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by

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E. Pauline Johnson and Walt Whitman Rebury Red Jacket

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Dedication

For my parents, my sisters and my little brother.

Epigraph

“The court decided that pious intention, or ceremonial consideration and spiritual possession, denied the common states of ownership, however established by discoveries, purchase, or inheritance.”

“The culture of ownership decides,” said Lord.

“No one owns stories,” said Chaine.

Gerald Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*

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Abstract

E. Pauline Johnson and Walt Whitman Rebury Red Jacket

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

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Side-by-side, surprisingly, in the appendix of the Buffalo Historical Society's publication *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, E. Pauline Johnson and Walt Whitman memorialize Red Jacket's reburial on October 9, 1884, with their respective poems, "The Re-interment of Red Jacket" and "Red Jacket, (From Aloft)." Through this textual showdown, this report interrogates the usefulness of the vanishing Indians narrative, instead interpreting the event as the locus of a heterogeneous, spiritual contest over bodies and their potential significations. Although orchestrated by Buffalo's European American elites, the reburial also included representatives from the Six Nations tribes, among them Mohawk Ely S. Parker as well as Johnson. Paying attention to heterogeneity, whether differences in religion, tribal affiliation or class, at the event allows us to understand the varying stakes of the conflict, from debates over Christianity to immigration to the establishment of literary and social relations. While Whitman, nearing the end of his life, contemplates proper memorialization in "Red Jacket, (From Aloft)," Johnson deploys the elegy to lay claim to her Native ancestry and burgeoning literary career. Monumentalizations often attempt to conceal such heterogeneity by creating the illusion of a dominant, national narrative. Alive within these events, nevertheless, a

different image persists, one that preserves the messy debates over religion, land settlement, immigration, citizenship and transforming Native governments that actual memorialization ceremonies create.

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E. Pauline Johnson and Walt Whitman Rebury Red Jacket

Preserved in a textual standoff over the meaning of a local historical event are two unlikely interlocutors: E. Pauline Johnson and Walt Whitman. Side-by-side, surprisingly, in the appendix of the Buffalo Historical Society's publication *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, the two poets memorialize the occasion of the Seneca leader and orator Red Jacket's reburial ceremony at the Forest Lawn Cemetery in Buffalo, New York on October 9, 1884.¹ On that date, the Buffalo Historical Society reinterred Red Jacket along with five other leaders from the Six Nations (also known as the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois), eventually constructing a monument to Red Jacket that features prominently in the cemetery to this day.² An important literary figure himself, Red Jacket forms the axis of a constellation of literary moments involving a surprising range of American Indian, First Nations and European American authors. Apart from Red Jacket himself, Mary Jemison, Walt Whitman, George Copway, E. Pauline Johnson and even, distantly, John Greenleaf Whittier are all woven into the *Obsequies*.

While Mohawk poet and performer E. Pauline Johnson attended the reburial ceremony as part of a delegation of Six Nations Indians from both the United States and Canada, Walt Whitman likely heard about the event from the publicity it gained in newspapers and periodicals across the United States.³ The day after the reburial, on October 10, 1884, Whitman published the poem "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)" in the *Philadelphia Press*.⁴ On first glance, Whitman's poem commemorates Red Jacket's reburial as part of the vanishing Indian myth so often found in nineteenth-century

European American representations of Indians. In Whitman's poem, Red Jacket witnesses the event from above as a specter, appearing not as a human voice, but as "a towering human form."⁵ Figured as "some old tree, or rock or cliff," the "Product of Nature's sun, stars, earth direct," Red Jacket lacks the ability to act in the poem, in spite of being "arm'd with the rifle."⁶ Throughout the poem, Whitman makes no direct mention of the living Indians who took a central part in the event—among them Johnson and some of Red Jacket's descendents. Instead, Whitman erases Native agency entirely, representing the reburial as the product of European American "fashion, learning, wealth" rather than as a collaboration between Indians and European Americans.⁷ Thus, the poem "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.*)" seems easily legible within the common analytical framework of the "spectral" or "vanishing" Indian narrative.

Stepping back, however, from Whitman's ghostly portrayal of Red Jacket, what does "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.*)" signify next to Johnson's poem, "The Re-interment of Red Jacket"? As both a participant in the event of Red Jacket's reburial and a member of the Mohawk Nation, Johnson opens up less hegemonic ways of interpreting this event as the locus of a spiritual contest involving multiple European American and Indian groups. As Johnson's first public claim of Indianness, "The Re-interment of Red Jacket" constitutes a key moment in Johnson's development as an author.⁸ In contrast, by the publications of "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.*)" in the *Philadelphia Press*, and, later, the 1891-92 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman was a well-established poet contemplating how to ensure his own monumentalization. By reading Johnson's poem in juxtaposition with Whitman's, we move beyond nationalist frames to address the heterogeneity of

claims, both literary and historical, which developed in response to Red Jacket's reinterment at Buffalo.

Red Jacket's reburial functioned in multiple ways as a contested site of monumentalization. On one level, the civic ceremony of Red Jacket's reinterment by the Buffalo Historical Society serves to assert Buffalo's place within the national history of the United States. Even as the ceremony promotes Buffalo's national history, it elides Buffalo's local histories of immigration and European dispossession of Indians by figuring Six Nations Indians as belonging to the past rather than the present. Native speakers and participants from the Six Nations attending the event, however, contest this reading of Red Jacket's reburial. They used the event for their own purposes, whether debating about Christianity, asserting Native land rights, or forging and renewing important social ties and intertribal alliances.

The various speeches and literary representations surrounding Red Jacket's reburial exemplify the often-neglected religious or spiritual elements at play in such historical ceremonies and the poems commemorating them. The impulse towards memorialization of Indians during the nineteenth century was rooted not only in political contests over land and sovereignty but also in complex spiritual contests over bodies and their potential meanings—an aspect of monumentalizations undertheorized even in criticism today. Paying attention to heterogeneity, whether differences in religion, tribal affiliation or class, at Red Jacket's reburial allows us to understand the varying stakes of the conflict. After all, the claims of tribal outsiders like Whitman, Johnson and Copway

can neither be subsumed into the concerns of the Seneca nor the Buffalo Historical Society.

The story unfolding from Red Jacket's reburial is a complex one. Following this narrative will take us from the rural cemetery movement to local conflicts over immigration, bodies, and land, to Buffalo's religious landscape and Six Nations political formations before finally arriving at the memorializations by Whitman, Seneca Ely S. Parker and Johnson. The Historical Society's own preoccupation with the dead bodies of recent immigrants, and those immigrants' own concerns with living Indian bodies, further complicates notions of European American identity at the memorialization. Six Nations identity, in turn, is complicated by varying affiliations with Christianity, American and Canadian governments, and tribal communities. Seneca Ely S. Parker and Johnson, for instance, advocate vastly different relationships to Christianity in their memorializations of Red Jacket. Addressing the event as a spiritual contest allows us to appreciate these tensions, present within the event itself, and to understand their interactions.

CONNECTING BUFFALO'S PAST AND PRESENT: THE RURAL CEMETERY MOVEMENT, IMMIGRATION AND LAND CONFLICT

Multiple factors influenced European American investment in Red Jacket's reburial (both in terms of political economy and spirituality) and impacted the decision to rebury Red Jacket and other Senecas in 1884. Among these concerns were the rural cemetery movement, changing views of death and burial in the wake of the Civil War, increased immigration, and a history of Seneca land dispossession and sovereignty violation in New York state. First proposed in an address by Seneca chief Nathaniel T.

Strong to the Young Men's Christian Union of Buffalo in 1864, the idea of erecting monuments to departed Indian leaders was taken up by the Board of Trustees of Buffalo's new rural cemetery, the Forest Lawn Cemetery. Opened in 1866, the Forest Lawn Cemetery was one of many cemeteries created in the United States in the wake of the rural cemetery movement.⁹ Cemeteries like Forest Lawn served both practical and ethical purposes. Meant to provide a "didactic landscape" wherein citizens would learn about the civic past, cemeteries produced by this movement largely commemorated "masculine accomplishment," particularly by military heroes from the Revolutionary War.¹⁰ Promoting a kind of civic religion, rural cemeteries provided a space wherein citizens could "cultivate an emotional disposition that would allow them to learn from the past."¹¹ As part of this movement, Buffalo's Forest Lawn Cemetery—through the beauty of its landscapes and its memorials—argues for the imagination of a particular connection between Buffalo's past and present, a connection facilitated by the cemetery's appropriation of Indian, as well as European American, history.

Created just after the Civil War, Forest Lawn Cemetery also responds to changing attitudes surrounding death and burial in the United States. In the nineteenth century, and increasingly after the mass graves of the Civil War, the belief became widespread among Americans that it was their duty to bury the dead in individual, permanent, personalized graves.¹² Since redemption and resurrection of the body were imagined as physical occurrences, bodies continued to hold meaning for Christians, even after death.¹³ Citing burial sites from Egypt to indigenous North America, reformers from the rural cemetery movement argued that burial and commemoration of the dead was a universal human

value and sign of civilization.¹⁴ Yet, this view of burial sites as markers of civilization was not uniformly applied to Indian graves. In his speech at Red Jacket's reinterment, Chief Judge James Sheldon proclaims:

And that civilization which raises monuments to its heroes and statesmen and philosophers and perpetuates their names by undying memorials, has now done for those who lived and died without its pale, what barbarism never accomplished for its own.¹⁵

With this speech, Sheldon uses the precepts of the rural cemetery movement, namely, that "civilized" nations create monuments to their dead, against Seneca burial practices, which usually forgo grave markers.¹⁶ By performing the "civilized" duty of commemoration through the reburial of Red Jacket, the Buffalo Historical Society thus uses the precepts of the rural cemetery movement against Indians, counting them among the "barbar[ous]" rather than the "civilized" nations.

Anticipating the disappearance of Indians, the wealthy citizens of Buffalo decided to "rescue" Indian bodies just as ethnographers at the time attempted to preserve Native traditions and stories. At Forest Lawn's dedication ceremony in 1866, Lewis F. Allen bemoans:

Mary Jemison, (the White Woman,) must no longer lie in a waste corner of a pasture field, nor her tomb-stone be chipped by the hands of vandal relic hunters. The bones of the great Sa-ga-ya-wat-ha, (Red Jacket,) must be rescued from the strong box in which they are deposited in a private dwelling at Cattaraugus.¹⁷

Bringing the bodies of "distinguished" Indians to Forest Lawn thus becomes the funereal version of James Clifford's "'salvage' ethnography." Clifford identifies this tendency in ethnography as "the theme of the vanishing primitive" wherein "The other is lost, in

disintegrating time and space, but saved in the text.”¹⁸ By reburying Red Jacket and other Indians in Forest Lawn, elite European Americans attempted to “save” supposedly threatened Indian bodies through containment within the rural cemetery. This rescue, moreover, parallels the textual incorporation of Indians we find in *Obsequies* itself.

Appearing as the third volume in a lengthy list of publications by the Buffalo Historical Society, *Obsequies of Red Jacket At Buffalo, October 9th, 1884* stands apart as a physical document from the majority of the Historical Society’s other volumes (for the most part hefty tomes).¹⁹ Locally printed by the Courier Company (the same company that produced the 1875 version of the Society’s *Certificate of Incorporation, Constitution and By-Laws*), *Obsequies* appears as a slender volume, originally bound in green, now flaking, paper.²⁰ On the cover, the words, “Red Jacket,” catch the eye, the red ink contrasting with the green paper and black ink of the rest of the title. The title page and frontispiece similarly both privilege and isolate Red Jacket. A print of a painting of Red Jacket by R.W. Weir materializes in the space normally reserved for the author’s portrait. On the next page, the title reads simply: “RED JACKET,” again in red ink. A print of a peace pipe appears directly below this title, dispelling any remaining doubts as to Red Jacket’s “Indianness.”²¹ Within the volume’s covers, *Obsequies* performs another kind of textual salvaging. Reports from local newspapers, speeches, letters, council minutes, cemetery diagrams, architectural prints, and participation and subscription lists all compete for space within the volume’s slender 117 pages. The material document of *Obsequies* thus becomes a textual monument to Red Jacket’s reburial, compiling, as it

does, numerous narratives, illustrations and records relating to the Seneca orator and his reinterment.

During his commemoration speech, William Clement Bryant of the Buffalo Historical Society gives the reasons for Red Jacket's reburial in terms that echo nineteenth century concerns about the proper treatment of bodies after death:

There has been no rest allowed even to his bones in the lowly grave which should have been sacred and unprofaned. We now commit the mouldering relics of his humanity, surrounded, as he wished, by those of kindred and friends, to their last resting-place. And here the dust of our antagonistic races will commingle undisturbed, until the final summons shall call alike, from 'the ostentatious mausoleum of the white man and the humble grave of the Indian,' the innumerable dead to one common judgment.²²

By imagining the last judgment and resurrection as a physical phenomenon and arguing that Red Jacket deserves an individual, "sacred" grave, Bryant reflects changing attitudes about death and burial. In this speech, however, Bryant also engages in a racialization fantasy: imagining Red Jacket and other Six Nations Indians as divided upon entrance into the cemetery, yet integrated with European Americans once there. Nonetheless, the picture becomes more complicated in light of Bryant's assertion that Indians and European Americans will "commingle undisturbed" at Forest Lawn until the day of final judgment and resurrection. This bizarre fracture reflects Bryant's simultaneous wish for racial integration and fear of social change; by postponing the complete union of Indians and European Americans until the apocalypse, Bryant demonstrates the continuing need to contain Indian bodies beyond even death. Christianity thus becomes not only a spiritual stance but also a political one, since it works rhetorically to contain dangerous Indians like Red Jacket. In a move eerily similar to Whitman's concerns about the gaudy

materialism of monuments, Bryant further highlights racial difference by critiquing the “ostentatious mausoleum of the white man” compared to the ‘humble grave of the Indian.’”

The history of Red Jacket’s exhumation before this reburial informs Bryant’s desire to contain and control Native bodies at Forest Lawn. Originally buried in the Mission Cemetery, next to the church, at Buffalo Creek, Red Jacket’s body was first exhumed in 1852 under the direction of local businessman Wheeler Hotchkiss, with the assistance of the Ojibwa writer and missionary George Copway and an undertaker named Farwell. Under the increased pressures of significant financial and mental duress, Copway delivered a lecture at Buffalo that reportedly “called attention to Red Jacket’s neglected grave and agitated the subject of the removal of his dust to a more secure place and the erection of a suitable monument.”²³ The men removed Red Jacket’s body from the Mission Cemetery, placed it in a new coffin and “deposited” the body in the cellar of Hotchkiss’ house.²⁴ The reason for this initial exhumation was allegedly that the cemetery “was in a scandalous state of dilapidation and neglect,” having become “a pasture ground for vagrant cattle” after its purchase by the Ogden Land Company.²⁵ The Senecas, however, quickly discovered the theft and demanded the return of the body. Hotchkiss agreed, and thereafter the Senecas moved Red Jacket’s body to the home of Red Jacket’s step-daughter, Ruth Stevenson, in Cattaraugus. Stevenson kept the new burial place a secret until she agreed to allow the Buffalo Historical Society to rebury Red Jacket at Forest Lawn, whereupon the Society removed Red Jacket’s bones to a bank-vault in the Western Savings Bank.²⁶ Numbering among the list of subscribers to

the Historical Society's reburial fund are two presidents of the Bank: Joel and A. J. Wheeler.²⁷ The decision to keep Red Jacket's body in the Western Saving's Bank vault thus testifies to the Historical Society's intimacy with Buffalo's elites. Moreover, as the repeated language of deposits hints, these elites appreciated material Indian remains for their assumed cultural—and economic—value. Whereas Native grave theft in the Americas started with Spanish attempts to obtain actual gold and other valuables, by this point Indian bodies and their burial items had gained a cultural, and financial, cachet of their own.

Given the circuitous history of Red Jacket's burial, it is instructive that, according to Bryant, the "violation" of Red Jacket's grave does not initially arise from its removal from the Mission Cemetery, but rather results from the "invasion" of the Mission Cemetery "by white foreigners, who are burying their dead there with a stolid indifference to every sentiment of justice or humanity."²⁸ In fact, when Bryant and his companions return to the Mission Cemetery to exhume the bodies of other Seneca chiefs, they note that "it was found necessary to tunnel under many of these surreptitious graves in order to rescue the red proprietors who slumbered beneath the strange intruders."²⁹ Although with the term "red proprietors" Bryant seemingly acknowledges the right of the Senecas to the land at Mission Cemetery, the excavation process demonstrates that the bodies carefully undisturbed were in fact those of the "white foreigners," probably recent German immigrants. In another material instance of salvage ethnography, the Buffalo Historical Society disturbs the grave of Red Jacket and his contemporaries in order to "rescue" the Senecas from encroachment by European American squatters.

Why should the bodies of European Americans disturb Red Jacket and his contemporaries in their first burial place, while such proximity to European American bodies is less disturbing in Forest Lawn? The difference is two-fold. First, in the Mission Cemetery, the mingling is physical: the bodies of European American settlers literally pile on top of Seneca bodies, violating the mores of the rural cemetery movement. At Forest Lawn, the mingling of bodies is purely metaphorical. Red Jacket's body joins those of European Americans within the symbolic landscape of the rural cemetery, yet his individual grave and monument are preserved, even quarantined, from the graves of European Americans, a fact that becomes apparent upon visiting Forest Lawn Cemetery today. Situated on a corner, near one of the cemetery's main entrances, Red Jacket's memorial sticks out visually, even in a cemetery full of large statues. Such placement reestablishes the confinement of Indian bodies that the European American immigrants disturbed in the Mission Cemetery. Red Jacket's isolation within Bryant's fantasy of perfect inclusion at Forest Lawn is rooted in both racial and religious differentiation. Besides being an Indian, as Parker will note later, Red Jacket was an unapologetic pagan and therefore ultimately unavailable for spiritual assimilation within a Christian cemetery.

Second, the European Americans invading the Seneca cemetery were recent immigrants, as Bryant stipulates each time he mentions their encroachment. Bryant's description of these immigrants evokes class conflict as well as racial conflict. As a private cemetery funded by a committee, Forest Lawn was a place for Buffalo's elite, not its lower classes. The segregation of Red Jacket and the other Senecas in Forest Lawn

Cemetery thus serves the double purpose of turning material contact between European Americans and Indians into spiritual contact while shifting responsibility for Seneca land loss toward the immigrant communities of Buffalo. Linking wealthy Buffalo citizens with its most famous Indian, Red Jacket's reburial establishes a claim for who gets to determine "Americanness" and what processes and social circuits are required to "Americanize."

Behind Bryant's imagination of grave contamination by recent immigrants was a very real history of conflicts among recent immigrants, land companies, and Seneca Indians. In 1843, the Amana Society—a Christian, communalistic society also known as the "Community of True Inspiration"—emigrated from Hessa, Germany to western New York.³⁰ Staying with friends in the Buffalo area, they were wooed by agents of the Ogden Land Company, who promised to sell the German community several thousand acres of Seneca land.³¹ The community eventually discovered, however, that the land they had settled, contracted and paid for was enmeshed in a long dispute between the Seneca and the Ogden Land Company over the rightful ownership of the land. Duped by the promise of profitable, cheap land, the newest immigrants to the Buffalo area found themselves mired in an ongoing legal battle between the Ogden Land Company and the Seneca over the land now surrounding Buffalo. As one history of the community wryly notes, "The Indians as soon as they heard of the sale began to show signs of hostility. Perhaps it is due to this fact that there had been so few buyers, for the people around Buffalo knew Indian character too well."³² In fact, the Erie Canal had made the Buffalo area so desirable that the Seneca spent the greater part of their time since its creation fighting to

keep their land. Seneca leaders from Maris B. Pierce to Ely S. Parker whetted their teeth on these legal struggles.

RELIGIOUS HETEROGENEITY IN BUFFALO

An address from the Community of True Inspiration to the Seneca sheds light on how spiritual, as well as legal, concerns directed interactions among the Seneca, the Ogden Land Company, and the Amana community living at Ebenezer.³³ The immigrants called for several “councils of arbitration” with the Seneca following the difficulties they encountered in obtaining the deed for the land purchased from the Ogden Company.³⁴ Presumably recorded from one such meeting, the address explains the community’s history in religious as well as legal terms, enumerating the community’s persecution in Germany, subsequent divine orders to emigrate to America, and conviction of their divine right to settle Seneca land.

In their address to the Seneca, the Society uses Christianity as a bridge of understanding between themselves and the Indians they hope to displace. The Amana Society employs the Bible, particularly the Old Testament, to account for its members’ emigration and subsequent settlement among the Seneca. One passage reads:

we cried unto the Lord our God for his help and salvation from our and His enemies and He heard graciously our supplications & prayers and the word of the Lord came also unto us, saying
“Get ye out of your country and from your kindred and from your fathers’ house unto a land, that I will shew [sic] ye.”
In obedience to this commandment of God we went [sic] forth to settle in this country; we have not come amongst you to quarrel with you nor to grow rich amongst you, but only to serve God and to keep his commandments.³⁵

By arguing for their right to Seneca land through Christianity, the community roots their appeal to the Seneca in a mutual, religious language. As the Pierce papers evidence, many Senecas converted to Christianity during the nineteenth century, even forming a “Convention of the Six Nations of Indians for the Promotion of the Christian Religion.”³⁶ Christianity, it seems, was a shared concern between the Society and many Seneca Indians, and, whatever their intentions, the Community of True Inspiration knew its neighbors. Indeed, the address assumes a chiding tone, admonishing the Seneca that “much has been done by you to wrest again from our hands the land that has been given to us by God our Lord.”³⁷ Throughout a strange mixture of legal and divine appeals, the address ends with several explicitly Christian attempts at sympathy. “We say unto you,” it reads, “Let us remain amongst you in peace and friendship, do not harm us, do not disturb us, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God and He cannot bless you.”³⁸ Such appeals transmit a threat: if the Seneca do not cede their land to the Amana Society, both man’s and God’s laws will work against them. This threat takes its most disturbing form in the threat of removal, as the Society argues, “do not attempt to drive us from our land; if you would do so you would only hasten your own time which you could stay yet by keeping in peace & friendship with us.”³⁹ By the end of the narrative, the Amana Society has rhetorically switched places with the Seneca, positioning themselves as the legitimate landowners while suggesting that the Seneca become emigrants to the West. Ultimately, however, it was the Community of True Inspiration that would move westward, resettling in Iowa at the prospect of better and cheaper farmland.⁴⁰

This narrative of the Amana Society's interaction with the Seneca suggests, in part, the long history of religious heterogeneity and revival around Buffalo. Called the "Burned-Over-District," Western New York in the early nineteenth century was "a volatile, erratic, unsettled religious landscape," filled with interdenominational conflict, evangelical revivals and "various utopian social experiments" like the Amana Society.⁴¹ For the Seneca, this heterogeneous religious landscape meant that they juggled various Christian denominations throughout the nineteenth century, a situation Senecas could turn to their own benefit by "play[ing] one denomination off against another" and selectively adopting practices of various religious groups, thereby defying missionaries' attempts to fully convert the Seneca.⁴² Red Jacket himself often invoked this religious heterogeneity to critique European American attempts to convert the Seneca, drawing particular attention to sectarian conflict among Christians.⁴³ The Seneca religious revival of Handsome Lake provided another response to religious heterogeneity in Western New York. A socially conservative movement, particularly concerning gender and sexuality, the religious teachings of Handsome Lake "reflected the prolonged intercultural conversation between Seneca religious traditions and various representatives of Christianity, which had begun in the seventeenth century and would continue into the nineteenth century and beyond."⁴⁴ As Matthew Dennis argues, Handsome Lake's death and resurrection closely resemble those of leaders of other religious revivals at the time, such as Jemima Wilkinson of New Jerusalem.⁴⁵ In addition to emphasizing a form of millennialism, Handsome Lake's visions included George Washington as well as Jesus Christ, endowing his teachings with a political as well as moral significance.⁴⁶ Carrying

this tradition forward, the religious landscape of Buffalo in the 1880s and 90s was far from homogenous. A city map from 1901 shows that Buffalo contained Baptist, Congregationalist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Methodist, Unitarian and Roman Catholic churches as well as several synagogues.⁴⁷

By refiguring the Seneca's story through Red Jacket's reburial as one of neglected graves, immigrant infiltration and disappearance rather than land speculation, Buffalo citizens erased their own complicity in the Seneca's removal while appropriating Seneca history as their own. The Buffalo Historical Society's reburial of Red Jacket took place in the wake of a history of Native land dispossession in the Buffalo area. Following the Revolutionary War, Seneca land rights in New York State became more precarious. Seneca land eventually fell under the right of preemption, wherein private companies and people could gain exclusive right to purchase Native land by obtaining the consent of the federal government to execute these land sales.⁴⁸ Under these conditions, various land companies converged on the Seneca, among them the Ogden Land Company, which made a series of shady land purchases from the Seneca in the 1820s and 1830s, culminating in the disastrous 1838 Treaty of Buffalo Creek.⁴⁹ Under this treaty, the Seneca lost all their remaining New York lands, excepting the one-mile square Oil Spring Reservation.⁵⁰ While the supplemental treaty of 1842 returned the Allegany and Cattaraugus Reservations to the Seneca, the Buffalo Creek Reservation remained under the control of the Ogden Land Company.⁵¹ Moreover, from this point forward, New York state officials increasingly tried to extend their jurisdiction over the Seneca as Buffalo's

growth “depended on its extinguishment of Indian land titles to this immense reservation that bordered the city on the east and south.”⁵²

Although the speeches of European American civic leaders largely consigned Senecas to the past, a closer examination of Red Jacket’s reburial reveals that Indians participating in the event also took advantage of the occasion, using the event in ways that exceed the official, vanishing Indians narrative of the Buffalo Historical Society. Reading these alternative meanings requires paying attention to what Grey Gundaker terms “vernacular practices”—that is, practices that exist outside of conventional literacies.⁵³ At moments like Red Jacket’s reburial, a kind of cultural “interference” takes place, the “ambiguating effect that results when disjunctive networks overlay, interface, and shift, with changing points of view.”⁵⁴ Per Gundaker, there is a kind of cultural overlap that occurred at events like this, as Indians and European Americans brought different and unstable religious and cultural frameworks to Red Jacket’s reburial.

Despite the Buffalo Historical Society’s insistence upon the lack of political organization among the Six Nations Indians present at Red Jacket’s reburial, political organization does in fact take place behind the scenes in the historical society’s very own rooms. In *Obsequies of Red Jacket*, we can see brief glimpses of a Six Nations council from the afternoon preceding Red Jacket’s reburial, October 8, 1884. During this time, the text notes, “the visiting Indians assembled...and listened to addresses by Mr. William C. Bryant, himself a Seneca by adoption, and Gen. Ely S. Parker, of New York, one of the fifty sachems of the allied Six Nations.”⁵⁵ The document continues, “The latter’s speech was especially interesting and affecting to the Indians present, and was interpreted

in their dialect by his brother, Chief Nicholas H. Parker. A council was then organized to make final preparations for the burial ceremonies.”⁵⁶

While the Buffalo Historical Society explains away this council as existing solely to determine pallbearers for the procession, a letter from Col. J. T. Gilkison, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Brantford, Ontario hints that Indian reorganization was, in fact, occurring at this time.⁵⁷ In an extract from the minutes of the Six Nations in Council in Canada, the Council writes that they “feel the red man has received a recognition hitherto unsurpassed, if not unprecedented, which will not be forgotten, but be a lasting record in the hearts of the Indians and in succeeding generations.”⁵⁸ Both the well-documented fact of their meeting—complete with “minutes,”—and the Council’s assertion that “succeeding generations” will remember the Historical Society’s actions certainly does not suggest that Six Nations political formations are disappearing. On the contrary, the Buffalo Historical Society’s commemoration of Red Jacket seems to have brought estranged Six Nations tribes back into communication with each other, thus renewing, not destroying Six Nations alliances. Elsewhere, the Buffalo Historical Society calls this “council of the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations” the “first general council of the united Iroquois...since the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, and the consequent disruption of the League.”⁵⁹ *Obsequies* stipulates, however, that “When this gathering and council was first proposed the Canadian Iroquois refused to unite with their estranged brothers who lived in the State of New York.”⁶⁰ Nevertheless, in the rooms of the Historical Society, “A few moments’ conference...and a few bursts of

Indian eloquence, melted all their hearts into a feeling of common sympathy, and the council proceeded with kindly and fraternal feeling.”⁶¹

While official narratives at Red Jacket’s reburial focused on the Confederacy’s end, Indians at the event engaged in information exchange and organization that, in the long run, may have been as important as the Confederacy in maintaining the political viability of the Six Nations tribes. Gathered together for Red Jacket’s reburial, tribes based both in Canada and the United States could share information about sovereignty struggles and financial compensation; relatives could meet and tell stories; economic deals could be formed; trust and communication could be renewed. Through these public memorializations, official narratives of death, the political formations of Six Nations tribes transformed and contributed to the cultural, social and economic survival of Indian tribes in this area.

“AH, NOT THIS MARBLE, DEAD AND COLD:” MEMORIALIZATION AND WALT WHITMAN’S “RED JACKET, (FROM ALOFT.)”

One of a series of poems that Whitman published between 1879 and 1887 in the *Philadelphia Press* on famous people and public events, “Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)” commemorates Red Jacket’s reburial by applauding the spiritual impulse behind the event yet questioning the need for material monuments.⁶² Under the poem’s title, a note specifies that the poem was composed “Impromptu on Buffalo City’s commemoration of and monument to the old Iroquois orator, October 9, 1884.”⁶³ Whitman likely heard about the reburial through the September 27, 1884 issue of *The Critic*, which contains an article on the upcoming event entitled, “Honoring a Dead Indian.” This article provides an

important context for interpreting Whitman's poem, as it emphasizes the material aspects of the monument to be erected in Red Jacket's honor, noting:

This monument, which is to stand in a lot containing 1500 square feet of ground, will be built of granite, in the form of a hexagon, one side for each of the Six Nations—Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. A bronze statue of Red Jacket, heroic in size, will surmount it, making the total height about forty feet.⁶⁴

Although Red Jacket's reburial occurred in October of 1884, the monument itself was not built until some years later, with the dedication occurring in June of 1892.⁶⁵ The proposed design of the Red Jacket monument appearing in *The Critic* resonates with Whitman's portrayal of Red Jacket as floating spectrally above the scene of the reburial. As "a towering human form," Red Jacket anticipates his own towering monument, his "ghostliness" forming a stark contrast with the solidity of the proposed bronze and granite monument.⁶⁶

Whitman's gentle mocking of the proceedings further situates this event as a contest about proper memorialization of national heroes. As the unseen witness to this event, Red Jacket smiles "a half-ironical smile" as he looks down "Upon this scene, this show, / Yielded to-day by fashion, learning, wealth."⁶⁷ In the poem, Whitman portrays Red Jacket as both physically and spiritually distant from the spectacle occurring below. On the one hand, by representing Red Jacket as a ghost, Whitman performs what Renée Bergland identifies as the literary removal of Indians from American lands by "plac[ing] them, instead within the American imagination."⁶⁸ This position within the American imagination is also, however, that of the aloof, spiritual artist, as Red Jacket watches the pomp of the reburial with silent derision. Nevertheless, Whitman allows that the reburial

is not “in caprice alone” but contains “some grains of deepest meaning.”⁶⁹ Whitman lauds, in other words, the spiritual impulse behind the event—the impulse Red Jacket himself seems to embody, as the allusion to Ossian’s ghosts will demonstrate—even as the reburial itself devolves into a kind of gaudy, overly material spectacle.

Whitman’s placement of “Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)” in the *Sands at Seventy* section of the 1891-92 edition of *Leaves of Grass* further reinforces the poem’s relation to questions of proper memorialization, particularly in the wake of the monument-building craze from the 1850s to 1880s.⁷⁰ A poem entitled, “Death of General Grant” precedes “Red Jacket, (From Aloft.),” while “Washington’s Monument, February, 1885” follows it.⁷¹ The poems are not chronologically ordered: “Death of General Grant” first appeared in *Harper’s Weekly* on May 16, 1885, while “Washington’s Monument” appeared in *The Philadelphia Press* on February 22, 1885.⁷² This organization suggests that Whitman deliberately arranged these poems, previously published in periodicals, into a poetic “cluster” about monuments in the 1891-92 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. In “Death of General Grant,” Whitman mourns the loss of Ulysses S. Grant as the disappearance of yet another of “the lofty actors, / From that great play on history’s stage eterne.”⁷³ “Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)” builds upon this trite image of history as a stage with its emphasis upon the theatricality of Red Jacket’s reburial. “Washington’s Monument,” meanwhile, takes the misgivings of “Red Jacket” even further, insisting that material monuments do Washington’s memory injustice since, “Wherever Freedom, pois’d by Toleration, sway’d by Law, / Stands or is rising thy true monument.”⁷⁴ Although not portrayed as a specter, Washington nevertheless possesses distinctly ethereal qualities in this poem since he is

free to roam “Wherever sails a ship, or house is built on land, or day or night, / Through teeming cities’ streets, indoors or out, factories or farms, / Now, or to come, or past—”.⁷⁵ Similar to Red Jacket and his statue, Whitman critiques the inability of Washington’s monument to represent his spirit. The “Washington’s Monument” poem begins: “Ah, not this marble, dead and cold: / Far from its base and shaft expanding—the round zones circling, comprehending, / Thou, Washington, art all the world’s, the continent’s entire—not yours alone, America.”⁷⁶ The spirit of Washington—less literalized than that of Red Jacket but no less “comprehending”—surpasses the limits of its cold, marble monument to wander the earth.

As these three poems reveal, for Whitman the spiritual elements of memorialization take precedence over the building of “dead and cold” monuments. It is this spiritual knowledge that Red Jacket’s ghost hints at when “a half-ironical smile / curv[es] his phantom lips” as, “Like one of Ossian’s ghosts [he] looks down.”⁷⁷ Although the revelation that James Macpherson invented Ossian emerged after his death at the end of the eighteenth century, American writers interested in romanticism and nationalism, among them Whitman, continued to read and be influenced by his poetry.⁷⁸ Whitman associates Ossian with a kind of primal paganism, effusing in 1888, “Ossian is of the Biblical order—is best to one who would come freshly upon it—to one who knew nothing of the Hebrew Bible.”⁷⁹ In a group of manuscripts from Duke likely dating from the 1850s, Whitman writes about Ossian, “very likely a myth altogether,” even using a pointing hand to emphasize this point.⁸⁰ By calling Red Jacket “one of Ossian’s ghosts,” Whitman aligns him with this conception of pre-Judaic, mythical knowledge, Red

Jacket's "half-ironical smile" perhaps suggesting that the Christian burial occurring below is ineffectual since Red Jacket himself belongs to an "older" form of spiritualism.

Indeed, the parallels abound between Whitman's portrayal of Red Jacket and Ossian's (or Macpherson's) ghosts. Like Red Jacket watching the materialistic scene below him, Ossian's ghosts also appear as the Irish "natives" who emerge to "fortel [sic] futurity" in cases of death or misfortune.⁸¹ The ghost Crugal's appearance in the second book of *Fingal*, moreover, bears a more than passing resemblance to Whitman's Red Jacket. The description of Crugal's ghost reads: "His face is like the beam of the setting moon. His robes are of the cloud of the hill. His eyes are like two decaying flames. . . . The stars dim-twinkled through his form. His voice was like the sound of a distant stream."⁸² Red Jacket thus becomes the ghost to Whitman's Ossian, warning the American people of the impending dangers of the materialism evident in his own memorialization. By providing the American version of Ossian's ghosts, Whitman, according to Bergland's argument, trades his own "ancestral specters" for "American specters."⁸³ Perhaps more importantly for Whitman, however, with *Leaves of Grass*, he replaces the European Ossian with a new "American" mythmaker: himself.

A "TRUE INDIAN" AND "MOST THOROUGH PAGAN": ELY S. PARKER'S RED JACKET

But, in the case of Red Jacket's memorialization, Indians (as well as spiritual outsiders like Whitman) were a part of the event and its publicization. In his speech, the only full Native speech recorded in the Buffalo Historical Society's pamphlet, Ely Parker subtly employs Christianity to great rhetorical effect, critiquing the desecration of Red Jacket's grave by linking it to Native dispossession and perhaps undermining the spiritual

and sentimental premise of the event itself. Appearing after a series of long speeches by European Americans on Six Nations history, Parker turns, in his conclusion, from land observations to question the legitimacy of Red Jacket's reburial itself. Parker notes:

[O]ne of [Red Jacket's] last requests is said to have been that white men should not dig his grave and that white men should not bury him. But how forcibly now comes to us the verity and strength of the saying that 'man proposes, but God disposes.'⁸⁴

Parker then retells the story of Red Jacket's reburial, stating that because of the Senecas' forced removal shortly after his death, "Red Jacket's grave remained unprotected, and ere long was desecrated."⁸⁵ Parker's use of the passive voice to describe the desecration of Red Jacket's grave is important because it leaves the identity of the desecrators unclear. This ambiguity opens up the possibility that the desecrators that Parker references include the members of the Buffalo Historical Society before him; after all, it was these people who kept Red Jacket's body in a bank vault for several years before his reinterment. It is through a biblical reference, however, that Parker connects this observation about the violation of Red Jacket's reburial to the question of Native dispossession. He concludes:

While a silent spectator of the ceremonies to-day, the words of the blessed Saviour forcibly presented themselves to my mind, 'the foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head.' I applied this saying to the Indian race. They have been buffeted from pillar to post. They once owned much, but now have hardly anything they can call their own. While living they are not let alone—when dead they are not left unmolested.⁸⁶

Rather than interpreting this scriptural passage in the usual sense as a command to abandon all possessions and follow Jesus, Parker turns it to his own purposes. He uses the passage to show how European Americans robbed Indians of their homes, forcing them

to move “from pillar to post.” His final sentence, “While living they are not let alone—when dead they are not left unmolested,” connects the living and the dead, and, by implication, the acts of land theft, grave theft, and reburial. As Maureen Konkle argues, “Red Jacket’s grave is desecrated as the Seneca lands are stolen and desecrated.”⁸⁷

European American usurpation of the Seneca land in which Red Jacket was buried causes the subsequent disturbances of Red Jacket’s grave, demonstrating how questions of burial, religion, and land rights become inextricably intertwined in this history.

Parker’s coup de grace, however, comes in his reminder that Red Jacket was not a Christian. Returning to Red Jacket, Parker notes, “From the bottom of my heart I believe that Red Jacket was a true Indian and a most thorough pagan.”⁸⁸ By linking the conception of a “true Indian” to “pagan[ism],” Parker seems to accept European American assertions that “true Indian[s]” are disappearing. He continues: “[Red Jacket] used all the powers of his eloquence in opposition to the introduction of civilization and Christianity among his people. In this, as in many other things, he signally failed.”⁸⁹ Many Senecas, including Parker himself, have embraced Christianity, testifying to the failure of Red Jacket’s influence. Yet, like Whitman’s sly portrayal, Red Jacket may in fact get the last laugh in Parker’s version of events. Understanding “the white man and his ways and methods,” Red Jacket requested that “white men should not dig his grave and that white men should not bury him.”⁹⁰ Again, elite European Americans tried to assimilate Red Jacket into the commemorative and Christian landscape of the rural cemetery by reburying him at Forest Lawn. By stipulating that Red Jacket was pagan, however, Parker denies this fantasy, replacing it with his version of events. He states,

“Red Jacket has been honorably reburied with solemn and ancient rites, and may his remains rest there in peace until time shall be no more.”⁹¹ Although Christian himself, Parker explicitly rejects the Christian version of final judgment and resurrection in the case of Red Jacket, replacing it with the more evasive, “until time shall be no more.” Moreover, by using the ethnographic language of “solemn and ancient rites,” Parker favors Six Nations rituals over Christian ones. According to Parker, in an observation strangely similar to Whitman’s, Red Jacket’s paganism may have been his trump card, foiling, as it does, European American plans to make his body signify properly within a Christian cemetery.

E. PAULINE JOHNSON FORGES A LITERARY CAREER

Facing Whitman’s “Red Jacket, (From Aloft),” E. Pauline Johnson’s poem, “The Re-interment of Red Jacket,” provides a different model of Native Christianity at Red Jacket’s reburial.⁹² Part of a Mohawk Christian elite running the Confederacy Council in Brant, Ontario and known for “their command of English, their intermarriage, their education, their Christianity, and their material prosperity,” Johnson’s family was not always well received by other Six Nations tribes.⁹³ Educated by Anglican missionaries, Johnson’s Mohawk father, George, later became interpreter for the Anglican Church and solidified ties with that community when he married Englishwoman Emily Howells in 1853.⁹⁴ George’s family was opposed to the marriage since it meant that the children would inherit their father’s Mohawk status by federal but not tribal law.⁹⁵ After their marriage, the Johnsons moved into an impressive house called Chiefswood, where the Johnson children enjoyed a “middle class lifestyle” with aristocratic flair, complete with

servants, literature, music, governesses and private and collegiate schools.⁹⁶ As Strong-Boag and Gerson argue, Johnson's familial and class background caused her to "rouse mixed feelings among the people she publicly celebrated as her own."⁹⁷

When Johnson's father died of pneumonia in February of 1884—a situation complicated by his failing health after several brutal, partisan assaults—Johnson's financial stability became much more perilous.⁹⁸ After 1885, the Johnsons were no longer able to afford living at Chiefswood and moved to nearby Brantford, where Johnson began to contribute to the family's survival by publishing her work in newspapers and periodicals.⁹⁹ It was during this period in Johnson's life—between her father's death and her family's removal to Brantford—that she attended Red Jacket's reburial and composed her elegy to Red Jacket. Prior to this poem, Johnson had placed just a few sentimental poems in the American periodical, *Gems of Poetry*.¹⁰⁰ As Johnson's first poem published outside of *Gems of Poetry*, her first Indian-themed poem, and the first poem in which Johnson acknowledged her Native ancestry, "The Re-interment of Red Jacket" played a vital role in Johnson's literary career.¹⁰¹

Moreover, since Johnson only began performing her literary works in costume in the early 1890s and "never wore Indian dress" growing up, Johnson likely used her attendance at memorializations like Red Jacket's reburial and Brantford's Joseph Brant monument dedication in 1886 to begin to formulate her own ideas of Indian performance.¹⁰² Since Johnson published at her own financial risk, using her performances to pay the print publication costs of her first two poetry collections *The White Wampum* (1895) and *Canadian Born* (1903), these performances, or recitals, were

important as a way to “profitably publish her writing.”¹⁰³ Ever mindful of how she could use her social ties to further her literary career, Johnson also likely used Red Jacket’s reburial as a way to meet influential people, both Native and European American.¹⁰⁴ At Red Jacket’s reburial, Johnson would meet the adopted Seneca poet and ethnologist Harriet Maxwell Converse. A close friend of Ely Parker’s, Converse would later buy artifacts from Johnson during financial need and even hosted the poet during her trips to New York City.¹⁰⁵ Attending Red Jacket’s reburial at Buffalo thus likely furthered Johnson’s career on several levels.

Johnson’s elegy to Red Jacket, “The Re-interment of Red Jacket” appears both in Appendix 20 of *Obsequies* and as an “unidentified clipping” in the Chiefswood scrapbook.¹⁰⁶ According to the editors of Johnson’s collected poems, Johnson created the Chiefswood scrapbook from about 1888 to 1895, “past[ing] many clippings of her poems and a few other mementos into a commercially produced blank book.”¹⁰⁷ The scrapbook contains notes and corrections in Johnson’s hand as well as “copious comments by Hector Charlesworth...a close friend in the early 1890s.”¹⁰⁸ Several differences emerge between the Chiefswood scrapbook version of “The Re-interment of Red Jacket” and the Buffalo Historical Society version. Most significant among these is the break between the first nine quatrains in alternating iambic trimeter and pentameter and the last stanza in the *Obsequies* version. Moreover, in the *Obsequies* version, this stanza consists of twelve lines of iambic pentameter couplets rather than three quatrains, as found in the Chiefswood version. This last stanza of the *Obsequies* version resembles the kinds of codas often found in elegies for famous figures, suggesting that the *Obsequies* version

was more attuned to the memorialization theme at the Buffalo Historical Society's reburial of Red Jacket. Since the clipping found in the Chiefswood scrapbook remains unidentified and little is yet known about Johnson's own editorial practices, it is difficult to justify privileging one copytext of "The Re-interment of Red Jacket" over another. Instead, it is important to acknowledge the differences and explore how these variants impacted the joint production of "The Re-interment of Red Jacket" by Johnson and the Buffalo Historical Society.

A highly flexible poetic form, the elegy does not follow strict poetic conventions of meter and rhyme. According to an 1824 article in *London Magazine*, however, the English elegy most often consists of a "stanza of four lines in which the rhimes [sic] alternate," a description that fits *both* versions of "The Re-interment of Red Jacket."¹⁰⁹ Thematically, the elegy most often follows the pattern of "lamentation, praise and consolation."¹¹⁰ The stanzas of Johnson's poem conform to this pattern, beginning with images of the cemetery setting, progressing to praise of Red Jacket's oratorical skills and, finally, ending with Johnson's revelation of her Indian ancestry and appeal to European American sympathy. In contrast to Parker, Johnson portrays Red Jacket's memorial as "A Christian burial," implying that he was given an individually marked grave as well as perhaps a Christian ceremony.¹¹¹ Thus, in opposition to Parker, Johnson, from the beginning, argues that Red Jacket's reburial was Christian, regardless of Red Jacket's own religious beliefs.

Racialized ideas of poetic form in the nineteenth century likely contributed to Johnson's use of conventional forms and metrics in the elegy to establish her own poetic

authority. In his 1880 *Elements of English Prosody: For Use in St. George's Schools*, John Ruskin matches poetic meters with their pace relative to the moving human body.¹¹² Ruskin's racialized privileging of English, Latin and Greek languages becomes most clear as he writes:

In this power, the Spondeus, or time of the perfect pace of a reasonable two-legged animal, has regulated the verse of the two most deliberate nations of the earth—the Greek and Roman; and, through their verse, has regulated the manner, the mien, and the musical ear of all educated persons, in all countries and times.¹¹³

He continues, “our own rhythms are all derived from [Greek and Latin], in proper subjection to our own tempers and tongues.”¹¹⁴ Ruskin mixes popular contemporary racist ideas about race, temperament and nationality with his evaluations of the merits of different poetic forms. By reading for poetic meter, Ruskin seems to suggest, one can read for purported racial characteristics. As the child of an interracial marriage, Johnson was no doubt aware of this kind of literary discrimination; indeed, it may, in part, have shaped her highly metrical poetic form in response to racialized fears about her education and poetic ability.

Johnson does not just respond to these fears, however; she capitalizes on them. Her use of the elegiac form, with its Greek and Latin associations, exploits the tendency of Europeans to name the Iroquois the Romans and Greeks of the Americas.¹¹⁵ Moreover, in “The Re-interment of Red Jacket,” Johnson, for the first time in her career, acknowledges her Indian ancestry, doing so within the elegiac framework as a kind of consolation for Red Jacket's death. After the line, “And few to-day remain,” which ends in a colon in *Obsequies* and a semi-colon in the Chiefswood scrapbook, Johnson surprises

the reader with a shift in voice and another revelation: “But copper-tinted face, and smoldering fire / Of wilder life, were left me by my sire / To be my proudest claim.”¹¹⁶ Prompted perhaps by the knowledge that the Buffalo Historical Society would include a description of her as “A Mohawk Indian girl” and no doubt influenced by the recent death of her father, Johnson discloses her Native heritage to her readers.¹¹⁷ This disclosure, of course, would figure largely in her later oral performances, with Johnson dressing in a Minnehaha-inspired costume for part of the recital and an evening gown for the other part, visually juxtaposing for her audience the “Indian” and the “Englishwoman.”¹¹⁸ Johnson’s performance of the metrically savvy Englishwoman who reveals her Indian heritage towards the end of “The Re-interment of Red Jacket” thus prefigures her more famous stage performances.

With the next stanza—the epitaph in *Obsequies* and the last three quatrains in the Chiefswood version—Johnson builds upon this change in voice, signified by her shift to first person pronouns, to provide the required consolation for Red Jacket’s death according to the elegy form. At this same moment, she also accelerates her poem by switching from embedded rhyme to couplets. This movement from loss to praise to consolation forms an essential aspect of elegies, as David Kennedy argues: “Elegies cannot just describe loss: they have to require it as a species of transformation and provide an early glimpse of an afterlife for their subject.”¹¹⁹ It is in this final motion, however, that the heretofore straightforward voicing of the poem becomes more ambiguous. Although in the previous stanza Johnson allied herself with the first person voice and a claim of Indian heritage, she complicates that association with her next stanza

by returning to the feminized figure of “Indian Summer,” which she earlier portrays as not dead, but “sleep[ing],— / Trusting a foreign and a paler race / To give her gifted son an honored place / Where Death his vigil keeps.”¹²⁰ With this stanza, the first person pronouns multiply:

And so ere Indian Summer sweetly sleeps
She beckons me where old Niagara leaps;
Superbly she extends her greeting hand,
And, smiling, speaks to her adopted land,
Saying, “O, rising nation of the West,
That occupy my lands so richly blest;
O, free, unfettered people that have come
And made America your rightful home—
Forgive the wrongs my children did to you,
And we, the red-skins, will forgive you too.
To-day has seen your noblest action done—
The honored re-intombment of my son.”¹²¹

This coda becomes the most dramatic moment in the poem, with the first person speaker and Indian Summer traveling to Niagara Falls where Indian Summer, in turn, speaks to the “rising nation of the West.” At the liminal location of Niagara Falls, the question arises: to which “rising nation” does Indian Summer speak? By moving the setting of Red Jacket’s elegy from the Forest Lawn Cemetery to Niagara Falls, Johnson transforms the dialogue surrounding Red Jacket’s reburial from one of loss and mourning to one of citizenship and national belonging. Addressing Europeans, seemingly both Canadian and American, Indian Summer welcomes them with hospitality as she smiles and extends to them “her greeting hand.”

Within Indian Summer’s speech, however, variations arise between the two versions of the poem. The Chiefswood version uses “occupies my land” instead of

“occupy my land,” and “To make America your rightful home” instead of “And made America your rightful home.”¹²² Although small, these changes in tense significantly change the meaning of Indian Summer’s address to Europeans, lending Europeans a permanence in the *Obsequies* version that they do not quite possess in the Chiefswood version. Whether these differences reflect the choices of Johnson or the Buffalo Historical Society is difficult to tell. Nevertheless, they point to the fact that Johnson was, at some point, playing around with the tenses in this last section of her poem, demonstrating an awareness of how memorializations like her elegy to Red Jacket affect perceptions of time as well as space. Johnson’s changes in tense in the Chiefswood version work against the tendency in European memorializations of Indians to place Natives in the past and deny them a collective future. Extending a welcoming hand to Europeans at a nationally ambiguous site, Indian Summer asserts both her indigeneity and futurity. It is Europeans—not recent immigrants or Indians—who are the newcomers in Johnson’s version of Red Jacket’s memorialization: Indian Summer welcomes them as if they had just landed on the shores of the Americas again.

The multiple and often conflicting viewpoints on the subject of Red Jacket’s reburial reveal the stakes involved in any attempt of memorialization. Power at these events was by no means unilateral, as Indians brought their own material and spiritual frameworks to Red Jacket’s reinterment, adding to the multiplicity of meanings already at play. Christianity proves important to both Indians and European Americans in interpreting Red Jacket’s reburial at Forest Lawn Cemetery. From William Clement Bryant’s fears about the bodily contamination of immigrants and Indians in graveyards to

Ely Parker's use of Christianity to critique Native land dispossession and dismantle the entire reburial, a shared, material understanding of Christianity motivates many of the conflicting viewpoints operating simultaneously at the reburial.

To illustrate these challenges, I turn again to Whitman, this time conversing with his disciple Horace Traubel on the subject of his Indian poem "Yonnondio." Examining some pages of the first printed sheet of *November Boughs*, Whitman draws Traubel's attention to the poem "Yonnondio." As Traubel records this exchange, Whitman says:

"Yonnondio: you notice that name? They printed it in *The Critic* first, and the *Critic* fellows objected to it that my use of the word was not correct, not justified. You remember, see"—pointing—"I make it mean *lament* and so forth: they say, no, that is not it: Yonnondio signifies governor—was an Indian name given to the French governors sent over to this continent in colonial times. No doubt there's considerable to warrant their argument, but"—putting his forefinger down on the poem and looking at me waggishly—"I had already committed myself to my own meaning—written the poem: so here it stands, for right or wrong." I asked him where he got hold of his own construction of the word. He replied: "From an old man—a wise, reticent old man—much learned in Injun tongues, lore—in Injun habits and the history of them so far as known. You never have asked Brinton? I wish you would—for me: he would know—something, at least. The debate is like many others—inconclusive. I never knew a controversy of this character—each side ready to swear to its accuracy, full of the arrogance of learning, equipped with book knowledge—to end in something like a settlement: the problem was always as wide open at the end as at the start."¹²³

This passage summarizes many of the dynamics working at Red Jacket's reburial, from Whitman's inclination to interpret "Yonnondio" as lament to his attempt to authenticate that reading, before finally declaring the entire debate "inconclusive." As much as Whitman remains committed to his own reading of the poem, he also seems to long for authenticity, producing the tale of the old man, necessarily "reticent" and knowledgeable

of Indian affairs. Despite this appeal to the knowledgeable old man, and the even more knowledgeable Daniel Garrison Brinton, renowned anthropologist, Whitman ultimately rejects the idea of certainty. Instead, he proclaims the debate a stalemate, declaring, “I never knew a controversy of this character—each side ready to swear its accuracy, full of the arrogance of learning, equipped with book knowledge—to end in something like a settlement: the problem was always as wide open at the end as at the start.” Whitman’s choice of the word “settlement” to describe the desired outcome of this controversy proves particularly revealing for its double meaning. The cultural “controversy” over the meaning of the Indian word “Yonnonديو” becomes rephrased as a question of “settlement,” whether in the form of legal restitution or of land occupation.

Within this debate, Whitman again generously places himself in the privileged position of the creator—forging ahead in touch with the spirit, conscious of human controversy but setting it aside. Portraying himself as aloof from the debates of the world, Whitman here attempts to occupy the same detached but spiritually superior position as Red Jacket in “Red Jacket, (From Aloft).” Aloof—literally floating above the spectacle below—Red Jacket trivializes human debates and mocks the efforts of both European Americans and Indians to memorialize him. In this self-serving, belated version of “playing Indian,” the artist assumes a position apart from human society and politics, a position effected only by a projected spiritual commonality.¹²⁴ This stance, however, ultimately proves as harmful as the vanishing Indian narrative by distracting us from the heterogeneity of Native responses to Red Jacket’s reburial. Such heterogeneity surfaced at Red Jacket’s reburial in numerous ways. From disagreements about Christianity’s

effects to how to respond to land theft and relocation, Indians at Red Jacket's reburial used the event as an opportunity to debate and reconsider these important issues. Paramount among these concerns was the question of how to transform (or not) longstanding intertribal conflicts in light of pressures from European colonization, pressures that, as Red Jacket's reburial shows, both estranged tribes and brought them back together.

CODA: PEACE MEDALS, MONUMENTALIZATIONS AND THE COLLAPSE OF TIME

In the middle of *Obsequies*, following Ely Parker's speech, is a print of Red Jacket's peace medal, presented to him by George Washington and currently under the care of Parker himself. Dressed "in black and white wampum," Parker brought the medal to Red Jacket's reburial and displayed it at the end of his speech.¹²⁵ The medal depicts George Washington and an Indian man, presumably representing Red Jacket himself, Washington supporting a long peace pipe and Red Jacket smoking the pipe. In the background a farmer plows a field with a pair of oxen, a small house in the far distance. Washington's face is stern, and he is dressed in full regalia as he extends the pipe to the very uncharacteristically clad Red Jacket. The scene clearly depicts the forging of peace between the newly formed American government, represented by Washington, and the Six Nations; however, one detail sticks out as odd. Although peace has just been agreed upon—the pipe is still smoking—Red Jacket already wears a peace medal in the picture.

This representation of an alliance between the new American government and the much older Indian governments effectively collapses time, skipping the moment of contact, asserting European American primacy and presenting peace to Indians as a

foregone conclusion. Through this temporal trick, the European creators of the peace medal erase their own immigrant status as well as the time required to reach diplomatic agreements between nations. Monumentalizations of the American past perform a similar trick. Such monuments speak across time, impressing themselves on a Native landscape and making it tell a certain story. Most often, those stories are the ones preferred by elites, and they often work to consolidate power. These monumentalizations deal with heterogeneity by creating a kind of veneer, an illusion of collapsing time and space together within a hegemonic narrative. Alive within these memorializations, however, a different image persists, one that preserves the messy debates over religion, land settlement, immigration, citizenship and transforming Native governments that actual memorialization ceremonies create. Through the very means by which elite European Americans imagined themselves as quarantining politics emerges an explosion of conflicting viewpoints and the regeneration of Native communities. At Red Jacket's reburial, Senecas and Mohawks, historical societies and Six Nations tribes, Civil War secretaries and immigrants, aging and budding young poets performed acts of memorialization that used Red Jacket's reburial to advance their own careers, religions, and social interests.

¹ E. Pauline Johnson, "The Re-interment of Red Jacket," in *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo, October 9th, 1884* (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1885), 104-105; Walt Whitman, "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)," in *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo, October 9th, 1884* (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1885), 105.

² According to the Buffalo Historical Society, the other Indians buried with Red Jacket were The Young King or Gui-en-gwäh-toh, Captain Pollard or Ga-on-do-wau-na, Little Billy or Jish-ge-ge, Destroy-Town or Go-non-da-gie, Tall Peter or Ha-no-ja-cya, Two Guns, Twenty Canoes, John Snow, White Chief and five other "unknown braves." *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo, October 9th, 1884* (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1885), 85.

³ For newspaper articles on Red Jacket's reburial, see: "Honoring a Dead Indian," *The Critic: A Literary Weekly, Critical and Eclectic* (1884-1885): 149; "Red Jacket," *Bismark Daily Tribune* (Bismark, ND), April 15, 1887; "Red Jacket," *Salt Lake Weekly Tribune* (Salt Lake City, UT), Sept. 25, 1884; "News by Telegraph," *San Francisco Bulletin*, Jan. 12, 1884; "Current Gossip," *Trenton State Gazette* (Trenton, NJ), Feb. 4, 1884; "Red Jacket's Bones," *Wheeling Register* (Wheeling, WV), Mar. 21, 1884; "Personals," *Christian Advocate* (New York, NY), Jan. 31, 1884. Numerous local articles on Red Jacket's reburial can also be found in *Buffalo Courier*, *The Buffalo Morning Express*, *Buffalo Evening News* and *Evening Republic* newspapers.

⁴ Walt Whitman, "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)," *Walt Whitman Archive*, 2012, <http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/poems/per.00069>.

⁵ Whitman, "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 105.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*; I employ the term "collaboration" here in the sense that Eric Cheyfitz gives it as "running the gauntlet from cooperation to coercion." Eric Cheyfitz, "The (Post)Colonial Construction of Indian Country: U.S. American Indian Literatures and Federal Indian Law," in *The Columbia Guide to American Indian Literatures of the United States Since 1945*, ed. Eric Cheyfitz (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 7.

⁸ Veronica Jane Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson identify "The Re-interment of Red Jacket" as Johnson's "first identifiably Indian poem." Veronica Jane Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 147.

⁹ *Forest Lawn: Its History, Dedications, Progress* (Buffalo: Thomas, Howard & Johnson, 1867), 88.

¹⁰ Mark S. Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 71, 73.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹² Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 106

¹³ Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 62.

¹⁴ Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country*, 70-71, 79.

¹⁵ *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 26.

¹⁶ For more on Haudenosaunee or Six Nations burial practices, see: Richard W. Hill, Sr., "Making a Final Resting Place Final: A History of the Repatriation Experience of the Haudenosaunee," in *Cross-Cultural Collaboration: Native Peoples and Archaeology in the Northeastern United States*, ed. Jordan E. Kerber (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

¹⁷ *Forest Lawn*, 97.

¹⁸ James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 112.

¹⁹ The preface to Volume IV of *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* (the volume immediately following that of *Obsequies*) explains that the Buffalo Historical Society abandoned its intention to publish more volumes like *Obsequies*. Instead, the Society changed the name of the series from "Transactions of the Buffalo Historical Society" to "Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society," and Volume IV appeared as the first of this new series. With Volume IV, the Society implemented its particular use of the codex form, with the following volumes appearing in similar, navy-blue, cloth-bound form. Nevertheless, in subject matter, if not in material form, the Society's purposes remained steady, as the preface to Volume IV explains their intention to gather and "to put into print" some of the Society's papers as well as instructive, "unpublished material" including memoirs, legal treatises, and "documents and miscellany" such as "Storrs' & Co.'s 'Indian Show.'" *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, Volume IV* (Buffalo: The Peter Paul Book Company, 1896), v-x.

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- ²⁰ *Certificate of Incorporation, Constitution and By-Laws of the Buffalo Historical Society, With the Amendments to 1875* (Buffalo: The Courier Company, Printers, 1875).
- ²¹ *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 22-23.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 63.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 63, 7.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 57; James Hilton Manning, *Century of American Savings Banks* (New York: B. F. Buck & Company, 1917), 12.
- ²⁸ *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 64.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.
- ³⁰ William Rufus Perkins and Barthinius L. Wick, *History of the Amana Society or Community of True Inspiration* (Iowa City: State University of Iowa Publications, 1891), 47.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 47-48.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 48.
- ³³ Community of True Inspiration, "Address to Seneca Nation," ms., (Papers of Maris B. Pierce, 1787-1884 (bulk 1833-1874), Folder 12, Box 2, B00-9, Seneca Indian Collection, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, NY); The name Ebenezer derives from "*Eben*, a stone, and *ezer*, meaning help." The Amana Society history speculates that this naming arises "no doubt from the fact that there was much similarity in their own history to the circumstance mentioned in I Samuel, vii, 12, where it is stated that Samuel set up a monumental stone as a memorial of divine assistance in a battle against the Philistines; their battle had been a combat for truth and for freedom of conscience, which had been denied them in their native land, and which they now hoped to enjoy unmolested in the land of freedom." Perkins and Wick, *History of the Amana Society*, 49.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ Community of True Inspiration, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ Perkins and Wick, *History of the Amana Society*, 54.
- ⁴¹ Matthew Dennis, *Seneca Possessed: Indians, Witchcraft, and Power in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 57.
- ⁴² Dennis, *Seneca Possessed*, 58.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 58-59.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 62, 67.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 67.
- ⁴⁷ Charity Organization Society, *Map of Buffalo Church Districts, January 1st, 1901*, Map, (Buffalo: Matthews-Northrup, 1901), from Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, NY.
- ⁴⁸ Dennis, *Seneca Possessed*, 181. According to lawyer Stuart Banner, preemptive rights accelerated the devastation of Native land rights in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He writes, "When Indian land could be bought and sold with the Indians still on it, the Indians' right to the land started to feel, to the buyers and sellers, less like simple fee ownership." *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 193.
- ⁵⁰ Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 176.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 191.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 210-211, 102.

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- ⁵³ Grey Gundaker, *Signs of Diaspora Diaspora of Signs: Literacies, Creolization, and Vernacular Practice in African America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 4.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 8, 6.
- ⁵⁵ *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 12.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 60-61.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² "Philadelphia Press," *Walt Whitman Archive*, 2012, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/periodical_titles/per.00171.
- ⁶³ Whitman, "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 105.
- ⁶⁴ "Honoring a Dead Indian." *The Critic*, 149
- ⁶⁵ "Red Jacket Statue: Unveiling Ceremonies at Forest Lawn," Programme, (Cemeteries Folder: Forest Lawn, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, NY, 1892).
- ⁶⁶ Whitman, "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 105; Renée Bergland, *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000), 1.
- ⁶⁷ Whitman, "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 105.
- ⁶⁸ Bergland, *The National Uncanny*, 4.
- ⁶⁹ Whitman, "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 105.
- ⁷⁰ *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Thomas J. Brown (New York: Bedford, 2004), 5.
- ⁷¹ Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass (1891-92)*, *Walt Whitman Archive*, 2012, <http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/LG/1891/index.html>.
- ⁷² "Harper's Weekly Magazine," *Walt Whitman Archive*, 2012, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/periodical_titles/per.00162; "Philadelphia Press," *Walt Whitman Archive*.
- ⁷³ Walt Whitman, "Death of General Grant," *Walt Whitman Archive*, 2012, <http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/LG/1891/poems/331>
- ⁷⁴ Walt Whitman, "Washington's Monument," *Walt Whitman Archive*, 2012, <http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/LG/1891/poems/333>
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ Whitman, "Red Jacket, (From Aloft.)," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 105.
- ⁷⁸ Andrew Ladd, "Macpherson, James ("Ossian") (1736-1796)," in *Walt Whitman: An Encyclopedia*, ed. J.R. LeMaster and Donald D. Kummings (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 415-416.
- ⁷⁹ Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (July 16, 1888-October 31, 1888)* (New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 1915), 17-18.
- ⁸⁰ Walt Whitman, "—Even Now Jasmund," in *Walt Whitman: Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts, Vol. IV: Notes*, ed. Edward F. Grier (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 1432-33.
- ⁸¹ Hugh Blair, "A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian the Son of Fingal," in *The Poems of Ossian*, translated by James Macpherson (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1842), 134.
- ⁸² James Macpherson, "Fingal," in *The Poems of Ossian*, translated by James Macpherson (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1842), 318-19.
- ⁸³ Bergland, *The National Uncanny*, 19.
- ⁸⁴ *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 43.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 44.

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- ⁸⁷ Maureen Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 286.
- ⁸⁸ *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 43.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 44.
- ⁹² E. Pauline Johnson, "The Re-interment of Red Jacket," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 104-105.
- ⁹³ Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 35-36.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 47, 48.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 49, 51.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.
- ⁹⁸ Contributing to this financial instability was the fact that Howells' attempts to gain a widow's pension were denied by both the Indian superintendent and the Confederacy Council. *Ibid.*, 48.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 50. Paula Bernat Bennett, *Poets in the Public Sphere: The Emancipatory Project of American Women's Poetry, 1800-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 103.
- ¹⁰⁰ Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 100, 219-220.
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 147.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 41, 42, 191; Mary Elizabeth Leighton, "Performing Pauline Johnson: Representations of 'the Indian Poetess' in the Periodical Press, 1892-95," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 65 (1998): 7; Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 51.
- ¹⁰³ Sabine Milz, "'Publica(c)tion': E. Pauline Johnson's Publishing Venues and their Contemporary Significance," *Studies in Canadian Literature/Études en littérature* 29: no. 1 (2004): 130, 128.
- ¹⁰⁴ William Dean Howells was Johnson's cousin, but he kept his distance from Emily Howells and her family. The Confederacy Council's practice of ceremonially adopting influential visiting British aristocrats, military and religious officials, however, gave Johnson a set of kinship ties that she would later draw upon to advance her career. Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 49, 39.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 41, 54.
- ¹⁰⁶ E. Pauline Johnson, "The Re-interment of Red Jacket," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 104; E. Pauline Johnson, *Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Selected Prose*, ed. Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 291.
- ¹⁰⁷ *E. Pauline Johnson*, 289.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁹ "On English Versification," *London Magazine*, July 1824, 29.
- ¹¹⁰ Max Cavitch, *American Elegy: The Poetry of Mourning from the Puritans to Whitman* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 92.
- ¹¹¹ Johnson, "The Re-interment of Red Jacket," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 104.
- ¹¹² John Ruskin, *Elements of English Prosody: For Use in St. George's Schools* (Kent: George Allen, 1880), 4.
- ¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 4-5.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.
- ¹¹⁵ Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 32.
- ¹¹⁶ Johnson, "Re-interment of Red Jacket," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 105; Johnson, "The Re-interment of Red Jacket," *E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake*, 11.
- ¹¹⁷ Johnson, "Re-interment of Red Jacket," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 104.
- ¹¹⁸ Bennett, *Poets in the Public Sphere*, 104; Milz, "'Publica(c)tion': E. Pauline Johnson's Publishing Venues": 129-30.
- ¹¹⁹ David Kennedy, *Elegy* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 20.
- ¹²⁰ Johnson, "Re-interment of Red Jacket," *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 104.
- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 105.
- ¹²² *Ibid.*; Johnson, "The Re-interment of Red Jacket," *E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake*, 12.

¹²³ Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, 269.

¹²⁴ Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹²⁵ *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, 44.

Appendix

APPENDIX No. 20.

THE RE-INTERMENT OF RED JACKET.

BY E. PAULINE JOHNSON,

(A Mohawk Indian girl, daughter of a distinguished Seneca leader deceased, and one of the
 invited guests of the Historical Society.)

So still the tranquil air,
 One scarcely notes the falling of a leaf—
 But deeper quiet wraps the dusky Chief
 Whose ashes slumber there.

Sweet Indian Summer sleeps—
 Trusting a foreign and a paler race
 To give her gifted son an honored place
 Where Death his vigil keeps.

Before that slumber fell,
 Those ashes in their eloquence had stirred
 The stubborn hearts, whose heits to-day conferred
 A Christian burial.

Through war's o'er-clouded skies
 His higher flush of oratory woke,
 And factious schemes succumbed whenever he spoke
 To bid his people rise.

The keenest flint or stone
 That barbed the warrior's arrow in its flight,
 Could not outreach the limit of his might
 That he attained alone.

Early he learned to speak,
 With thought so vast, and liberal, and strong,
 He blessed the little good and passed the wrong
 Embodied in the weak.

So great his mental sight,
 That had his form been growing with his mind,
 The fir had been within his hand a wand
 With superhuman might.

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The world has often seen
 His master mind pulse with the waning day,
 That sends his waning nation to decay
 Where none can intervene.

And few to-day remain :
 But copper-tinted face, and smoldering fire
 Of wilder life, were left me by my sire
 To be my proudest claim.

And so ere Indian Summer sweetly sleeps
 She beckons me where old Niagara leaps;
 Superbly she extends her greeting hand,
 And, smiling, speaks to her adopted land,

Saying, "O, rising nation of the West,
 That occupy my lands so richly blest;
 O, free, unlettered people that have come
 And made America your rightful home—

Forgive the wrongs my children did to you,
 And we, the red-skins, will forgive you too,
 To-day has seen your noblest action done—
 The honored re-enthombment of my son."

CHERRWOOD, ONTARIO, October 9, 1884.

RED JACKET, (FROM ALOFT.)

(*Impromptu, on Buffalo City's Commemoration of, and Monument to, the
 old Iroquois Orator, Oct. 9, 1884.*)

BY WALT WHITMAN.

Upon this scene, this show,
 Yielded to-day by fashion, learning, wealth,
 (Nor in caprice alone—some grains of deepest meaning)
 Happily, aloft, (who knows?) from distant sky-clouds blended shapes,
 As some old tree, or rock or cliff, thrill'd with its soul,
 Product of Nature's suns, stars, earth direct—a towering human form,
 In hunting-shirt of flint, arm'd with the rifle, a half-ironical smile
 curving its phantom lips,
 Like one of Ossian's ghosts looks down.

CAMDEN, N. J., Oct. 9, 1884.

Figure 1. Side-by-side, surprisingly, in Appendix 20 of the Buffalo Historical Society's publication *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo*, E. Pauline Johnson and Walt Whitman memorialize the occasion of the Seneca leader and orator Red Jacket's reburial.



Figure 2. Red Jacket's monument and related graves, including that of Ely S. Parker, at Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, New York. Photo by author.



Figure 3. Details of Red Jacket's statue, Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, New York. Photo by author.

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http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/periodical_titles/per.00162;
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