suggest, as Winthrop does, that settler violence is an appropriate response to God's judgement. Even his use of the "fly" analogy is more oblique. God can enact his judgement with any tool; if Natives (notably Natives, not Indians) are eradicated, he can then turn to other "rods," including flies. In the middle of the war, a time when anti-Indian sentiment was at its height, Folger writes simply that "the enemy" is "foolish": "The Enemy that hath done this, / are very foolish Men; / Yet God doth make of them a Rod / to punish us for Sin." The enemy and Puritan advocates for

[63] Peter Folger, "A looking glass for the times. Or, The former spirit of New-England revived in this generation" (1763). *Evans Early American Imprint Collection*, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?cc=evans;idno=N07355.0001.001;node=N07355.0001.001:2;rgn=div1;view=text.

increased violence are *both* foolish (the latter harboring "foolish thoughts"), and what is needed isn't broad repentance for generalizable sins, but political action that would necessarily follow from an alignment of interior peace with exterior peace.[64]

The "unmasking of societal ills" central to Folger's "looking glass" is thus the public revelation of Puritan hypocrisy coupled with a warning that such hypocrisy, unchecked, will result in divine judgement in the form of Indian war. A 1725 reprinting of the poem suggests that the poem was well known enough to successfully invoke the fear of the violence of King Philip's War nearly 50 years later. In this printing, the poem appears with an appendix citing George I's 1724 repeal of two Massachusetts Bay Colony laws which imposed unfair taxes for the "Maintenance of Presbyterian Ministers" on the Quaker-majority towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton. Petitioners on behalf of the law's repeal argued that community members ("except Papists") should be free to select their own ministers:

> …as by the Charter granted to this Province, a free and absolute Liberty of Conscience to all Christians (except Papists) was intended to have been their Foundation and Support; and as by several laws passed there, it seems to have been laid down as a just and equitable Rule, that the Majority of each Town, Congregation should have the Choice of their own Teachers, we cannot see why the Quakers should be refused this Liberty in the Towns where they are so great a Majority, and be obliged to maintain a Teacher of different Persuasion.[65]

[64] Inner peace accords with the Quaker principle of "Inner Light." Whose interior was "black" and whose was "light" seems to have been a question of much debate. For example, Roger Williams, in a tract criticizing George Fox, questions the purity of the Quaker inner voice: "Might that inner voice not convey 'the wild and foolish notions of the Devils whisperings,' Williams asked his English readers? The Quakers, he was sure, had a demonic '*black Familiar*' rather than a true Inner Light. The root of the problem, as he saw it, was once again the absence of patience." See Matt Cohen, *The Silence of the Miskito Prince: How Cultural Dialogue Was Colonized* (U of Minnesota P, 2022), 92.

[65] See Folger, "A looking glass" (1725).

Folger's poem is reprinted alongside an account of two men imprisoned by local authorities for refusing to enforce laws they believe are discriminatory against Quakers. After appealing to English authorities, the laws are repealed and the prisoners released. The pattern of discrimination, protest, and appeal mirrors that experienced by Folger. The reprinted poem performs a kind of historiographical shorthand, a warning against the perils of Puritan illiberalism, a reminder that English leaders and genres are at the ready to "call out" laws repeating the sins of previous generations.

APPENDIX.

At the Court at St. *JAMES*'s, the 2d [illegible] of *June*, 1724.

PRESENT,

The KING's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.	Duke of Newcaſtle.
A. B. of Canterbury.	Earl of Weſtmorland.
Lord Chancellor.	Lord Viſc. Townſhend.
Lord Preſident.	Lord Viſc. Torrington.
Lord Privy Seal.	Mr. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.
Lord Chamberlain.	Mr. Vice Chamberlain.
Duke of Roxburg.	William Pulteney Eſq;

UPON reading this Day at the Board, a Report from the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Councils, upon the Petition of *Thomas Richardſon* and *Richard Partridge*, on behalf of *Joſeph Anthony*, *John Siſſon*, *John Akin*, and *Phillip Taber*, Priſoners in the common Goal at *New Briſtol*, in his Majeſty's Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay* in *New-England*, for not aſſeſſing the Inhabitants of the Towns of *Dartmouth* and *Tiverton*, the additional Taxes of one hundred Pounds, and ſeventy two Pounds eleven Shillings, impoſed upon them by an Act paſſed there in the Year 1722, which appears to be for the Maintenance of Presbyterian Miniſters, who are not of their Perſwaſion; and alſo in behalf of their Friends called Quakers in general, who are frequently under great Sufferings for Conſcience ſake in that Government: By which Report it appears, that

* Nantucket.

Figure 1. Appendix to the 1725 printing of Folger's poem.

iv. Eighteenth-Century Looking-Glasses and the 1764 Pamphlet War

That shorthand warning was invoked again in 1763, when the poem was reprinted. The context surrounding the 1763 reprinting is a little more difficult to parse in part because, according to Benjamin Bankhurst (whose article, like Lopenzina's book and Brooks's article on Apess, adapts the titular "looking-glass" convention), "by the middle of the eighteenth century, Quakerism had largely shed the negative reputation acquired during the Commonwealth era and became incorporated into mainstream polite society."[66] Instead of appealing to colonial powers for fair treatment, Quakers, by 1763, were "mainstream" political actors.[67] Why was Folger's poem republished in 1763 if the Puritan extremism criticized by the poem was no longer a threat to Quaker, or other religious minority, liberty? The answer, I think, lies in the "looking-glass" treatises published as part of the "pamphlet wars" of 1764, which replaced one threat of religious extremism, (Puritanism) with another (Presbyterianism). That is, the "looking-glasses" of the 1764 pamphlet war explained frontier violence in the terms of "Old Word" divisions by criticizing the extremism of the Paxton Boys, a restless group of Scots-Irish Presbyterian settlers intent on frontier expansion and increased representation in the Pennsylvania legislature. As Bankhurst relates:

> In December 1763, a mob in Lancaster County, soon dubbed the Paxton Boys, brutally murdered two groups of innocent Conestoga Indians that it suspected of participating in attacks on western settlements during Pontiac's Uprising. A few months later, anger over the government's seemingly preferential concern for the Conestoga's above the interests

[66] Benjamin Bankhurst, "A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians: Recasting a Prejudice in Late Colonial Pennsylvania." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 133, no. 4 (2009), 322.
[67] Ibid.

> of western whites led the Paxton Boys, in the meantime, to march on Philadelphia [where an Indigenous group was being held under the governor's protection].[68]

A delegation headed by Benjamin Franklin stopped the Paxton Boys from entering Philadelphia and they "agreed to disband if their concerns were aired before the legislature." Although the prospect of real violence remained a possibility, "[d]uring the spring and summer of 1764, the quarrels that emerged over the Paxton Boys' activities were transformed into a pamphlet war over the fate of William Penn's proprietary charter."[69] In favor of a new charter was The Assembly Party, "comprised of Quakers, Moravians, and Mennonites" and "headed by Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Galloway," while the "'New Ticket' – largely pro-Paxton – confederation of Presbyterians, reformed German churches and Anglican elites" were "in opposition to a new charter and in favor of an equitable distribution of assembly seats between the eastern and the currently underrepresented western counties."[70] The 1764 pamphlet war featured several "looking-glasses," including Isaac Hunt's "A looking-glass, for Presbyterians,"[71] George Churchman's poem "A little looking-glass for the times; or, A brief remembrancer for Pennsylvania,"[72] and John Rogers's "A looking-glass for the Presbyterians at New-London; to

[68] Bankhurst, 319.
[69] Ibid., 320.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Isaac Hunt, *A looking-glass, for Presbyterians* (Philadelphia), 1764. *Readex: Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans*, https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info%3Asid/infoweb.newsbank.com&svc_dat=EVAN&req_dat=0D0F9A1261961D4A&rft_val_format=info%3Aofi/fmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=document_id%3Aimage%252Fv2%253A0F2B1FCB879B099B%2540EAIX-0F30148AABD534E8%2540-0F7A44F76D6C0570%25403.
[72] George Churchman, *A little looking-glass for the times; or, A brief remembrancer for Pennsylvania* (Wilmington), 1764. *Readex: Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans*, https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info%3Asid/infoweb.newsbank.com&svc_dat=EVAN&req_dat=0D0F9A1261961D4A&rft_val_format=info%3Aofi/fmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=document_id%3Aimage%252Fv2%253A0F2B1FCB879B099B%2540EAIX-0F3015B5AEF34598%2540-0F76F5F704BEC090%25406.

see their worship and worshippers weighed in the balance, and found wanting" (1767)[73] – all of which were pro-Assembly and/or anti-Presbyterian. Folger's poem was thus reprinted alongside a number of other "looking-glasses," criticizing the violent actions of the Paxton Boys and addressing increasing tensions in frontier colonies. According to Ford in the *Franklin Bibliography* (1889), Franklin's hands were all over these pamphlets: "owing to the heated conditions in Pennsylvania, the massacre assumed political importance, and was the subject of many pamphlets…all of which relate more or less to Franklin."[74] Franklin, of course, owned the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and was the anonymous author of his own account of the Paxton Riot, *A Narrative of the Late Massacres, in Lancaster County, of a Number of Indians, Friends of this Province* (1764). The 1763 reprinting of Folger's poem was likely a part of the larger Franklin printing universe, as it was printed in Boston by Samuel Hall, a New England printer in business with the Benjamin Franklin's sister-in-law Anne Franklin (Anne's husband, James, was Benjamin Franklin's first partner in the printing business).[75]

In the "looking-glasses" of the 1764 pamphlet war, Assembly-allied writers criticized Presbyterian leadership for not inculcating sufficient virtues in their congregations, echoing some of the language and argument of Folger in doing so. For example, "Isaac Hunt, the leading pamphleteer on the Assembly side, wrote that normality would have returned to Pennsylvania by the summer of 1764 'if the Doctrines of *Peace* and *Loyalty* had been sufficiently inculcated' in

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[73] John Rogers, *A looking-glass for the Presbyterians at New-London; to see their worship and worshippers weighed in the balance, and found wanting* (Providence), 1767. *Readex: Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans*, https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info%3Asid/infoweb.newsbank.com&svc_dat=EVAN&req_dat=0D0F9A1261961D4A&rft_val_format=info%3Aofi/fmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=document_id%3Aimage%252Fv2%253A0F2B1FCB879B099B%2540EAIX-0F3014A5E77E36D8%2540-0F8173F5BB3DB5E0%25400.

[74] Paul Leicester Ford, *Franklin Bibliography: A List of Books Written By, Or Relating to Benjamin Franklin* (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889), 121. *HathiTrust*, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015033930424.

[75] See Harriet Silvester Tapley, *Salem Imprints 1768-1825: A History of the First Fifty Years of Printing in Salem, Massachusetts* (The Essex Institute, 1927), 6. *Internet Archive*, archive.org/details/salemimprints1761927tapl/page/n7/mode/2up?q=%22essex+gazette%22.

the Presbyterians by their clergy."[76] But without the inculcation of peace and loyalty in the unruly hearts of their congregants, God might continue to use the familiar "Rod" of Indian violence to "teach" them a lesson. Churchman invokes such a "Rod" when he reminds his readers "*He is God:*"

> Omniscient, Omnipotent, Just, and Wise;
> Who hath (to teach us) suffer'd some of late
> To feel th' Effects of Savage Cruelties,
> And what if Wars more deeply penetrate?
>
> If Heave'n permits them, shall we, Oh shall we
> Continue Stupid, to withstand and slight,
> The shaking Rod, till it inflicted be?
> To strike our Country nearer in our Sight!

Pro-Assembly members repurposed Folger's poem and the "looking-glass" convention more generally in order to "single…out unacceptable or dangerous forms of political unorthodoxy," in this case, Presbyterianism. These texts thus drew upon and embraced understandings of the terms "Presbyterian" and "Dissenter" as "...pejoratively denot[ing] republicanism and rous[ing] the historical memory of seventeenth-century religious extremism."[77] Issac Hunt makes this point explicit in *A looking-glass, for Presbyterians*,

[76] Benjamin Bankhurst, "Anti-Presbyterianism." *Digital Paxton*, digitalpaxton.org/works/digital-paxton/anti-presbyterianism.
[77] "A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians," 322.

> Let the righteous blood of the *Quakers* unjustly shed in *New-England*, purely for Conscience sake, warn the inhabitants of *Pennsylvania* from trusting *Presbyterians* with power, least the same mournful Tragedies shou'd be acted over again![78]

Hunt's looking-glass is another link in a chain of specter-raising. In the face of King Philip's War, Folger raises the specter of violence against Quakers in the "former generation" and, via his selected date of publication, of Puritan censorship in 17th century England; in the face of continued discrimination against Quakers, the 1725 reprint raises the specter of King Philip's War; in the face of violence on the Pennsylvania frontier, the 1763 reprint raises the specter of both. Like Folger's original poem, the 1763/4 "looking-glass" pamphlets couched violence against Indians on the frontier in sectarian terms. As Bankhurst explains, quoting Peter Silver's *Our Savage Neighbors*,

> …the Paxton murders were not popularly understood by contemporaries in terms of the perpetrators' hatred for Indians because a "ready-made explanation" compelled many to arrive at a different conclusion: the Paxton Boys – commonly believed to be Scots-Irish Presbyterians – had behaved as people of their ethnicity and denomination always had.[79]

This "structure of prejudice," as Bankhurst continues, "by which the members of one group attack those of another through a process of inversion, casting their opponents as binary negatives of themselves…offered mid-eighteenth-century colonials a framework for making sense of political and religious change at home while simultaneously reinforcing their sense of interconnectedness with the English core of the empire through a belief in a common history."[80,]

[78] Hunt, 9.
[79] "A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians," 318.
[80] Ibid.

[81] This illusion of common history was placed under stress, however, the more white settlers clamored for Indian land and the more the crown, and especially its local administrators, resisted their demands. George II's Royal Proclamation of 1763, for example, gave England the sole right to acquire territory in America and placed a demarcation line for white settlement at the crest of the Appalachian Mountains.[82] According to Daniel Richter in *Facing East from Indian Country*, the tension between the colonial desire for increased settlement on the American frontier and the English Proclamation preventing such expansion helped create the conditions for the American Revolution. As Richter writes,

> [F]rom the Proclamation of 1763 through the Quebec Act of 1774, the British policies that held out the slimmest of hopes that Indians and colonists might coexist through peaceful diplomacy assumed a central place among the grievances that alienated most Euro-americans from the British crown – and from internal political forces such as Pennsylvania's Quaker Party (now minus a sadder but wiser Franklin), with its triple errors of support for royal government, opposition to the Paxton Boys, and advocacy of the accommodationist "old way of reasoning."[83]

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[81] See also Paul Stevens, "'Leviticus Thinking' and the Rhetoric of Early Modern Colonialism." *Criticism*, vol. 35, no. 3 (1993), 458. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23116655. "What I mean by "Leviticus thinking" is the tendency of universalizing Christianity to articulate its own sense of transcendent exceptionalism by re-embodying the exclusive, community-building rhetoric of Israel, especially as it is formulated in the Law. What this does is produce a discourse of enormous power, especially apparent in colonial situations, to separate, divide, and exclude—to create and disseminate a notion of the other as unholy and physically unclean even while claiming to embrace and sanctify all. It is a discourse that has long since been complicated by the racial discourse of nineteenth-century science, but, as the example of Paisley suggests, its distinctive tones can still be heard. What is most important about the Christian discourse of Leviticus thinking is that it is a key factor in explaining how long before the advent of scientific racism Englishmen could look at the colonized, whether Indians or Irish, and feel a bodily sense of otherness. The Algonquians and kerns of Ulster were to be despised, excluded, and considered ineducable not because of their color but because of their corporeal genealogy, their accursed generation."

[82] Jace Weaver, Introduction, "Royal Proclamation of 1763." Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/royal-proclamation-of-1763/.

[83] Richter, 215.

Pro-Assembly looking-glasses did not successfully convince readership to heed the warnings of previous generations. The result was, as the looking-glass authors warned, war (and the end of Quaker political power). In addition to the violence of the Revolutionary War, where Indigenous tribes formed a variety of alliances, increased violence also came in the form of the massacre of Christian Indian communities by former Paxton Boys. As Richter notes, the 1782 massacre of Moravian Indians at Gnadenhutten by ex-Paxton Boys troops serving under David Williamson represented "a macabre replay of the massacre perpetrated by the Paxton Boys in 1763."[84] Perhaps, in comparison to Folger's poem, the 1764 looking glasses were less able to repress the primary cause of frontier violence, that is the insatiable desire for Native land, a desire that was so great that even the specter of King Philip's War could not stop it.[85]

v. An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man

Thus far we have seen how the English mirror/looking glass convention of the "unmasking of societal ills" was adapted by English colonists to criticize laws and political actions which threatened future, by recalling past, illiberal extremism. These critiques often mirrored tensions from the Old World, reflecting back familiar discourses, but threatened the unique punishment of Indian violence for un-Christian behavior. They ignored the existence of Christian Indians while also being authored by religious sects most allied *with* Indigenous

[84] Richter, 222.

[85] The epilogue to *Facing East from Indian Country* focuses on Apess and points to the *Eulogy* as a counter-narrative that "uncomfortably placed Native experiences at the heart of America's story." Richter describes Apess's autobiography and two other 1831 works as representing "orthodox religious themes": "During the Mashpee Revolt, Apess stretched orthodox genres to more critical purposes in a book called *The Experiences of Five Christian Indians of the Pequot Tribe; or, An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man* (1833) and in a widely printed anonymous newspaper article titled "An Indian's Appeal to the White Men of Massachusetts" (Richter 214). I find it interesting that Richter does not specify which "orthodox genres" the work represents, or how it stretches them. He also misprints the title of the *Experiences*, making it seem like "An Indian's Looking-Glass" modifies the *Experiences*, when it does not (Richter, 214). This is just to say that historians forego reading in favor of context and literary scholars forego context in favor of reading, but neither tend to want to spend time on genre.

groups. When Apess calls his essay a "looking-glass," then, his invocation of the titular convention does not mark the essay merely as a "didactic pamphlet," nor does it represent an instance of specifically Indigenous rhetorical innovation, but invokes a very specific American and proto-American discourse associating religious extremism with violence on the frontier and the liberty of Indigenous-allied, minority sects (Quakers, Moravians, Baptists, etc.) with peace. "An Indian's Looking Glass for the White Man" is thus, like much of Apess's writing, highly invested in sectarian religious debates which framed "outsiders" against hypocritical "elites" (this structure, because capable of invoking history memories of extremism, was still operable in the 1764 pamphlet wars despite the fact that Quakers were by then no longer a political minority). Apess saw himself as a religious and racial outsider, and chose the looking glass genre – its defense of minority sects, its political avocation against frontier expansionism, its historiographical reminder of seventeenth-century illiberalism – to protest Massachusetts laws preventing Indigenous peoples in the state from the ability to marry freely, to control their lands and forests, and choose their own religious leaders.

While some critics, like Krupat, have characterized Apess's voice as "Christian," calling Apess a Christian feels like an abstraction given the intensity of sectarian conflict during his childhood and adolescence. Karim Tiro reminds us that Apess's "personal identity was fashioned during the years of fiercest combat between rival denominations in New England. Defining itself as a religion of outsiders pitted against a reprobate elite, early Methodism's delegitimation of the hierarchies that structured New England life validated Apess's class and racial identities simultaneously."[86] Early Methodism embraced a diverse array of congregants and, until the

[86] Karim M. Tiro, "Denominated 'SAVAGE': Methodism, Writing and Identity in the Works of William Apess, a Pequot." *American Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 4 (1996), 654. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/30041552.

1830s, was abolitionist.[87] This validation was produced, however, not through an affirmative experience of resistance, but as Haynes notes, because being Pequot and Methodist both "involved a necessary experience with and acceptance of scorn." For this reason, "in virtually every description of persecution or personal torment [Apess] presents, the ridicule he received as a Pequot and the torment he suffers as a Methodist are either blurred or collapsed. One identity seems to flow seamlessly into the other."[88] The sectarian debates that inform his choice of the "looking-glass" convention are not therefore not ancillary, but central to, Apess's claims for racial equality. "An Indian's Looking Glass" is best read through this syncretic experience of scorn and persecution which Apess finds corollaries of in the "founding" American lineage of political resistance/righteousness as expressed by Pro-Quaker pamphleteers.

While Apess may have read any number of looking-glass pamphlets, as they were relatively common, the details of Apess's political and religious life at the time of his essay's publication suggests an intentional mirroring of Folger's poem and the American tradition it represents. There are many avenues through which Apess may have encountered Folger's poem and/or the anti-Presbyterian "looking-glasses" of the 1764 pamphlet war. We know, for example, that the historiography of King Philip's War was of importance to Apess because his *Eulogy for King Philip* criticizes and revises Puritan histories of King Philip's War.[89] As Gussman

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[87] Tiro, 661.

[88] Carolyn Haynes, "'A Mark for Them All to…Hiss at': The Formation of Methodist and Pequot Identity in the Conversion of William Apess." *Early American Literature*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1996), 22. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25057038.

[89] He also articulated a genealogical connection to the War. In *A Son of the Forest* Apess identifies himself, somewhat ambiguously, as either a direct descendant of King Philip or a Pequod chief under Philip's rule: "William Apes, the author of the following narrative is a native of the American soil, and a descendant of one of the principal chiefs of the Pequod Tribe, so well known in that part of American history called King Philip's Wars. This tribe inhabited a part of Connecticut, and lived in comparative peace on the river Thames, in the town of Groton or Pacatonic, and was commanded by King Philip. As the story of King Philip is perhaps generally known, it will be sufficient for our purpose to say that he was overcome by treachery…My grandfather was a white, and married a female attached to the royal family: she was fair and beautiful. How nearly she was connected with the king I cannot tell; but without doubt some degree of affinity subsisted between them." William Apess, *A Son of the Forest* (New York, 1829), 7, 8. *Google Books*, google.com/books/edition/A_Son_of_the_Forest/-6w9AQAAMAAJ?hl.

summarizes, “Apess was clearly familiar with the Puritan texts; he mentions the Mathers, Rowlandson, and Church at various points in the Eulogy, and he quotes a few lines from Tompson’s poem [“New Englands Crisis,” 1676]...”[90] It is possible that Apess read Folger alongside these Puritan historiographers. Apess may have also read about Folger’s poem in Franklin’s *Autobiography*, or in local periodicals during his travels throughout the Northeast as an itinerant preacher. In 1823 Folger’s poem was “rediscovered” when a copy of the original pamphlet was sent to the *Nantucket Inquirer* and excerpted in newspapers in Salem and Maine under the headline “Literary Curiosities.”[91] The poem was thus only recently back in print when, “In 1825, the Methodist leadership assigned Apess to a circuit that took to Long Island, the Hudson River Valley, New Bedford, Providence, Boston, the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, where he ministered primarily to Native American and mixed-race congregations.”[92] By 1833, the year Apess wrote “An Indian’s Looking-Glass,” he was living at Mashpee, the last Indian town on Cape Cod, just across the Sound from Nantucket. Given his familiarity with the areas around the Nantucket Sound and his relationships with Native and mixed-race congregants, it is also possible that Apess encountered the descendants of Christian Indians who had been ministered to or taught by Folger.[93] Finally, Apess may have also encountered the “looking-glass” tradition via anti-Presbyterian literature. It is clear that Apess distrusted Presbyterians, as

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[90] Deborah Gussman, “‘O savage, where art thou?’: Rhetorics of reform in William Apess’s Eulogy on King Philip.” *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 3 (2004), 456.

[91] “Literary Curiosities.” *Hallowell Gazette*, 11 June 1823. *Readex: Readex All Search*, https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info%3Asid/infoweb.newsbank.com&svc_dat=ARDX&req_dat=0D0F9A1261961D4A&rft_val_format=info%3Aofi/fmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=document_id%3Aimage%252Fv2%253A10F19D9F813DBBD8%2540EANX-130AC73752440680%25402387058-130486B836488BA0%25400-1314B63E4D28645A%2540Poetry.

[92] Gura, 74.

[93] This isn’t as much of a stretch as it might sound – the oldest Native Protestant church in the country is on the Vineyard. For more on the influence of the Anabaptists on Martha’s Vineyard see Laura Leibman, “Island Christianity.” *Indian Converts Collection*, Reed College, https://www.reed.edu/indianconverts/studyguides/island_christianity/antipedobaptist.html.

he "pair[s] [them,] whom he sums up in three figures of institutional authority – judge, general, minister – with those who 'had possession of the red man's inheritance and had deprived me of liberty.'"[94] Along with the Pennsylvanian looking-glasses of the 1764 pamphlet war, at least one anti-Presbyterian "looking glass" was published in New England, John Roger's *A looking-glass for the Presbyterians at New-London* (1767), a "a true Account of what the People called Rogerenes, have suffered in that Town from the 10th of June 1764, to the 13th of December 1766." Apess spent many years in New London, Connecticut as a youth, where he was indentured to a Presbyterian, General William Williams.

However he first encountered the looking-glass convention, the similarities between Apess's political circumstances at the time of the publication of his "looking glass" and those of his New England antecedents is hard to ignore. George Fox, the founder of Quakers, wrote his looking-glass while imprisoned in England; Peter Folger wrote his while imprisoned in Nantucket; John Rogers wrote his while imprisoned in New London; and William Apess wrote his while imprisoned at Mashpee, Massachusetts.[95,96] According to O'Connell, Apess moved to Mashpee in May 1833 and by July had filed two petitions on behalf of the community articulating the "long-standing discontent and struggle within Mashpee against the overseers imposed on the community by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," overseers who "had the power…to lease out grazing and haying lands to neighboring whites, to grant woodlot rights, to bind out in employment any man, woman, or child in the community, and to control who entered

[94] Joshua David Bellin, *The Demon of the Continent* (U of Pennsylvania P, 2001), 90.
[95] Although we do not know the exact composition or publication month for Apess's "looking-glass" essay, it discusses the problem of white theft of timber on Native lands, suggesting Apess wrote it while living at Mashpee. A relevant excerpt from the "looking-glass" reads: "Another reason is because those men who are Agents, many of them are unfaithful, and care not whether the Indians live or die; they are much imposed upon by their neighbors who have no principle. They would think it no crime to go upon Indian lands and cut and carry off their most valuable timber, or any thing else they chose; and I doubt not but they think it clear gain" (*Experiences*, 54).
[96] John Rogers's 1766 looking-glass, published in Apess's hometown of New London, Connecticut, also recounts his experience of imprisonment due to conflicts over religious free speech/baptismal practices. See footnote 73.

and who could stay in the township."[97] Like Apess's other work's reliance on Anglo-American genres of address, the petitions he wrote in 1833 "expropriat[ed]...the Anglo-American language of constitutionalism, rights, and citizenship" to assert the rights of the Mashpee:

> The first, "the Indian Declaration of Independence," proclaimed that after July 1, 1833, "we, as a tribe, will rule ourselves, and have the right to do so; for all men are born free and equal, says the Constitution of the country." Included was a declaration that no white man would be permitted to take wood or cut hay at Mashpee after July 1, without the Indians' explicit permission. The second petition, requesting the discharge of [minister] Phineas Fish, contained a list of grievances, among them the fact that the Mashpees had never been consulted about his selection. It added that they had chosen Apess for their minister and that they intended to take control of their meetinghouse.[98]

These declarations and petitions resulted in direct action when, on July 4, Apess and a small group of Mashpee men confronted white men taking wood from the reservation without tribal permission. The whites, no doubt stunned by this sudden display of resistance on Independence Day, arrested Apess and "charged [him] with 'riot, assault, and trespass,' for which he served thirty days in jail, paid a hundred-dollar fine, an enormous sum in 1833, and had to post bond for another hundred in a promise 'to keep the peace for six months.'"[99] Mashpee, as Nielsen notes, "had been strongly Congregational until the death of its popular Indian pastor Solomon Briant in 1775" but "[f]rom that point the Baptists, as well as other denominations, continually challenged Mashpee orthodoxy." Apess intervened in a larger historical contest between "orthodox"

[97] O'Connell, xxxv.
[98] Ibid., xxxvi.
[99] Ibid., xxxvii.

(insider) and "revivalist" (outsider) positions in the community, capitalizing on growing discontent within the community to mount a campaign to remove and succeed Phineas Fish.[100] The Mashpee Revolt, as it would come to be known, resulted in legislative victory for the tribe when in "...March 1834, the legislature abolished the guardianship and made Mashpee a district with the power to elect selectmen and other town officials."[101]

Although Apess helped catalyze the Mashpee Revolt, the Mashpee, like the Quakers, had a history of petitioning England, and later, the state of Massachusetts, for intervention in support of their rights of self-governance and religious liberty. In 1763, for example, the Mashpee tribe sent a representative, Reuben Cogenhew, to England to challenge guardianship laws in the Massachusetts Bay Colony:

> Despite the protestations of the Massachusetts legislature, the Mashpee's appeal to London was successful…In 1763, the Massachusetts assembly passed an act allowing the Mashpee (at annual meetings) to elect their own overseers who were then empowered to decide on the allocation of the community's resources. But despite the fact that the Mashpee fought with the colony during the revolutionary war, this autonomy was not to last long. In 1788, the new state's legislature passed a law overturning the 1763 act and reinstating the system of unelected guardians. This in turn led to decades of conflict as the majority of the tribe, dissatisfied with the conduct of the guardians, repeatedly petitioned the legislature for relief.[102]

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[100] Donald M. Nielsen, "The Mashpee Indian Revolt of 1833." *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 58, no. 3 (1985), 404. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/365039.
[101] Daniel R. Mandell, "'We, as a tribe, will rule ourselves': Mashpee's Struggle for Autonomy, 1746-1840." *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience* (The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2003), 323. *The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, https://www.colonialsociety.org/node/1407#en551.
[102] Craig Yirush, "'Chief Princes and Owners of All': Native American Appeals to the Crown in the Early-Modern British Atlantic." *Native Claims: Indigenous Law against Empire, 1500–1920* (Oxford UP, 2011). *Oxford Academic*, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199794850.003.0006.

Both the 1725 and 1763 publications of Folger's "looking glass" included an appendix from the 1724 appeal to England on behalf of Quakers in the Colony. In that appeal the Quakers, like the Mashpee, petitioned for the right to select their own ministers (and in the Mashpee's case, overseers). The appendix was included, at least in the case of the 1725 reprinting, to demonstrate that English law affirmed the position advocated by the "looking-glass" author. Northeastern "looking-glasses" thus placed the harms of new laws in the context of laws of previous generations, while also reminding readers about the success of past appeals. In "An Indian's Looking Glass," the new law in question is a Massachusetts law preventing interracial marriage between Indians and whites. Apess, having established the contexts and conditions that create deplorable conditions on Indian reservations, turns to a specific example of white hypocrisy:

> You may now look at the disgraceful act in the statute law passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, and behold the fifty pound fine levied upon any Clergyman or Justice of the Peace that dare to encourage the laws of God and nature by a legitimate union in holy wedlock between the Indians and whites. I would ask how this looks to your law makers. I would ask if this corresponds with your sayings — that you think as much of the Indians as you do of the whites.[103]

Apess, frustrated at the hypocrisy of whites who profess to believe in the equal rights of Indians and yet pass discriminatory laws, uses the "looking-glass" to focus on what might seem like a relatively local law imposing unfair fines to ministers willing to perform marriage ceremonies for interracial couples. This choice has been overlooked by scholars, but makes sense both in the

[103] *The Experiences*, 59.

tradition of Mashpee protest and of the New England looking glass tradition, which emphasize the importance of principled and consistent action, even at local scales.

Apess diagnoses the cause of inconsistency in terms strikingly reminiscent of Folger – moral and legislative inconsistency derives from the "black principle" which "reigns in the breast of many who are leaders":

> I know that many [whites] say that they are willing, perhaps the majority of the people, that we should enjoy our rights and privileges as they do. If so, I would ask why are not we protected in our persons and property throughout the Union? Is it not because there reigns in the breast of many who are leaders, a most unrighteous, unbecoming and impure black principle, and as corrupt and unholy as it can be — while these very same unfeeling, self-esteemed characters pretend to take the skin as a pretext to keep us from our unalienable and lawful rights?[104]

This "black principle" is defined by the negative presence of virtue, beauty, integrity/purity, and sanctity - *un*righteous, *un*becoming, *im*pure, *un*holy. The spiritual lack produces a black inconsistency, a hypocritical logic, which Apess says, in the most famous passage from the essay, "ten times blacker than any skin you will find in the Universe":

> But, reader, I acknowledge that this is a confused world, and I am not seeking for office; but merely placing before you the black inconsistency that you place before me—which is ten times blacker than any skin that you will find in the Universe. And now let me exhort you to do away that principle, as it appears ten times worse in the sight of God and candid men, than skins of color — more disgraceful than all the skins that Jehovah ever

[104] *The Experiences*, 55.

made. If black or red skins, or any other skin of color is disgraceful to God, it appears that he has disgraced himself a great deal — for he has made fifteen colored people to one white, and placed them here upon this earth.[105]

Dinius points to the numbers and ratios in this passage ("ten times blacker" / "fifteen colored people to one white") as evidence of Walker's influence on Apess, arguing that he "make[sic] the same point as Walker [by using the same numbers]—that white Americans have corrupted Christian principles in service of racism—while compelling these same white Christian Americans to see both the irrationality and sin of using a visibly different skin color as a basis for discrimination and to change their ways."[106] The emphasis on numeric logic in the latter part of the passage certainly seems influenced by Walker, but the focus throughout the passage seems to be on the corrupting "principle" which drives leaders to pursue the passage of discriminatory laws.

Apess's focus on inner/outer consistency "mirrors," as Haynes notes, "the Methodist concern with the individual believer's inner convictions over his or her outer displays of wealth, kinship, or prestige."[107] It is perhaps this belief that made Folger's poem, and the looking-glass convention more broadly, resonate so much with Apess. Folger, like Apess, identifies the "evil" and "blood" in the hearts of the magistrates as that which produces inconsistency, hypocrisy, and laws whose "consequence is Black." And Folger argues, again like Apess, that it is the internal conditions that must change in order for outer peace to become possible,

Tis easy to provoke the Lord

[105] Ibid.
[106] Dinius, 124-125.
[107] Haynes, 38.

To send among us War;

…

To live in such Hypocrisy,

as Men may think us good,

Although our Hearts within are full

of Evil, and of Blood.

All these and many Evils more

are easy for to do;

But to repent, and to reform,

we have no Strength unto.

Although Folger and Apess both place emphasis on darkness at the heart of the magistrates and lawmakers, they also both acknowledge that this blackness is capable of spreading out to the general population, indicating broader culpability (the repeated "you" invoked by Apess's rhetorical questions seems to address white readers who pretend to be in support of Indian rights, but who do nothing to oppose laws passed by men ruled by a "black principle"). Still, it is the inconsistency of the law and the inconsistency of the application of the law which trouble them most. Apess points to the special inconsistency of Massachusetts when he notes that "there is no other state in New England that has this law but Massachusetts," while Folger notes that laws against the "Brethren" have not been consistent since the initial founding of New England:

For since they [New England] came into this Land,

they floa[t]ed to and fro,

Sometimes their Brethren may be free,

while hence to Prison go,

According as the times to go,

and Weather is abroad,

So we can serve our selves sometimes,

and sometimes serve the Lord.

But let us hear what God doth say

to such backsliding Men,

That can with Ease so break their Vows,

and soon go back again.[108]

Folger uses the term "Brethren" to refer to minority sects in the Colony, including those that practiced adult baptism, and to underscore the communalities, as opposed to the differences, between Protestant sects. As many scholars have noted, Apess is also fond of the term "brethren" and employs the term throughout his works to identify both Indigenous people and Methodists. For example, in "An Indian's Looking Glass," Apess writes "It may be that many are ignorant of the situation of many of my brethren within the limits of New England," referring to Indigenous peoples, and "Now my brethren in the ministry, let me ask you a few sincere questions," referring to preachers and clergy.[109] In both "looking-glasses" there are moments when "brethren's" referent appears specific, and other moments where it appears ambiguous (Folger,

[108] In *A Son of the Forest*, Apess criticizes Presbyterian ministers for being "inconsistent": "The general attended the Presbyterian church, and was exact in having all his family with him in the house of God. I of course formed one of the number. Though I did not profess religion, I observed and felt that their ways were not like the ways of the Christians. It appeared inconsistent to me for a minister to read his sermon — to turn over leaf after leaf, and at the conclusion say Amen, seemed to me like an 'empty sound and a tinkling cymbal.' I was not benefitted by his reading" (*A Son of the Forest,* 36-7).

[109] See Tiro, 655. "As a 'son of the forest,' Apess identified himself not only as an Indian, but also as a product of that hallmark of American Methodism, the 'plain-folks camp-meeting.' Thus, the self-ascription in his title parallels his self-ascription through the selective application of the term 'brethren,' which he used to denote both Methodists and Indians of all nations."

for example, never uses the term "Quaker" or "Anabaptist"). Such ambiguity is rhetorically helpful, not because it suggests a coded form of speech (a la signifying), but because it helps collapse the distinctions between groups with and without power.[110]

The end of Apess's "looking-glass" also places it in the tradition of Folger. Apess addresses the "noble-hearted," the readers committed to justice,

> Do not get tired, ye noble-hearted — only think how many poor Indians want their wounds done up daily; the Lord will reward you, and pray you stop not till this tree of distinction shall be levelled to the earth, and the mantle of prejudice torn from every American heart — *then shall peace pervade the Union.*[111]

Again insisting on the importance of internal states, Apess implores the reader to "think" about the Indians whose wounds society permits to remain untreated, wounds, we know by now, are caused by conditions and laws imposed by whites. Apess identifies William Wirt, Edward Everett, and Daniel Webster as examples of men who "well know that man was made for society, and not for hissing stocks and outcasts."[112] If the "noble-hearted" carries this "principle" in him – that man was made for society, that Indians are being made unfit for and excluded by society – external and internal markers of prejudice will be torn and levelled. But Apess doesn't stop there. Only after this change takes place, he says, will "peace pervade the Union." The

[110] Andrew Lipman notes that the Narragansett word for "brethren," *neemat*, was used by the Narragansett sachem Miantonomi in 1642 to establish an "expectation of reciprocal liability" among different tribes: "Looking to form an alliance of different nations, some of whom had recently been enemies, he declared to his gathered audience of sachems and their councils that they were his 'bretheren,' imploring them to raise arms against colonists, and 'say brother [*neemat*] to one another.' In both the Wampanoag and Narragansett languages, *neemat* was used by a male speaker to refer to his male sibling. Its simplest translation is 'my brother.' Often, as in the case of Miantonomi's speech, the truer meaning of *neemat* might be closer to 'I am my brother's keeper.' Asking unrelated men 'to say *neemat* to one another' was, in essence, asking them to take a mutual oath." Perhaps *neemat* gives us a better insight into Apess's of the word "brethren" than *michachunck* does for "looking-glass." In Andrew Lipman, *Squanto: A Native Odyssey* (Yale UP, 2024), 42-3.
[111] *The Experiences*, 60. Emphasis mine.
[112] Ibid.

connection of this inner state righteousness to the external state of violence in the Colony is echoed in Folger's claim that "If that the Peace of God/ did rule with Power in our Heart, / Then outward War would flee away, / and Rest would be our Part." Apess's decision to end the "looking-glass" with what might be interpreted as a warning of impending violence might seem odd if one did not know the looking-glass history which associates Puritan illiberalism, or the illiberalism of religious sects whose actions recall those of the Puritans, with frontier violence. The ending concedes that much of the violence or unrest that pervades the United States (probably foremost in Apess's mind in 1833 was the forced removal of the southeastern tribes) was also born out of the sins of New England. We know Apess made the connection between New England in other contexts, because Tiro writes that Apess was aware of the outbreak of the Second Seminole War at the time he composed the *Eulogy* in 1836 and blamed the violence on that war on the "spirit" of New England:

> As reports of bloodshed in Florida reached Boston, Apess asserted that "We often hear of the wars breaking out upon the frontiers, *and it is because the same spirit reigns there that reigned here in New England*" (Eulogy, 307). He implied that, if members of his upwardly mobile, lyceum-going Boston audience felt themselves holier than their slaveholding Southern brethren, they should not have, for the Southerners were simply fellow heirs of the Puritans' ideological legacy.[113]

In both the *Eulogy* and "An Indian's Looking-Glass," Apess criticizes New England audiences who felt themselves to be sympathetic to the plight of Indigenous and Black Americans by calling into question their "spirit," which Apess continually reminds them is historically illiberal.

[113] Tiro, 667-668.

This criticism is not incompatible with what we might identify as the language of Anglo-filiopietism because it represents, via Folger and the Quakers, an alternate history of religious and political protest that might be reinterpreted as properly "patriotic." In this way, Apess actually anticipates later accounts of Folger's poem. The editor of a 1909 anthology of early American verse, for example, draws a throughline between the "spirited appeal for religious liberty and freedom of conscience" in "A looking glass for the times" and the American verse of the Revolution, which "recorded the demand for civil and political liberty."[114] Similarly, Walter Isaacson's biography of Franklin casts Folger as a proto-revolutionary figure, calling him "the sort of rebel destined to transform colonial America."[115]

vi. Indigenous Forms and Assemblages

"An Indian's Looking Glass for the White Man" takes inspiration from a variety of texts, including, as I have been arguing, Folger. But its formal structure is clearly not modeled after Folger – Apess does not write a balladic poem. Looking-glasses in the political/religious vein, as we have learned from Grabes, are most often pamphlets or broadsides, but might be written in prose, verse, or a combination of the two. What these works share is an operating conceit/metaphorics which is often activated via reference to historiography. Thus Folger, for example, writes in the same balladic stanzas as Wait Winthrop while employing the metaphoric frame of the pro-Quaker pamphlets of George(s) Fox and Bishop. William Apess, for his part, employs some of Folger's language and logic, but writes in a prose style more reminiscent of George Fox. In *A looking glass for Jews* (1674), Fox presents a Biblical verse

[114] William Bradley Otis, *American verse, 1625-1807; a history* (New York: Moffat, Yard, 1909). *Hathitrust*, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001440726
[115] Walter Isaacson, *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life* (Simon & Schuster, 2003), 14.

followed by a series of anaphoric rhetorical questions designed to challenge the assumed beliefs of the reader via interrogation of the truth embedded in that text/verse.

> And in Dan. ix. while Gabriel the angel speaks to him, and tells Daniel that *he was greatly beloved, and to give him skill and understanding. &c. And says to him, Seventy weeks were determined upon his people, and upon the holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sin; [mark,] and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy; know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem unto the Messiah, the Prince, shall be 7 weeks, and 62 weeks,* &c. ….Now consider this, ye Jews, and number ye this time, the seventy weeks; and whether your Jerusalem was not built according to that number; and whether the Messiah did not come; and was not he cut off after the sixty-two weeks? according to this time was not he cut off? Did not you cut him off but not for himself? And did not the people of the prince come and destroy your city, and caused your offerings to cease? Now number you this time: and whether one which was called the Messiah did not come, according to these years, which you would not receive?[116]

Here is a comparable passage in Apess:

> The first thing that, takes our attention, is the saying of Jesus, 'Thou shalt love,' &,c. The first question I would ask my brethren in the ministry, as well as that of the membership.

[116] George Fox, "A looking-glass for the Jews wherein they may clearly see that the Messiah is come, by the prophets in the Old Testament (above sixteen hundred years since) and the manifest testimonies since" (London, 1764), 6-7. *Early English Books Online 2*, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://name.umdl.umich.edu/A40213.0001.001.

> What is love, or its effects? Now if they who teach are not essentially affected with pure love, the love of God, how can they teach as they ought? Again, the holy teachers of old said, 'Now if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his.'—Rom. viii. 9. Now my brethren in the ministry, let me ask you a few sincere questions. Did you ever hear or read of Christ teaching his disciples that they ought to despise one because his skin was different from theirs? Jesus Christ being a Jew, and those of his Apostles certainly were not whites,—and did not he who completed the plan of salvation complete it for the whites as well as for the Jews, and others? And were not the whites the most degraded people on the earth at that time, and none were more so; for they sacrificed their children to dumb idols! And did not St. Paul labor more abundantly for building up a christian nation amongst you than any of the Apostles. And you know as well as I that you are not indebted to a principle beneath a white skin for your religious services, but to a colored one.[117]

The repeated "ands" and "nows" accumulate as the passage continues, compiling evidence of hypocrisy until that evidence becomes undeniable. I bring up this comparison not to suggest that Apess read Fox or to engage in a close or slow reading of the passages, but to show that the "looking glass" tradition is inherently intertextual. Certain formal structures may be repeated over time – like the balladic poem – but what remains most consistent are the genre's title convention and its "unmasking" of societal ills, ills diagnosed via historiographical and Biblical exegesis. Understanding the "looking-glass" as a work of historiography rooted in the religious dynamics of New England also helps us situate it alongside Apess's others works, which are all essentially different kinds of histories, with different emphases on the individual and collective

[117] *The Experiences*, 57.

perspectives: *A Son of the Forest* (autobiography situated via kinship with King Philip and as a member of a specific tribe/race), the *Experiences* (collection of Pequot biographies), "An Indian's Looking Glass" (current Indian discrimination via the historical lens of other acts of minority discrimination), *Indian Nullification* (history of the Mashpee Revolt) and the *Eulogy* (a counter narrative of King Philip's War). As I have already discussed, it also helps us understand how the *Experiences* and "An Indian's Looking-Glass" are connected. The *Experiences*, written with child readers in mind, are meant as "little personal historical narratives" that "stock…one's personal memory with…scenes from other's past experiences" with the hope that doing so will produce consistent behavior.[118] "An Indian's Looking-Glass" strays away from personal histories, instead engaging in moral critique via reference to contemporary and historical intertexts as well as by replicating the framing conceit of pro-Quaker "looking-glass" literature.

Recent scholars like Kelly Wisecup and Lloyd Alimboyao Sy, returning to Apess's intertexts, appendices, and bibliographies, have theorized that his Apess's acquisitive "messiness" "draw[s] off of the era's generic expectations…[and] may also reflect a peculiarly Indigenous attitude toward assemblage."[119] The appendix to *A Son of the Forest,* Wisecup argues, "is an Indigenous compilation that exposes the fallacies of colonial histories of Indigenous degradation by extracting and rereading them against themselves." This "extracting," she continues, "is a form of archival critique. The assembled extracts illuminate the false premises on which colonial claims to Native lands rest: deceitful claims about Native peoples' lack of humanity that accrued power as they circulated through newspapers, popular town

[118] Ezell, 335.
[119] Lloyd Alimboyao Sy, "Stopping by Woods in Mashpee Territory: Belonging in William Apess's Indian Nullification." *Early American Literature*, vol. 58, no. 3 (2023), 659. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/27258796.

histories, and the laws designed to produce degradation among Indigenous people."[120] By compiling and assembling things in "messy" ways, Apess refuses to meet colonial standards of archival production, and in this refusal, Wisecup identifies a strain of resistance. Sy, whose attention focuses on *Indian Nullification*, finds in the messiness not a critique, but a "form" of "affiliative belonging" – "the question of belonging is one of form," he pronounces.[121] In Sy's "affiliative belonging" we can find echoes of Brooks's "cleere sight" – a way of seeing which "seeks proximity and participation" and "invites the kinds of strategic reversals that Apess performs, asking his readers to look at their world from the perspective of the Native people in their midst." Can we say that "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" "seeks proximity and participation"? Does Folger's "A looking glass for the times"? What "form" might we even ascribe to them? Is "form" the new "voice?" The "looking-glass" convention puts pressure on our ways of reading Indigenous texts, because it is *so* dialogical, *so* embedded in a recurrent discourse that terms like "form" and "voice" take us away from, rather than closer to, the reflections of convention staring back at us, through the printed hall of mirrors.

[120] Wisecup, 62.
[121] Sy, 658.

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Chapter Two: Songs of "Exil'd Murmurings": Lydia Sigourney, Te-con-ees-kee, and the New World Spenserian Tradition

i. (Early) "Modern" Verse

Although Anglo-American and European authors have extracted poetic materials from Indigenous peoples for hundreds of years, the perceived incompatibility of Native poetic speech with English verse forms has a long history of its own. In the *Poetry* magazine review of the first anthology of Native verse, *The Path on the Rainbow: An Anthology of Songs and Chants from the Indians of North America* (1918), "A.C.H." writes what appears to him obvious: "When an Indian song is translated to read like an Elizabethan poem or Spenserian stanza, one instinctively feels that the essence of the original has somehow escaped, or been smothered by the translator."[1] *The Path on the Rainbow*, which includes an introduction and "interpretations" by Mary Austin, attempts to keep this "essence" intact in part by aligning Native song with Imagist poetry.[2] The anthology's dedication insists on the purity and authenticity of the texts, "Many of the songs and chants herein translated are very ancient; a number are modern, but none exhibit the slightest traces of European influence; they are genuine American Classics."[3] However, the poems contributed by the volume's only Native writer, E. Pauline Johnson (Mohawk), are not only untranslated because they were written in English, but are also the only poems in the volume written that employ popular Anglo-European verse forms.[4] *The Path on the Rainbow*

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[1] A.C.H., "Poetry of the North American Indian." *Poetry*, vol. 14 (1919), 42. *HathiTrust,* https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433081658928?urlappend=%3Bseq=57%3Bownerid=27021597765386511-61

[2] Daniel Murray gives the following commentary on nineteenth-century anthropologist Daniel G. Brinton observation that "the analysis of American tongues leans decidedly toward classifying primitive man among the *visuaires*": "It has the fusion of the metaphor, rather than the progression of an argument, it is 'presented' whole rather than 'narrated in sequence. It is, in fact, Imagist poetry, not prose…'" In David Murray, *Forked Tongues: Speech, Writing & Representation in North American Indian Texts* (Indiana UP, 1991), 37.

[3] George W. Cronyn, editor, "Dedication." *The Path on the Rainbow: An Anthology of Songs and Chants from the Indians of North America* (Boni and Liveright, 1918).

[4] Though Johnson's verse forms are replete with Victorian experimentalism. "The Lost Lagoon" is written in five-line stanzas with an ABBBA rhyme scheme, the A lines in trimeter and the B lines in tetrameter, all heavily

thus serves as a helpful reminder of Daniel Murray's caution about the impossibility of separating "natural" (often aligned with orality and/or song) from "conventional" (written, European) modes of speech, as "[a]t each stage what is presented as natural in relation to something else conventional or civilized can be shown already to contain the qualities of its opposite."[5] In the case of *The Path on the Rainbow*, the most "naturally Indian" texts are those translated, transposed, transfigured by white interlocutors.

Maureen Konkle summarizes how this oral/natural vs. written/conventional dichotomy continues to play out in contemporary critical discourse:

> Arnold Krupat sets out the oral versus written position in his often-cited book, *The Voice in the Margin: Native American Literature and the Canon* (1989)…[H]e claims that Native American literature derives from an authentic oral tradition, which anthropologists (and proto-anthropologists before them) began to write down in the nineteenth century. (Thus, the historical nature of white people writing about Indians is as invisible as that of Native peoples writing about themselves.) Since neither English nor writing is "native" to Native Americans, the fact that Native peoples write in English detracts from the Indianness of this literature. [6]

One of the consequences of these critical erasures, Konkle notes, is that the Native literature is canonized or anthologized "without regard to the history or continuity of Native struggles for

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anapestic (same form as Rossetti's "The Bourne," though all lines in that poem are written in trimeter). "The Song My Paddle Sings" uses rhyming couplets, iambic tetrameter lines and eight-line syllabic stanzas (the organizing principle is groupings of four AABB/CCDD – although sometimes one line is lineated as two).

[5] Daniel Murray, *Forked Tongues: Speech, Writing, and Representation in North American Indian* Texts (Indiana UP, 1991), 19.

[6] Maureen Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863* (U of North Carolina P, 2004), 28-29.

political autonomy."[7] This lack of continuity is apparent in the tendency of anthologies of American literature to place Native oral literature at the beginning of their volumes (appearing as though it has not been touched by white interlocutors) and contemporary Native literature (in particular works of the Native American Renaissance authors of 1960s and 1970s) at the end. Rarely is Native literature, and particularly Native poetry, included in the middle, in the midst. Although recent editions of the Norton Anthology of American Literature have made real efforts to establish a continuity of Native political expression across its pages, it is worth noting that the 10th edition's 1914-1945 volume (the period to which *The Path on the Rainbow* belongs) does not include any Native writing, or Indianist poems of modernist writers, including Austin.[8]

Editors of and contributors to *Poetry* magazine crafted a vision of modernist poetics from what they understood to be Indian forms of expression, expression that they positioned as prosodically and epistemologically antithetical to/incompatible with early modern English verse forms. In *The American Rhythm* (1923), Mary Austin looks to Indian models to theorize a poetics that she believes could better represent distinct American lifeways, lifeways which were democratic/communal and accessible via the "new motor habits" of American settlers in contact with the American landscape.[9] Like A.C.H., Austin points to Elizabethan poetry as unsuitable as a model for American (or most) "folk" poetry,

> In Elizabethan verse there was pomp, which folk never use, lute notes, which they could not if they would. America, though it carried too long like the dried shell of a locust, the shape of

[7] Ibid.
[8] For more on modernist Pocahontas poems, see Philip Young, "The Mother of Us All: Pocahontas Reconsidered." *The Kenyon Review*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1962), 407-409. Young traces the following line: Carl Sandburg, "Cool Tombs" (1915); Vachel Lindsay, "Our Mother Pocahontas" (1917); William Carlos Williams, *In the American Grain* (1925); and Hart Crane, "Powhatan's Daughter" (1930).
[9] She even goes so far as to say that her methods could *make her* Indian: "So that when I say that I am not, have never been, nor offered myself, as an authority on things Amerindian, I do not wish to have it understood that I may not, at times, have succeeded in being an Indian." Mary Austin, *The American Rhythm* (Harcourt Press, 1923), 41.

> the derived culture of England on her back, proved no place for flourishes, not this the time to go horsed on the poetic inventions of an earlier age.
>
> It was back to the foot pace on the new earth, ax stroke and paddle stroke. So it is that new rhythms are born of new motor impulses.[10]

The new American poetry, like Indian songs and chants, should not carry around England's "dried shell" on its back. Instead, American writers were meant to hop off their horses and walk. And who was the first American poet to shed this husk? "Whitman's was the first clear and self-recognizing song of the road," Austin writes, though she still criticizes that road for having been a little too urban.[11] Austin, whose interest in Whitman "swelled perceptibly in the discovery of how like the Indian's his method is," finds the same proto-modern qualities in Whitman that later twentieth-century critics would also praise.[12]

Although Austin and others point to Whitman as an example of the rare nineteenth-century poet that "recognizes" the rhythms of the expanding country, Whitman's Indian poetry demonstrates a continuation of, rather than a departure from, nineteenth-century Indianist conventions. Whitman became more interested in Indian subjects toward the end of his life, but his only Indian poem, "Yonnondio" (1887) is not inspired, as Austin's work was, with any real contact with Native people or transcribed/translated Native cultural expression.[13] Instead, the

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[10] Austin, 12-13.
[11] Ibid., 17.
[12] Ibid., 19. Another example: "It was the genius of Whitman not so much to be a poet as to be able to say out of what stuff the new poetry was to be made" (19). See Roy Harvey Pearce's chapter on Whitman in *The Continuity of American Poetry* (Princeton UP, 1961). *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/continuityofamer00pear.
[13] "'Yonnondio' is a brief late poem, originally published in the *Critic* in 1887 and then included in 'Sands at Seventy,' a cluster of poems first published in *November Boughs* (1888) and added as an annex to the 1891–1892 edition of *Leaves of Grass."* The entry for the poem on the Walt Whitman archive also discusses the poem's influence on twentieth-century poets: *"*This twelve-line poem has often been cited by twentieth-century writers. Tillie Olsen's novel *Yonnondio* (1974) echoes the poem, and Allen Ginsberg has read it as 'an odd little political poem . . . warning us of Black Mesa, of the Four Corners, of the civilization's destruction of the land and the original natives there.'" Ed Folsom, "'Yonnodio' (1887)." *The Walt Whitman Archive*, https://whitmanarchive.org/criticism/current/encyclopedia/entry_752.

poem "Yonnondio" is an abstraction of the nineteenth-century Indian lament genre and its title, which Whitman claims is Iroquois for "lament for the aborigines" (a literary genre that could have only been invented post contact), does not actually derive from an Indigenous language at all. Instead, as Christopher Phillips suggests, "Whitman's most likely source for the word was William C.H. Hosmer's popular 1844 poem *Yonnondio; or Warriors of the Genesee*, once recognized as one of the most accomplished of the Indian epics."[14] Hosmer's epic, for its part, takes its form, and perhaps something of its title, from James Wallis Eastburn and Robert Sands' popular Indian epic *Yamoyden: A Tale of the Wars of King Philip* (1820). Eastburn and Sands use Spenserian stanzas to preface each of the cantos, which are written in rhyming couplets of iambic tetrameter. Hosmer's *Yonnondio* also prefaces its cantos with Spenserian stanzas and uses iambic tetrameter in the cantos, although Hosmer employs a more varied rhyme scheme. Mary Austin finds in Whitman and in her "imitations" of Native song poetics capable of capturing distinctly American lifeways. But, as Whitman's own intertexts and E. Pauline Johnson's European verse forms suggest, it seems there is only convention "all the way down."

The turn to Indian materials to "modernize" poetic practices is a longstanding tradition of American literature. But, as Konkle argues, for "authentic" Indian materials to act as a catalyst for modernization, two other traditions must be erased or ignored: Indigenous literature written in English and Euro-American literature and criticism written about Indigenous people. The Spenserian stanza and its usage in nineteenth-century Indian epics, including Sigourney's "Pocahontas," is important link in this chain of repeated forgetting. Although Austin wants to shed "the dried husk of a locust" of Elizabethan verse through her turn to Indianness, the Indianness she seeks is often a product of Elizabethan verse forms and logics.

[14] Christopher N. Phillips, *Epic in American Culture* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2012), 189. *Project MUSE*, https://muse.jhu.edu/book/13693.

ii. Spenserian Logics of Empire

The *Poetry* review of *The Path on the Rainbow* relies on an assumption that the translation of Indian "song" into the language and verse forms of Elizabethan poetry represents a kind of absurdity. If the project is absurd, why did so many white poets of the early nineteenth century undertake it? Christopher Phillips notes that by the 1820s in the United States the Spenserian was already an established verse form for expressing "Indian themes":

> Spenser's connection to Indian themes began with the epigraph to [Sarah Wentworth] Morton's 1790 *Ouâbi*, from the *Faerie Queene*, bringing both the fantastic and the didactic elements of Spenser's poetry to bear on a subject that, like the Elizabethan epic, was steeped in contemporary politics even as it continually gestured toward a world outside of history. Spenserians had been further associated with Indian epic…through [Thomas] Campbell's *Gertrude* [*of Wyoming*] and [James Wallis Eastburn and Robert] Sands's *Yamoyden*.[15]

Although *Ouâbi* (1790), *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1806), *Yamoyden* (1820), and the primary focus of Phillip's inquiry, Lydia Sigourney's *Pocahontas* (1841), are all important examples of what I am calling the New World Spenserian, they did not inaugurate the verse form's preoccupation with American or Amerindian themes and materials. Lois Whitney, writing in *Modern Philology* in 1921, argues that much of the *Fairie Queene*, but Book II in particular, is drawn from narratives of colonial exploration, including recent (early modern) expeditions to the Amazon and Antarctica, in addition to travel narratives from medieval, Celtic, and Greek sources. The most famous reference to the Americas, Whitney notes, occurs in the proem to Book II, where Spenser preempts accusations that his "happy land of Faery,/ Which I so much do vaunt, yet no

[15] Phillips, 204.

where show" is a "painted forgery" by comparing his fairyland with the Americas, the exploration of which "dayly" produces knowledge of lands and peoples unknown to Europeans:

> But let that man with better sence aduize,
> That of the world least part to vs is red:
> And dayly how through hardy enterprize,
> Many great Regions are discouered,
> Which to late age were neuer mentioned.
> Who euer heard of th'Indian *Peru*?
> Or who in venturous vessell measured
> The *Amazons* huge riuer now found trew?
> Or fruitfullest *Virginia* who did euer vew?[16]

Although the events Spenser relates might defy belief, the large "regions" unrecorded by history indicate that what we might think of as fantasy might yet become history (or, as Spenser puts it in the following stanza: "Why then should witlesse man so much misweene / That nothing is, but that which he hath seene?"). To glimpse fairyland one must seek out "certaine signes here set in sundry place" or, if the seeker is Queen Elizabeth, she may see it in the night sky, which acts as a mirror through which she can view her realms and ancestry in fairy-form:

> And thou, O fairest Princesse vnder sky,
> In this faire mirrhour maist behold thy face,

[16] Edmund Spenser, Book I, *The Fairie Queene* (1596). *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/15272/.

And thine owne realmes in lond of Faery,

And in this antique Image thy great auncestry.

The Americas represent one such fairy locale that, by virtue of this mirroring, belong to Queen Elizabeth. The "realms" of Elizabeth include both England and its Fairy equivalent, a point made explicit in Book II Canto 10, where the Knights Arthur and Guyon read parallel histories of England and Fairyland. The abridged history of Fairyland begins when Prometheus creates Elfe, "the first author of all Elfin kind," who joins with "either Spright or Angell" to create a lineage of fairies:

Of these a mightie people shortly grew,

And puissaunt kings, which all the world warrayd,

And to them selues all Nations did subdew:

The first and eldest, which that scepter swayd,

Was *Elfin*; him all *India* obayd,

And all that now *America* men call:

Next him was noble *Elfinan*, who layd

Cleopolis foundation first of all:

But *Elfiline* enclosd it with a golden wall.[17]

Although the proem to Book II suggests that America is a region unread by history, in the history of fairyland presented to Guyon in Canto 10, Elfin, the first fairy king, has already conquered both India and America. Glorian, the titular Fairie Queene, is the most recent heir of this fairy

[17] Edmund Spenser, Book II, *The Fairie Queene* (1596). Etext from *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Edmund Spenser* [Grosart, London, 1883] by Risa Bear at the University of Oregon (1995). *Luminarium*, https://www.luminarium.org/renascence-editions/queene2.html

"ancestry," making Queen Elizabeth I the allegorical heir to the very territories she was issuing letters patent to colonize.

The Faerie Queene thus uses the creation of fantastic histories to justify colonial projects, a tool that Charlotte Artese notes it shares with early colonial propaganda that posited a genealogical connection between Elizabeth and King Arthur and the Welsh Prince Madoc.[18] John Dee, court astronomer and advisor to Elizabeth, used the myth of Madoc's 12th-century journey to America to argue for English right to sovereignty in America. According to Sherman, Dee

> "snatched what had been a marginal…story and thrust it into the centre of Elizabethan enterprise." In Dee's 1576-78 manuscripts Madoc became the linchpin of claims for North America. Not long after, the material he had gathered found its way from "confidential parchment" to "public princt," via Sir George Peckham….Dee's influence is readily apparent in Peckham's argument that "no other Nation can truelie by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselves, before the time of this Prince Madocke."[19]

Peckham's use of the word "prescription" refers to its legal definition, the "uninterrupted use or possession from time immemorial, or for a period fixed by law as giving a title or right; a title or right acquired by virtue of such use or possession."[20] The "use" of American lands can be traced back to Prince Madoc, whose exploits, related via "Chronicles" (which seem to gain credibility

[18] Charlotte Artese, "King Arthur in America: Making Space in History for The Faerie Queene and John Dee's Brytanici Imperii Limites." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1 (Winter 2003), 127.
[19] Willian H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (U of Massachusetts P, 1995), 188-9.
[20] "Prescription, *N.* (1)." *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, September 2025, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1923706275.

for having being dug up or "found") predate the earliest expeditions that can be claimed by other European nations. Whether or not Madoc's expedition did or did not occur is less important than the existence of a story that might support a claim or "prescription" for European presence in America at the earliest possible point in time. Artese summarizes the argument succinctly: "England's future in the New World is dependent on recognizing fiction as history."[21] Spenser seems to have understood the poet as being uniquely qualified to exercise this kind of temporal alchemy. As he writes in the letter to Sir Walter Ralegh that prefaces *The Fairie Queene*, while the historiographer "discourseth of affaires orderly as they were done," the "poet historicall" "thrusteth into the middest, even where it most concerneth him, and there recoursing to the things forepast, and divining of things to come, maketh a pleasing analysis of all."[22]

How does the Spenserian stanza reflect the position of the "the poet historicall"? If we transfer the temporal schema above onto the stanza's rhyme scheme (*ababbcbcc*), reading *a* as past, *b* as "middest"/present, and *c* as future, we see that the pattern most often returns to *b*, that rhyme "thrusteth into the middest," even as the stanza inevitably moves forward, to *c*. "The reader's experience of time," according to Julia MacDonald,

> is one in which forward motion responsively washes back to recollect the rhyme that has been repeated, which motion then in turn propels the stanza forward to the most recent rhyme. This interlacing rhyme creates an experience of time in which the present moment recalls the past, which then propels it into the future. Thus the Spenserian temporal

[21] Artese, 137.
[22] Edmund Spenser, "Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh." *The Fairie Queene* (1596). *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/15272/

> imaginary is epic, temporally inclusive in Aristotle's sense, and full of Christian hope with a trajectory toward eternity.[23]

The stanza lays bare the idea that historical poetry is historically situated, as the poet, from his position in the "middest" selects what from the past will be propelled into the future. Spenser creates a mirrored/allegorical world – a "fairyland" – whose history includes America. He then turns to that mirrored world's past to propel England into a global, imperial, Christian, future.

If the Spenserian is structured on a "trajectory toward eternity," that trajectory become even more explicitly imperial in James Thomson's *The Castle of Indolence* (1748). In Thomson's Spenserian epic there are two worlds, one under the influence of the Demon Indolence and one under the influence of the Knight Industry. Industry first conquers Egypt, Greece, and Rome, but then sets his sights on Britain, where he establishes an empire of global commerce:

> XX.
>
> Then Towns he quicken'd by mechanic Arts,
>
> And bade the fervent City glow with Toil;
>
> Bade social Commerce raise renowned Marts,
>
> Join Land to Land, and marry Soil to Soil,
>
> Unite the Poles, and without bloody Spoil
>
> Bring home of either *Ind* the gorgeous Stores;
>
> Or, should Despotic Rage the World embroil,

[23] Julia MacDonald, "Keeping Time in Spenser and Shakespeare: The Temporality of Spenserian Stanza and Shakespearean Blank Verse." *Ben Jonson Journal*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2015), 96. https://doi.org/10.3366/bjj.2015.0123

Bade Tyrants tremble on remotest Shores,

While o'er the encircling Deep BRITANNIA'S Thunder roars.[24]

Thomson depicts the process of global industrialization as mostly non-violent – "gorgeous Stores" are acquired "without bloody spoil," and "tyrants" are subdued at the thought of Britain's military might. Industry, having brought prosperity and democracy to Britain, then retires to the countryside, where is eventually forced out of retirement to combat the Demon Indolence, who busy destroying all of Industry's good work.[25] After Industry dethrones Indolence, Industry promises to redeem those who repudiate Indolence. Those who merely feign repentance, however, are left a wasted landscape, "a joyless Land of Bogs/ The saddened Country a grey Waste…"[26] The poem is thus a paean to the industrial, imperializing progress and a warning that, without it, England's future might look like a bleak feudal past, farmers struggling to make a living from a "desert" of mud, fogs, and bogs. While Spenser and Thomson do not write something we would recognize as "Indian epics," both create allegorical worlds that serve to justify imperial ventures that depend on the exploitation of the "gorgeous Stores" of the Americas.

iii. British New World Spenserians

The Spenserian epics of the British Romantics are not widely understood to be continuing the imperial logics at work in *The Fairie Queene* and eighteenth-century Spenserian "progress

[24] James Thomson, *The Caste of Indolence* (London, 1748), 11. *HathiTrust*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433112026962.
[25] Thomson strangely characterizes the threat to Britain's prosperity in the terms of enslavement. The problem is the "wretched men…who *will* be Slaves" to Indolence, rather than the actual transatlantic slave trade, which was well and alive in 1748 (Thompson, 53). Bryant also takes up the language of fetters/enslavement in his Spenserian epic "The Ages" (1821).
[26] Thomson, 80.

poems." Radcliffe, for example, writes that Byron, in his *Castle of Indolence* satire *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, "grasped the possibility of a 'progress of Indolence'" and innovated by "taking inconsistency as an organizing principle…incongruously juxtaposing things near and far, ancient and contemporary." [27] The Romantic attraction to the contradictions in Spenser rhymes with Greg Kucich's argument in his influential study *Keats, Shelley, and Romantic Spenserianism*. Kucich writes that the Romantics located in Spenser a "mental space," or "the fundamental conflicts between his didactic and imaginative characters" and then thematized this conflict, "reformulating that 'space' into a different, modernized shape."[28] The Romantic "modernization" of the Spenserian here hinges on more explicit engagement with the conflicts that are, according to Kucich, in Spenser primarily psychological or aesthetic. Looking for "adaptable" poetic inspiration, Romantics embraced Spenser as a poet "who looked deeply into the doubleness of all experience psychological complexity."[29] However, what is accessible or adaptable in Spenser also overlaps with what is remote or unknowable (or as Artese puts it "the gap in knowledge called America").[30] Hunt's "florid hymns to Spenser's luxury," for example, describe the comforting quality of Spenser's "remote" worlds,

> We have found consolation in thee at times when almost everything pained us, and when we could find it in no other poet of thy nation, because the world into which they took us was not

[27] David Hill Radcliffe, "Byron and Scottish Spenserians." *Studies in Romanticism*, vol. 47, no. 1, (2008), 69, 73. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25602129. Radcliffe is thinking more about the complications surrounding the idea of "progress' in a specifically Scottish context, but he acknowledges that "Looking at matters retrospectively, we can see that it was a very good time to address the public in a major Spenserian poem on the subject of progress and the uncertain fate of Europe" (69).
[28] Greg Kucich, *Keats, Shelley, & Romantic Spenserianism* (Penn State UP, 1991), 70, 102.
[29] Ibid., 70, 109.
[30] Artese, 135.

> equally remote…[I]n coming to thee, we have travelled in one instant thousands of miles, and to a quarter in which no sin of reality is heard.[31]

Kucich points to this quote as an example of the kind of Romantic "outburst" that made many twentieth-century critics dismiss Romantic Spenserianism. Kucich suggests, as a counterpoint, that Romantics did not, in fact, misunderstand Spenser, but were attracted to him as "an invaluable icon of generous poetic transmission illuminating an otherwise forbidding palace of poetic fame."[32] But for Hunt, Spenser is an "icon of generous poetic transmission" at least in part due to his ability to transport readers *away* from England, "to a quarter in which no sin of reality is heard." Spenser's remoteness provides an escape from England and English poets, consolation from pain, and a return to innocence – all useful strategies for avoiding or transmuting the sinful realities of England's imperial expansion. In other words, as Catherine Sussman writes of Romantic Spenserian epics, "voyaging through time…becomes a safe way to represent the expropriation of resources attendant on imperialism."[33] Perhaps this is part of the reason that British Romantics more often used the Spenserian to travel to medieval Europe, rather than to America.[34]

If Dee, Spenser, and Thomson looked to America as a place of material extraction that could be made continuous with Britain's past and future, the logic that made this structure possible weakened in the aftermath of the American Revolution. America was no longer a

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[31] Leigh Hunt as qtd in Kucich, 3.
[32] Kucich, 5.
[33] Catherine Sussman, "Epic, Exile, and the Global: Felicia Hemans's The Forest Sanctuary." *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, vol. 65, no. 4 (March 2011), 485. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/ncl.2011.65.4.481. Sussman closes this observation by quoting Moretti: "Doing violence to the past, when all is said and done, is of no importance. You cannot harm a phantasm" (Moretti, Modern Epic, 53).
[34] Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812/1818), Hogg's *Mador of the Moor* (1816), and Keats's, *The Eve of St. Agnes* (1820) are set in medieval Scotland/England; Scott's *The Vision of Don Roderick* (1811) and Hopkins's *The Escorial* (1860) are set in medieval Spain; and Shelley's *The Revolt of Islam* (1818) is set in the Ottoman Empire.

fantasy realm that could be made to theorize a glorious future, but an independent nation with its own dreams of empire. This might be part of the reason why the few British Spenserian epics that *are* set in America are rarely included in discussions of Romantic Spenserianism or are not as often recognized as properly Spenserian.[35] Another reason that these epics are not understood as Spenserian is because they do not uphold the Spenserian stanza's promise of Christian futurity. Wordsworth's *The Female Vagrant* (1798), Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1809), Hemans's *The Forest Sanctuary* (1826), and Southey's *A Tale of Paraguay* (1827) rehearse instances of settlement in which exiles from Europe encounter an Edenic America that is later disturbed by European intervention. The isolated, exiled figures in these poems find some degree of freedom in the pastoral wilds of America, but the deaths of the women characters in particular suggests that there is not much hope for reproduction, or futurity, there. They are, as Sussman writes of Herbert F. Tucker's argument in *Epic: Britain's Heroic Muse, 1790-1910*, "epics…concern[ed] [with] the disappearance of societies, rather than their foundations – the failure of bloodlines, rather than their originations."[36]

If British New World Spenserians do not advance the trajectory toward eternity so central to Spenser's verse form, why are they written in Spenserians at all? Kucich explains that what is Spenserian about *Gertrude* and "The Female Vagrant" is both poems' "basic oppositions of realism and ideality," which find expression in the poems' "revolutionary attack on government oppression."[37] Campbell positions the ideality of the Wyoming Valley against the realism of English military intrusion, which destroys the settlement and ends the lives of the poem's

[35] See Kucich, 102. The hivemind of Wikipedia would seem to confirm this observation, as *Gertrude of Wyoming* is not listed under the entry for "Spenserian stanza."
[36] Sussman notes that Herbert F. Tucker attributes this attitude to the loss of territory Britain sustained at end of the Napoleonic Wars. See Sussman, 485.
[37] Kucich, 101.

protagonists, while Wordsworth's deployment of the female vagrant as "the all-too-real exile from an imaginary pastoral national identity…invoke[s] the distance between that pastoral nationality and the violent consequences of modern national ambition, of which the vagrant is the victim."[38] As I have noted, according to Kucich, it is Spenser's distinct thinking, particularly adept at holding contradiction, which makes Spenser both more "accessible" than other English poets and what makes otherwise non-conforming Spenserian epics like "The Female Vagrant" recognizably Spenserian. Virginia Jackson, however, more specifically locates such contradiction in the Spenserian stanza's hexameter final line, which she argues produces "the effect of a progress arrested in regress, a movement toward modernity that drifts in the last line back toward antiquity," a movement that she argues Wordsworth thematizes via the female vagrant's return to her home country.[39] Our understanding of the hexameter's effect seems key to our reading of the Spenserian's broader temporal trajectory. But there isn't broad agreement here. While Jackson understands the hexameter as a sign or admission of temporal regress, Kenneth Gross says in its extension of the five beat pentameter line, the hexameter "can nudge us gently towards a new dimension…the dream of a space beyond that marked by the more normative measure of the pentameter," while Dolven writes that it "repeatedly proposes itself as a moment of provisional rest." [40] The throughline between all these readings seems to be that the hexameter stops, starts, or halts motion, like a traffic light – motion that is otherwise unimpeded by the uninterrupted flow of identical stanzas. We should remember that the hexameter line is

[38] Virginia Jackson, "Bryant; or, American Romanticism." *The Traffic in Poems: Nineteenth-Century Poetry and Transatlantic Exchange*, edited by Meredith McGill (Rutgers UP, 2008), 191.
[39] Ibid. The Spenserians "return" twice, both via the return to the classical in the hexameter and in the "return" to the beginning of a new stanza, stanzas which are marked by numbers that seem as if they could go on forever.
[40] Kenneth Gross, "Shapes of Time: On the Spenserian Stanza." *Spenser Studies*, vol. 19 (2004), 30. Jeff Dolven, "The Method of Spenser's Stanza." *Spenser Studies*, vol. 19 (2004), 21-22.

also, however, rhymed (ababbcbb*cc*) and is therefore also somewhat continuous with the lines that precede it, suggesting some continuity even in its difference (an echo with a difference).

What happens, however, when that flow is interrupted? What happens when an Indian "song" is inserted into a Spenserian epic? Thomas Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1809) is the first Spenserian epic that breaks the chain of Spenserian stanzas to represent a different time of expression, and possibly, temporality.[41] Described in the poem's advertisement as "an authentic account of the desolation of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, which took place in 1778, by an incursion of the indians," the last five stanzas of *Gertrude of Wyoming* narrate the "death-song of an Indian chief" in a nonce stanza of eleven lines, in iambic tetrameter, with an *ababcdddcee* rhyme scheme.[42] Although the "song" is sung by Outalissi, an Oneida ally to the exiled settlers of the Wyoming Valley, the twist of the last line indicates that it is Albert, father of lovely Gertrude and confusingly also the adoptive father of Henry, Gertrude's husband, who is the "real" Indian chief. In poem's final Spenserians, Gertrude and Albert die in The Battle of Wyoming. Gertrude professes her love for Henry and laments the fact were unable to reproduce. Henry is left stunned, "Mute, gazing, agonizing as he knelt, – / Of them that stood encircling his despair/ He heard some friendly words; – but knew not what they were." Outalissi, the Oneida hero of the poem, watches Henry suffer, and recognizes "…words had none to sooth/ the grief that knew not consolation's name."[43] It is at this point – the "words" of the Spenserian no longer sufficing – that Outalissi breaks out of the form that has governed the last 34 cantos, and begins his "descant,"

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[41] Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812/18) includes several "lyrics," including a love song and a war song; James Hogg's *Mador of the Moor* (1816) includes a "Song of the Fairies" and "The Palmer's Morning Song." It is possible there exist other early Spenserian epics that feature "lyrics," but Gertrude is the earliest example I have found.

[42] Thanks to Mary Ellis Gibson, who helped me understand this strange verse form.

[43] Thomas Campbell, *Gertrude of Wyoming; A Pennsylvanian Tale* (London, 1809), 68. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/2gertrudeofwyomi00campuoft.

XXXV.

‘ And I could weep;’ – th’ Oneyda chief

His descant wildly thus began:

‘ But that I may not stain with grief

‘ The death-song of my father’s son![44]

The first line of the first nonce stanza is broken up into two half-lines, and is then further segmented by the em dash, echoing the structure of the lines in which Henry’s muteness is described. [45] Although Outalissi’s speech is essentially one of revenge, he spends much of it reminding himself not to weep and lamenting the fact that, should he and Henry emerge from tomorrow’s battle alive, he will still be consigned to a life of solitude and silence.[46] In the last lines of the poem, the em dashes proliferate, suggesting a breakdown in Outalissi’s emotional defenses:

XXXIX.

‘ But hark, the trump! – tomorrow thou

‘ In glory’s fires shalt dry thy tears:

‘ Ev’n from the land of shadows now

‘ My father’s awful ghost appears;

‘ Amidst the clouds that round us roll,

‘ He bids my soul or battle thirst –

[44] Campbell, 70.
[45] The first line of Outalissi’s speech is divided it into two half-lines and begins with “And” – two common features of the hexameter line in Spenser. See Gross, 30.
[46] See Campbell, 72: “Or shall we cross yon mountains blue, /….Ah! there in desolation cold, / The desert serpent dwells alone, / Where grass o’errgows each mould’ring bone, / And stones themselves to ruin grown, / Like me, are death-like old. / Then seek we not their camp – for there – / The silence dwells of my despair!”

‘ He bids me dry the last – the first –

‘ The only tears that ever burst –

‘ From Outalissi’s soul; –

‘ Because I may not stain with grief

‘ The death-song of an Indian chief.’[47]

No matter what in the battles that follow, then, Outalissi will cease to exist. The structure of Campbell’s adapted stanza and the repetition of the “death-song” lines at the beginning and end of his descant highlight this sense of finality and enclosure. The rhyme scheme, for example, is segmented in such a way that none of the rhymes from one section bleed over into another: a ballad quatrain (abab) is followed by an enclosed five-line unit (cdddc) followed by a rhyming couplet (ee). By ending his narrative a non-Spenserian form, Campbell halts the progressive-regressive movement of the Spenserian stanza, again suggesting the British Romantic interest in the “failure of bloodlines.” While Wordsworth uses the hexameter and the stanza to go continuously back to premodern England, Campbell traces both the death/disappearance of two exiled groups: the white community represented by Gertrude and the Indigenous one represented by Outalissi. However, the demarcation between Outlassisi’s speech and the rest of the narrative suggests that the Spenserian cannot move forward the continued possibility of white communal expression. Henry and Outalissi might die in the Battle of Wyoming, but even if they do not, they aren’t heading anywhere via the Spenserian.

[47] Campbell, 73.

iv. "Lyric" Indian Speech in American New World Spenserian Epics

The ending death song of Campbell's poem provided one template for American authors to represent "lyric" Indian speech in Spenserian verse forms. While the British Romantics writing in New World contexts resisted the Christian futurity of the Spenserian stanza, American writers saw in the insertion of "lyric" Indian speech the ability to "clear discursive space" for a "sunnier, linear narrative of progress," that is, for one of Christian national expansion.[48] Writing an American Spenserian epic that embraced the Christian futurity of the Spenserian stanza would, after all, fulfill several goals for early American writers: it would help elevate American literature to a place of greater stature within the larger English-language poetic tradition; create romantic place-based histories Americans were understood to be lacking;[49] and re-narrate colonial encounters in terms that made Indigenous disappearance appear voluntary and inevitable.[50] American authors thus renewed the tool of imperial futurity at work in Spenser's original poem, rewriting a fantastical version of their own colonial past and inserting into early modern European genres to expand the United States's trajectory into the future.[51]

Many American works revisited early colonial encounters – and early modern verse forms – to effect such clearings. A brief survey of works from the first two decades of the

[48] Stephen Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century* (U of Chicago P, 2004), 93.
[49] As Krieg summarizes: "No, a usable past was not present in America, as Hawthorne later pointed out, so if aesthetic associations were to be found for the American landscape they would have to be to the European past, and preferably to a romanticized view of that past." See Joann Peck Krieg, "The Transmogrification of Faerie Land Into Prairie Land." *Journal of American Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2 (1985), 204. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27554592.
[50] Nor did they appreciate all English authors who tried to do such work for them. See the negative reception to Southey's Oliver Newman as described in Masahiro Nakamura, "Versions of *Yamoyden*: Native Americans in Early Nineteenth-Century Narratives," *Arizona Quarterly*, vol. 70, no. 3 (Autumn 2014), 132.
[51] As Jace Weaver writes, referencing Memmi Fanon, and Said: "it is not enough for the colonizer to control the present and the future of the colonized but, in the effort to prove his indigeneity, must also rewrite the past as well." See Jace Weaver, *That the People Might Live: Native American Literatures and Native American Community* (1997), 19.

nineteenth century illustrates the focus on the re-narration of initial colonial encounters: Nelson Barker's *The Indian Princess* (1808), the first dramatic retelling of the Pocahontas story, is set in colonial Jamestown; Irving's story "Philip of Pokanoket" (1818), Eastburn and Sands's Spenserian epic *Yamoyden* (1820), and John Augustus Stone's *Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags* (1829) are based on events of King Philip's War (1675-6); Lydia Maria Child's *Hobomok* (1824) and Catherine Maria Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie* (1827) also take place in early seventeenth-century New England; and, of course, Sigourney's *Traits of the Aborigines of North America* (1822) and "Pocahontas" (1841) rehearse the events at Jamestown. Written at great temporal removal from the events they describe, these historical works often match their generic or stylistic qualities to their early modern materials and settings (i.e., the archaic/Shakespearean language in *The Indian Princess*, the Spenserian stanza in *Yamoyden*, the Shakespearean epigraphs in everything). Central to many of these works is an interracial union, a dynamic absent from the British Spenserians I discussed earlier. These unions are productive but doomed, often ending with the death or disappearance of an Indian protagonist (often the figure of the Native lover) whose fate is then depicted as representative of the fate of the larger "race" or group.[52] How was such disappearance registered in the prosody of New World epics? As in *Gertrude of Wyoming*, in many early American epics written in Spenserians or that place themselves in the Spenserian tradition, the Spenserian stanza is cordoned off from the speaking (Indian) subjects of the poems, or the speech of those speakers is represented in a non-standard verse form for English epic. This not to say that there is always a consistent logic or order to the

[52] For example, in Child's *Hobomok* (1824), the female protagonist Mary marries Hobomok after her white husband, Charles, is reported dead. Upon Charles's surprise return, Hobomok voluntarily leaves Mary and his son, Little Hobomok, who is then raised by Charlies and attends Cambridge. Likewise, in Sarah Wentworth Morton's *Ouâbi* (1790), the Illinois woman Azakia eventually marries Celario, a white man, after her husband Ouâbi voluntarily relinquishes his marriage to him.

representation of Indian speech across all of these works. What it does indicate, however, is that American authors felt European verse forms could be adapted to narrate histories that take place in America but incorporated Indian speech or song into them in a way that marked their difference from those forms.[53] Indian speech or song was then further delineated along the lines of "Indian eloquence" and Indian communal "song."[54]

The first epic poem written by an American on Indian themes,[55] Sarah Wentworth Morton's *Ouâbi* (1790), begins with an epigraph taken from the first stanza of Book I of the *Fairie Queene* ("Fierce wars and faithful loves shall moralize my song"). In addition to signaling the literary ambitions of the author, the epigraph suggests an elevation of its Native subjects to the level of the epic. The "wars" and "loves" of the Illinois, like those Arthurian England or ancient Greece, are not only comparable in scope/scale, but also in their capacity to moralize. Such moralization does not happen in Spenserians, however, but in heroic quatrains, a verse form most associated with Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1667) and Gray's "Elegy in a Country Church Yard" (1751). By comparison, the characters speak, as Phillips notes, in "a mixture of rhymed pentameter quatrains and rhymed tetrameter songs." [56] *Ouâbi* alternates between the more "prosy" heroic quatrain for its narration and the more song-like speech of rhymed tetrameter and pentameter for its characters' speech.[57] This distinction is interesting in itself, but it becomes even more dramatic or significant when we consider that the majority of the speech in

[53] *The Fairie Queene* does not attempt to represent Indian speech, nor does it ever incorporate "songs" outside of the Spenserian stanza.
[54] Part of the tension here, as Eastman notes, is that the early Republic had a dearth of venerable orators. See Carolyn Eastman, "The Indian Censures the White Man: 'Indian Eloquence' and American Reading Audiences in the Early Republic." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 65, no. 3 (2008), 542-543. *JSTOR*, jstor.org/stable/25096813.542-43.
[55] Although written before Independence, Robert Rogers's "Ponteach, Or, The Savages of America" (1766) might more accurately count as the first American Indian epic. It is written in blank verse. *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/29223/29223-h/29223-h.htm.
[56] Phillips, 197.
[57] A.W. Ward, "Annus Mirabilis." *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature* (New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1907-21). *Bartleby.com*, https://www.bartleby.com/lit-hub/cambridge/.

the first two cantos is actually represented in rhymed couplets of trochaic tetrameter, the same meter that Shakespeare uses for the fairy characters in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the witches in *Macbeth,* and that Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855) would later make famous (though Longfellow's stanza is not rhymed).[58] Perhaps unexpectedly, Morton applies this meter primarily to Celario, the (again exiled) white male protagonist with a Shakespearean name. Celario speaks in trochaic tetrameter, while Ouâbi and Azakia, the Illinois chief and his wife, often default to iambic tetrameter but will switch to trochaic tetrameter when conversing with Celario. Once Celario agrees to sacrifice himself in war for Ouâbi, however, he and all the other characters speak in iambic tetrameter exclusively. The association of iambic tetrameter with Indian song is confirmed again in Ouâbi's "death song," which is lifted out from the rest of the poem in the iambic tetrameter quatrains with rhyming couplets.[59] The switch from the trochaic speech earlier in the pome to iambic tetrameter later in the poem suggests Morton wanted to depict the white hero Celario as undergoing a process of becoming more "natural" as he becomes more allied with the poem's Indian characters (an argument that would make sense given the poem's subtitle, "The Virtues of Nature"). At a minimum, the shift indicates that the consistency of the prosody can be mapped onto how aligned the white and Indian actors are morally and politically.

We see a similar negotiation of political alliance via prosody in Joseph Barker's *The Indian Princess* (1808), the earliest American dramatic adaptation of the Pocahontas story. Although white characters in the play speak in a variety of verse forms, iambic pentameter is

[58] Celario opens by responding to Azakia's tetrameter in catalectic trochaic tetrameter: "Cease to call Ouâbi's name, / Give Celario all his claim. / No divinity is here:/ Spare thy praises, quit thy fear: / Bend no more that beauteous knee, / For I am a slave to thee:" Sarah Wentworth Morton, *Ouâbi: or The Virtues of Nature* (Boston, 1790), 12. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/oubiorvirtueso00mortrich.

[59] Robert Rogers's "Ponteach, Or, The Savages of America" (1766), uses pentameter throughout for both Indian and white speech. Its "War Song" is written, like Ouâbi's death song, in iambic tetrameter quatrains of rhymed couplets.

usually reserved for leaders like Smith and Rolfe. Indian characters are given less range and only are permitted to speak in iambic pentameter when they are articulating loyalty or political allegiance to a white character. For example, after Pocahontas saves John Smith in Act III, Powhatan and the prophet Grimosco continue to speak in irregular blank verse, while Pocahontas and her brother Nantaquas pledge loyalty to Rolfe and Smith in iambic pentameter.[60] Although the play contains a variety of songs, many comedic, the only song that represents Indian expression, the "War Song" in Act II, is written in catalectic trochaic tetrameter: "Now we bid the arrow fly – / Now we raise the hatchet high. / Where is urg'd the deadly dart / There is pierced a chieftain's heart; / Where the war-club swift descends, / A hero's race of glory ends!"[61] The meter then recurs in the chorus of the play's finale, to celebrate the end of Indian-white conflict: "Freedom, on the western shore / Float thy banner o'er the brave; / Plenty here thy blessings pour / Peace, thy olive sceptre wave!"[62] While in *Ouâbi* the trochaic tetrameter diminishes as Celario is better integrated into the Indian community, in *The Indian Princess*, the only expression of Indian "song" in the play is reappropriated at the poem's end, the entire cast repeating the meter of the "war song" to express a sentiment of peace. Trochaic tetrameter, and the threat posed by Indian violence it suggests, is in this sense "colonized" by Barker, who in the play's finale transmutes Indian song into the communal speech of American "freedom."

Eastburn and Sands's *Yamoyden* (1820), like *Ouâbi*, uses Spenserians as a framing device for the poem, but in a much more extended way: the proem, introduction, first stanzas of several cantos, and the conclusion are all written in Spenserians. Although the Spenserians represent a

[60] These speeches both occur in Act III. Pocahontas, for example, says to Rolfe: "O! 'tis from thee that I have drawn my being:/ Thou'st ta'en me from the path of savage error,/ Blood-stain'd and rude, where rove my countrymen,/ And taught me heavenly truths, and fill'd my heart/ With sentiments sublime, and sweet, and social." The "War Song" in Act II is written largely in trochaic trimeter. Joseph Barker, The Indian Princess (1808), 612. *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/29230/29230-h/29230-h.htm
[61] Barker, 606.
[62] Ibid., 628.

minority of the poem's lines overall, they were those most praised by critics.[63, 64] The non-Spenserian narrative is written in heroic and tetrameter couplets, and in these couplets Indian speech is generally indistinguishable from white speech. However, many Indian "songs" are separated out from the rest of the narrative with a subtitle and set off by quotation marks, including "To the Manito of Dreams," "Song of the Pow-wahs," "Song of the Priestess," and "Philip's Death Song." "Song of the Pow-wahs" and "Song of the Priestess" follow directly after one another and are written largely in a variable anapestic trimeter (i.e., in the "Song of Pow-wahs,": "When the wings of a dove/ She has borrowed to fly, / Ye swoop from above, / And around her ye cry"),[65] while "Philip's Death- Song" is written twelve-line stanzas of iambic tetrameter with rhyming couplets, the same meter used in the bulk of the cantos.[66] Although Philip's death song is excerpted out from the rest of the narrative, it is the expression of an individual and therefore differs from the more collectivized Indian speech represented by the various other "songs." [67] Its return to the default verse form of the rest of the work suggests a level of continuity with the narrative as a whole, and the form's symmetry (four stanzas of twelves lines of rhyming couplets) suggests a completeness of expression we might map onto the ideal of "Indian eloquence" as expressed in early nineteenth-century textbooks and in Jefferson's

[63] See Phillips, 197.
[64] *Yamoyden* is also connected to English history through its discussion of the English Civil War. The father of Metamora's wife, Nora, comes to America to escape the trauma of killing his own twin brother in one of Cromwell's battles: "I could not brook /Longer upon these scenes to look, /Where ghosts of pain or pleasure past/ Started, where'er my glance was cast. /I bore my daughter o'er the flood…" James Eastburn and Robert Sands, *Yamoyden: A Tale of of the Wars of King Philip* (New York, 1820), 124. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/yamoydenatalewa00sandgoog.
[65] Eastburn and Sands, 170.
[66] Tetrameter couplets are perhaps the most common verse form for representing Indian song in the early period; the Ouâbi's death song and the war song in Ponteach are both written in tetrameter couplets.
[67] Michael Warner notes that *Yamoyden* might not have represented Robert Sands's only experimentation with minstrel poetics. See Michael Warner et. al, "A Soliloquy Lately Spoken at the African Theatre': Race and the Public Sphere in New York City, 1821." *American Literature*, vol. 73, no. 1 (2001), 5-6. *Project Muse*, https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/4/article/1654.

Notes on the State of Virginia.[68] Still, Eastburn and Sands seemed inclined to insert trochees into Indian speech when the subject is hate, wrong, or violence (for example, in "Philip's Death-Song": "Ye for my long remembrance speak, / Midnight fire, and midnight shriek! / Scalps, that my deadly vows made good! / Fields, where I quaffed the bowl of blood!").[69]

Yamoyden thus represents a unique Spenserian hybrid. Eastburn and Sands seem to want to overlay the Spenserian's temporal framing onto a narrative of King Philip's War, but not to the extent that they can commit to writing the actual narrative in Spenserians. It as if they are constantly admitting that the verse form is fit for historical commentary on the events, but not to describe the events themselves. We might understand the choice, via *Ouâbi* and *The Indian Princess*, as enacting a kind of prosodic or generic control over the content of the poem. That is, like the title of Bryant's "An Indian at the Burial-place of His Fathers," the Spenserians serve in part to remind us that the person(s) writing the poem are white and to invoke a lens of imperialist, rather than "authentic" nostalgia.[70] We can also understand the decision as an attempt to maintain the viability of the Spenserian's trajectory toward eternity. Eastburn and Sands choose to cordon off the poem's narrative of Indian decline into heroic couplets and tetrameter songs, while the final stanzas of the poem – Spenserians again – are then free to reframe that narrative as moral progress. "Tis good to muse on nations passed away," Eastburn and Sands argue, because the sadness produced in musing "will the mind control" and will also reduce the reader's hubris ("human pride falls low, at human's grandeur goal"). After this moral justification, the authors address King Philip directly, promising that "*He* of the laureate wreath for thee shall claim/ the hero's honours, to earth's farthest bound, / Where Albion's tongue is

[68] See Eastman's discussion of Jefferson.
[69] Eastburn and Sands, 214.
[70] I'm using Rosaldo's articulation here. Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations*, no. 26 (1989). *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928525.

heard, or Albion's songs resound."[71] Here the poets look back to Classical analogs (via both the hexameter and the reference to Albion, the Greek name for England that Spenser takes from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*) and look forward to a future when "A sacred bard thy champion *shall* be found." Does the poem's Spenserian ending admit that the poem itself was not a successful act of laudation? Remains there still more lauding to do? The Spenserian framing of *Yamoyden* negotiates a similar contradiction that Jackson locates in Bryant's ending address to America in his Spenserian poem "The Ages" (written just one year after *Yamoyden*, in 1821). Bryant's poem, like *The Castle of Indolence*, narrates several examples civilizational decline but it also simultaneously insists that "a thousand cheerful omens give / Hope of yet happier days, whose dawn is nigh." America, Bryant contends, will escape the fate of other civilizations because its people are destined to achieve an unmatched state of existential freedom: "Here the free spirit of mankind, at length/ Throws its last fetters off."[72] While Europe "writhes in shackles," America is only confined by unending space ("These are thy fetters – seas and stormy air/ Are the wide barrier of thy borders").[73] Jackson argues Bryant's closing address the nation is rendered with such "lavish affection," "that the hexameter's 'dying close' may pass unnoticed," and thus that "literary nationalism" may also "beat time."[74] The ending line of hexameter in *Yamoyden*, by contrast, lavishes its attention on King Philip, addressing him to suggest that there is time for mourning – and therefore also learning – in the language and lands of Albion yet.

[71] Eastburn and Sands, 254-255.
[72] Bryant's repeated employment of the word "fetters" is conspicuous given the legality of slavery in the United States in 1821.
[73] William Cullen Bryant, "The Ages." *Poems* (Dessau, 1854), 1-11. *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/16341/16341-h/16341-h.htm.
[74] "Bryant; or, American Romanticism," 202, 194.

Although Christopher Phillips's survey of early American epic includes *Ouâbi* and *Yamoyden*, neither he, nor any other scholar to my knowledge, has discussed John Robertson's *Virginia: or, The Fatal Patent* (1825), a Spenserian epic that precedes Sigourney's "Pocahontas" by more than fifteen years. *The Fatal Patent*, like *Getrude of Wyoming*, is a Spenserian epic that inserts Indian song and speech in stanzas that are highly differentiated from the Spenserian stanza. The poem reframes John Smith as an exile from Britain and Pocahontas as an exile from her tribe who converts to Christianity thanks to interactions with a "sage" reverend, who turns out to be of the only survivors of the Roanoke Colony. In this adaptation Smith, who Robertson refers to throughout as a "chieftain," kills Powhatan, wants nothing to do with Rolfe or the Jamestown colony, and does not take Pocahontas to England. Instead, she and Smith forge a new life, exiles together, in America. Robertson's disdain for England is registered in the work's prosody, where threatening Indians and druidic spirits speak in the same threatening trochaic tetrameter. A "fay," for example, taunts Smith as he sleeps: "Christian hero, shame, oh, shame! / Though that know'st a Saviour's name," while Powhatan's men clamor to kill him in the same meter: "Art thou come my thirst to slake – / Bind him, bind him to the stake."[75] The fact that blood-thirsty Indians speak in the same meter as druids suggests first, that Robertson wants to depict the worlds of "fairy land" and the worlds of early colonial encounter in Virginia as contiguous with one another and, second, that he wants his readers to be aware that both groups represent threats to America.

In Robertson's account Smith, the "sage reverend" from the Roanoke colony, and Pocahontas are all Christian exiles. Pocahontas's alignment with this group (she is already a Christian when she is first introduced), rather than with the British or the Indians, is registered in

[75] John Robertson, *Virginia; Or, The Fatal Patent* (Washington, 1825), 30. Entry for "Robertson, John" in the *Pocahontas Archives*, https://history-on-trial.lib.lehigh.edu/trial/pocahontas/bib.php.

the soothing and familiar hymnal meter she uses to persuade her father to spare John Smith's life: "But Thou the impulse first must give, / Tis thou must touch the heart; / Oh move, and let the captive live; Oh show how great Thou art."[76] Like *The Indian Princess*, *The Fatal Patent* uses Pocahontas's speech to signify her special status as an Indian who is not Indian, a figure who is "naturally" civilized, who can serve as a bridge between Indigenous and English control of America. Robertson expands on this innovation by calling Smith "chieftain" and the Roanoke reverend "sage," thus fusing these exiled figures together into as confused blend of Christian-Indian proto-American heroes. This fusion is necessary because, like Bryant in "The Ages," Robertson is deeply invested in articulating the divine light of American futurity (which he seems to resent Britain for having temporarily halted). The beginning of the poem introduces America by lauding the light of its "torch": "Behold the torch divine – which rising bright /…The blazing Torch of Truth flames in the sky /…Nations shall see, and join the joyful cry."[77] The light of the nation recurs in the poem's ending which, like *Gertrude of Wyoming*, takes the form of a vision-like "song." If, as Campbell writes of Outalissi, "and song is but the eloquence of truth,"[78] then what we see by the time Robertson publishes *The Fatal Patent*, is that the closing "song" of the poem is no longer an Indian death song, but the death prophecy of a white "sage," indigenized and Americanized via his experience in exile:

> Life ebbs space, the vision flits away,
> Yet in the transient gleam all fair and bright
> "I see the sun rise on her nuptial day;
> "I see my Indian Maid array'd in white;

[76] Ibid., 39.
[77] Ibid., 10.
[78] Campbell, 23.

"I see her blessed with every Christian rite;

"And faith, and hope, and joy, his steps attend

"Far distant days come crowding on my sight;

" I see – but now the colours all are blending." –

He sunk – his closing eyes on Pocahontas bending.[79]

The Roanoke reverend appropriates the "death song" more typically given to Indian characters to associate Pocahontas, and particularly her marriage and conversion to Christianity, with American futurity, the brightness of these lines igniting the "Torch" that will inspire other nations to "join the joyful cry."

This survey of early American New World Spenserian epics has attempted to give some texture to Karen Kilcup's claim that early American writers "concluded that American poetry was most original and most genuine when it dealt with the untamed landscape or its putatively wild inhabitants, indigenous peoples – safely ensconced in calm, well-ordered verses."[80] That is, while authors did incorporate Indian characters into the "well-ordered" Spenserian verse form, they did so in a way that kept them outside of the form's "trajectory toward eternity." American writers adopted Campbell's innovation of adding Indian "lyrics" into their poems, not to emphasis the failures of British imperialism, as Campbell did, but to more easily "clear discursive space" for a Spenserian temporality that would bring the American nation into a bright, white future. Fairies and war-bent Indians, occupying the same worlds and same "falling rhythms" of trochaic tetrameter, were crafted in distinction to Indian figures *of* distinction like King Philip and Pocahontas, whose meter and verse forms measured political allegiance and

[79] Robertson, 62.
[80] Karen Kilcup, "Feeling American in the Poetic Republic." *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, vol. 70, no. 3 (2015), 303. https://doi.org/10.1525/ncl.2015.70.3.299.

perceived natural civility. The insertion of Indians in "songs" into narrative framed by Spenserian stanzas would continue, as Phillips notes, into the 1840s in works like George H. Colton's *Tecumseh; or, The West Thirty Years Since: A Poem* (1842) and William C.H. Hosmer's *Yonnondio; or, Warriors of the Genesee* (1844). However, it was Lydia Sigourney's "Pocahontas" (1841) – just Pocahontas, no "or" required – that most ambitiously, and perhaps most successfully, attempted to incorporate Indian subjects into a Spenserian epic while retaining a Spenserian temporality that would propel America "o'er oblivion's wave."

v. "The birth-star was the funeral blaze": Sigourney's Pocahontas

Lydia Sigourney's "Pocahontas" (1841) takes many of the representations of Indian speech discussed above a more abstracted extreme. Sigourney wrote her New World Spenserian epic relatively late in her career, and almost twenty years after her first Indian epic, *Traits of the Aborigines of America* (1822). *Traits*, is, as Phillips notes, the only American Indian epic written in blank verse.[81] Like "Pocahontas," it tells the story of the mytho-historical events at Jamestown to "clear discursive space" for American futurity. Although Sigourney references popular Pocahontas poems like John Davis's "The Angel of the Wild" (1814) in the notes to *Traits*, she does not attempt to represent Pocahontas's speech in that work, nor does she ever name Pocahontas directly in the body of the text.[82] Why was a generic revision of *Traits* necessary, and why did Sigourney choose to write it in Spenserians? Perhaps Sigourney returned to Pocahontas,

[81] Though, he might be wrong about this if we consider Robert Rogers's play *Ponteach* (1766), which is written entirely in blank verse. Phillips is also wrong, as we have seen, that Sigourney was "the only poet to write an entire Indian epic in Spenserians." Robert Southey's *A Tale of Paraguay* (1827) and John Robertson's *The Fatal Patent* (1825) were written well in advance of Sigourney's "Pocahontas." See Phillips, 204.

[82] Davis's "The Angel of the Wild" makes explicit Pocahontas's dual role as creator/destroyer: "The birth-star was the funeral blaze,/ Thy lullaby the song of death./ But Pity sought thee in the wild,/ Invisible, thy cradle rock'd,/ Seraphic Love his offerings pil'd/ And heavenly graves round thee flock'd" (223-4). In Lydia Sigourney, *Traits of the Aborigines of America* (Cambridge, 1822). *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=112wqXvqhcgC.

and to an early modern verse form, as an attempt to resolve what Baym identifies as an "internal conflict" in her "historical writings," whose

> … attempt to affirm the progress of history is continually frustrated by the evident failure of Christian-ethics to meet the single most important test of the American nation – the obligation to preserve the continent's "aborigines" by Christianizing them and integrating them into American society.[83]

Sigourney's historical writings had to uphold "the nationalistic fervor [which] demand[ed] that history be used to figure the political, social, and moral glory of the present"[84] while also acknowledging "the unrepublican and unchristian carnage that has already taken place."[85] Sigourney never completely resolves this conflict, because to do so represents an impossibility, but in "Pocahontas" she innovates by making Pocahontas a Poetess, and therefore so overdetermined that she can no longer be historically representational.[86] That is, by abstracting the variety of New World Spenserian "songs" and narratives into the figure of Pocahontas the Poetess, the "feminized figure of extravagant feeling," Sigourney "replaced hierarchies of genre [in this case, the genre of the Spenserian] with hierarchies of expression" and therefore solicits "a way of reading that could, like race [and the disappearance of races], appear deceptively

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[83] Nina Baym, "Reinventing Lydia Sigourney." *American Literature*, vol. 62, no. 3 (Sep. 1990), 392-3.
[84] William Free as qtd in Robert S. Tilton, *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative* (Cambridge UP, 1994), 48.
[85] Baym, 395.
[86] What Sigourney is doing might be compared with Stone's portrait of King Philip in *Metamora, or the Last of the Wampanoags* (1829). As David Murray writes, "The dramatic career of the noble Indian who dies out practically and politically, but survives in his words as a monument, an occasion for suitably comfortable melancholy reflections, is also well illustrated by John Augustus Stone's *Metamora, or the Last of the Wampanoags* (1829). In answer to his wife's question, 'is our nation dead?' he [Metamora] tells her, "The palefaces are all around us, and they tread in blood. The blaze of our burning wigwams flashes awfully in the darkness of their path. We are destroyed – not vanquished; we are no more, yet we are forever." Murray, 37.

natural."[87] Pocahontas's expressions of maternal care overwhelm the threat of regress in Sigourney's "miniature" Spenserian epic.[88]

The sentimental appropriation of the historical Pocahontas is of course not unique to Sigourney. As I traced in the preceding section, Pocahontas's speech was often demarcated from the other Indian speech in works early American authors. In many of those representations, Pocahontas is depicted as always-already civilized, the Indian character most likely to switch verse patterns and/or speak in regular or iambic lines. And as the online *Pocahontas Archive* tracks[89] and Stedman notes, there were seemingly endless sentimental accounts of the Pocahontas story in the antebellum period as "through the nation's growing years Pocahontas the Nonpareil – intelligent, guileless, lovely, courageous – turned into Pocahontas the Imitated. Not a season went by that some author, or artist, or playwright, or trademark maker did not call upon her image."[90] This constant "rehashing," "had so penetrated the world of the romance that," according to Tilton, "there was little to be gained in the attempt to construct a serious, full-length novel around this material."[91] Sigourney's "Pocahontas" is of course not a novel, nor is it as extended an historical account as *Traits* – but it is still, because it is written in Spenserian stanzas, a vehicle of historiography and of spatial/temporal ambition. In his study of early American epic, Christopher Phillips cites Jackson to make the point that the Spenserian was "naturalized by some of the most influential American critics [Holmes and Lowell]" and as such "exhibited an artless artfulness, the romantic expression of genius recast as a linguistic imitation

[87] Virginia Jackson, "The Poet as Poetess." *The Cambridge Companion to Nineteenth-Century American Poetry*. Ed. Kerry Larson (Cambridge UP, 2011), 55, 69.
[88] Phillips, 202.
[89] "The Pocahontas Archive," *History on Trial,* Lehigh University Digital Library, https://history-on-trial.lib.lehigh.edu/trial/pocahontas/bib.php.
[90] Raymond William Stedman, "La Belle Sauvage." *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture* (U of Oklahoma P, 1982), 25.
[91] Tilton, 90.

of natural cadence."[92] He also, interestingly, claims that the Spenserian was more associated with lyric than with narrative in the nineteenth century: "the Spenserian was not as valuable a narrative form as Scott's iambic tetrameters but it was a linguistic showpiece, and the lyric, painterly effects of such a form led to a comparison between Hosmer's *Yonnondio* and Thomas Cole's landscapes."[93] Although Phillips is correct that nineteenth century critics naturalized the stanza's wave-like form, they did so, as Jackson writes, to "naturalize a historical structure," not to naturalize English speech.[94] Comparisons to Cole, for example, were not likely made on the basis of Sigourney's "lyric, painterly effects" but on the narratives of civilizational development and decline thematized by Cole in *The Course of Empire* (1833/36).[95] "Pocahontas," might have "lyric" qualities (though Phillips doesn't clarify what they are), but as we have seen, actual lyrics were often separated out from the Spenserian by Romantic authors.[96] Phillips's assumption that what is lyric is the same as what is painterly is the same as what is natural is actually a product of the way Sigourney is training the reader to read her poem.

Unlike Eastburn/Sands, Robertson, or Wentworth Morton, Sigourney does not include Indian "songs" into her epic that represent a distinct form of racialized or "authentic" speech. Sigourney writes in continuous Spenserian stanzas, with one major modification – she adopts the unique rhyme scheme Felicia Hemans uses in *The Forest Sanctuary* (1827). Janet Dean notes that not many scholars have discussed Sigourney's use of Hemans's rhyme scheme, and she

[92] Phillips, 205.
[93] Ibid., 204.
[94] "Bryant; Or, American Romanticism," 193.
[95] As Krieg traces, Spenser did have an impact on early American artists, but these early paintings, like Benjamin West's *Una and the Dwarf* (1772), were largely portraits, not landscapes.
[96] Throughout Sigourney's poem, it is the Indians characters who are inspired and moved by English melodies. Before Pocahontas is introduced, a "savage" is depicted listening to the sounds of hymns coming from the church in the colony. When Pocahontas falls in love with Smith, Sigourney describes his words as music: "with his tones of music in her ear/ Love's eloquence inspired the high-born cavalier." When Pocahontas visits England, the blood rushes "wildly to her face/ When, form the living organ's thunder-chime,/ The full Te Deum burst in melody sublime." Sigourney describes Pocahontas's dying "moan" as "breaking harp-string sweet."

herself understands it as primarily a sign of ambition, through which Sigourney "positioned herself among the ranks of serious poets and showcased her aesthetic sophistication."[97] Hemans's scheme (*ababccbdd* compared to Spenser's *ababbcbcc*) spreads out the Spenserian's concentration of "b" rhymes, enclosing them around a "c" couplet, and ends with a couplet in a new rhyme of "d"; the ending line is still an alexandrine. Hemans's modified scheme is perhaps closest in shape to the modified Spenserian stanza Donne employs in *Metempsychosis* (1633) – *ababccbbddd*. Kenneth Gross argues that Donne's "rhyme pattern…makes of Spenser's flowing, interwoven some more abrupt and disjunctive in structure. It is a pattern that piles rhymes up together rather than allowing them subtly to reach across space; it pointedly refuses the spell of the Spenserian stanza."[98] Hemans's stanza would also seem to excise some of the "flowing" structure of the Spenserian, enclosing what would be the ending couplet in the Spenser ("cc"). before moving forward to something altogether different ("dd"). Hemans's choice to modify the Spenserian stanza form – like Campbell's – makes sense given the British New World Spenserian emphasis on the "failure of bloodlines"; *The Forest Sanctuary* narrates the story of "an unnamed conquistador who returns home to Spain, only to be banished to the New World for his religious beliefs."[99] The conquistador's wife, Leonor, accompanies him but "dies at sea of her grief over leaving her home. She does not complete the voyage of exile with her family, and her last 'fond words were all of vintage-scene, / And flowering myrtle, and sweet citron's breath.'"[100] Sussman argues that by acknowledging that "both men and women have bonds that are stronger than familiar bonds" (for here Leonor's "productive capacity is subordinated to her

[97] Janet Dean, "'Exil'd Murmurings': 'The American Hemans' and the Politics of Displacement." *Lydia Sigourney: Critical Essays and Cultural Views* (U of Massachusetts P, 2018), 164.
[98] Gross, 30.
[99] Sussman, 481.
[100] Ibid., 507.

affective capacity to remember"[101]), Hemans isn't as concerned with decline as she is with detachment, "the detachment of persons from nation, from national alliance, and from the demands of both of those formations on the procreative capacity of the female body."[102] We might also locate such "detachment of persons from nation" in the ending couplet, and in the impetus to rewrite Spenser's verse form more generally, since it is in fact a form concerned with the attachment of persons to history (we can think of the parallel history-writing exercise in Book II of *The Fairie Queene*) and via history to the nation.

If Hemans's Spenserian riff explores female detachment, why does Sigourney embrace it to articulate a (female) founding narrative for the United States? Dean and Phillips explain Sigourney's use of Hemans by pointing to Sigourney's admiration for Hemans and the general tendency for critics and Sigourney herself to see her "as a writer of pastiche, a poetically inspired recycler of familiar work."[103] While I am sure Sigourney drew on a number of sources for her portrait of Pocahontas (Phillips points to the particular influence of John Gadsby Chapman's 1840 painting *The Baptism of Pocahontas*), I think the poem is best read alongside the Spenserian precedents of Bryant and Hemans. That is, Sigourney's poem combines Bryant's account of civilizational progress/decline in "The Ages" with the melancholic female longing and detachment of *The Forest Sanctuary*. In doing so, Sigourney fills in the non-representation of Indians in *The Forest Sanctuary* (where, as Goslee notes, "'the wild Indian' has no direct voice, only a momentary gesture; and he has virtually no social existence")[104] with a larger-than-

[101] Ibid., 508.
[102] Ibid., 511.
[103] Phillips, 212.
[104] Nancy Moore Goslee, "Hemans's 'Red Indians': Reading Stereotypes." *Romanticism, Race, and Imperial Culture, 1780-1834*. Eds. Alan Richardson and Sonia Hofkosh (Indiana UP, 1996), 242.

life maternal figure who *makes possible* the filling the "populous borders" of America.[105] Sigourney, addressing Pocahontas directly, explains why she deserves to be remembered:

> Thou wert the saviour of the Saxon vine,
>
> And for this deed alone our praise and love are thine.
>
> XXII.
>
> Nor yet for this alone, shall history's scroll
>
> Embalm thine image with a grateful tear;
>
> For when the grasp of famine tried the soul,
>
> When strength decay'd, and dark despair was near,
>
> Who led her train of playmates, day by day,
>
> O'er rock, and stream, and wild, a weary way,
>
> Their baskets teeming with the golden ear?
>
> Whose generous hand vouchsafed its tireless aid
>
> To guard a nation's germ? Thine, thine, heroic maid![106]

Pocahontas's gifts of corn to the Jamestown colonists and her marriage to Smith help preserve the "nation's germ," and save the "saxon vine." Her feminine acts of care are then preserved by "history's scroll," not with words, but with her image, which will be embalmed by the reader and countrywoman's "grateful tears." Later in the poem Sigourney makes it clear that Pocahontas's

[105] The epigraph to the 1828 edition of Hemans's poem "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers" includes the following lines from "The Ages":"Look now abroad – another race has fill'd/ Those populous borders – wide the wood recedes…" See Sussman, 492.

[106] Lydia Sigourney, *Pocahontas, and Other Poems* (New York, 1841), 20. *University of Virginia Library Online*, https://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=chadwyck_ap/uvaGenText/tei/chap_AM1095.xml;brand=default;

maternal care is meant to represent the duties of womanhood more broadly. While on the ship to England, Pocahontas's thoughts turn to the "fragrant gales" of home and to her father, "the sad sire who fondly dreams of her." This melancholy attention is diffused by a "bright-hair'd nursling," the son of the saxon vine she has helped graft to/in America. Sigourney uses this moment of shifted affection and attention to theorize a universal model of womanhood based on care:

> XL.
>
> And this is woman's world. It matters not
>
> Though in the trackless wilderness she dwell,
>
> Or on the cliff where hangs the Switzer's cot,
>
> Or in the subterranean Greenland cell,
>
> Her world is in the heart. Rude storms may rise,
>
> And dark eclipse involve ambition's skies,
>
> But dear affection's flame burns , and well,
>
> And therefore 'tis, with such a placid eye,
>
> She soothes her loved ones' pangs, or lays her down to die.[107]

Pocahontas can withstand the journey to England because she is a woman, and a woman's "world is in her heart." The strange opening line "And this is woman's world" refers to the joyful care (or work, an almost-rhyme with "world") Pocahontas must in this moment show to her infant, a maternal attention which redirects her from melancholy thoughts of home. This marks a direct refutation of Hemans's poems, where it is the persistent sights and smells of home that cause Leonor's melancholy and death. Sigourney also reverses the spatialized longing of

[107] *Pocahontas*, 27.

Hemans's poem, where Leonor is split between a "'westering' longing for a sublime wilderness with its energies and its freedoms; and an 'eastering' longing for the familiar gardens, flowers, 'halls,' and affectionate familial links of European homes…"[108] While Goslee says that these desires are "irreconcilable" in Hemans, in Sigourney they are made reconcilable (and universal) by the presence of a child, by maternal attention.

The connection between maternal care and the success of the early Republic[109] is, of course, made explicit in "The Ages," where in the poem's ending stanza, Bryant argues that his country will not face decline if the nation properly cares for its "children":

> XXXV.
>
> But thou, my country, thou shalt never fall,
> Save with thy children—thy maternal care,
> Thy lavish love, thy blessings showered on all—
> These are thy fetters—seas and stormy air
> Are the wide barrier of thy borders, where,
> Among thy gallant sons that guard thee well,
> Thou laugh'st at enemies: who shall then declare
> The date of thy deep-founded strength, or tell
> How happy, in thy lap, the sons of men shall dwell.[110]

[108] Goslee, 255-256.
[109] For more on the symbolic female images of the early Republic see John Higman, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America." *The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 100 (April 1990), 45-79.
[110] Bryant, "The Ages."

The "sons of men" (not women, curiously) will "dwell" happy in the "lap" of America, who is not "fettered" by anything but wide borders.[111] Jackson points to the phrase "save with their children" as covert admission on Bryant's part that American's perpetual glory is not as secure as he might want us to believe. Pocahontas however, as we have seen, *is* a figure capable of this kind of care, even or especially when she is faced with the heartache of exile or homesickness. We can read Sigourney's ending address to Pocahontas as a response to Bryant's address to the feminized nation. She even uses the same phrase – "But thou" – to single Pocahontas out as a figure deserving of national memorialization:

> LVI.
>
> The council-fires are quench'd, that erst so red
>
> Their midnight volume mid the groves entwined;
>
> King, stately chief, and warrior-host are dead,
>
> Nor remnant, nor memorial left behind:
>
> But thou, O forest-princess, true of heart,
>
> When o'er our fathers waved destruction's dart,
>
> Shall in their children's loving hearts be shrined;
>
> Pure, lonely star, o'er dark oblivion's wave,
>
> It is not meet thy name should moulder in the grave.[112]

[111] Jackson includes the following quote from Griswold as a way of explaining the way that critics struggled to differentiate between sentimental (women's) verse and the more intellectually serious verse of men: "We may confound the vivid dreamings of an unsatisfied heart, with the aspirations of a mind impatient of the fetters of time, and matter, and mortality" ("Poet as Poetess," 55) It seems the contemplation of philosophical "fetters" is the province of male writers, even when they contemplate them in feminized terms.

[112] This ending Virgilian line can be found in many Indian laments of the period; Indian characters are often made to speak of "mouldering bones." See, for example, Outalissi's death song at the end of *Gertrude of Wyoming*: "Or shall we cross, yon mountains blue,/ Whose streams my kindred nation quaffed?/…Ah! There in desolation cold/ The

It is Pocahontas *alone* who will be memorialized, and it is the children of the colonial survivors – not the surviving members of her tribe – who will do the remembering. Like the reference to "history's scroll" earlier in the poem, the act of memorialization here is accomplished via bodily sentiment (in hearts, in tears). Sigourney then naturalizes and monumentalizes Pocahontas at once by describing her as the "lonely star" hanging "o'er dark oblivion's wave." We are reminded here of Holmes and Lowell's conceptualization of the Spenserian stanza as a wave. What might it mean for Pocahontas to "hang" over the "wave" of the Spenserian? Has Sigourney found a way to supersede the regression that plagues "seas and stormy air" of Bryant, and of the Spenserian? Rather than admonish her country, as she does at the end of *Traits* ("Whence there is no reprieve, my Country, wake/ From thy dark dream!")[113] she positions Pocahontas as the symbol of maternal care which will ensure the future success of "her" sons.

There is some critical disagreement about the extent to which the success of Sigourney's "Pocahontas," the figure and the poem, enacts Indigenous disappearance. Dean argues, for example, that Sigourney revises Hemans to give a more complete and fair account of the violence perpetrated against Indigenous peoples. She says that Sigourney's decision to include the "imprisonment scene," "brings to the surface a hidden history in order to challenge idealized views of the colonial encounter."[114] Although Sigourney's poem, unlike other Indian poems of the era, memorializes Pocahontas without denying the horrors visited on her tribe by white colonists (Sigourney even criticizes such denial in the lines, "Need I say / What still the indignant lyre declines to tell?"), it does ultimately does so at the expense of the memory of Pocahontas-the-historical-person's very real father and countrymen. Phillips acknowledges that

---

desert serpent dwells alone, / Where grass o'ergrows each mouldering bone, / And stones themselves to ruin grown, / Like me, are death-like old." Campbell, 72.

[113] *Traits*, 180.

[114] Dean, 165.

this represents a shift, "Sigourney's sudden desire to erase the Indian from the landscape, which she had resisted through her earlier works, is revealed in the final stanza as the necessary fiction that allows the story of Pocahontas to take on national importance…"[115] Pocahontas-the-myth can be remembered and recited precisely because the poet-historian can demand Powhatan-the-father's silence and exile. We can see this in how Sigourney frames the silence of Powhatan in the same oceanic terms as she articulates in the poem's the final couplet. After depicting Pocahontas's death in England, Sigourney shifts the poem's attention back to Pocahontas's father, allowing him "a little time," "a little space" to grieve and "gaze despondent o'er the billowy brine" before instructing him, "In doubt and mystery, thy breath resign /And to thy scorn'd and perish'd people go, / From whose long-trampled dust our flowers and herbage grow."[116] By ordering Powhatan to resign his breath, Sigourney sends him, effectively dead, back to his already-dead ("scorn'd and perish'd") people. The resignation of Powhatan's breath also recalls the only instance of non-Pocahontas Indian speech in the poem, when the tribe's "hoary prophet breath'd the ban of fate: / 'Hence with the thunderers! Hide their race, unbless'd / Deep 'neath the soil they falsely call their own."[117] In the hexameter line of the second-to-last stanza, Sigourney even throws the prophet's threat back in his face, condemning the "shadows" of Powhatan's people to "sink to rest / In unremember'd tombs, unpitied and unbless'd."[118] This unremembering, this unblessing, coincides with water imagery in the penultimate stanzas, preparing us to associate Powhatan's "exil'd murmurings" with "oblivion's wave." Sigourney displaces Powhatan and his countrymen to such a seemingly remote place (at once the Virgilian

[115] Phillips, 211.
[116] *Pocahontas*, 31.
[117] *Pocahontas*, 21.
[118] Ibid, 32.

past and the West coast of America), that only the Oregon's "hoarse" "course" "Pacific's sullen surge" will reply to their "murmurings":

LV.

Forgotten race, farewell! Your haunts we tread,
Our mighty rivers speak your words of yore,
Our mountains wear them on their misty head,
Our sounding cataracts hurl them to the shore;
But on the lake your flashing oar is still,
Hush'd is your hunter's cry on dale and hill,
Your arrow stays the eagle's flight no more;
And ye, like troubled shadows, sink to rest
In unremember'd tombs, unpitied and unbless'd.

LIII.

Like the fallen leaves those forest-tribes have fled:
Deep 'neath the turf their rusted weapon lies;
No more their harvest lifts its golden head,
Nor from their shaft the stricken red-deer flies:
But from the far, far west, where holds, so hoarse,
The lonely Oregon, its rock-strewn course,
While old Pacific's sullen surge replies,

Are heard their exil'd murmurings, deep and low,

Like one whose smitten soul departeth, full of woe.[119]

The final stanzas rely on the logics of temporal displacement and the naturalization of genocide conventional to the early nineteenth-century Indian lament. While the language of Powhatan's countrymen resounds in places that are now "Ours," – "Our sounding cataracts hurl" the forgotten race's words "to the shore," – Powhatan's countrymen are hushed in the midst of similarly hushed environs. The Oregon is lonely, the Pacific sullen. Pocahontas is in some ways not the exception to the rule of this withdrawal and silence; she does not illuminate "oblivion's wave" but sits high above it, pure and lonely. Paradoxically, by illuminating and isolating Pocahontas Sigourney succeeds in memorializing her subject inside, rather than outside of, the Spenserian stanza.

vi. "The earth wounded stranger": Te-con-ees-kee's Pocahontas of the Cherokee Female Seminary

In "Suggested by the report in the Advocate, of the laying of the corner stone of the Pocahontas Female Seminary – Cherokee Nation" (1848), Te-con-ees-kee (Cherokee) revises Sigourney's memorialization of Pocahontas to more appropriately anchor the memory of Pocahontas in the new home of the Cherokee Nation. As its title suggests, the poem, published in the *Cherokee Advocate*, a weekly newspaper printed in Cherokee and English, celebrates the start of construction on the original Cherokee Female Seminary building, which opened in 1851 (in a dual opening with the Male Seminary), was destroyed in a fire in 1887, and is now the site

[119] *Pocahontas*, 31.

of the Cherokee Heritage Center. Christopher Teuton, one of the conveners of the Cherokee Liars' Club, writes that the group often choose to meet at the Heritage Center, as

> …the chapel provided a natural setting to record Cherokee traditional stories and teachings. Densely covered with venerable oaks, pecans, sycamores, and bois d'arc, the Heritage Center grounds were once the site of the Cherokee Female Seminary, a place of great meaning to Cherokees. Destroyed by fire in 1887, the Female Seminary was one of the first institutions of higher education west of the Mississippi. All that is left of the building are the majestic columns that stood at its entrance. But since the construction of the Cherokee Heritage Center in the late 1960s, the spirit of Cherokee education and cultural perpetuation has carried forward at this site of knowledge sharing.[120]

Te-con-ees-kee likely read in the *Advocate* about how, "on 21 June 1847… Chief Ross laid the cornerstone of the first Female Seminary" and how "[a]mong the twenty-seven items placed inside the cornerstone were copies of the constitution of the Cherokee Nation, Sequoyah's alphabet, and the Holy Scriptures printed in Cherokee; *The Cherokee Hymnbook*; an essay on 'The Evils of Intoxicating Liquors with the Remedy'; 1847 editions of the *Cherokee Advocate* and the *Cherokee Almanac*; and examples of 'Indian education.'"[121] The cache of artifacts stored in the building's cornerstone emphasize Cherokee literacy and sovereignty, and suggest that the community understood the construction of the Cherokee Female Seminary as an enterprise of national development. It was perhaps for this reason that, as the editorial note that accompanies Te-con-ees-kee's poem clarifies, the original proposed title for the institution, the Pocahontas

[120] Christopher B. Teuton et al., *Cherokee Stories of the Turtle Island Liars' Club* (U of North Carolina P), 6.
[121] Devon Misehuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (U of Illinois P, 1997), 25-26.

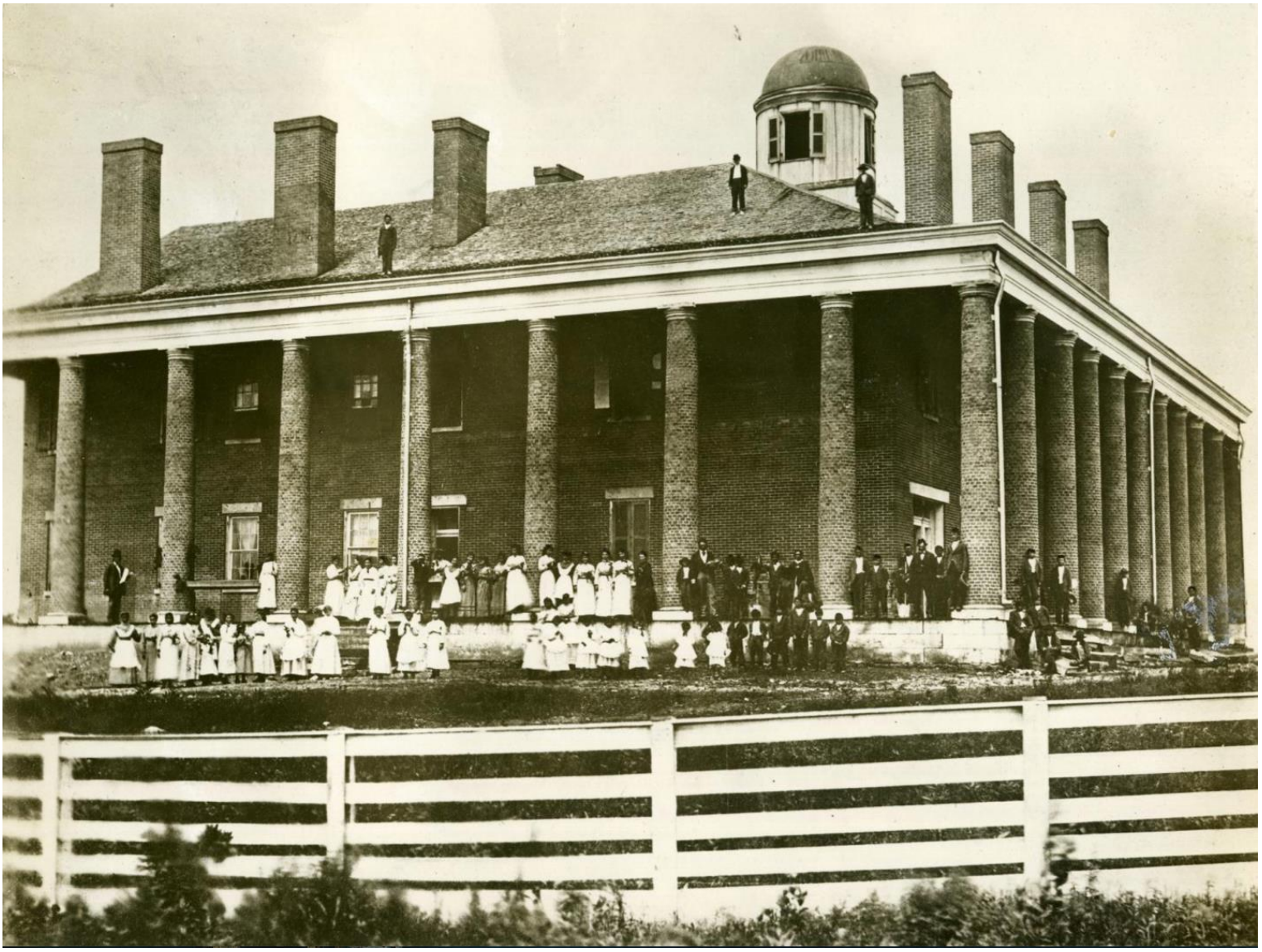

Figure 2. L.C. Handy Studio, Cherokee Female Seminary. Park Hill, Indian Territory, photograph. The Gateway to Oklahoma History, https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc1623702/.

Female Seminary, was changed to the Cherokee Female Seminary. Despite the change, of which Te-con-ees-kee was likely unaware at the time he submitted the poem for publication, the *Advocate* editors write that "[t]he following lines...are none the less acceptable and becoming. We give them a place with pleasure."[122]

Te-con-ees-kee and the original proponents of the name Pocahontas Female Seminary were obviously interested in reappropriating a figure that by 1848, in part thanks to Lydia Sigourney, had come, for Euro-American readers, to symbolize United States nationhood. "Suggested by the report" argues, however, that it is in the "loving hearts" of the Cherokee girls – not the children of the Republic – where the memory of Pocahontas is most appropriately "shrined." Although Te-con-ees-kee clearly has Sigourney's "Pocahontas" in mind, he does not choose to ground his poem in her verse form. Instead, he uses a modified version of another early modern verse form: the Venus and Adonis stanza (ababcc), in lines of anapestic tetrameter. The only other literary scholar besides Parker to consider this poem, Angela Calcaterra, writes that "…the poem's anapestic meter and 'becoming' metaphors integrate Cherokee national institutions with both pan-Indian sensibility and a long tradition of English verse."[123] But to what "long tradition of English verse" does Calcaterra refer? Anapestic tetrameter? The Venus and Adonis stanza? Both? It seems worth asking the question because Te-con-ees-kee's refusal to write a Spenserian stanza is also shared by every other Indigenous poet included in Robert Dale Parker's anthology, *Changing Is Not Vanishing: A Collection of American Indian Poetry to 1930*. Why do none of these writers attempt a Spenserian epic? It is certainly not because Indigenous authors were not familiar with or fond of Spenser. Paula Gunn Allen, in her

[122] Robert Dale Parker, editor. *Changing Is Not Vanishing* (U of Pennsylvania P, 2011), 118.
[123] Angela Calcaterra,"'It Needs Not the Display of Language': Aesthetics and Politics in Early Native American Writing." *Early American Literature*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (2014), 508. "Becoming" refers to the editors' note.

biography *Pocahontas*, remembers when her "great-grandmother, Meta Atseye Gun, used to tell stories about the old gods at Laguna,"

> She'd use the terms she thought were the English equivalent, so Grandmother Spider was "a Fairy," and the *nowish* were "Little People." She had been educated at Carlisle Indian School, in Pennsylvania, where she had been acquainted with works of English writers such as Tennyson and Spenser. She particularly remembered Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, from which she drew a great store of information about the Anglo-American culture around us, and into which she had married.[124]

One reason Te-con-ees-kee may have chosen to ignore the Spenserian in favor of an anapestic Venus and Adonis stanza is that Indigenous temporalities are in many ways fundamentally incompatible with the Spenserian's "trajectory toward eternity," especially as it was deployed in by American authors whose vision of American futurity was dependent on Indigenous decline. Again it is Paula Gunn Allen who reminds us,

> Structurally – and this is reflected in the order in which events are narrated as well as in tone, stance, grammar, informality of language, formality of language, joking, and repetitive passages – the Native tradition can best be diagrammed as a series of points that can be connected in an almost endless variety of ways, depending on the story being told – that is, the points being made. Contrast this with the basic structure of Western narrative, which progresses in a chronological sequence or in a predetermined order of importance of facts, examples, and/or events. Western narratives feature one figure who

[124] Allen, Paula Gunn. *Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat* (HarperOne, 2004), 156.

dominates the story, one setting that frames it, and one point of view, explicitly stated as well as implied, that defines it.[125]

The forward trajectory of the Spenserian (especially in its more extended formats) might have been unappealing to authors steeped in the more looped temporalities of Indigenous historiography, while its subject, the historiography of European and Euro-American empire, was perhaps equally unappealing to Indigenous writers and readers well versed in the both the lived reality and figurative representations of Euro-American colonialism. Te-con-ees-kee's choice of anapestic meter is harder to explain. Anapests were broadly associated with parodic and balladic verse in the nineteenth century, and might have been a way to introduce other registers or temporalities into the iambic regularity and formality of the Venus and Adonis stanza (or, if we view the decision through the lens of other New World Spenserian verse practices, we might also understand Te-con-ees-kee's choice as another insertion of meter that was more racially marked as "song" into the Venus and Adonis stanza).[126]

"Suggested by the report" is notable in general for what it excludes: it does not narrate a scene of cross-cultural encounter, does not name a single white actor, provides only a very brief indication that Pocahontas was married, and offers no mention of a child. It begins not with a description of a precolonial landscape or with Smith's arrival in Jamestown, but with

[125] Gunn Allen, 13.
[126] The historical prosodic discourse surrounding anapests is dense. James Russell Lowell's *A Fable for Critics*, largely written in anapests, was published the same year as "Suggested by the report," – 1848. One argument in favor of the theory that Te-con-ees-kee is inserting a ballad into a Venus and Adonis stanza is that the ending lines of stanza echo or repeat, like a refrain. For example, four of the poem's seven stanzas include a version of the phrase "Isle of the Britain."

Pocahontas's displacement from her community, and the community's grief over the loss of an important member.:

> From the fair land of her heart's fond devotion,
> The daughter of the Chieftain was borne o'er the wave,
> To a far away Isle mid the mists of the Ocean;
> And a winter was left on the heart of the Brave:
> How oft repeated! perhaps in a while,
> The spring bird of Powhatan will come from the Isle.

The first two lines depict tap into the familiar sentimental figuration of Pocahontas, but reframe the site of her devotion. From the "fair land" of home (so close to "fairyland"), she is "borne o'er the wave" to a foreign land defined by its proximity to water. The "far away Isle" is so immersed in water, "mid the mists of the Ocean," that it is difficult to separate it from the waves that bear Pocahontas away. Te-con-ees-kee thus naturalizes Pocahontas's travel across the Atlantic, but not in a way that makes that journey feel inevitable. Instead, the ocean almost seems in league with the English to "bear" Pocahontas away. While Sigourney ends her poem by memorializing Pocahontas as a "Pure, lonely star, o'er dark oblivion's wave," in Te-con-ees-kee's rendering the waves represent a force which Pocahontas does not supersede, but which carry her away, perhaps unwillingly, from the people and place where she belongs. Te-con-ees-kee again describes Pocahontas's loss in the language of naturalized sentimentality in the fourth line of this stanza, "And a winter was left on the heart of the Brave." In contrast to Indian laments and epics which naturalize Indigenous genocide in the terms of the seasons,[127] however, Te-con-ees-kee here

[127] I.e., Bryant's "An Indian at the Burial-place of His Fathers.": "like April snow/ In the warm noon, we shrink away." In Bryant, 62.

compares the experience of Pocahontas's absence to the experience of the winter season, a revision that implies change instead of finality and which opens the possibility of a springtime return. The subsequent exclamation, "How oft repeated!" points to both the familiarity of Pocahontas as a figure or symbol and the necessity or cause for a grief that is repeated in "hearts of the Brave" (Te-con-ees-kee leaves the exact tribe unspecified) on a seasonal basis.

Nor is Pocahontas's return necessarily metaphorical or figurative. In the Cherokee conception of death, as articulated by Teuton et al. in the *Cherokee Stories of the Turtle Island Liars' Club,*

> "There's no starting and there's no beginning," Hastings says quickly, emphatically. "Just like conception. You know, there's no set time for conception. It's just when it happens. There's no set time for death. Just when it happens."
>
> "The Cherokee conception of death," I think out loud. "You just keep on going."
>
> "Yeah. Yeah," Hastings agrees. "There's no . . . it don't end, you know? It just one more step in who we are. It just like, an old man gave me a good example one time. He said, 'In your life, your daily life, you should walk, you should take each step just like the next step you take you're going to be standing in front of the Creator.' Just like my next step, I'm going to be standing in front of him. Our life should be to a point where we shouldn't dread that next step. If our life is pure or good as we can live it, then the next step is just another step in life."[128]

Hastings and Teuton used the image of the Cherokee looped square to articulate the tribe's view of death and of the migration history of the Cherokee people. I am not sure if I can or should map Pocahontas's journey neatly onto the Cherokee looped square, but it is worth noting that in anticipation of Removal, "Cherokee elders defend[ed] their people's land rights by reciting stories about their origins and the heroic migration made by their forebears before settling in the American South. The process of storytelling, or *kanohesgi*, involved the reading of a text or the

[128] Teuton et al., 19.

examining of objects and people to narrate connections between past and present."[129] It makes sense that Te-con-ees-kee, in the post-Removal period of rapid national development, would turn to another narrative of displacement – one that clearly required the historiographic intervention of Native, rather than white interlocutors – as a way of completing the loop, rehoming the most famous displaced Indian figure from the Southeastern United States to the new Cherokee Nation.[130]

After all, Te-con-ees-kee makes it clear that Pocahontas does not have a community in England. In contrast to her father, who "had waited, and watched" for Pocahontas's return, only "a stranger" sheds a tear for Pocahontas in England,

> No more to the land of her youthful devotion –
> From her seaward bower she returned o'er the wave,
> For in that far away Isle of the Ocean,
> The hand of the stranger had made her a grave.
> He perhaps, a tear, over her memory shed,
> But O! there was no Indian to weep by the dead.

While Sigourney gives us a dramatic death scene, Pocahontas's son crying "Oh mother! Mother!" in desperation and sadness, Te-con-ees-kee's account emphasizes distance and absence. England is even *more* ocean than it was earlier: "The Isle mid the mists of the Ocean" is now "that far away Isle of the Ocean," where Pocahontas lives in a "seaward bower." Nor is

[129] Gregory D. Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity* (Yale UP, 2015), 38.
[130] Paula Gunn Allen suggests that the Powhatan people understood Pocahontas's role as one of ushering in a "change of worlds": "I doubt it made much difference to those Old Ones whether she came back in her Pocahontas body or not. As Sealth (Chief Seattle), Squamish/Duwamish speaker, pronounced, 'Did I say death? There is no death, only a change of worlds'" (Gunn Allen 137).

Pocahontas's husband an English husband, but a stranger who prepares her grave and offers only a solitary tear in grief or remorse. Te-con-ees-kee makes the relationship between Pocahontas and Smith/Rolfe (it does not matter), and even the relationship between Pocahontas and her son irrelevant. Instead, it is the lack of an "Indian" to weep by the dead which starts the process of forgetting that Te-con-ees-kee, and the Cherokee Nation via the new Female Seminary, are attempting to redress.[131]

Te-con-ees-kee is careful to explain why Pocahontas's memory needs to be revitalized – that is, explaining why she was forgotten – without attributing such forgetting to the disappearance of an Indian "race":

> Years passed, still along the wings of time stealing
> Away to the shades of eternity past;
> And o'er the memory of the brave and the feeling
> There were shades from the night for forgetfulness cast.
> Time's hand e'en the name from the marble had smitten;
> That marked the lone grave in the Isle of the Britain.

While in Sigourney's "Pocahontas" the "forgotten race" are "troubled shadows" who "sink to rest / In unremember'd tombs, unpitied and unbless'd," here it is time that "casts" the *braves* into forgetfulness. Te-con-ees-kee revises Sigourney's use of the word "smitten" to make a similar point: where in "Pocahontas" "from the far, far west" "are heard their exiled murmurings, deep and low, / Like one whose smitten soul departeth, full of wo," Te-con-ees-kee uses the word

[131] Andrew Lipman suggests that it is possible that Squanto and Pocahontas met while in England, so perhaps there was an Indigenous person there to mourn Pocahontas after all. Andrew Lipman, *Squanto: A Native Odyssey* (Yale UP, 2024), 104-105.

"smitten" to describe time's erasure of the engraving on Pocahontas's tombstone in England. Phrases used by Sigourney to describe qualities of a "forgotten race" are thus reappropriated by Te-con-ees-kee to clarify *how* forgetting *happens*. Because no Indian was there to "weep by the dead," Pocahontas's tombstone has not been maintained, and time thus better able to do its entropic work. However, the creation of the new Cherokee Nation gives Te-con-ees-kee the opportunity to "reclaim" Pocahontas's name, which we now read for the first time in the poem,

> But a spirit comes up from the shadow of years,
> That word of the past, from that realm to reclaim, –
> The name, Pocahontas the Cherokee hears,
> And Tahlequah's valley re-echoes the name,
> Where the cheer on the vale arose loudest, they placed,
> That name that was brought from the years of the past.

The Cherokee "hears" Pocahontas's name and their new home, the Tahlequah valley, "re-echoes" it. The cheers that greet her name help locate or anchor the name that was lost in the Oceanic midsts of England,

> How meet, that from this valley the welcome arose,
> "To the sky" that a boon it its beauty unfurls,
> For where would the daughter of Powhatan repose,
> In remembrance but here with Cherokee girls,
> Here, here on their hearts let their memory be written,
> Who sleeps far away in the Isle of the Britain.

Having not been mourned in Britain by anyone Indigenous, the Cherokee want their new institution of learning, the Cherokee Female Seminary, to be placed on the same "site" where Pocahontas was first greeted in the valley. Although the building (the line "to the sky" might refer to the domed structure referenced in the poem's final line, visible in figure 2) is a site that marks that a greeting which is also a remembrance, it is ultimately in the "hearts" of the Cherokee girls where "their" memory – their memories of Pocahontas, but also of one another, of their own collectivity – will be "written." By locating the "repose" of Pocahontas in the hearts of Cherokee girls, Te-con-ees-kee refutes Sigourney's hope that Pocahontas's memory "Shall in [the colonists'] children's loving hearts be shrined." While Te-con-ees-kee maintains the Poetess valences of Sigourney's Pocahontas (her historical inscriptions still happen via the embodiment of hearts and/or tears), Te-con-ees-kee repeats the word "here" three times in short succession, as if stamping her name into the ground, to emphasize the appropriateness of Pocahontas's memory belonging to the site of national/educational advancement for a specifically Cherokee collective.[132]

"Suggested by the report" ends with one final address to the readers of the poem, who Te-con-ees-kee urges will not "deny" their "full feeling of heart" to Pocahontas:

> The earth wounded stranger that wandered abroad,
> To a nature of fire and feeling allied,
> The cruel may censure, the unmeaning applaud,

[132] The girls who attended the Cherokee Female Seminary developed close bonds, and attendance at the Seminary was a sign of prestige: "The common threads among the members of the progressive subculture created a bond among them that lasted until death. These women actively participated in the Cherokee Seminaries' Students Association or the Pocahontas Club, and some alumnae (both graduate and nongraduates) are revered by many in Cherokee and Oklahoma society for simply having attended the seminary. Many Oklahomans even claim that their ancestors graduated from the seminary when in fact they had enrolled for only one semester or did not even enroll at all." See Mihesuah, 107.

But let not the full feeling of heart be denied,

By you to her memory whose name of past years,

This Dome on the valley of Tahlequah bears.

While in the ending stanza of "The Ages" Bryant addresses the country, and in the ending stanza of "Pocahontas" Sigourney addresses Pocahontas, a Poetess figure who can stand in for that country, Te-con-ees-kee's final stanza addresses the Cherokee readership of the *Cherokee Advocate*. He doubles down on the discourse of "hearts" from the penultimate stanza, cautioning the Cherokee to not deny the "the full feeling of their heart" to Pocahontas, even as they might feel tempted to criticize or valorize her.[133] The emotional import of re-homing or re-memorializing Pocahontas is suggested by the strangeness or discordance of the poem's final description of Pocahontas as "The earth wounded stranger that wandered abroad." Why is Pocahontas "earth wounded" instead of "ocean wounded"? How did the earth wound her? I think it likely that Te-con-ees-kee is at this point inserting a Cherokee sense of exile into Pocahontas's experience, making her in the end more like a Cherokee exile, more like himself. After all, Te-con-ees-kee's other known poem is about his exile from his traditional homelands in Georgia. "[Though far from thee Georgia in exile I roam]" recounts Te-con-ees-kee's experience as an "earth wounded stranger," who fought for the US army, only to be removed from his land by those same troops:

Then sought I, in peace, in the land of my birth,

Beside him [his "brothers" in the US army] a home, **but was spurned from the earth;**

[133] Gunn Allen notes such appraisals represent a "Euro-American style" of biography, interested in "valorizing her for being a model of savage Christianhood or scapegoating her as a proponent of conquest and therefore traitor to her people" (Gunn Allen, 137).

For this has my heart thus in bitterness bled,

And *will* bleed, though those scenes of my sorrow have fled,

For this comes the name of the land of my birth,

On my ear as the sound of a curse on the earth.[134]

Te-con-ees-kee describes a level of bitterness toward the lands to which he is no longer able to return. Perhaps he assumes Pocahontas would share some of this bitterness as well. Perhaps that is why Te-con-ees-kee puts so much emphasis on the Cherokee hearts – perhaps the land, like the ocean, cannot be trusted.[135]

[134] In Parker, 120-121.

[135] And perhaps like iambic meter. "[Though far from thee Georgia in exile I roam]" looks like a blank verse locodescriptive poem, like Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey" or Bryant's "Thanatopsis," but it is, like "Suggested, in the report," written in anapests.

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"Our Barren Desert Yet": The Elegiac Discourses of Arsenius Chaleco's "The Indian Requiem"

i. Contemporary (Mis)readings

"The Indian Requiem" (1921, 1922, 1927) is the only known poem written by Arsenius Chaleco (~1887-1939), a Quechan speaker and activist. The poem was first anthologized by Robert Dale Parker in his 2011 collection of early Native verse, *Changing is Not Vanishing: A Collection of American Indian Poetry to 1930*. In the note introducing the poem, Parker acknowledges Chaleco's talent, writing that "[s]omeone who wrote so skillful and powerful a poem as 'The Indian Requiem' probably wrote other poems as well," though neither Parker (nor myself) has been able to find them.[1] Although "The Indian Requiem" is the only poem of Chaleco's we know to have been published, its "power" has been sufficient for other scholars and editors to follow Parker's example and include the poem in their anthologies and studies of modern and Native American verse. It can be found in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern and Contemporary American Poetry* (2012), Arnold Krupat's *"That the People Might Live": Loss and Renewal in Native American Elegy* (2012), and Joy Harjo's more recent anthology of Native verse, *When the Light of the World Was Subdued, Our Songs Came Through* (2020). Harjo's treatment of the poem is typical of editors. While "[m]any of the poems of this time fell into the 'vanishing Indian' trope," she writes in the anthology's introduction, Chaleco's "makes a turn to include the vanishing white man."[2] "The Indian Requiem," we can infer from this gloss, is worthy of inclusion in an anthology of Native verse because the poem folds white settlers into its

[1] Robert Dale Parker, *Changing Is Not Vanishing: A Collection of Early American Indian Poetry to 1930* (U of Pennsylvania P, 2011), 341.
[2] It is unclear what "time" Harjo has in mind – the nineteenth century? The turn of the century? The 1920s? Pre-war? See Joy Harjo, *When the Light of the World Was Subdued, Our Songs Came Through: A Norton Anthology of Native Nations Poetry* (W. W. Norton, 2020), 8-9.

otherwise overdetermined vision of racial disappearance. This surprising extension, or turn, or subversion, is important to editors like Harjo because it intimates a broader shift in Native American poetry away from representations of what Arnold Krupat calls "the conventional perspectives of the dominant society" and towards what he describes as an epistemologically Indigenous poetics.[3]

Krupat frames such "conventional" nineteenth-century poetry as the exception that proves the rule of his general argument, which is that Native American elegy reflects a process of "melancholic mourning" that is "communistic" in its orientation. Krupat borrows the former term, of course, from Freud, and the latter from Jace Weaver, who writes that communistic literature is defined by "a proactive commitment to the Native community, including…the 'wider community' of creation itself."[4] Nineteenth-century elegies written by Indigenous authors are not sufficiently communistic, Krupat argues, because they replicate or rehearse Western/Christian paradigms of death, which emphasize finality over continuance. Krupat closes his chapter on nineteenth-century elegy by quoting the final two stanzas of "The Indian Requiem" – the same turn cited by Harjo:

> But I behold a fearful sign
> To which the white man's eyes are blind,
> Their race may vanish hence like mine
> And leave no trace behind,
>
> Save ruins o'er the region spread,

[3] Arnold Krupat, *That the People Might Live: Loss and Renewal in Native American Elegy* (Cornell UP, 2012), 129.
[4] Jace Weaver, *That the People Might Live: Native American Literatures and Native American Community* (Oxford UP, 1997), xiii.

And tall white stones above the dead.

And realms our tribes were crushed to get

May be our barren desert yet.

The final stanzas prophesy the end of white civilization which "may," Ozymandias-like, one day be reduced to "ruins." Desert sands will do their erosive work and erase settler gravestone markings, leaving behind only abstracted "tall white stones above the dead." If we read the ending "our" to include both white settlers *and* Indigenous peoples, then the desert and the concomitant processes of erosion and erasure become, like death, the ultimate equalizer. It is this equalization via disappearance, Krupat argues, that inhibits the poem from reaching beyond Western/Christian paradigms of death and mourning, something the other nineteenth-century poems in this chapter also fail to achieve: "These poems mourn a past that is gone forever, with few or no indications of its possible continuance. Only solitude, sleep, and rest in a natural setting can be envisioned—with an occasional warning to the white man."[5] Krupat's placement of his discussion of "The Indian Requiem" at the end of his chapter on nineteenth-century elegy, along with the em dash that punctuates the chapter's final sentence, together suggest that the poem's "warning" is what is mostly likely to connect the "conventional perspectives" of poets like Jane Johnston Schoolcraft/Bamewawagezhikaquay and John Rollin Ridge/Cheesquatalawny to what Krupat sees as the more "communistic" work of the Native American Renaissance.[6] Still, the poem's conventionality holds it back, both artistically and temporally, from its inclusion

[5] Krupat, 133.

[6]A problematic term, as many have observed. See Wendy Rose's poem "For the Scholar Who Wrote a Book About the 'American Indian Literary Renaissance'" in *The Sound of Rattles and Clappers*: *A Collection of New California Indian Writing* edited by Greg Sarris (U of Arizona P, 1994), 62.

among amongst twentieth-century texts, a twentieth-century poem stuck in the nineteenth century.

Yet in their rush to evaluate the poem based on how it reflects or fails to reflect an Indigenous perspective distinct from Western literary and social conventions, editors and anthologists have missed something crucial. The language of the poem is not only highly conventional. It is not even Chaleco's. "The Indian Requiem" internalizes nineteenth-century white colonialist discourse not only figuratively but also literally, since the poem is a pastiche of lines from (with a few small but important alterations) the second half of William Cullen Bryant's famous 1824 poem, "An Indian at the Burial-place of His Fathers." "An Indian" is part of a larger tradition of "white-authored Indian laments," which, as Max Cavitch notes, "are among the most common type of nineteenth-century American elegy: a fixture, like child elegies, of the period's incessant rehearsal of compensatory mourning."[7] That is, Chaleco's pastiche not only feels familiar because it is familiar, but because it *feels* familiar. The language and themes of "An Indian" were "rehearsed" throughout the antebellum period, along with the pathos the poem was designed to elicit in its white readership.[8] Bryant's poem extracts its pathos from the utterances of a doomed subject who registers his demise in the "natural" terms of pastoral elegy and georgic. "The Indian Requiem," then, puts the words of Bryant's Indian speaker, who is also a Wordsworthian and Virgilian and eighteenth-century missionary speaker, back in the mouth of a "Yuma Indian" who utters them on behalf of a pan-Indian collective ("**The** Indian Requiem"). To better understand the stakes of Chaleco's intervention, however, we first need to understand

[7] Max Cavitch, *American Elegy: The Poetry of Mourning from the Puritans to Whitman* (U of Minnesota P, 2007), 111.

[8] Including in the Native press. The *Cherokee Phoenix* reprinted the poem in its July 29, 1829 issue. See William Cullen Bryant, "An Indian at the Burying Place of His Fathers." *Cherokee Phoenix*, vol 2, issue 17, 29 July 1829, p. 4, Column 5a. *Special and Digital Collections,* Western Carolina University, https://www.wcu.edu/library/DigitalCollections/CherokeePhoenix/Vol2/no17/poetry-page-4-column-5a.html.

The Indian Requiem (1927)

In the loose sand is thrown
The warrior's frame, now mouldering bone.

Ah, little thought the strong and brave
Who bore the lifeless chieftain forth,
Or the young wife who, weeping gave
Her first born, (years wasted now)
That through their graves would cut the plow.

Before the fields were sown and tilled,
Full to the brim our rivers plowed.
The melody of waters filled
The fresh and boundless wood.

Torrents dashed and rivulets played
And fountains spouted in the shade.

These grateful sounds are heard no more.
The springs are silent in the sun,
And rivers, through their blackened shores,
With lessening currents run.

They waste us – ah, like April snow
In the warm noon, we shrink away,
And fast as they follow as we go
Towards the setting day.

But I behold a fearful sign
To which the white man's eyes are blind,
Their race may vanish hence like mine
And leave no trace behind,

Save ruins o'er the region spread,
And tall white stones above the dead.
And realms our tribes were crushed to get
May be our barren desert yet.

An Indian at the Burial-Place of His Fathers (1824)

But now the wheat is green and high
On clods that hid the warrior's breast,
And scattered in the farrows lie
The weapons of his rest;
And there, in the loose sand, is thrown
Of his large arm the mouldering bone.

Ah, little thought the strong and brave
Who bore their lifeless chieftain forth –
Or the young wife that weeping gave
Her first born to the earth,
That the pale race, who waste us now,
Among their bones should guide the plough.

They waste us – ay – like April snow
In the warm noon, we shrink away;
And fast they follow, as we go
Toward the setting day –
Till they shall fill the land, and we
Are driven into the Western sea.

But I behold a fearful sign,
To which the white man's eyes are blind;
Their race may vanish hence, like mine,
And leave no trace behind,
Save ruins o'er the region spread,
And tall white stones above the dead.

Before these fields were shorn and tilled,
Full to the brim our rivers flowed;
The melody of waters filled
The fresh and boundless wood;
And torrents dashed and rivulets played,
And fountains spouted in the shade.

Those grateful sounds are heard no more,
The springs are silent in the sun;
The rivers, by the blackened shore,
With lessening current run;
The realms our tribes are crushed to get
May be a barren desert yet.

Figure 3. "The Indian Requiem" and the final six stanzas of "An Indian at the Burial-Place of His Fathers." The beginning of Bryant's poem includes an interpolated pastoralism that the speaker then rejects: "A white man gazing on the scene, / Would say a lovely spot was here, / And praise the laws so fresh and green / Between the hills so sheer. / I like it not – I would the plain / Lay in its tall old groves again." Chaleco excises the first part of Bryant's poem from his pastiche.

the mechanisms at work in Bryant's poem that made it so adaptable and influential. What kind of collectivity does Bryant's poem coalesce? For if Bryant's poem itself is made up of familiar parts, it also was widely parted out – made into epigraphs, reprinted, and excerpted by other early American writers.[9] What does it mean that Chaleco returns us to Bryant's words almost exactly as he wrote them – and why does that "almost" matter?

James Fenimore Cooper's repeated references to "An Indian" in *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) are instructive here. The third chapter of the novel begins with an epigraph from the following stanza of Bryant's poem (a stanza that Chaleco replicates in his pastiche),

> *Before these fields were shorn and till'd,*
> *Full to the brim our rivers flow'd;*
> *The melody of waters fill'd*
> *The fresh and boundless wood;*
> *And torrents dash'd, and rivulets play'd,*
> *And fountains spouted in the shade.*[10]

Cooper takes his epigraph from the penultimate stanza of Bryant's poem, where the Indian speaker laments what has been lost in the process of European settlement and land management policies. In the wild, uncultivated "before" we see that the "waters," unconfined by irrigation channels, are free to dash and play and spout. In the cultivated "after," however, the rivers fall silent and still. The epigraph keeps the pre-contact moment of Bryant's poem suspended in time, allowing Cooper to transpose his own quasi-historical narrative (*The Last of the Mohicans* is set

[9] See Jason Rudy's chapter on Bryant's appropriate by settlers in the British colonies. Jason Rudy, "Colonial Authenticity," *Imagined Homelands* (Hopkins P, 2017), 43-74.
[10] As quoted in James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans* (Penguin Books, 1994, first published 1826), 31.

in 1757), onto the more abstracted "before" of Bryant's fictionalized speaker's memory. In his author's introduction to *The Last of the Mohicans*, Cooper again invoke the sigh of Bryant's Indian speaker, "They waste us—ay—like April snow / In the warm noon, we shrink away," to more explicitly justify artistic representations which naturalize processes and practices of genocide:

> The Mohicans were the possessors of the country first occupied by the Europeans in this portion of the continent. They were, consequently, the first dispossessed; and the seemingly inevitable fate of all these people, who disappear before the advances, or it might be termed the inroads of civilization, *as the verdure of their native forests falls before the nipping frost, is represented as having already befallen them*. There is sufficient historical truth in the picture to justify the use that has been made of it.[11,12]

The "picture" (note, already representational) that Bryant paints has enough "truth" in it to justify its "use," and therefore also its reproduction. The "seemingly inevitable" processes of dispossession and removal are inevitable *enough*, complete *enough*, historically accurate *enough* for fictional Indian speakers and white settler poets to mourn the same people and same landscape at the same time. Although Cooper and Bryant in many ways represent the apotheosis of such naturalizing language, Virginia Jackson reminds us via Molly McGarry that the source of this "rhetorical contradiction" is not, in fact, a nineteenth-century invention:

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[11] Cooper, vii. Emphasis mine.

[12] Irving makes a similar admission in his "Traits of Indian Character" (1819): "They will vanish like a vapor from the face of the earth; their very history will be lost in forgetfulness; and 'the places that now know them will know them no more forever.' Or if, perchance, some dubious memorial of them should survive, it may be in the romantic dreams of the poet, to people in imagination his glades and groves, like the fauns and satyrs and sylvan deities of antiquity." Although Irving admits that the process of disappearance is not yet complete in the present ("their very history *will* be lost in forgetfulness"), his emphasis is on managing future feelings of what will one day be past, rather than intervening in the processes of settler colonialism in the present. Like Cooper, Irving proposes a connection between the vanishing Indian trope and Romantic methods via citation of a white author, in this case Charles Carroll Everett's *Immortality, and Other Essays* (1902).

> Christian missionaries would write elegies to vanished Indians, using increasingly pastoral metaphors that mystified both the fact of disease and the effect of warfare…Employing naturalized language to efface the ravages of disease and starvation among the Iroquois, Thoroughgood Moore, a missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, wrote in 1705: "They waste away, and have done so ever since our arrival among them (as they say themselves) like snow against the sun, so that very probably forty years hence there will scarce be an Indian seen in our America." Though melancholic, this image demands no more accountability than the melting of snow in spring.[13]

Bryant, as Jackson notes, doesn't merely repeat Moore's words, but places them "into a fictional Indigenous man's mouth," thus forcing his speaker to "proclaim his own disappearance in the discourse of those responsible for it."[14] Chaleco's appropriation of Bryant doubles down on this effect, an Indian playing Indian in the key of Bryant.

If Bryant is an important part in a long chain of a trope naturalizing Indigenous disappearance – why have editors failed to see the Bryant in the Chaleco? One obvious answer is that no one reads Bryant. Jackson has traced how Bryant and the other American "Fireside Poets" were excised from accounts of the development of American poetry starting in the early twentieth century. In such accounts, "British Romanticism led directly to American Modernism, without the embarrassment of nineteenth-century American Romantic poetics in between."[15]

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[13] Molly McGarry as qtd in Virginia Jackson, *Before Modernism: Inventing American Lyric* (Princeton UP, 2023), 168.
[14] *Before Modernism*, 168.
[15] Virginia Jackson, "'Our Poets': William Cullen Bryant and the White Romantic Lyric." *New Literary History*, vol. 49, no. 4 (Autumn 2018), 545.

Jackson begins her essay with a long quote from a 1926 essay by Vachel Lindsay in which he writes, "Bryant and all the others have been hated by the typical young American ever since they went into the textbooks, and will continue to be hated unless they are thrown out of the textbooks, and until that art-store panel of the long-haired frights [portraits of the "Fireside Poets" that hung in schoolrooms and homes] is destroyed forever."[16] This quote would almost certainly have had a special resonance for Chaleco, who attended the Phoenix Indian School, where his textbooks, as Lindsay suggests, more than likely included Bryant's poetry.[17] But Chaleco does not throw out or "destroy" Bryant; he turns the volume up on him.

Chaleco turns up the volume on Bryant because he understands the power of Bryant's Indian speaker to coalesce racial collectives. As Jackson notes, Bryant not only rehearses the naturalizing imagery of Thoroughgood Moore, but also places his speaker's words into Wordsworth's "Daffodils" stanza. Bryant's decision to adopt this stanza (which Wordsworth adapts from the *Venus and Adonis* stanza), rather than, for example, the longer ten-line stanza of Wordsworth's "The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman," points to his desire to anchor "An Indian" in a more "indomitably English" form.[18] It is the recognition of this stanza, and the Indian speaker's speech, *as* English, which according to Jackson, allows white readers to generate optimism out of lament.[19] Readers of the poem share in the knowledge that the foreclosed fate of the Indian speaker will allow them, in fact already has allowed them, to "fill

[16] Vachel Lindsay, as qtd in "'Our Poets,'" 521.
[17] I have not been able to confirm Bryant's presence in those libraries, but Bryant's "Hymn of the North Star" was published on the front page of the Phoenix Indian School newspaper in May 1902. See William Cullen Bryant, "Hymn of the North Star." *The Native American*, vol. 3, issue 20, 24 May 1902, page 1. *Indigenous Peoples of North America*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/FCHSHY549485428/INDP?u=ucirvine&sid=bookmark-INDP&pg=3&xid=57742be7.
[18] "'Our Poets,'" 540.
[19] Bryant was not the only American Romantic to place Indian speakers side-by-side with Shakespearean intertexts or characters. Cooper's Bryant epigraph stands out *because* the great majority of the epigraphs in the novel are taken from Shakespeare (the only other American author to receive an epigraph is Fitz-Green Halleck).

the land." If white readers of Bryant engaged in a "compensatory mourning" for a subject that sounds more British than Indian, the initial readers of Chaleco's poem recognized his poem as "pure" racial expression, editors introducing it as "rank[ing] with the greatest of the sorrow songs of any race."[20] And if we, like them, do not recognize Chaleco's poem *as* pastiche, we also cannot recognize the ways, for example, that Chaleco doubles down on the Bryant but *not* his Wordsworthian stanza, "a sign, / to which the white man's eyes are blind."

Chaleco's poem is therefore a site of a telling misreading, a misreading that reveals the problematics of applying two different but related modes of reading to early Indigenous poetry: lyric reading and racialized reading. According to Prins and Jackson, lyric reading is the "process of thinking about poetry as more and more abstract and ineffable."[21] This process has, as Michael Cohen summarizes it, turned "the abstraction of 'poetry' into a synonym for pure expressiveness."[22] The expectation of expressiveness makes evaluating "The Indian Requiem" difficult for contemporary readers, who find themselves tasked with explaining why the speaker's expressiveness takes the form of a well-worn trope, a trope that created the conditions for type of reading that Chaleco's poem, in fact, resists. In addition to bringing an expectation of general expressiveness to the text, readers also bring an expectation of "authentic" racial expression. "The Indian Requiem" shows how lyric reading can often overlap with what Anthony Reed calls racialized reading, where "black writers (and other writers of color) are valuable insofar as they offer testimony or legitimate narratives about so-called race relations."[23] These assumptions – that poems are vehicles for ineffable expression and that this expression in

[20] Arsenius Chaleco, "Requiem." *Arizona Silver Belt*, 31 May 1922, 2. *NewspaperArchive*, newspaperarchive.com/miami-daily-silver-belt-may-31-1922-p-2/.
[21] *The Lyric Theory Reader: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Virginia Jackson and Yopie Prins (Johns Hopkins UP, 2014), 2.
[22] Michael Cohen, *The Social Lives of Poems in Nineteenth-Century America* (U of Pennsylvania P, 2015), 13.
[23] Anthony Reed, *Freedom Time: The Poetics and Politics of Black Experimental Writing* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2016), 7.

the case of Black and Indigenous authors will take the form of "a genre of the person rather than the poem"[24] – prime critics to overlook the historical specificity of nineteenth-century Indigenous poetry and dismiss much of it as "simple" or simply bad.[25] In the case of "The Indian Requiem" these oversights are multiple. Not only have critics missed the Bryant, but they have also missed the reference in the poem's title to Irving J. Morgan's musical composition of the same name and misdated the poem. Parker's anthology lists September 1924 as the publication date,[26] which Harjo reproduces in *When the Light of the Worlds Was Subdued, Our Songs Came Through*, but my research suggests that the poem was published in the September 1927 edition of *Indian Teepee* magazine, and as early as 1921 in *The Indian* magazine and 1922 in *The Arizona Silver Belt* newspaper.[27, 28]

ii. Arsenius Chaleco, Yuma Indian

If "The Indian Requiem" has been understood as belonging to the genre of the person rather than the poem – what do we know about that person, and the community to which he belonged? According to the 1914 Ft. Yuma Census, Arsenius Chaleco/Ah-young was born sometime between 1884 and 1890 in Ft. Yuma, California to Joseph (Jim)/Ahanalquarquec and Marie Heppah.[29,30] Although the derivation of the term "Yuma" is unclear, the term was used by

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[24] *Before Modernism*, 4.
[25] See Michael Taylor, "Not Primitive Enough to Be Considered Modern: Ethnographers, Editors, and the Indigenous Poets of the American Indian Magazine." *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, vol. 28, no. 1, (U of Nebraska P, 2016), 45–72. Also see Jace Weaver's discussion of the fixation of non-Native critics on "cultural mediation" in *That the People Might Live*, 35.
[26] It is possible that the poem was published in the *Indian Teepee* both in 1924 and 1927, but I can only positively confirm from the records available from the Minnesota Historical Society the 1927 publication date.
[27] Arsenius Chaleco, "The Indian Requiem." *Indian Teepee*, No. 4 (September 1927), 12. *Minnesota Historical Society*.
[28] "Requiem," 2.
[29] It is difficult to pin down Chaleco's exact birth year, but I think the mostly likely date is December 1887. The 1928 Census indicates 1890; Chaleco's WWI draft card indicates 1887; the 1914 Census indicates 1886.
[30] "Census of the Yuma Indians of Fort Yuma Agency, on June 30, 1914." *The Journal of American Indian Family Research,* vol. XIV, no. 2 (Histree, 1993), 7.

the Spanish to describe the peoples who refer to themselves as Quechan and whose traditional homelands sit along the lower Colorado River, traversing what is today California, Arizona, and Mexico. According to C. Daryll Forde, who published a comprehensive ethnography in 1931, Quechan peoples were "relatively undisturbed in Spanish and Mexican times" and "maintained their aboriginal culture almost unchanged until the fifties of the last century [that is, the 1850s], when the establishment of the caravan trail to Southern California terminated their freedom." [31] Although "[b]y the eighties they had been gathered on a reservation, had adopted white men's clothing, and had begun to work as laborers in the neighboring town established on the Arizona border," "the greater part of their religious and non-material culture" was still intact. Ian Michael Smith, a historian of water use and policies on Quechan lands, writes that traditional food and agricultural practices flourished even after the community was forced onto the Ft. Yuma reservation in 1884:

> Although the changes that occurred throughout the region from the 1850s to the 1880s had rendered the preservation of their aboriginal subsistence practices more difficult, the Quechans were able, by and large, to maintain their traditional lifeways. As they had shown in their responses to the ever-shifting landscape of the lower Colorado during pre-contact times, tribal members displayed a keen ability to adapt to the rapidly changing circumstances they faced during the late-nineteenth century. While some yielded to the lure of the often-low-paying, wage-labor opportunities in nearby Yuma, most continued to survive by planting in the Colorado's flood-moistened bottom lands.[32]

[31] C. Daryll Forde, *Ethnography of the Yuma Indians* (U of California P, 1931), 88. *Berkeley Library Digital Collections,* digicoll.lib.berkeley.edu/record/82744.
[32] Ian Michael Smith, "From Subsistence to Dependence: The Legacy of Reclamation and Allotment on Quechan Indian Lands, 1700-1840" (The U of Montana, Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers, 2010), 40.

But by the end of the century, Smith continues, "…Indian agents, irrigation engineers, and agricultural entrepreneurs were eyeing Quechan lands…as a potential site for an irrigation project."[33] The growth in allotment practices and large-scale irrigation projects in the late 1890s and early 1900s shaped and restricted Quechan access to traditional food sources and land management techniques, while the federal boarding school system separated children from their families and culture.

Arsenius Chaleco, "tribal poet"[34] and son of "chief Cheleco,"[35] attended Phoenix Indian School, located about 200 hundred miles away from Ft. Yuma, from 1902 to 1908, where he was trained in blacksmithing and served in the school's militia.[36] A 1908 commencement feature in the school newspaper *The Native American* written by Mary Crabtree (pictured in figure 4) describes Chaleco's rebellious streak in a way that might resonate with readers of the boarding school press,[37]

> Had you gone to Ft. Yuma, California, in the year 1895, you would more than likely have seen a boy, about eight or nine years of age, running away from school, and later riding a

[33] Ibid., 4.
[34] This description comes from W.Y. Evans-Wentz, *Cuchama and Sacred Mountains* (Swallow Press 1981), 14.
[35] Jim Chaleco is the "Chief Cheleco" referenced in "Giant Yuma Chief Here to Tell of 'Bootlegging,'" a news story in the April 22, 1911 edition of the *Los Angeles Herald*. Jim Chaleco, according to the 1914 census at Fort Yuma, would have been 49 in 1911. *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19110422.2.173&srpos=1&e=-------en--20--1--txt-txIN-%22cheleco%22-------1.
[36] "Officers of First Battalion." *The Native American*, vol. 7, 10 November 1906, 309. *Google Books*, books.google.com/books?id=SbsRAAAAYAAJ&dq=arsenius+chaleco&q=chaleco#v=snippet&q=chaleco&f=false
[37] Although Chaleco's runaway attempts are here depicted wistfully, Indigenous students were restricted from seeing their families and were often severely punished for running away from school. "Native American students who were placed in boarding school settings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries didn't get to talk with their families on the weekend. They didn't get to reconnect regularly with their home cultures. For long stretches of time, sometimes for years, even, they were cut off from their families, discouraged or even forbidden to return home in the summers. Reconnecting with home, after all, would get in the way of assimilation." See Sarah Ruffing Robbins, "Reclaiming Voices from Indian Boarding School Narratives," *Learning Legacies: Archive to Action through Women's Cross-Cultural Teaching*, (U of Michigan P, 2017), 137. See also Louise Erdrich's poem "Indian Boarding School: The Runaways" in *Jacklight* (1984).

CLASS OF 1908.

MARY CRABTREE, Little Lake; FRED WILSEY, Concow; ARSENIUS CHALECO, Yuma, DEE HOWARD, Mohave.
LOLA ANTON Pima, BERNARD JACKSON, Yuma; KATHERINE LOWERY Digger.

Figure 4. "Class of 1908." The Native American*, vol. 9, no. 25, 27 June 1908.* Indigenous Peoples of North America, *link.gale.com/apps/doc/WTDARE081599636/INDP?u=ucirvine&sid=bookmark-INDP&xid=59733442.*

> burro or anything else that could be ridden, for it was very hard for him to stay at school and be of some use to his people. These were the first school days of Arsenius Chaleco, a Yuma boy. He was born near the Colorado river, and from early childhood his parents trained him to be brave, daring, hardy and able to bear pain. His chief amusements were fishing and hunting. As time passed he heard of Phoenix, so he decided to enter this school in 1902, and to the present day he has been well pleased with what the school has done for him. During his course in blacksmithing he has had practical instruction and experience in making different kinds of tools, repairing wagons, etc. His education has helped him to appreciate these things. Arsenius has many friends, and we hope to hear good reports from him when he returns to his home and people.[38]

The commencement notice highlights, ironically, Chaleco's many spirited attempts to escape school and communicates his obvious enthusiasm for the traditional lifeways of his people, lifeways that depend on the rich bottomlands of the Colorado River. His parents, likely aware of the difficulties Chaleco would face as those lifeways became increasingly under threat, impart to him the importance of being "brave, hardy, and able to bear pain." These qualities surely helped Chaleco survive the conditions at Phoenix, where students were forced into Anglo conformity through a highly regimented daily schedule that emphasized military training and agricultural labor. An 1896 article about the school in the *New York Times* acknowledges the understandable

[38] Mary Crabtree, "Class History of 1908." *The Native American*, vol. 9, no. 20, 23 May 1908, 196. *Indigenous Peoples of North America*, https://go.gale.com/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&retrievalId=2d8ef012-7c21-40ee-a06a-4e1da6e0c00d&hitCount=10&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=1&docId=GALE%7CWTDARE081599636&docType=Essay&sort=Relevance&contentSegment=ZNPN&prodId=INDP&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CWTDARE081599636&searchId=R1&userGroupName=ucirvine&inPS=true.

reluctance of Indigenous parents to send their children away to federal institutions,[39] and describes revised recruitment tactics in the following terms:

> The largest Indian school in the Southwest and the second largest in the Union is that in the Salt River Valley, near this place. It is unique in several respects. It is patronized by the Apaches, the Pimas, and the Maricopahs, who have until the past two years been the most lawless, intractable, and savage tribes Uncle Sam has had to deal with. It teaches the red-skinned boys and girls, not only from primers and charts, but it has classes in practical farming, lessons in the proper mode of irrigating land, and the most fruitful crops that the Arizona soil will produce. It is situated in the heart of the Indian country, and its teachers go out of their class rooms and shops into the wigwams and wickiups huts of the braves and squaws, and teach lessons of thrift and the absurdity of witchcraft and superstition. Its teachers constantly cultivate by deeds of charity in times of illness and sympathy in hours of distress a feeling of friendship between the obdurate and barbarous old men and women of the tribes in Central Arizona that…not only attracts pupils to the school, but makes the necessity of military garrisons in Arizona less and less each year.[40]

[39] "In the other Indian schools (with the exception of that at Albuquerque, New Mexico, and one in Dakota) the children of the Indians are forcibly taken from their homes and kept in schools, sometimes 500 and 600 miles away from their parents. The Navajos and the Pueblos have for years bitterly complained of this treatment that has made them rebellious to the ways of civilization. The Apaches, Navajos, Maricophas, and Pueblos have not looked upon Uncle Sam as a benefactor to the red man…At the new Indian schools in the Southwest an earnest effort is put forth for the co-operation of the older Indians, especially of the chief and sub-chiefs." "Phoenix Indian School." *The New York Times*, 5 July 1896, /timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1896/07/05/106918822.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset&region=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=14.

[40] Ibid.

Teachers, we are told, through simple acts of charity, convince the "intractable" and "obdurate" (an interesting negative corollary to "brave, hard, and able to bear pain") "braves and squaws" to send their children to Phoenix Indian School so that they might learn "practical farming." Such agricultural training was purportedly meant to cultivate self-sufficiency, but the techniques of land management practiced by white settlers were unsuited for the realities of farming small allotment plots in the Sonoran Desert. While Chaleco was learning European agricultural methods at Phoenix Indian School, the federal government was starting to undertake largescale irrigation projects on Quechan lands. After the passage of the Reclamation Act in 1902, Theodore Roosevelt authorized the Bureau of Reclamation to "reclaim" the entirety of the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation for water projects, including the construction of the Laguna Dam. By the time Chaleco graduated from Phoenix, the Laguna Dam was largely complete. Chaleco, who grew up practicing tradition lifeways along the Colorado River bottomlands, lifeways that required communal access to water sources, returned home to a changed land and landscape, one where water was largely controlled by white settlers and the federal government.

After graduating in July of 1908, Chaleco married Sarah Valenzuela (also a student at Phoenix), with whom he had a child, Gladys, in 1909.[41] In 1914, Chaleco was allotted 10 acres of land in Imperial County, California, on the western part of the reservation, where he was recorded as living with Sarah and Gladys.[42] In 1917, Chaleco registered for the draft[43] and served in the 158th Infantry Regiment, a unit which was deployed to France in 1918 but saw no active service.[44] After returning from the war, in June 1919 Chaleco was convicted of rape in the US

[41] U.S. Census Bureau, "Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 – Indian Population." *FamilySearch*, familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MV2V-XLQ. Entry for James Chaleco and Arsenius Chaleco.
[42] "United States Patent Records, Feb 5, 1914," digital images, *FamilySearch*, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C391-79XW-9. Entry for Arsenius Chaleco.
[43] "United States, World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918," digital images, *FamilySearch*, familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:WZJT-3F6Z. Entry for Arsenius Chaleco.
[44] "158th Regiment Overview." *Fort Tuthill Military Museum*, forttuthill.org/overview.html.

District Court for the Southern District of California and sentenced to three years at the federal penitentiary in McNeil Island, Washington. On March 20, 1920, however, his sentence was commuted by President Wilson; the commutation cites as reason for his release the fact that his accuser had slept with him willingly on other occasions.[45] It is difficult to know how to interpret Chaleco's arrest because of his unique positionality – he may have been unfairly convicted because of his race, or he may have been unfairly released because of his gender and connections via Phoenix Indian School to government leaders. Chaleco's rape conviction and his commutation underscore his anomalous position and represents an uncomfortable discovery. We do know that after his release Chaleco became more involved as a poet, speaker, and advocate for California and Arizonan tribes. In 1922, he spoke on the subject of "Indian Suffrage" at a Women's Club meeting in Los Angeles,[46] and in 1923 he served as an interpreter for the Yuma delegation at May meeting of the Mission Indian Federation of California in Riverside.[47] In the late 1930s Chaleco and his father, Jim Chaleco, also shared their cultural knowledge with the ethnologist W.Y. Evans-Wentz, who acknowledged their contributions in the introduction to his book *Cuchama and Sacred Mountains,*

> I have personally consulted a number of the oldest surviving Indians most competent to contribute relevant historical and philological data on Cuchama [Tecate Peak]. Among

[45] "List of pardons, commutations, and respites granted by the President during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920," *Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States for the Year 1920* (United States Department of Justice 1920), 755. *Google Books*, books.google.com/books?id=a7D505Rb7hMC&dq=arsenius%20chaleco&pg=PA754#v=onepage&q=arsenius%20chaleco&f=false

[46] "Aid for Indians City Club Topic," 28 November 28, 1922. Allen's Press Clippings Bureau, Los Angeles, in the *C. Hart Merriam papers related to work with California Indians, 1850*-1974, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. *Internet Archive*, archive.org/details/bancroft_chartmerriam_1556_83/page/n323/.

[47] See Elizabeth Green, "The Indians of Southern California and Land Allotment" (1923), in the *C. Hart Merriam papers relating to work with California Indians, 1850-1974*, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. *Internet Archive*, archive.org/details/bancroft_chartmerriam_1556_86/.

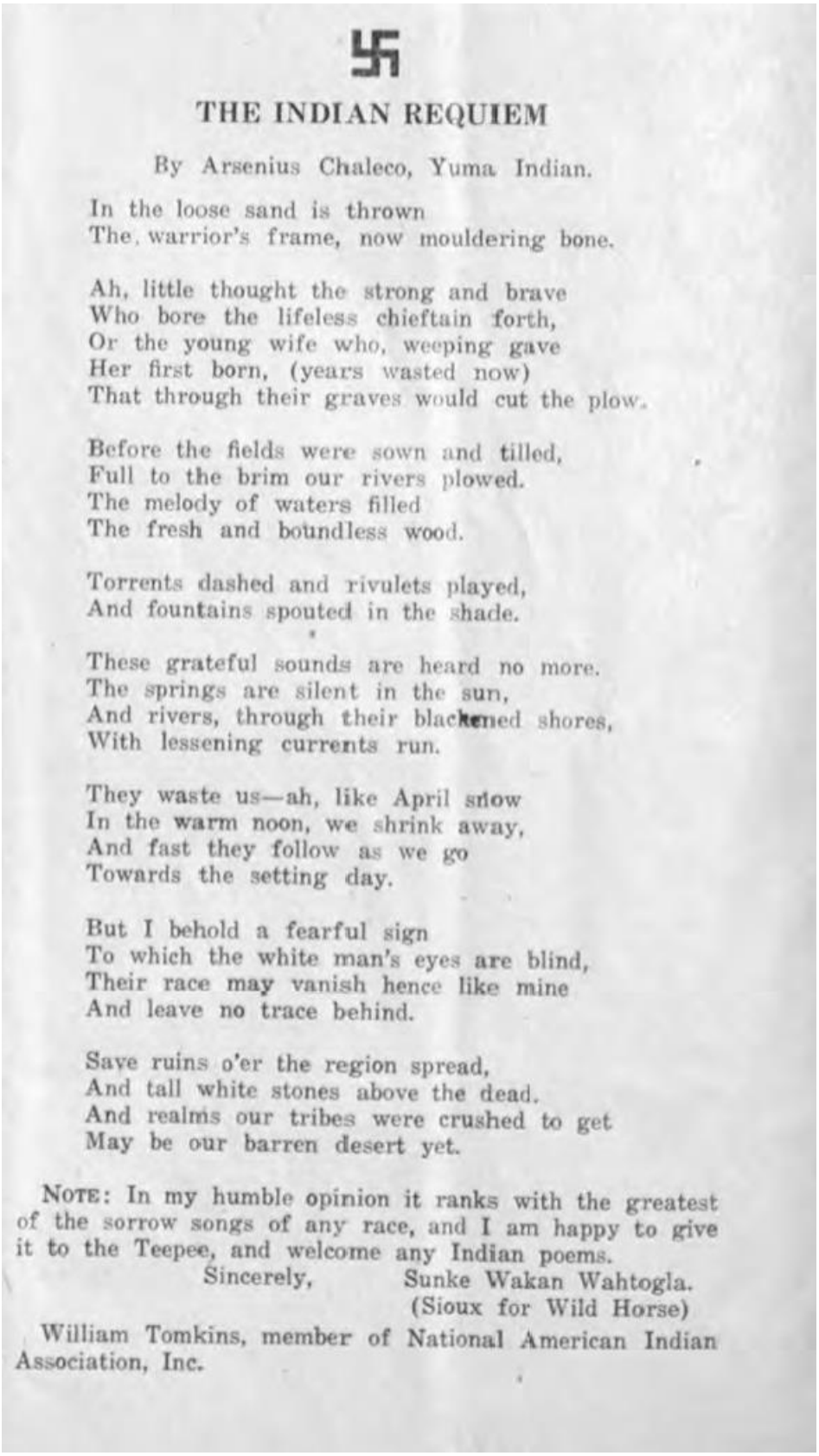
> these were Jim Chaleco, one of the Yuma, aged ninety-six when I met him in 1937, and Arsenius Chaleco, his son, who, as tribal poet, was well versed, as was his father, in the primitive traditions and initiatory lore of their nation.[48]

Like other early boarding school students, Chaleco's experience at Phoenix Indian School probably resulted in a sense of alienation from traditional lifeways while at the same time providing him with skills to serve as a cultural mediator and advocate. Although Evans-Wentz tantalizing refers to Chaleco as the Yuma "tribal poet," neither Parker nor I have been able to find additional poems written by Chaleco. Arsenius Chaleco died in 1939 of tuberculosis.[49]

iii. "The Indian Requiem," Sorrow Song

Robert Dale Parker's *Changing Is Not Vanishing* represents an enormous undertaking, and many of us who work in early Indigenous poetics owe him a debt of gratitude. Although Parker missed the Bryant intertext, he was not the first editor to overlook the poem's intertexts and/or read the poem as "legitimate narrative about so-called race relations." In both the 1922 and 1927 printings, "The Indian Requiem" is accompanied by a note describing it as an authentic "sorrow song" by "Arsenius Chaleco, Yuma Indian." The 1927 printing of the poem was contributed to the *Indian Teepee* magazine by "Sunke Wakan Wahtogla (Sioux for Wild Horse)," or William Tomkins (see figure 5).[50] Tomkins is most famous for his book *Universal Indian Sign Language*, a manual for the Boy Scouts, first published in 1926.[51] He was purportedly an

[48] Evans-Wentz, 14.
[49] Death Certificate for Arsenius Chaleco, 26 July 1939, Phoenix, AZ, Arizona State Archives. *FamilySearch* image, familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-YQ56-FD1D.
[50] In Lakota, "sunka" means dog or horse, "wakan" means mysterious, and "watogla" means "wild" or "nervous." Entries found using the WoLakota Project, wolakotaproject.org/.
[51] Red Fox James created the first all-Native Boy Scout troupe at Carlisle Indian School in 1915.



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THE INDIAN REQUIEM

By Arsenius Chaleco, Yuma Indian.

In the loose sand is thrown
The warrior's frame, now mouldering bone.

Ah, little thought the strong and brave
Who bore the lifeless chieftain forth,
Or the young wife who, weeping gave
Her first born, (years wasted now)
That through their graves would cut the plow.

Before the fields were sown and tilled,
Full to the brim our rivers plowed.
The melody of waters filled
The fresh and boundless wood.

Torrents dashed and rivulets played,
And fountains spouted in the shade.

These grateful sounds are heard no more.
The springs are silent in the sun,
And rivers, through their blackened shores,
With lessening currents run.

They waste us—ah, like April snow
In the warm noon, we shrink away,
And fast they follow as we go
Towards the setting day.

But I behold a fearful sign
To which the white man's eyes are blind,
Their race may vanish hence like mine
And leave no trace behind.

Save ruins o'er the region spread,
And tall white stones above the dead.
And realms our tribes were crushed to get
May be our barren desert yet.

NOTE: In my humble opinion it ranks with the greatest of the sorrow songs of any race, and I am happy to give it to the Teepee, and welcome any Indian poems.

Sincerely, Sunke Wakan Wahtogla.
(Sioux for Wild Horse)

William Tomkins, member of National American Indian Association, Inc.

Figure 5. "The Indian Requiem" as it appears in the September 1927 issue of Indian Teepee *magazine*.

adopted member of the Sioux, and images of him dressed in regalia with his Sioux "friends" are featured prominently in the manual. Tomkins presumably also does not recognize the Bryant. Instead, his editorial note suggests that by 1927 the term "sorrow songs" had already been abstracted enough for a readership to understand it outside of the context of Black cultural production and *The Souls of Black Folk*. An abstraction of the term would, after all, appear to contradict Du Bois's description of the sorrow songs in that text as "the articulate message of the slave to the world."[52] Perhaps Tomkin's usage of the term is a combination of a mobile idea of historical "sorrow"[53] or suffering and qualities associated with "Black song" (often glossed as: "unmediated, vernacular, African").[54] The note also represents a more general and long-standing tendency to describe Native verse as song.[55] Orality is an undeniably important component of Native culture and many poets and scholars are understandably loath to glorify a technology that has consistently worked to divest Native communities of power.[56] However, the default use of "song" to describe early Native American poetry (especially when employed by non-Native editors) can encourage readers to overlook intertexts and to equate such "song" with abstract lyric expressiveness, an expressiveness that is too often synonymous with racial suffering.[57] It is also just simply not true that Indigenous people did not, before colonization, possess a variety of literacies. Rasmussen, for example, points out that "recovering…moments of negotiation and

[52] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Simon & Schuster 2009, original publication 1903), 243.
[53] Du Bois notes that much of the "primitive African music," the result of "the sifting of the centuries," represents "the voice of exile" (*Souls,* 243-4). It might be possible to make a connection between Indigenous and African culture on the basis of a shared experience of exile. But I do not think Tomkins intended to make such a connection here.
[54] Cohen, 202.
[55] See: Joy Harjo, *When the Light of the World Was Subdued, Our Songs Came Through*; Alexander Posey, *Song of the Oktahutche*, edited by Matthew Wynn Sivils; *The Sound of Rattles and Clappers*, edited by Greg Sarris; Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing Through the Sky*, edited by Robert Dale Parker.
[56] See "Imperialism, History, Writing and Theory" in Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies* (Zed Books, 1999).
[57] A wonderful example of this conflation appears in the title to a 1999 anthology of Native verse, *I, the Song: Classical Poetry of Native North America*, edited by A.L. Soens.

reciprocity," moments where an exchange of literacies produced treaties and other kinds of cultural productions

> …does not negate or diminish the enormity of violence that attended conquest. On the contrary, it recognizes the tremendous loss sustained by indigenous people as a consequence of colonialism, without relegating their agency and records to obscurity. After conquest, the cultural and textual traditions of America's indigenous peoples often became invisible in historical and literary studies.[58]

Chaleco's use of intertexts – including his title, which he likely borrows from Irving J. Morgan's "Indian Requiem," a reference I will return to shortly – counters the (un)critical tendency to assume that, as Mary Austin puts it in the introduction to *The Path on the Rainbow*, the first anthology of Native poetry, "…verse is to the Red singer but a shorthand note to his emotions, a sentence or two, a phrase out of heart of the situation. It is the 'inside song' alone which is important."[59] "The Indian Requiem" does not refer to the "inside song" of individual expression, nor is it associated with a folk tradition, nor is it "epistemologically Indigenous." So why does the poem's contributor insist on calling the poem a "sorrow song"?

If Bryant provides a foundation for lyric reading, then Du Bois provides William Tomkins, and other white interlocutors, a framework for racialized reading. In an effort to establish Black Americans as the true originators of American culture in *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois emphasizes the unique, place-based connection that Black Americans have to the

[58] Birgit Brander Rasmussen, *Queequeg's Coffin: Indigenous Literacies and Early American Literature* (Duke UP, 2012), 9.
[59] Mary Austin, "Introduction," *The Path of the Rainbow* (Boni and Liveright, 1918), xxv.

continent/landscape. At the beginning of his text, Du Bois seems to acknowledge that Black Americans share this connection with other "primitive folk," [60]

> …there is no true, American music but the wild sweet melodies of the Negro slave; the American fairy tales and the folklore are Indian and African; and, all in all, we black men seem the sole oasis of simple faith and reverence in a dusty desert of dollars and smartness.[61]

But by the end of the text, even any explicit allusion reference to "Indian" influence disappears,

> Your country? How came it yours? Before the Pilgrims landed we were here. Here we have brought our three gifts and mingled them with yours: a gift of story and song – soft, stirring melody in an ill-harmonized and unmelodious land; the gift of sweat and brawn to beat back the wilderness, conquer the soil, and lay the foundations of this vast economic empire two hundred years earlier than your weak hands could have done it...[62, 63]

Black gifts of story, song, and labor "lay the foundation of this vast economic empire" by way of cultivation and domestication of the land, which Du Bois characterizes as wild and "unmelodious."[64] The "simple reverence" of these efforts contrasts with the both a white culture of avariciousness ("dusty desert of dollars") and with the land itself (a "wilderness"). Black gifts

[60] "Like all primitive folk, the slave stood near to Nature's heart" (*Souls*, 246).
[61] Du Bois, 15.
[62] Du Bois, 252.
[63] In *The Book of Negro Poetry* (1922), James Weldon Johnson is critical of the "native composers" interested in Indian "themes": "These Negro folksongs constitute a vast mine of material that has been neglected almost absolutely. The only white writers who have in recent years given adequate attention and study to this music, that I know of, are Mr. H.E. Krehbiel and Mrs. Natalie Curtis Burlin. We have our native composers denying the worth and importance of this music, and trying to manufacture grand opera out of so-called Indian themes."
[64] If for Du Bois the "before" is "unmelodious," for Bryant's Indian speaker the "before" is defined by its melodiousness.

make both sonic and geographical topographies into "oases." Du Bois's characterization of the American landscape as *terra nullius* replicates the theory of civilizational development which justifies land theft using the argument that Indigenous people leave land "unused."[65,66] Only by excising Indian presence and influence from *Souls*, is Du Bois able to position Black culture and labor as the true "first people" of the nation.[67]

White authors like Bryant and Cooper and Black authors like Du Bois both articulate sense of racial collectivity via an invocation of indigeneity that relies on Native erasure. In *The Poetics of National and Racial Identity in Nineteenth-Century American Literature*, John Kerkering attributes the creation of various regional and racial "folk" identities to poetic processes that "preserve" presumably fictional "vanished groups":

> Du Bois, we see, seizes upon the slaves in the same way that Simms did the Native Americans, preserving the vanished group – if only in song – as a basis for his own identity: the Native American songs of "Appalachian" folk like Simms become the slave songs of "black folk" like Du Bois.[68]

While both writers invoke indigeneity to strengthen their claims of intimacy with American history/landscape, Du Bois does not use the device of an Indian speaker to do so and, unlike Simms, *does* belong to the racial group on whose behalf he speaks. There is a very big and

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[65] An idea that has been famously refuted by Stephen Krech III in *The Ecological Indian* (W.W. Norton, 1999).
[66] Cooper uses similar language to represent the purported lack of land management among Indigenous people in North America: "In point of fact, the country which is the scene of the following tale has undergone as little change, since the historical events alluded to had place, as almost any other district of equal extent within the whole limits of the United States. There are fashionable and well-attended watering places…and roads traverse the forests…*But, beyond this, the enterprise and energy of a people have done so much in other places have done little here. The whole of that wilderness, in which the latter incidents of the legend occurred, is nearly a wilderness still*, though the Red Man has entirely deserted this part of the state." Cooper, vii. Emphasis mine.
[67] Although Black and Native communities have longstanding, complex, and in many cases intertwined, histories in North America, I'm not confident Du Bois has these histories in mind here.
[68] John Kerkering, *The Poetics of National and Racial Identity in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Cambridge UP, 2003), 104.

important difference between white-authored fictional depictions of Indigenous people and the shared oral/musical traditions of a group that shares a specific history and ancestry. What Chaleco's poem shows is how this differentiation is particularly difficult to make in the context of Indigenous expression because fictionalized Indian expression is so often used to coalesce the identities of other groups.

iv. "The Indian Requiem," Requiem

If Bryant coalesces a white literary imaginary by playing (white) Indian, and Du Bois coalesces Black identity by emphasizing Black labor over an untamed (Indian) wilderness – what racial collective does Chaleco's poem coalesce, or refuse to coalesce? Unlike the "An" that positions Bryant's speaker as a solitary "last-of" speaker, the "The" of Chaleco's title frames the poem's speech as representative of a larger *existing* collective.[69] While Bryant's title and the quotations marks framing the racialized speaker's utterances draw a clear line between author and speaker, Chaleco's title aligns author, speaker, and subject. The revision reframes the racialized (but nameless, non-tribally-specific) figure of "An Indian" to a politically-defined collective that is capable of self-address. Chaleco's discards Bryant's Romantic loco-descriptive title and instead uses the more "monumental," formal, and collective term "requiem" to indicate the poem's genre.[70] "Requiem" refers, of course, to the Catholic mass for the dead and musical settings of such masses, but it can also be employed to describe "[a]ny sound, as that of birdsong, the sea, wind, etc., when seen as plaintive or as lamenting a particular event or situation."[71] We

[69] For an extended discussion of "last-of" figures in nineteenth-century American literature, see John Hay, *Postapocalyptic Fantasies in Antebellum American Literature* (Cambridge UP, 2017) and Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (U of Minnesota P, 2010).
[70] Katherine Fitzgibbon, "Historicism and German Nationalism in Max Reger's Requiems." *The Choral Scholar*, vol 4., no. 1 (Fall 2014), 20.
[71] "requiem, n.1." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, www.oed.com/view/Entry/163247.

might be tempted to read Chaleco's "Requiem" in terms of this latter definition, examples of which we can certainly find among the bird odes of the British Romanticists (the music, for example, of Keats's nightingale: "Still wouldst thou sing, and I have ears in vain – / To thy high requiem become a sod"). But Chaleco's use of "requiem" describes the genre of the poem, not sounds represented in the poem. The title specifies a political community ("Indian") and a certain definitiveness ("THE Indian") and in this way it is also different from poetic requiems like Robert Louis Stevenson's "Requiem" (1880), an epitaph for the (individual) poet. It might be more useful to think about the title in the context of musical requiems which, starting with Brahms's *A German Requiem* in 1868, adapted Latin masses to different linguistic and cultural contexts. Katherine Fitzgibbon describes how *A German Requiem* helped consolidate German identity,

> Although there had long been a tradition of German Lutheran funeral music, it was only in the nineteenth century that composers began creating alternatives to the Catholic Requiem with the same monumental scope (and the same title)…Because there was not yet a single German nation, many individuals and state governments sought examples of pan-German unity such as the German language, the Lutheran faith, and German literary and musical culture to connect the scattered German people across what is now Germany, Austria, Poland, and the Czech Republic.[72]

The "unity" coalesced by musical requiems during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries became, partly in response to the World Wars, both more universal (Foulds's "A World Requiem" [1923]; Britten's "War Requiem" [1962]) and more specifically national/racial

[72] Fitzgibbon, 20.

(Penderecki's "Polish Requiem" [1984]; Geter's "An African American Requiem" [2022]; Mohican composer Brent Michael Davis's "anti-requiem," "REQUIEM FOR AMERICA" [2021]). The requiem, as Fitzgibbon notes, is an unavoidably historical genre. And, like the Indigenous poets who employ established nineteenth century popular verse genres, "composers who make overt use of musical historicism have sometimes been maligned as being derivative." However, Fitzgibbon continues, "The idea that a Requiem would make use of historicism seems, to my mind, only appropriate; what better way to honor those who have passed before us than with a referential musical idea in a monumental work?"[73] The push-pull of the process of musical historicism, in which composers "riff" on an established tradition, bending it to their own purposes, is particularly legible in the requiem because of its "monumental" scope.[74] While the abstraction of American poetry came to rest in an individual (but representatively universal) lyric speaker, the subjects and audiences addressed by musical requiems expanded in scope/language, but remained collective, their sense of difference/similarity always highlighted against a highly legible musical tradition. In this way, Chaleco's poem is quite different from the poetry of Black poets writing in the nineteenth century, who, Jackson argues, "expressed the result of social conflict as personal abstraction — specifically, as the suspension of personal agency."[75]

Chaleco's title does not simply gesture to the requiem musical tradition, however – he seems to have another, more specific referent in mind.[76] "The Indian Requiem" is the name of a

[73] Ibid., 21.
[74] During the 1910s, Indigenous artists collaborated with white composers to create "Indian" operas. *The Sun Dance Opera*, a collaboration between Zitkala-Sa (Yankton Lakota) and William Hanson, premiered in Utah in 1913. *Shewanis*, a collaboration between Tsianina Redfeather (Creek) and Charles Wakefield Cadman, premiered at the Metropolitan Opera in 1918.
[75] *Before Modernism*, 191.
[76] There are at least a few examples of poetic white-authored Indian "requiems" that predate Chaleco's poem. Mrs. J.W. Mercur published the poem "The Indian Requiem" in an 1841 edition of *The New-Yorker*, while the Canadian poet Charles Edwin Jakeway includes a poem-within-a-poem titled "The Indian's Requiem" in his 1897 volume of

piece of music composed by Irving J. Morgan for the groundbreaking of the National American Indian Memorial in 1913 in New York. The Memorial and the associated Wanamaker expeditions were conceived and spearheaded by Joseph Dixon and backed financially by Rodman Wanamaker, heir to the department store fortune. Although these projects might seem like obscure touchpoints, Allan Trachtenberg reminds us that,

> In the context of an increasingly racialized discourse of nationality the Wanamaker "expeditions" comprised an extraordinary artifact of the times. They consisted of trips to various locations in the West by a small crew of photographers led by Dixon himself. In addition to illustrated lectures, brochures, press releases, interviews, and countless ephemera, the tangible results included the book *The Vanishing Race* (1913; 1914; 1925), several thousand still photographs, a number of motion pictures, including *The Song of Hiawatha* and *The Romance of a Vanishing Race*, edited from some fifty miles of raw footage, and an unexecuted plan for a monument, a "National American Indian Memorial," in New York harbor. It was, in short, an enterprise of considerable proportions, a composite text whose code remains to be deciphered: sponsored by a major department store, endorsed by government authorities, including two presidents, displayed in one form or another to audiences ranging from official Washington and women's clubs to immigrant schoolchildren and inestimable numbers of customers at the Wanamaker stores.[77]

poetry, *The Lions and the Lilies: A Tale of the Conquest and Other Poems*. It is more common, however, for Indian elegiac speech to be described as laments, dirges, songs, etc.

[77] Allen Trachtenberg, "Wanamaker Indians." *The Yale Review*, vol. 86, no. 2 (2011), 4.

Hundreds of people, including 32 chiefs, attended the groundbreaking ceremony for the Memorial, which was widely publicized in newspapers around the country and included remarks by President Taft and the debut of the Buffalo nickel. If Bryant was one of the architects of the vanishing Indian trope, the National American Indian Memorial represents the trope taken to its logical extreme. Plans for the Memorial, which was never completed, included a giant statue and museum across from the Statue of Liberty at Fort Wadsworth on Staten Island. In an appeal to Wanamaker for support, Dixon described the statue in the following terms,

> As for the monumental statue itself, it would be a sixty-foot bronze figure, not of a "circus Indian," but of "an Indian in a striking and characteristic pose that reveals the soul of the Indian himself," that would forever act "as a witness of the passing race to all nations of the world as they come to our shores…It would be "a lonely, lofty figure, where the sea will forever moan a dirge for the vanished race."[78]

The Memorial was to represent a final, definitive performance of disappearance rendered in familiar, if monumental, terms: a solitary figure, "noble" in character, mourned not by humans, but by the sea (in lines reminiscent of the end of *Evangeline*, where the "ocean/ Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest"). And if Indigenous activists, like those of the Society of American Indians, opposed the project, it was only because,

> For Dixon, plainly, the members of SAI were not really Indians at all. His self-appointed mission was to redeem the "old" type, who might be grateful for his ministrations, rather

[78] Russel Lawrence Barsh, "An American Heart of Darkness: The 1913 Expedition for American Indian Citizenship." *Great Plains Quarterly* (Spring 1993), 96.

Figure 6. Rendering of the proposed National American Indian Memorial. Postcard, from the author's collection.

> than the "new," who had no wish to surrender to the myth of white conquest and superiority.[79]

While the "old" types were to be memorialized in bronze, the "new" types were to be assimilated as U.S. citizens and thus cease to be Indians. After the groundbreaking ceremony for the Memorial, Dixon embarked on the "Wanamaker Expedition for Citizenship," visiting every reservation in the Western territories, conducting flag raising ceremonies and compelling (often resistant) leaders to sign a "Declaration of Allegiance" to the United States. The Expedition, which Trachtenberg aptly deems "a spectacle in the manner of a record," sought to create documentation for the moment when, not just American Indians, but the nation, turned toward away from an Indigenous past and towards an American future.[80] Hélène Valance provides a helpful description of the role Morgan's requiem played in facilitating this transition:

> A bronze statue, equipped with a beacon and surpassing in size the Statue of Liberty, was to stand opposite it on the shores of Staten Island…Although the monument never materialized, the program for the groundbreaking ceremonies speaks volumes: "Preceding the hoisting of the flag, Dr. Irving J. Morgan's original Indian Music, 'The Indians requiem,' typifying the 'vanishing race,' specially composed for the Indian lectures resulting from the Wanamaker Historical expeditions, will be rendered. The requiem will follow the raising of the flag until the Stars and Stripes are mastheaded, when the combined military bands will merge into the exultant strains of the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' signifying the union of the first dwellers on the soil with the civilization of our day." Having become the "first American," the Indian, who continued

[79] Ibid., 108.
[80] Trachtenberg, 15.

> to be portrayed as vanishing, was immediately repatriated by means of symbols of white America. This is suggested by the final orchestration, which united Indians and whites in the same patriotic harmonies.[81]

While Bryant effected "repatriation" via European verse practices, the Wanamaker expeditions and the National American Indian Memorial did so via national/military symbols (the U.S. flag, the "Star Spangled Banner"). Although the expedition and groundbreaking ceremony were certainly "spectacles," and were treated as such by many tribal leaders, Barsh maintains that they had a lasting effect on reservation culture in the form of flag songs and salutes.[82] It is likely that Chaleco was familiar with the expeditions and press coverage of the memorial. The "Wanamaker Expedition for Citizenship" passed through Ft. Yuma, Chaleco's home reservation, and made the front page of the September 13, 1913 edition of *The Native American*, the Phoenix Indian School's newspaper, where comments from the groundbreaking ceremony were reproduced.[83] As David Wallace Adams notes, boarding school newspapers were "particularly effective forums for indoctrination," and often reproduced and recycled content from other Indian schools, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and "friends of the Indian" welfare groups.[84] If, as Warrior says, boarding schools were "designed to eradicate 'from students every available trace of Native identity and replac[e] it with a facsimile of whiteness,'" the monument was designed to remove every available trace of settler colonial conflict and Indigenous continuity from U.S. history, replacing it with a static facsimile of indigeneity available for infinite appropriation by non-Indigenous

[81] Helene Valance, *Nocturne: Night in American Art, 1890-1917*, (Yale UP, 2018), 127.
[82] Russel Lawrence Barsh, "An American Heart of Darkness: The 1913 Expedition for American Indian Citizenship." *Great Plains Quarterly* (Spring 1993), 111.
[83]"Memorial to the Red Man," *The Native American*, vol. 14, no. 28 (September 1913), 389-391. *Hathitrust*, babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433081751137&view=1up&seq=423&skin=2021&q1=requiem
[84] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (UP of Kansas, 1995), 154.

Americans.[85] Given that the boarding school press, like the fraternal Indian organizations that originally published Chaleco's poem, could not simply ignore the cultural/racial specificity of its readership and subject matter, it might be more accurate to say that the boarding school press facilitated a facsimile of whiteness *via* a corresponding facsimile of Indianness, a facsimile that Bryant's poetics helped create. Chaleco was thus caught in the middle of both literal (via the nineteenth-century culture of reprinting evident in the boarding school and fraternal society presses) and racial facsimiles, and his poem does not represent an attempt to escape these facsimiles, but to consolidate an Indian collective from their constellation.

v. Farmers & Warriors

"The Indian Requiem" creates a pastiche out of these facsimiles, facsimiles that, I have been arguing, find expression in Bryant's poetry but which do not start or end with it. Undergirding these facsimiles is the image of the Virgilian farmer who, upturning his soil, finds the ruins of empire. Bryant turns the solitary Virgilian farmer into "an entire 'pale race,'"

> But now the wheat is green and high
> On clods that hid the warrior's breast,
> And scattered in the furrows lie
> The weapons of his rest,
> And there, in the loose sand, is thrown
> Of his large arm the mouldering bone.

[85] Robert Warrior, *The People and the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction* (U of Minnesota P, 2005), 112 as qtd in Jacqueline Emery, *Recovering Native American Writings in the Boarding School Press*, (U of Nebraska P, 2017), 14.

Ah, little thought the strong and brave,
Who bore their lifeless chieftain forth;
Or the young wife, that weeping gave
Her first-born to the earth,
That the pale race, who waste us now,
Among their bones should guide the plough.

"Unlike the innocent Virgilian farmer who merely discovers the remnants of an earlier culture by accident," Jackson writes of these lines, "that race is the agent of the Indian's 'primitive' culture's extinction… By turning his Virgilian and Wordswothian figure into a proto-racial representative, Bryant blurs the difference between past, present, and future by blurring the genre of that difference [substituting georgic for pastoral elegy]."[86] That is, while in Virgil the upturning of bones serves as a stark reminder of the violence of the present, in Bryant it serves to elide the violence of Indian removal (the "when" and "how" of the "wasting"). It is curious, then, that Chaleco's pastiche opens with the lines from the end of the first georgic, foregrounding the deep literary history of the "spot" that, in Bryant's hands, end up erasing the actual conditions facing Indigenous people at the time of the poem's publication,

In the loose sand is thrown
The warrior's frame, now mouldering bone.

Ah, little thought the strong and brave
Who bore the lifeless chieftain forth,

[86] *Before Modernism*, 167, 168.

Or the young wife who, weeping gave

Her first born, (years wasted now)

That through their graves would cut the plow.

Before the fields were sown and tilled,

Full to the brim our rivers plowed.

The melody of waters filled

The fresh and boundless wood.

…

These grateful sounds are heard no more.

Chaleco dispenses with the premise of an Indian speaker "returning" to the burial-site of his ancestors and therefore also with Bryant's descriptions of the woodland "before" and the pastoral "after." Because he does not need to remind his audience that the speaker and the author are different people (and because Chaleco did not live in a woodland area), Chaleco also removes the section in Bryant's poem where the speaker ponders how his homelands, which have been deforested, might appear to "a white man." Instead, the opening line, short a foot, offers an abrupt account of violence whose temporal dimensions are unclear. Although in the lines that follow there are some indications that time has passed since the moment of the warrior/chieftain's death, the excision of both the premise of return and the reference to "the pale race" creates the possibility that it is the Indigenous subjects of the poem, and not the white settlers, who are in the position of Virgilian farmer and historical interpreter. By refusing to depict a "last of" figure or the settlement of Indian lands by white people (the action suggested by "pale race, who waste us now" replaced with "her first born [years wasted now]"), Chaleco

troubles the temporal/generic "blurring" of Bryant's poem and suggests that the processes of genocide depicted by Bryant as complete are, in fact, ongoing.

Chaleco, after all, would have understood agrarianism as a tool of settler colonialism, not as its result. The federal boarding school curriculum placed great emphasis on a theory of civilization development which insisted that Indigenous peoples be trained in European agricultural practices and methods. For example, the 1896 New York Times profile of Phoenix Indian School describes the ideology behind educating Indigenous children "through industrial channels":

> The Superintendent says that the object the Government has in view is to make them good American citizens, and that all natives that have risen from a state of barbarism have done so through industrial channels. His theory is that it is impossible to take a savage and so educate him in letters and science that he will be able successfully to take hold of any of the higher branches in life, or, in other words, that it is impossible to make a Greek professor out of a half-naked savage. But he does argue that they can be made good citizens, able to read and write, and, more than all, support themselves by tilling the soil. After this point is reached they will rise higher and higher themselves and of their own inclination, until the last instinct of the savage will have disappeared.[87]

Students at the school may never become "Greek professors," but by learning how to read and till the soil, they might become good (read: obedient) citizens. Many tribes, including Quechan peoples, practiced extensive agricultural and land management techniques prior and during colonization. Euro-Americans were therefore not "instructing" in agricultural practices but

[87] "Phoenix Indian School."

forcing students to learn how to tend European crops and European livestock in a European manner, often for the gain of Euro-Americans. By placing Indigenous subjects in the position of the Virgilian farmer, Chaleco's poem also challenges the Phoenix Superintendent's opinion "that it is impossible to make a Greek professor out of a half-naked savage."

Chaleco's choice to foreground the Virgilian image of the uncovering of the warrior's bones might also have been influenced by his experience as a WWI solider and as a brigade leader at Phoenix Indian School. Although in Bryant's uptake of Virgil the white farmer displaces the Indian warrior, in Virgil it is the warrior who displaces the farmer. In Virgil's post-Republic present there is "War everywhere in the world; crimes everywhere," and "no honor is given to the plow; / The fields are barren and empty, the farmers gone; / The crooked sickles are beaten into swords."[88] The implements that the Virgilian farmer of the future uncovers are actually farming implements which were molded into weapons. Chaleco, unlike Bryant, does not include a description of the warrior's "implements," "scattered in the farrows," even though he did have actual experience with weaponry and was trained as a blacksmith. Perhaps the excision again points to Chaleco's unwillingness to place some features of present Indigenous life (in this case military service) into a buried past.

We can learn more about Chaleco's strategies of revision and excision by examining the only other remarks of his that I have been able to find in print, remarks where Chaleco again chooses the words of a white poet, in this case a WWI elegy, to describe Indian political unity. A Los Angeles newspaper published a summary of Chaleco's speech at a November 1922 Los Angeles Woman's City Club meeting on the topic of "Indian Suffrage":

[88] Virgil, *The Georgics of Virgil*. Translated by David Ferry (Farrar, Straus, 2006), 41.

> "This is an age when the Indian is hidden from God. But we have taken new hope that we may be able to bring relief to the sufferings of our people through the help of the government to which we are loyal, and which we feel will give us redress. *Through that hope our spirits march under a new command. We are loyal to something bigger than we are, something that swings the spirit to a star*."
>
> These words of Yuma Indian Arsenius Chaleco embody a pathetic hope that the American people should verify, as was emphasized yesterday at the Woman's City Club when the subject, "Indian Suffrage" was presented in a symposium…[89]

The italicized lines above are the ending lines from Edwin Markham's "Our Dead Overseas," an elegy commemorating Armistice Day commissioned by the International News Service and published in the November 11, 1919 issue of the *Los Angeles Evening Herald*.

> They are not dead: Life's flag is never furled.
> They passed from world to world.
> Their bodies sleep, but in some nobler land
> *Their spirits march under a new command.*
> New joys await them there,
> In hero heavens wrapt in immortal air.
>
> Rejoice for them, rejoice:
> They made the nobler choice.

[89] "Aid for Indians City Club Topic," 28 November 28, 1922. Allen's Press Clippings Bureau, Los Angeles, in the *C. Hart Merriam papers related to work with California Indians, 1850*-1974, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. *Internet Archive*, archive.org/details/bancroft_chartmerriam_1556_83/page/n323/. Emphasis mine.

How shall we honor their deed –

How speak our praise of their immortal breed?

Only by living nobly as they died –

Toiling for Truth denied,

Loyal to something bigger than we are –

Something that swings the spirit to a star. [90]

As in "The Indian Requiem," Chaleco takes inspiration from the mass elegies produced after WWI to describe Indian collectivity, effectively repatriating a repatriation. "Our Dead Overseas" uses anaphora to mythologize the achievements and virtues of soldiers who died at the front. The end of the poem shifts away from the dead "them" to a living "we," who are now inspired to live "nobly," to imitate the soldiers in their fealty to a "bigger" purpose. Chaleco appropriates the poem's final "we" not to coalesce a civilian readership inspired by the sacrifice of soldiers in Europe, but to coalesce a political collective fighting for justice from the US government while also serving under its "command." While the "something bigger" for Markham might be something like the preservation of democracy, the "something bigger" for Chaleco might be more like a sense of collective injustice applicable to both domestic and international contexts.

That is, what might appear like a contradiction contemporary readers might not have appeared like one to Chaleco, who clearly took deep pride in his military service. Chaleco joined the 158th Infantry Regiment (an Arizonan unit) in 1917 and was deployed to France in 1918. The regiment did not see active fighting, but "was selected as the Honor Guard for President Woodrow Wilson during the Paris Peace Conference [while] [t]he Regimental Band was also

[90] "Edwin Markham Pens Armistice Day Poem." *Los Angeles Herald*, vol. xlv, no. 8, 11 November 1919. *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=LAH19191111.2.7&e=-------en--20--1--txt-txIN--------1.

designated as the President's Honor Band."[91] Chaleco's service and attendance at Phoenix might help explain why his rape conviction was commuted by President Wilson in 1920. According to Wallace Adams, several presidents made visits to Phoenix in the first decade of the twentieth century, including Presidents McKinley, Taft, and Roosevelt.[92] Although he appears not to have visited Phoenix regularly in the years following his graduation, *The Native American* reports that Chaleco attended the dedication ceremony for the Frank Luke Memorial in Phoenix in 1930, which commemorated Arizona soldiers who died during the war.[93] Chaleco was not unique in his service. Barsh notes that "at least" 90% of men who attended Indian schools volunteered to serve in WWI, and Native enlistment in general matched or exceeded that of the general population.[94] Arthur C. Parker, president of the Society of American Indians, explained that Indigenous men who volunteered,

> …were fighting against all injustice, including the injustice perpetrated by whites against Indians. "Loving liberty as he does, he will fight for it," Parker explained. "Knowing the tragedy of 'broken treaties,' he will fight that there be not more treaties broken."[95]

By citing Markham, Chaleco drew on the rhetoric of WWI commemoration to evoke Indian loyalty to the ideals of liberty articulated, if not always followed, by the United States government. It is unclear from the newspaper account of the meeting whether the members of the Los Angeles Women's City Club recognized the lines from Markham's poem, but it seems unlikely given the pains the article took to represent the speech as belonging to Chaleco. Like the

[91] "158th Regiment Overview."
[92] Wallace Adams, 201-202.
[93] "Campus News." *The Native American*, vol. 30, no. 17, 22 Nov. 1930, 234. *Indigenous Peoples of North America*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/YQSGOY022158339/INDP?u=ucirvine&sid=bookmark-INDP&xid=5c0e9ce8.
[94] Russel Lawrence Barsh, "American Indians in the Great War." *Ethnohistory*, vol. 38, no. 3 (Summer 1991), 288.
[95] Ibid., 277-8.

editors and publishers of Chaleco's requiem, there seems to be an assumption by white audiences interested in "Indian suffrage" that Indigenous poets and speakers cannot or would not speak in citational terms, even or perhaps especially when their speech feels familiar.

Why was Chaleco so attracted to repurposing Anglo poetry? An answer might be found in Meredith Martin's discussion of the "solider-poets" of WWI who, after the war, experienced meter as simultaneously "horrifying and comforting":

> The disciplining and ordering intention that English meter accrues before the war becomes at once horrifying and comforting during and after the war. The trauma of meter, for both solider-poets and early twentieth-century readers, was the realization that meter as a stable category was illusory. To recover from trauma, through a method of therapy provided by the very idea of "meter" that had betrayed them, was to acknowledge the collective agreement – sometimes manifest as an individual desperate need – to believe in meter's stability anyway.[96]

British soldier-poets often wrestled with the "disciplining and ordering intention" of English meter, but ultimately returned to it as a way of reconstructing meaning after the trauma of war. A similar dynamic seems to be at work in Chaleco's poetry. The intertwining of the English meter and military order in a boarding school context would have perhaps always been horrifying to students, as according to David Adams Wallace, "no aspect of school life left a more profound impression on students" than military routine. Phoenix Indian School survivor Anna Moore Shaw illustrates the impacts of the military routine on her body, where "the cadence of military marching was so internalized that it was hard to walk in a normal manner":

[96] Meredith Martin, *The Rise and Fall of Meter: Poetry and English National Culture, 1860-1930* (Princeton UP, 2012), 146.

> At first the marching seemed so hard to learn, but once we had mastered the knack, we couldn't break the habit. Sometimes on our once-a-month visit to town, a talking machine would be blasting band music outside a store to attract customers. Then we girls would go into our act; try as hard as we could, we just couldn't get out of step. It was impossible! We'd try to take long strides to break the rhythm, but soon we would fall back into step again. How embarrassing it was![97]

Shaw and her friends find themselves incapable of refraining from marching when they hear "band music" playing outside a store in Phoenix. They are not marching for themselves, because they do not want to be marching at all, but are instead compulsively performing (or "go[ing] into our act") for an audience that is not present, a performance that continues despite the feelings of embarrassment it engenders. The passage suggests that even away from the purview of teachers and the superintendent, the background of military meter still manages to produce a performative response in the girls, a response that, although constricting, is also communal. In response to might have been the "horrifying" experience of military training at Phoenix and during WWI, Chaleco reaches for communal elegiac verse forms which then modify to advance pan-Indian causes.

vi. Fraternal Orders & Desert Politics

The two pieces of Chaleco's rhetoric that I have been able to find in print, his comments to the Los Angeles Women's City Club and "The Indian Requiem," were both published in the 1920s, a period when Chaleco increased his advocacy efforts in support of Indian citizenship and against the further allotment of Southern California reservations. Jennifer Denetdale notes the

[97] Wallace Adams, 117-118.

unique position of Indigenous soldiers like Chaleco who, after returning from the front, became community leaders, demanding expanded rights from the federal government:

> Returning Native soldiers believed that the uniform had made them equals to other Americans. However, as they returned to civilian life, many realized the reality of racism and discrimination that their people continued to face. At the same time, military service led to the emerge of a new Indian leadership which was, according to Barsh, "more Americanized, disciplined, and materialistic, but at the same time less intimidated by the Indian Office." The new Native leadership consolidated its authority around issues of U.S. citizenship, the establishment of Indian self-governance under the 1934 Reorganization Act, and the quest to retain remaining lands.[98]

These new Indigenous leaders gained prominence through their participation in the fraternal clubs and societies that saw a boom in popularity after the War. "The Indian Requiem" was first published in the *Indian Teepee*, the magazine of the Teepee Order, a fraternal pan-Indian organization first founded in 1915 by Red Fox St. James, a preacher and advocate who self-identified as Blackfeet. According to Hazel Hertzberg's study of pan-Indian movements, the Teepee Order was modeled after The Improved Order of Red Men, a white fraternal society that was also a fervent supporter of the Wanamaker Expeditions and the National American Indian Memorial.[99] The 1920s, Cari Carpenter writes, were a "decade marked by contestation over what it meant to be an Indian – and American. Such debates were waged not only among non-Natives

[98] Jennifer Denetdale, "Carving Navajo National Boundaries: Patriotism, Tradition, and the Diné Marriage Act of 2005." *American Quarterly,* vol. 60, no. 2 (2008), 290-291.
[99] Hazel Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse UP, 1971), 215-236.

but among American Indians themselves."[100] Such public debates coincided with the growth of social clubs and organizations dedicated to Indian welfare. One of the most important of these Native-led organizations, the Society of American Indians (SAI), held its first meeting in Ohio in 1911. There members drafted a constitution, the preface of which articulated "the necessity for a race organization":

> The Preface then discussed the "anomalous and abnormal" position of the Indian in a "false environment inconsistent with the modern conception of enlightened conditions," a man "neither citizen nor foreigner," without a voice in his destiny, subject to government paternalism, and with his real rights obscured by conflicting legislation:
>
> "The thinking Indian, therefore, asks that he be treated as an *American* and that a just opportunity be given whereby the race as a whole may develop and demonstrate its capacity for enlightenment and progress…as an American people in America.
>
> It is with these and other similar ideas in mind that the modern Indian who for a long time has been studying the needs of his race sees the necessity for a race organization, and holds it as the means by which many of his vexing problems may be solved."[101]

While Du Bois emphasizes the "primitivity" of the sorrow songs to position Black Americans as originators of American culture, members of the SAI highlight the "anomalous and abnormal" position of educated Indians whose "modernity" is irreconcilable with their political (historical) status as Indians. Mark Rifkin dedicates many pages in the first chapter of *Beyond Settler Time*

[100] Cari Carpenter, "Detecting Indianness: Gertrude Bonnin's Investigation of Native American Identity." *Wicazo Sa Review*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Spring 2005), 140.
[101] Hertzberg, 78.

to the "vexing" temporal problem that SAI members articulated more than a century ago. Rifkin expands on Joanne Barker's observation in *Native Acts* that "Native traditions have been fixed in an authentic past and then used as a measure of a cultural-as-racial authenticity in the present."[102] "This standard," Rifkin notes, continuing to quote Barker, "makes it impossible for Native peoples to narrate the historical and social complexities of cultural exchange, change, and transformation – to claim cultures and identities that are conflicted, messy, uneven, modern, technological, mixed."[103] Rather than construct a shared identity around, for example, cultural or linguistic similarities, the leaders of the SAI frame a shared identity on the basis of a shared problem of modern representation.

If identities of Indigenous people were politically and legally defined by anachronism, and this anachronism put Native people in an impossible position, it also, as Carpenter and others have noted, allowed non-Indigenous ethnographers, advocates, and hobbyists to define what "authentic" indigeneity looked like while also "provid[ing] ample opportunities for non-Natives to try on Indian identities."[104] Members and leaders of "race organizations" like the SAI and the Teepee Order included white people "playing Indian" alongside actual Indigenous intellectual and political leaders. As Carpenter clarifies, "It is not as if the 1920s witnessed a neat breach between the formerly white organizations and the emerging Native ones; rather, their membership often coexisted and overlapped." And the founder of the Teepee Order, Red Fox St. James,

> …epitomized these blurred categories: he was a missionary who claimed to be part Blackfoot, he belonged to the Society of American Indians, and he was later accused by

[102] Joanne Barker, *Native Acts: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity* (Duke UP, 2011), 20, as quoted in Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* (Duke UP, 2017), 6.
[103] Barker, 223. As quoted in Rifkin, 6.
[104] Carpenter, 141.

> Arthur C. Parker of hijacking the Society with his Teepee Order…An announcement in the *Papers of the SAI* links James to a wide array of organizations: the American Indian Council or Tribes, the quarterly American Indian Advocate, the Indian Boy Scouts, the Mission Indian Federation of California, the YMCA, and the WYMCA.[105]

Zitkala-Sa/Gertrude Bonnin, one of the most influential leaders of the SAI, was highly skeptical of Red Fox James's claims to Indian identity and called him an imposter in private correspondence.[106] James and the Teepee Order, although "messy," were still influential among Native readers and advocates like Chaleco. In fact, Chaleco attended the May 3, 1923 meeting of the Mission Indian Federation of California in Riverside, where he dictated a petition against allotment to the Secretary of the Interior on behalf of his tribe. An editorial note to Chaleco's "Requiem" in the *Arizona Silver Belt* tells us that the poem was first published in *The Indian*, the magazine of the Mission Indian Federation of California. Given Red Fox James's connections to Richard Pratt and his travel throughout Southern California in the early 1920s, it is possible Chaleco knew him personally.[107]

Although the Teepee Order and the SAI held broadly similar goals and overlapped in their memberships, the Teepee Order "was much more strongly influenced by popular and romantic white attitudes toward the Indian than was reform Pan-Indianism [as represented by the SAI]."[108] These romantic views are evident in the Order's publication, the *Indian Teepee,* which, like the Order,

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[105] Ibid., 141-142.
[106] Ibid., 139.
[107] Letter from Red Fox St. James to Henry Pratt, 1920. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Richard Henry Pratt papers, box 7, folder 259. *Yale University Library Digital Collections*, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10844867.
[108] Hertzberg, 215.

> …extolled the Indian past and Indian virtues, both past and present…The periodical also carried articles on Indian history and lore with panegyrics to Indian spiritual qualities. Prayers to the Great Spirit abounded, and "The Indian Ten Commandments" was a perennial favorite. In these ways the organization attempted to provide its members with a positive image of the Indian past and present.[109]

"The Indian Requiem" appears in the September 1927 issue of the *Indian Teepee* dedicated to the celebration of American Indian Day. Also included in the issue is a poem titled "American Indian Day" by William K. Kerhsaw (Menomini), an article by James titled "A New Sort of American Day," and "American Indian Exercises," a "suggested program for schools and societies or clubs" that includes a recitation of verses from *Hiawatha*, examples of Indian oratory, and a "selection from Cadman's or Gilbert's Indian songs."[110] The "positive image" of the "Indian past" the magazine presented, as is clear from the references to Longfellow and Cadman, was often articulated by white artists who appropriated traditional knowledge of Indigenous collaborators and informants. "The Indian Requiem" is not grouped in with the other American Indian Day content, however, but appears in the section of the paper dedicated to current events. Although the *Indian Teepee's* orientation was primarily romantic, "the periodical sometimes took a position on legislation affecting Indians. Thus sympathy was expressed for the Pueblos, the "Dance Order" was opposed, and the Snyder Bill providing for Indian citizenship received the organization's backing."[111] Placed directly opposite "The Indian Requiem" is an article titled "Red Men Plea for Protection of Land," which reports on increased traffic in the Missouri Valley due to recent road infrastructure projects:

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[109] Hertzberg, 225
[110] *Indian Teepee*, no. 4 (September 1927). Minnesota Historical Society.
[111] Hertzberg, 225.

> The country around the Missouri Valley reservations has in population greatly increased, the roads along the river have been improved…and fine new bridges have been built over the river at Pierre and across the Cheyenne farther to the north.
>
> The result has been that these traffic conditions have brought the Missouri River Reservations into the line of heavy automobile travel. The Indian agency reports that the "whites have come in hordes, as many as 500 cars in a day passing through one of the reservations."…Not only do the vandals gather the wild cherries, plums, and grapes – wild fruits constituting one chief source of the Red Man's winter supplies – but they tear up vines and bushes and "leave a trail of destruction behind them." The sympathy of many a long-suffering paleface goes out to his red brethren.[112]

The "trail of destruction" discussed in the article is mirrored by the destruction caused by white settlement in "The Indian Requiem," as exemplified in the lines that Cooper excerpts, where the rivers "fall silent" and "with lessening current run." We might say that if the article highlights the white vice of "destruction," the "Indian virtue" "extolled" by the poem is something like conservation. Interestingly, the same kind of racial interpolation that makes Bryant's speaker's insights possible (a white poet speaking as an Indian speaking in Wordsworthian stanzas) is also operative in "Red Men Plea for Protection of Land." The title of the piece sets up its content as Native speech, but the ending sentence reveals that the writer is, in fact, a "long-suffering paleface" sending "sympathy" "out to his red brethren." Perhaps "The Indian Requiem" is placed opposite "Red Men Plea for Protection of Land" precisely to voice the "Indian" suffering in more authentic, if generalized, terms.

[112] "Red Men Plea for Protection of Land," *Indian Teepee*, no. 4 (September 1927), 12. Minnesota Historical Society.

Chaleco's poem, however, refuses the white interpolation posed by the article's ending. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, the title indicates a genre of formal collective address (the requiem). If an Indigenous collective can address itself, especially in a newspaper with Indigenous readers, then it is not extinct or disappeared, even if certain adapted lines from the Bryant might suggest otherwise. Chaleco's excision of the "last-of" character also rejects the finality of the disappearance Bryants poem attempts to enact. But perhaps the clearest example of Chaleco's intervention can be found in the last stanzas of the poem, which offer a stark revision of Bryant. The final three stanzas of Bryant's poem read:

> But I behold a fearful sign,
> To which the white men's eyes are blind;
> Their race may vanish hence, like mine,
> And leave no trace behind,
> Save ruins o'er the region spread,
> And the white stones above the dead.
>
> Before these fields were shorn and filled,
> Full to the brim our rivers flowed;
> The melody of waters filled
> The fresh and boundless wood;
> And torrents dashed and rivulets played,
> And fountains spouted in the shade.
>
> Those grateful sounds are heard no more,

The springs are silent in the sun;

The rivers, by the blackened shore,

With lessening current run;

The realms our tribes are crushed to get

May be a barren desert yet.

Where the white man might see a productive paradise, the Indian speaker, because of his knowledge of the land as it was formally under Indian tenure, notices "a fearful sign." The land is drying up: the springs are silent, the shore blackened, the current lessened. Deforestation, the speaker intimates, precipitates desertification. A critic like John Hay might point to this ending line to demonstrate Bryant's ecocritical bonafides.[113] That is, despite Bryant's deployment of the vanishing Indian trope, he seems aware of the ecological denigration brought by large-scale deforestation. But if Bryant is trying to communicate an ecological, rather than a civilizational, message, his funneling of that message through the mouth of an Indian speaker troubles his intent. The conceit of the poem's speech requires the "grateful sounds" of torrents and rivulets to be available to both speaker and author.

While Bryant interrupts his account of "signs' with memories of the "before," Chaleco rearranges the ending stanzas (now quatrains) to make the lines that prophesy future destruction of white civilization continuous with one another (something the repeated "ands" also emphasize),

These grateful sounds are heard no more

[113] John Hay, "A Poet of the Land: William Cullen Bryant's Moundbuilder Ecology." *ESQ*, vol 61, no. 3 (2015). *Project MUSE*, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/esq.2015.0015.

The springs are silent in the sun,
And rivers, through their blackened shores,
With lessening currents run.

They waste us - ah, like April snow
In the warm noon, we shrink away,
And fast they follow as we go
Towards the setting day.

But I behold a fearful sign
To which the white man's eyes are blind,
Their race may vanish hence like mine
And leave no trace behind,

Save ruins o'er the region spread,
And tall white stones above the dead.
And realms our tribes were crushed to get
May be our barren desert yet.

Chaleco streamlines the poem's chronology, traveling more directly from past to future and from cause to effect. He also moves the first four lines of Bryant's final stanza up to clarify how genocidal "wasting" happens – the rivers dry up and, as a result, Indigenous peoples "melt" and dry up, too. This connection is even more important given that Chaleco was from *a literal desert*

where large-scale irrigation practices diverted precious water sources away from Indigenous communities. After returning to Ft. Yuma from Phoenix Indian School, Chaleco would have witnessed the dramatic effects of the damming of the Colorado River on Quechan communities. Ian Michael Smith describes how traditional Quechan land management shifted dramatically with the advent of mass irrigation projects:

> Even before twentieth century dams tamed the upper Colorado, this area [Quechan territory] represented a wholly different landscape—one dominated by the type of arable, river-bottom lands on which the Quechan Indians planted diverse crops, such as corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons. While the untamed river flooded onto these lowlands each year, it did so gradually and with heavy silt loads, providing Quechan families with fertile areas they could rely on both for the cultivation of crops and for wild-food gathering. The era of dam-building and reclamation, however, forever altered this fruitful environment and the Quechans' subsistence system upon which it relied.
>
> Today, as historian William deBuys points out, the lower Colorado River has transformed into a series of concrete-lined canals, siphons, and laterals, utilized to irrigate distant fields in the once-arid Imperial and Coachella valleys, rather than remaining a natural stream in its own right. Below the All-American Canal—which runs across Quechan mesa lands to feed water to the thirsty crops growing in southern California's principal agricultural valleys—the main channel of the Colorado is, at best, a "stagnant marsh." Further south, the river no longer even concludes its seaward journey into the Gulf of California. And the annual floods that once watered and fertilized Quechan farming lands have not occurred for nearly 100 years.

> …. Like many tribes, the federal government's allotment, irrigation, and agricultural policies of the late 1800s and early 1900s devastated the lands and traditional livelihood of the Quechan Indians.[114]

Irrigation and allotment were connected problems in Indigenous desert communities because irrigation projects diverted water to white communities and destroyed productive floodplains, while allotment impeded community access to what had been collective resources, springs and rivers. The model on which allotment (and boarding school training) was based, that of the productive individual farmer, is nearly impossible to replicate in the desert. Chaleco makes this exact point in a letter that he dictated to the Secretary of the Interior on behalf of the Yuma delegation to the Mission Indian Federation of California, which was circulated in a 1923 anti-allotment pamphlet.[115]

The Yuma delegation's letter makes a strong statement against allotment and white financial predation. They insist that allotment policies were conducted without the consent of the tribe, which "is whole against allotment," and implore the government "to send your surveyors away." Previous instances of the unauthorized selling of communal lands were used to fund development projects that benefited white communities, including the development of Palm Springs and the damming of the Colorado River. The delegation sets out why allotment in the desert makes for particularly bad policy,

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[114] Ian Michael Smith, "From Subsistence to Dependence: The Legacy of Reclamation and Allotment on Quechan Indian Lands, 1700-1840" (The U of Montana, Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers, 2010), 1-2.

[115] Elizabeth Green, "The Indians of Southern California and Land Allotment" (June 1923), 13. in the *C. Hart Merriam papers related to work with California Indians, 1850-1974*, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/bancroft_chartmerriam_1556_86/page/n7. The pamphlet also includes an extract of a letter from Lee Arenas, a member of the Palm Springs Band of Mission Indians of California, petitioning the author Mary Ausitn for her support.

> The reason we don't want allotment is because our land is desert land and there is not enough good farming land for everybody forty acres. If the land is allotted then there is no grazing land left and could not keep cattle. We have to keep cattle to help make living. Even our best water years would not irrigate forty acres apiece. Now we can use what water we have on as much land as it will do for and have our other land for cattle. Then we can do nicely and decide everything for ourselves inside our own land if the government give us a fair chance.[116]

The Palm Springs delegation notes that individual allotment plots provide the cattle too little room to graze but require too much water to properly irrigate. When the tribe controls the distribution of water and cattle on their lands they "can do nicely," but forced allotment disrupts their ability to exercise collective control, creating an unfair playing field ripe for exploitation by white agents and developers.

Chaleco's history of anti-allotment protest on behalf of the Palm Springs tribes and the Mission Indian Federation gives us a new valence through which we might read the closing couplet of "The Indian Requiem," "And realms our tribes were crushed to get / May be our barren desert yet." Chaleco makes two key changes to Bryant's lines: "tribes are crushed to get" becomes "tribes were crushed to get," and "may be a barren desert yet" becomes "may be our barren desert yet." Although the shift from "are crushed" to "were crushed" might appear as if it underscores the completion of the genocidal process, we should remember that Bryant's poem deliberately confuses the temporality of its action (it is both complete and yet still underway) in order to coalesce white collective mourning. Chaleco's streamlining of the temporality, along with his dispense of the "last-of" speaker, instead make clear that, despite the fact that tribes

[116] Green, 13.

have been "crushed," there remains a surviving collective which might still oversee the collapse of white civilization. The shift from "a barren desert" to "our barren desert" indicates that the land in question will not revert to a kind of imagined terra nullius but will instead *remain in Native hands*. For Chaleco, after all, the desert is not an uncultivated wasteland nor an empty expanse devoid of life. It is home. While Bryant's poem portends the desertification of the river and subsequent disappearance for both white *and* Indigenous people, Chaleco's final revisions suggest that white colonization was always going to be temporary.[117]

Conclusion

The desert sands of Arsenius Chaleco's "The Indian Requiem" have been read allegorically, but not citationally or ecocritically. Neither twentieth nor twenty-first century readers of the poem have detected the Bryant and have therefore missed the many ways in which Chaleco challenges and subverts the operating conceits of "An Indian at the Burial-place of His Fathers." Early twentieth-century readers of the poem, familiar with the romantic rhetoric of Indian fraternal orders and pan-Indian societies (which often overlapped in their memberships and rhetoric), understood it as a "sorrow song." This expectation was also brought to bear on Arsenius Chaleco's speech at the Los Angeles Women's Club, where audiences again missed the Chaleco's appropriation of Markham's WWI elegy and instead viewed his words as "embody[ing] a pathetic hope." Chaleco's experience at Phoenix Indian School, as a WWI veteran, and as a member of the Mission Indian Federation of California meant that he was aware of the romantic appeal of Indian "sorrow songs," that he was likely familiar with Bryant's role in creating some of the conditions for the appeal of such poetry, and that he was invested in

[117] For more prophecies of the end of the white colonization of Turtle Island, see Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* (Penguin, 1992).

criticizing allotment and water use policies rooted in the "Lockean vision of expansion and extraction," a vision that also motivated and justified the pathos of disappearance that white audiences of Bryant and the Teepee Order found so moving.[118] Chaleco's appropriation of white verse forms designed to express and coalesce white collectivity works, therefore, to position Indigenous peoples as a collective in charge of their own history, which will one day include a future unencumbered by American hegemony, in the barren desert yet.

[118] Kent Linthicum, Mikaela Relford, Julia C. Johnson, "Defining Energy in Nineteenth-Century Native American Literature." *Environmental Humanities, vol. 13, no. 2* (November 2021), 379. https://doi.org/10.1215/22011919-9320200. A vision summed up in the question: "I ask, whether in the wild woods and uncultivated waste of America, left to nature, without any improvement, tillage or husbandry, a thousand acres yield the needy and wretched inhabitants as many conveniences of life, as ten acres of equally fertile land do in Devonshire, where they are well cultivated?"

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Conclusion: Lamenting Intertexts

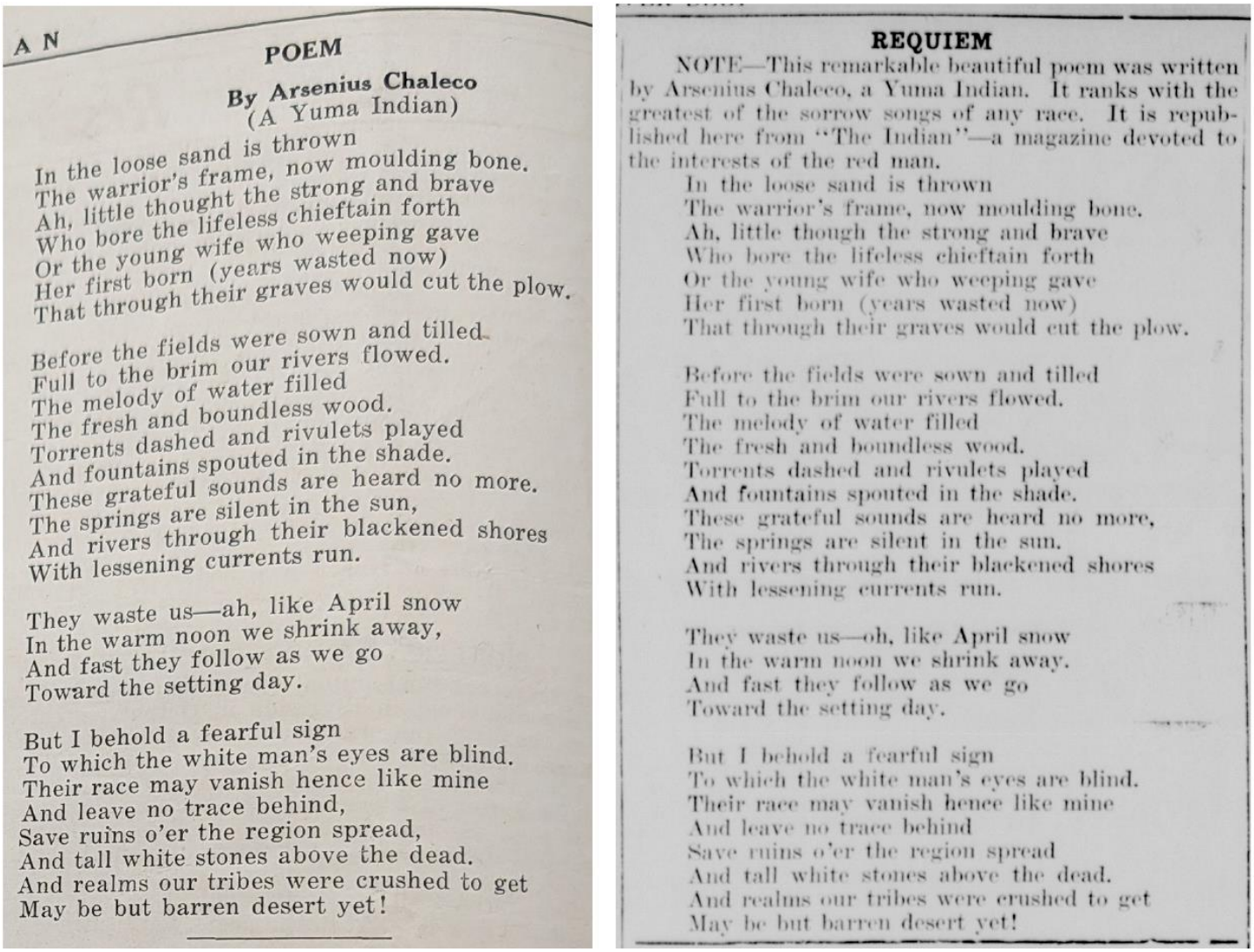
The process of compiling and editing this dissertation has caused me to reflect on sites of potential contradiction and future expansion. At the beginning of chapter three, for instance, I discuss Krupat's theorization of Indigenous elegy as a type of "melancholic mourning" that is "communistic" in orientation. Nineteenth-century Indigenous elegies, according to Krupat, are more recognizably Christian than Indigenous. I felt compelled to push back on Krupat's reading of these elegies, if only because I think early Indigenous poetry is much more interesting than he gives it credit; Krupat's disappointment in the material is palpable. However, in my reading of Te-con-ees-kee's "Suggested by the report" at the end of chapter two, I make the point that the Cherokee conception of death, as expressed in the idea of the looped square, *does* emphasize continuance rather than, say, finality or rest. It does not feel like too much of a stretch to suggest that Te-con-ees-kee would have created a verse form that melded the Venus and Adonis stanza with the balladic anapest and/or the balladic refrain as a way of incorporating a kind of non-Spenserian looped temporality into the poem. Nor does it feel like too much of a stretch to say that Te-con-ees-kee's rehoming Pocahontas is not *merely* a literary act. Am I only proving Krupat's point, in a roundabout way? Is there a contradiction here? Should I have started with Indigenous epistemologies and worked backwards to verse discourses? Throughout the process of writing this dissertation, I have wrestled with how to best anchor my attention and how to sift through a vast archive of intertext and context.

Krupat's description of Indigenous conceptions of death may be broadly accurate and we may be able to find evidence of these conceptions in early Indigenous poetry. What I hope my research accomplishes is to add some specificity to this effort, while also staying attentive to the verse/citational discourses at work in the poetry. That is, I discuss the Cherokee looped square

because Te-con-ees-kee is a Cherokee poet. I cite Teuton et al. instead of, for example, a nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century ethnographer, because the Cherokee Liars Club represent an ongoing and long-standing cultural tradition of Cherokee storytelling. The manipulation of verse discourses and conventions shed light on these tribally-specific traditions, but ignoring verse discourse altogether zaps our interpretative capacity, allowing us only to gesture broadly at a "romantic" Indigenous poem, and say "it is romantic, it is European, it is conventional." Citational/intertextual practices allow us to make claims about poems based on what a poet decides to select, adapt, add, or excise from an established discourse. As I complete the dissertation, I have been thinking a lot about excision, in particular. Te-con-ees-kee, for example, excises Pocahontas's white husband and family from Sigourney's "Pocahontas," which stands in for the mythification of Pocahontas as a national figure more generally. Chaleco, meanwhile, excises the woodland/pastoral part of Bryant's poem (and some of his contorted genocidal logic) to situate the poem on his own ecological terms. If white-authored Indian Others create an overdetermined poetic landscape for Indigenous writers, the tool of excision perhaps gave them a useful tool for navigating entrenched facsimiles.

When considering an "early" Indigenous poem, one of the key choices a scholar can make is to identify, as far as possible, the most relevant discourses and discourse communities. I have learned this isn't easy. When I started researching "The Indian Requiem," I consulted Daryl Forde's 1931 *Ethnography of the Yuma Indians*. Given the title of Chaleco's poem, I was naturally curious about Quechan mourning practices. The Quechans are known for the Kar?úk mourning ceremony, in which the deceased, along with their dwelling, are cremated. If I, or another scholar, had built a reading of Chaleco based on this ceremonial practice, as described by Forde, what would have been the result? And how would this result have been challenged or

approbated by an analysis of Chaleco's practices of excision viz a viz Bryant? After all, every time I sit down to research one of the Indigenous poets in this dissertation – or one of the poets who is not included here, but who will be, I hope, in a future book project – I learn something new. While editing the third chapter of the dissertation, for example, a found two additional printings of Chaleco's poem – in *The Indian* (November 1921), the magazine of the Mission Indian Federation of California, and in the *Arizona Silver Belt* (May 1922), a newspaper based out of Miami, Arizona. I searched Chaleco's name in the *California Digital Newspaper Collection* to check if any other sources related to Chaleco may have been digitized since I completed initial research. That search led me to the 1922 publication in the *Arizona Silver Belt*, which was accompanied by a note saying the poem had originally been published in *The Indian*. I then contacted The Autry Museum, who holds the archives for *The Indian*, and they sent me a copy of the relevant issue. In 1921 the poem was published under the title "Poem," in 1922 under "Requiem," and in 1927 under "The Indian Requiem." Because at least some of my reading of the poems depends on its title and its location in the *Indian Teepee*, the knowledge of the additional printings puzzled and intrigued me. It is possible that Chaleco did not title the poem at all, that William Tomkins submitted and titled it on Chaleco's behalf, or that individual editors chose the title. What is clear, however, is that the later printings more explicitly frame the poem as a "sorrow song"; the 1922 printing includes a note that reads, "This remarkable beautiful poem was written by Arsenius Chaleco, a Yuma Indian. It ranks with the greatest of the sorrow songs of any race. It is republished here from 'The Indian' – a magazine devoted to the interests of the red man." The similarity between this note and that William Tomkins included in the 1927 publication ("In my humble opinion it ranks with the greatest of the sorrow songs of any race, and I am happy to give it to the Teepee, and welcome any Indian poems") suggests that Tomkins



A N

POEM

By Arsenius Chaleco
(A Yuma Indian)

In the loose sand is thrown
The warrior's frame, now moulding bone.
Ah, little thought the strong and brave
Who bore the lifeless chieftain forth
Or the young wife who weeping gave
Her first born (years wasted now)
That through their graves would cut the plow.

Before the fields were sown and tilled
Full to the brim our rivers flowed.
The melody of water filled
The fresh and boundless wood.
Torrents dashed and rivulets played
And fountains spouted in the shade.
These grateful sounds are heard no more.
The springs are silent in the sun,
And rivers through their blackened shores
With lessening currents run.

They waste us—ah, like April snow
In the warm noon we shrink away,
And fast they follow as we go
Toward the setting day.

But I behold a fearful sign
To which the white man's eyes are blind.
Their race may vanish hence like mine
And leave no trace behind,
Save ruins o'er the region spread,
And tall white stones above the dead.
And realms our tribes were crushed to get
May be but barren desert yet!

REQUIEM

NOTE—This remarkable beautiful poem was written by Arsenius Chaleco, a Yuma Indian. It ranks with the greatest of the sorrow songs of any race. It is republished here from "The Indian"—a magazine devoted to the interests of the red man.

In the loose sand is thrown
The warrior's frame, now moulding bone.
Ah, little though the strong and brave
Who bore the lifeless chieftain forth
Or the young wife who weeping gave
Her first born (years wasted now)
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And realms our tribes were crushed to get
May be but barren desert yet!

Figure 7. Chaleco's poem in The Indian*, 1921 (left) and* The Arizona Silver Belt*, 1922 (right).*

is the person most likely to have submitted the poem to the *Arizona Silver Belt*. There are also some slight differences between the different iterations of the poem. The 1921 version, for example, ends with the phrase "May be but barren desert yet!" instead of the 1927 version's "May be our barren desert yet"; there are also changes in the organization/distribution of the stanzas. I love this exclamation mark that ends the earlier versions, it suggests a kind of gleeful satisfaction at the prospect of the desert "barren" of white interlopers. There may be additional printings of the poem of which I am unaware, and there may exist other poems by Chaleco that circulated in regional papers and magazines and which have not been digitized or which were not or have not been attributed to Chaleco. Of course, it is also possible that Chaleco wasn't really a poet at all, and that he simply thought it would be amusing to remix Bryant's poem and pass it off an "authentic" Indian lament (though, given Evans-Wentz's description of him as "tribal poet," I doubt this).

Even while writing these concluding thoughts, I have encountered new information that could change or complicate my reading of Chaleco's poem. While refreshing my memory about Quechan mourning practices, I found website for a panel at the 2015 MLA conference in Vancouver, BC on the theme "Native American Sites of Memory." The post that drew my attention was about the "site" of E. Pauline Johnson's memorial in Stanley Park. Margery Fee notes that although Johnson's memory has been appropriated for use in colonial/nationalistic propaganda, recent Native participation in ceremonies around the site "complicate the dispossession the ceremonies were intended to enact." Underneath the post is a comment from Phillip Round, who writes:

> Margery's description of Johnson's reappropriation of Red Jacket's interment reminds me of the Kar?úk rites of the Quechan Nation. The Kar?úk was traditionally a mourning

> ceremony performed at death of leaders – its ritual cremations serving as a reaffirmation of Quechan cosmology, whose creation story centered on the cremation of the creator, Kukumat. Outlawed in the first decades of 1900s, the Kar?úk reappeared when the Quechan petitioned the government for its reinstatement after the WWI deaths [of] Quechan warriors. Memorial Day became a time when the nation once again honored its dead, in the morning following US practices, and in the evening, those traditional Quechan ways.[1]

Round's comment alerted me to the information about the post-WWI reinstatement of the traditional mourning ceremony. The reinstatement, of course, would have occurred around the same time that Chaleco, a WWI veteran, was speaking and writing on behalf of California/Arizona tribes. Might "The Indian Requiem" represent a post-war requiem in response to the outlawing of the Kar?úk? It is an intriguing possibility, and one that might be supported by many the intertexts I discussed in chapter three. Forde's 1931 ethnography offers a direct translation of a Quechan funereal speech and a more interpretative translation. He repeatedly states the difficulty his interpreter had in translating the oration:

> This ceremonial speaking which is used in funeral orations, keruk speeches, and doctors' exhortations to their patients is very remarkable and impressive…A loud mandatory tone is employed, but each word or group of short words is separated by a pause of one or two seconds from the next. Each word is forced out in an artificial manner with a rising tone and is accompanied by a jerk of the body as though the speaker would raise himself higher. The impression is almost that of a stammerer endeavoring to dictate at a distance.

[1] Margery Fee and Phillip Round, "Double Life: E. Pauline Johnson." *Native American Sites of Memory*. MLA Commons, https://archivememory.mla.hcommons.org/2014/12/13/double-life-e-pauline-johnson/.

> The accented syllables rise almost to a shout but the rest of the word is clipped and blurred. Significant and allusive words are repeated and recur in a long series of phrases. The normal word order is frequently inverted. Words and incomplete phrases stand for entire sentences, which render translation difficult. The discourse breaks off as abruptly as it begins.[2]

The Kar?úk ceremony does not necessarily follow a regular procedure and was not traditionally performed in a particular season or time of year, a fact Forde writes is reflective of the "general anarchy of Yuma organization." Could we map some of Forde's observations onto Chaleco's poem – is it "anarchic" in some way? Quechan anarchic poetry certainly *sounds* sexy, irreverent (and temptingly modernist, perhaps). Forde notes that in Quechan funeral speeches "the normal word order is frequently inverted…the discourse breaks off as abruptly as it begins." Are inversion and abrupt "breaks" of discourse at work in Chaleco's pastiche (perhaps in the beginning Virgilian line)? Or are these more formal characteristics of Quechan funeral oration irrelevant to a pastiche made up out of another poet's words? How much of Forde's attribution of "anarchy" to Quechan culture might be explained by his outsider status? These questions present the difficulty of navigating the many streams of discourse that Arsenius Chaleco likely swam in, and how little "we" (and who the "we" is matters) have considered which reading methodologies help us understand more, rather than less, about Chaleco's poem. In this project, I have chosen to focus on verse and genre discourses, and I hope my discussion might open out onto other ways of reading that push beyond the debates about authenticity that have defined much scholarly writing about nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Indigenous poetry.

[2] Daryll C. Forde, *Ethnography of the Yuma Indians* (U of California P, 1931), 209. *Berkeley Library Digital Collections,* digicoll.lib.berkeley.edu/record/82744.