



Albert Bierstadt, "Departure of Hiawatha," 1868. (Courtesy of National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site)



N. H. Losey, "Hiawatha's Farewell," 1911. Apparently somewhere in Indiana. (Library of Congress)

the Indian roles; one pageant writer proposed using Italian immigrants, swarthy and dark, as Indians. In other cases organizers declined to use available and willing natives; the St. Louis *Pageant and Masque* disguised white performers as Indians with copper paint. The "masque" part of the St. Louis event was created by Percy MacKaye, a leading originator of pageants on timely civic themes, many having to do with immigration and citizenship. In St. Louis he deployed Indian symbols but no Indian performers. A giant puppet represented Cahokia, spirit of the Mound Builders and "pinnacle of the social aspirations of the Indian race, regarded ethnologically."<sup>84</sup>

MacKaye was a Progressive who believed that pageants served civic reform. The Mound Builders had represented a cooperative community; it fell to "Powers of Chaos," but Cahokia cries out, "dreams are born and rise from ruined worlds." A new civilization, carried by white settlers, will emerge in their place: "ruined worlds," a polite euphemism for "the cyclone of civilization." Historical pageants typically included Indian scenes, not all so rife with overblown symbolism as MacKaye's, but few actual natives appeared in them.

Not so with the Way-ya-ga-mug Hiawatha, which brought large audiences from far and wide, make-believe witnesses of tribal history as national memory, prehistory passing over into the blessings of actual American history. Hiawatha returned in a time of need with a message on his prophetic lips, if only the vacationers, tourists, and seekers of Indian treasures could decipher it.

On the movement to reform Indian policy and the Dawes Act, see Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indians*. Hagan's *Theodore Roosevelt* offers an illuminating study of influences on Roosevelt's role in shaping Indian policy. Smith's *Reimagining Indians* gives a sympathetic portrait of turn-of-the-century writers who viewed Indians admiringly, learned something from their encounters, and influenced the reform of government policies.

Frederick Hoxie has written several important studies of the reform era: his essential book, *A Final Promise*; "The Curious Story of Reformers and American Indians," in *Indians in American History*, 205-28; and "The Reservation Period: 1880-1960," in Trigger and Washburn, *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples*, 183-258. In chapter 16 of her rich and concise *A History of the Indians of the United States*, Angie Debo discusses Indian responses to the allotment policy. See also Fey and McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans*, and Donald L. Parman, *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 1-51.

### 1. Singing Hiawatha

1. Lockard, "Universal Hiawatha."
2. I take the biographical details from Arvin, *Longfellow*.
3. HWL to Francis Lieber, December 17, 1885, LM.
4. Miscellaneous clippings from the Boston press, LC.
5. Boston *Daily Evening Traveller*, November 13, 1855, *ibid*.
6. Hale, *Hiawatha*, 5, 18-19.
7. Fiske, "Mercurized Folkore."
8. Thompson, "Indian Legend."
9. Hilen, *Letters*, March 25, 1856, 3:532.
10. *Ibid*. For musical versions of *Hiawatha* through the 1880s, see Bordman, *American Musical Theatre*, 56-58.
11. Holmes, "Physiology of Versification," 316.
12. Frye, *Anatomy*, 186-206; Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, 103-50.
13. Folsom, *Native Representations*, 50, 58.
14. Whitman, *Complete Prose*, 315.
15. Quoted in Arvin, *Longfellow*, 322.
16. Buell, *Selected Poems*, xxix.
17. Arvin, *Longfellow*, 173.
18. Longfellow, *Life*, 2:73-74.
19. Jackson treats this paradox in her splendid essay, "Longfellow's Tradition."
20. See Carr, *Inventing the American Primitive*, 58-100.
21. Gioia, "Aftermath of Modernism," 87.
22. HWL, *Song*, 161.
23. Jackson, "Longfellow's Tradition," 473.
24. Longfellow, *Life*, 2:170. See Gould, *Mismeasure*, 42-50.
25. Longfellow, *Life*, 2:137. See Moyne, "Longfellow," 48-52.
26. Copway, *Life, Letters*, 46.
27. Hilen, *Letters*, 4:109.
28. Samuel Longfellow to Mrs. Jacobs, February 24, 1882, LC.

29. HWL, *Song*, 161.
30. I am indebted to the late David Levin and to J. C. Levinson for introducing me to Lewis's novel. For more on Schoolcraft and his first wife, see Mumford, "Mixed-Race Identity" and Michaelsen, *Limits*, 38-45.
31. Lewis, *Invasion*, 323-25.
32. On Schoolcraft's career and his place in American ethnology, see Bieder, *Science Encounters*, 146-93.
33. HWL, "Defense of Poetry," 75. See Herder, *Reflections*, 7. See also Carr, *Inventing the American Primitive*, 106-13, and Bluestein, *Voice*, 2-15:
34. Schoolcraft, *Oneota*, 246.
35. Schoolcraft, *History*, 29-30.
36. Schoolcraft, *Oneota*, 247.
37. Longfellow, *Life*, 2:267.
38. Conway, no page number. LC.
39. HWL, *Song*, xii.
40. See Cowan, "Ojibway Vocabulary," 59-67, and Vogel, "Placenames," 261-68.
41. Schoolcraft, *American Indians*, 230.
42. HWL, *Song*, 220.
43. Hymes, "In vain," 39-42. My gratitude to Professor Hymes for sharing with me his "Chant to the Fire-fly: Contexts." See also Nichols, "Chant," 113-26. Also Brotherston, *Fourth World*, 347.
44. Fletcher, "Whitman and Longfellow," 141.
45. HWL, *Song*, 48.
46. HWL, "Journal," March 23, 1855, LP.
47. Lepore, *A Is for American*, 64.
48. HWL, *Song*, 103-04.
49. Schoolcraft, *American Indians*, 293-300.
50. Schoolcraft, *Myth of Hiawatha*, xviii.
51. See Ward, "Influence of Vico," 57-63.
52. Jackson, "Longfellow's Tradition," 478.
53. Vico, *The New Science*, 74-75.
54. Schoolcraft, *Myth of Hiawatha*, xix.
55. HWL, *Song*, 83.
56. *Ibid.*, 8.
57. HWL, "Defense of Poetry," 56-78; Ward, "Influence of Vico," 60-62.
58. Ferguson, "Longfellow's Political Fears," 181-215.
59. Lewis, *Invasion*, 325.
60. Longfellow, *Life*, 2:293.
61. HWL, *Song*, 152-53.
62. Roheim, "Culture Hero," 190; Radin, *Trickster*, xxiii.
63. Manuscript, Box 93, LP.
64. Hilen, *Letters*, 4:517.
65. Schoolcraft, *Algonic Researches*, 134.
66. Longfellow, "A Visit to Hiawatha's People," v.
67. Fenton, *Great Law*, 73-76.
68. Wallace, "Return of Hiawatha," 392.

69. Bierhorst, *Four Masterworks*, 111.
70. Longfellow, *Life*, 2:265-66. For Emerson's 1855 letter to Whitman and the poet's lengthy reply, see Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, 729-39.
71. HWL, *Song*, 154.
72. *Ibid.*, 160.
73. Brotherston, *Fourth World*, 347.
74. DeCosta, *Hiawatha*, 5-13. Another curiosity is Woodworth's *The Godly Seer*, apparently a reprint of a 1900 work by Woodworth, "Chief Sachem" of "a bookish club," called "Sachems of the Pipe."
75. Newspaper clipping, LC.
76. Bataille, "Notion of Expenditure," 118.
77. Malmshemer, "Imitation White Man."
78. Cora M. Folsom to Mr. Dana, with "Scenes from Hiawatha," undated typescript letter, LHP. On Cora Folsom, see Lindsey, *Indians*, 211-16.
79. Baker, *Hemingway*, 5, 13, 64. See also Meredith, "They Remember Papa."
80. Eight pages of Horn's photographs also illustrate the brochure "The Indian Play 'Hiawatha.'"
81. *Song of Hiawatha: Players' Edition*, xi-xii.
82. Newspaper clippings, LC.
83. See "A Great Cantata Founded on 'Hiawatha,'" and "The Hiawatha Drama—A festival of the Ojibway Indians," 564.
84. See Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 164-99. See also Kahn, "Caliban."

#### Additional Sources

For further discussion of Indian figures and themes in antebellum drama and melodrama, see Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 102-48, and on the Pocahontas theme, 75-80; B. Donald Grose, "Edwin Forrest, *Metamora*, and the Indian Removal Act of 1830," *Theatre Journal* vol. 36 (May 1985): 181-91; Sally L. Jones, "The First but not Last of the 'Vanishing Indians': Edwin Forrest and Mythic Recreations of the Native Population," in S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996); Tilton, *Pocahontas*. On Black Hawk, see Milo Miton Qiaife, ed., *Life of Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak, or Black Hawk* (1834; repr., New York: Dover, 1994); Roger L. Nichols, *Black Hawk and the Warrior's Path* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1992); On William Apes, see Barry O'Connell, ed., *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apes, A Pequot* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992). On George Copway (Kah-ge-ga-gah'-bowh), see Copway, *Life, Letters, and Speeches*. On the theme of the ghostliness of Indian figures in nineteenth-century American writing, see the interesting opening chapter in Renée L. Bergland, *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000), 1-24.

More discussion of Longfellow and the Mohawk *Hiawatha* can be found in Hale, *Hiawatha*, 5, 18-19, and "The Hiawatha Myths," in *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (Philadelphia: D. G. Brinton, 1883), 180-83. See also Morgan, *League*, 68; Arthur C. Parker, "Who was Hiawatha?" *New York Folklore* 10, no. 4 (Winter 1954): 285-91, and "The Hiawatha Tradition," in William N. Fenton, ed., *Parker on the Iroquois* (Syracuse,

NY: Syracuse University Press, 1968), 114-18; Dean R. Snow, *The Iroquois* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 57-60; Anthony F. C. Wallace, "The Dekanawideh Myth Analyzed as the Record of a Revitalization Movement," *Ethnohistory* no. 1 (Winter 1958): 118-30.

Other works on Longfellow and his sources include Rose Davis, "How Indian is Hiawatha?" *Midwest Folklore* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1957): 5-25; Joseph S. Pronechen, "The Making of Hiawatha," *New York Folklore Quarterly* 2 (June 1972): 151-57, and "Hiawatha and its Predecessors," *Philological Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (October 1932): 321-43. Leslie Fiedler has typically pithy and resonant observations to make about Longfellow in *Return of Vanishing American*.

Loren R. Graham tells the story of Schoolcraft and Shing-Wauk in his engaging history of a Lake Superior Chippewa community, *A Face in the Rock: The Tale of a Grand Island Chippewa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

For an illuminating application of Bataille's theories to performative texts, see Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), esp. pp. 40-42, 123-25. On the Wild West shows, see Joy Kasson's excellent *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000), and L. G. Moses's revealing study of the "show Indians," in *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

On Longfellow's *Hiawatha* in paintings, sculpture, and music, see Cynthia Nickerson, "Interpretations of H. W. Longfellow's 'The Song of Hiawatha,' 1855-1900," *American Art Journal* 16, no. 3 (Summer 1984): 3; Rena N. Coen, "Longfellow and Some 19th Century American Painters," in *Papers Presented at the Longfellow Commemorative Conference* (Cambridge, MA: National Park Service, Longfellow National Historical Park, 1982), 69-91; Michael T. Richman, *Daniel Chester French, An American Sculptor* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976); *Edmonia Lewis and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: Images and Identities*, Gallery Series no. 14 (1995); (Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum); Beth Levy, "In the Glory of the Sunset": Arthur Farwell, Charles Wakefield Cadman, and Indianism in American Music," *Repercussions* 5 (Spring-Fall 1996): 128-83; entry on Coleridge-Taylor in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 528-30.

#### 2. Conceivable Aliens

1. Quoted in King, *Making Americans*, 127.
2. "Are We Facing an Immigration Peril?"
3. Walker, "Restriction of Immigration."
4. King, *Making Americans*, 76, 81.
5. Higham, *Send These to Me*, 4.
6. Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 76. See also Gleason, *Speaking of Diversity*, 3-31.
7. Young, "Mother of Us All."
8. Posnock, *Trial of Curiosity*, 259.
9. AS, xxv, xxvi.
10. *Ibid.*, 307, xxvi.
11. *Ibid.*, 273.