The Wabanaki in Nineteenth-Century American Literature: Some Examples of How They Fared

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ABSTRACT

Some of New England's most famous authors of the last century used the local Wabanaki Algonkians as subjects for prose or poetry. Their information sources often were colored by then-not-very-distant memories of deadly combat between Wabanaki natives and New England colonists. Frequently the resulting image was intentionally negative, yet that of the Noble Savage appeared occasionally also (for better or worse). This literature, too often accepted as factually true, has influenced the historical beliefs, and especially the attitudes toward Indians, of generations of schoolchildren and the reading public in general. Relevant works of three such authors are discussed: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892), and Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864).

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a study of attitudes, but it is merely a personal commentary, and decidedly not a statistical analysis of a detailed survey. It is based upon that most biased of sample types: the couple of cases which first come to mind plus the few more cases that one adds upon later reflections and outside suggestions. It treats of nineteenth-century New England authors, but it was prompted by current New England negativism about the recent political settlement of the Maine Indian land-claims cases. It suggests that statistics really are not needed to demonstrate that many White New Englanders once had, and still have, black opinions of their Red neighbors.

In the unashamedly humanistic tradition of Robert Redfield's (1953:141) manifesto, in the final chapter of The Primitive World and its Transformations (entitled "The Transformation of Ethical Judgment"), the yardstick used in this paper is the relative proximity of being "squarely on the side of mankind." While absolute attainment of that goal may be humanly impossible, the goal itself is deemed inherently worthy of the striving.

As a former year-round resident and more recently as a regular visitor of the State of Maine, I certainly have not been unaware that some degree of White negativism toward Indians was endemic, and that any land-claims cases tended to be pooh-poohed. But suddenly in 1980, while Congress was considering federal payment of $81.5 million to Maine Indians, unsolicited anti-Indian tirades met my ear -- in New Hampshire as well ("We're probably next"). And in Maine, a formal movement petitioning to stop any Congressional settlement of the land claims won no small support, even if

not enough to have the legal effect of forcing the cases into the courts, where its leaders felt certain that the Indians would lose decisively. Clearly, any White liberal sentiments of the 1960s and '70s by now have been punctuated by conservative backlashes, and the financial awards that Maine Indians achieve through land-claims settlements will cause proportionate negativism in the attitudes of White Mainers towards them.

Overall economic factors, such as meteoric inflation and rampant tax increases, well may be the decisive last straw in the current White displeasure over the federal payments of Maine Indian land claims. Certainly they often are referred to by opponents. But also there is a strong distaste against "rewriting history." This idea is not mine -- it is a point that I have heard expressed more often than that about inflation and taxes. It usually is stated something like this: "The Indians lost over 200 years ago, so why are they entitled now to win? And if they now can rewrite the outcome of history, why can't everyone else? Where will it all end?" The picture-in-the-head "sense" of history that many New Englanders carry with them is violated by Indian land-claims cases. What Charles Hudson (1966) has termed "folk-history" (and distinguished from "ethnohistory") here is prejudiced strongle along lines both of might-makes-right/conquest-is-final and of all-sales-final/seller beware.

It is this militant folk-history theme, much more strongly expressed then than today, that pervades much of nineteenth-century New England literature. Jingoism is inevitable in the attitudes of a new nation born of victory over foreign domination. But the Redcoats who had enforced British colonial tyranny were not the only target of this attitude in the first century of the U.S.A. Colonial French politics and religion, the autochthonous Indians, even the very wilderness itself, all were perceived as hostile adversaries that the new nation had been forced to conquer in order to be free. The fact that all of these "enemies" had not yielded easily gave the struggle the semblance of one long continuous holy war for independence -- from felling the first tree to shooting the last Redcoat. In New England, this belief became an obsession. The very raison d'etre for New England's colonial start was its own peculiar brand of moral certitude, and ever since, New Englanders have never lacked in self-righteousness. Little wonder, then, that this ethnocentric subcultural sentiment permeated much of its literature.

When early and later works of some authors are compared, interesting attitudinal differences appear. Two noteworthy cases are those of Longfellow and Whittier, both born in 1807. Each of them wrote early-published poems about the Wabanaki Algonkians of northern New England, but later each prevented inclusion of these poems in his authorized complete-works volume. Later, too, each of them wrote famous poems about Indians that were included in his complete works. The difference between the early and later poems in each case is not merely one of artistry -- their Indians evolved from being enemy villians to become Noble Savages in

their own right, as the poets matured attitudinally and rose above the prevailing jingoist influences of their society. The Longfellow case will be considered first.

LONGFELLOW

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882) was born at Portland, Maine into a family that still included General Peleg Wadsworth (1748-1829). That old soldier had participated actively in various campaigns during the American Revolution, including the unsuccessful defense of eastern Maine from British invasion. Henry himself was seven years old when the British again penetrated eastern Maine during the War of 1812. It would be understandable if the boy tended to connect these two wars. He might well even have felt some continuity between the two very separate historic destructions of his home town: by the British in 1775, and by the French and Indians in 1690. Anyway, when Longfellow published his first poem at age thirteen, in 1820 (the year Maine became a state), he classed as "Patriots" who "fought for their country" the party of scalp-bounty-hunters under Captain John Lovewell who waged a no-winner battle with the Wabanaki in 1725 at Pequawket (Fryeburg, Maine). The poem appeared in a Portland newspaper and was entitled "The Battle of Lovell's Pond." The final line reads: "And their names are engraven on honor's bright crest." Longfellow's partisan attitude here expressed the prevailing spirit of that time, with all the fervor of a youth of age thirteen, but it is not difficult to see why the mature poet did not want this poem included in his complete works.

Five years later (1825, the year he graduated from Bowdoin College), Longfellow again addressed the very same subject when he published his "Ode Written for the Commemoration at Fryeburg, Maine, of Lovewell's Fight"/"Air -- 'Bruce's Address'" [also known as "Scots Wha' Ha'e"]. The overall tone is milder than that of his first poem, but the second stanza now seems just as blindly partisan:

> In those ancient woods so bright,
> That are full of life and light,
> Many a dark mysterious rite
> The stern warriors kept.
> But their altars are bereft,
> Fall'n to earth, and strewn and cleft,
> And a holier faith is left
> Where their fathers slept.

However, also in 1825, Longfellow published two other local-Indian poems. "Jeckoyva" depicts the tragedy of a Wabanaki hunter's accidental fatal fall from a mountain ledge, while alone, at night, "near the White Hills" of New Hampshire. "The Indian Hunter" tells of a Native American's suicide after contemplating from a hilltop, one autumn day, all that the Whites had done to change his people's lands in the surrounding countryside. Both are somewhat lugubrious themes, but they are at least more concerned with the Wabanaki as fellow human beings, even if heading in the direction of the romantic extremism of the Noble Savage image. These are not only among his first

or "Juvenile Poems,"[1] but apparently are Longfellow's last considerations of the Wabanaki as well, for reasons unknown to me, if there were any reasons except his expanding interests elsewhere. His later poems dealt with Amerinds from other regions of North America.

The republished complete works of Longfellow contains poems with passing references to Indians -- e.g., "Evangeline" (1847) and "The Courtship of Miles Standish" (1858) -- but only three poems are directly concerned with them: "Burial of the Minnisink" (1825),[2] "To the Driving Cloud" (1845), and of course the epic poem "The Song of Hiawatha" (1855). Despite his Iroquoian name, "Hiawatha's" setting is among the Chippewa, owing to a confusion largely the responsibility of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864). While consideration of "Hiawatha" is outside the geographical scope of this paper, it should be noted that this probably is Longfellow's most famous poem. And it is the epitome of the romantic Noble Savage image. Longfellow indeed had come far, from Lovewell's Pond to "the shores of Gitche Gumee."

WHITTIER

John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) was a Quaker farm-boy from northeasternmost Massachusetts -- the southern corner of Wabanakia. His formal education was scanty but he read widely and became enamored with New England history. The final twenty-odd miles of New Hampshire's fertile Merrimack River valley had been usurped by Massachusetts in colonial times, and this estuary which had once teemed with bands and villages of the Pennacook Confederacy was a most meaningful part of Whittier's Essex County, and the locale of some of his poems. While the topics, meters, and approaches of some Whittier poems are less sophisticated and more down-to-earth than most of Longfellow's, there are also similarities between these coeval poets, both in their earlier works and in their mature ones.

Whittier's first book, published in 1831 and entitled Legends of New England, contains 18 pieces of poetry and prose, half of which deal with largely negative-image Indian events from all over New England -- e.g., "The Midnight Attack" and "The Human Sacrifice."[3] These were deliberately sensational short items such as newspaper columns thrive on, but Whittier also hoped to prompt antiquarian enthusiasm both among readers and fellow authors. At the end of his prose piece entitled "The Mother's Revenge" (about Haverhill heroine Hannah Dustin's famous capture and escape in 1697) he wrote:

> And the time is coming, when all these traditions shall be treasured up as a sacred legacy - when the tale of Indian inroad and the perils of the hunter -- of the sublime courage and the dark superstitions of our ancestors, will be listened to with an interest unknown to the present generation.... [Whittier 1831:130]

But while the theme of "The Spectre Warriors" poem reappeared in the 1857 poem "The Garrison of Cape Ann," the

remainder of these 1831 Indian materials was abandoned. The editor of the 1965 facsimile reprint of the 1831 Legends states (in an "Introduction") that in later life Whittier refused to allow the book to be reprinted, and even bought a copy so as to burn it. His dislike of it must have been based solely upon artistry considerations, because some later poems are just as gory as these early ones. Indeed, Whittier seems to have mingled a yellow-journalism approach with his Quaker pacifism and social-reform zeal. Many of his later poems are truly genteel, but occasionally he could be quite gross, perhaps only the better to elicit protest against the condition he was describing all too vividly.

Birthplace boosterism also may help to account for some of Whittier's lurid lines in his 1838 poem "Pentucket/1708" -- e.g., "Sank the red axe in woman's brain,/And childhood's cry arose in vain." Pentucket was the Wabanaki name for his native Haverhill on the lower Merrimack. The 1708 French and Indian attack thereon was the poem's topic, but it would have been hard to forget the 1697 attack's reverse aftermath: Hannah Dustin triumphantly returned there with the axe and scalping-knife (still on display) that she herself had applied to ten Indians in revenge for capturing her and bashing-in the head of her newborn baby. Strong stuff, but true enough.

In his 1834 epic poem "Mogg Megone," Whittier takes great liberties with historical facts, apparently only to make the point more obvious that wars lead to inhuman excesses on all sides. Historically, sagamore Mogg Hegon was killed in combat with English settlers in his attack on Scarborough (Maine) in May 1677 -- not by the daughter of an English outlaw who had promised Mogg her hand in payment for a tract of land. Nonetheless, Whittier's version does allow him to chide the religiously-motivated excesses, not only of the French and Indians throughout the colonial wars, but that of the New England rangers as well, in their desecration of Jesuit Father Rasles and his Norridgewock Mission in 1724. Whatever his shortcomings in historiography, Whittier still deserves credit for writing a more nearly impartial denouncement of war than one is apt to find in New England in 1834. The poet himself later consigned "Mogg Megone" to the back of an "Appendix" in his Complete Works (1895: 495), with this comment: "Looking at it [the poem], at the present time [1888], it suggests the idea of a big Indian in his war-paint strutting about in Sir Walter Scott's plaid."

"Funeral Tree of the Sokokis/1756" tells of the burial of Chief Polin after he was killed in action against English settlers at Windham (Maine). However, there is no discussion of military enmity-in-life in this 1841 poem, only a consideration of human brotherhood-in-death. Whittier as philosopher made some mistakes here in Sebago Lake area geography, and (of course) he did not have the benefit of Gordon Day's (1965) corrective regarding the Saco River Indians not being the "Sokokis." The poem is very well-intended, nonetheless, and it shows polar-opposite attitudinal difference from his 1831 literary treatments of Indian enemies.

"The Bridal of Pennacook/1662" is the romantic story of the marriage and separation of Merrimack River paramount sagamore Passaconnaway's daughter Weetamoo (resident near Concord, New Hampshire) to Winnepurkit, the sagamore of Saugus (Massachusetts). Poetic license reigns supreme, and all characters are Noble Savages including the overly proud and seemingly non-caring bridegroom. This is an epic poem written by Whittier in 1844; it belongs in the same genre as Longfellow's "Hiawatha" (1855).

The 1856 poem "Mary Garvin" tells a strange, undated, captivity tale. Mary was captured as a girl in a Wabanaki raid on Scarborough, Maine. Taken to Canada, she converted to Catholicism, married, bore a daughter Mary, and died there. Honoring her mother's last request, Mary Junior journeyed to live with her grandparents in Scarborough. Whittier cleverly describes the difficulties that Protestant kith and kin had in adjusting to her presence among them. The poem ends: "Thought the elders, grave and doubting, 'She is Papist born and bred;'/Thought the young men, 'Tis an angel in Mary Garvin's stead!'"

Multiple themes are present in the 1860 poem "The Truce of Piscataqua/1676," namely: of English captives happy enough to stay voluntarily among the Wabanaki; of English inhumanity to a Wabanaki wife and child; and of Wabanaki grief over the death of that child killed by the English. These issues are enough for any one poem to handle, and to show the immense changes in Whittier's attitudes between 1831 and 1860. However, the title implies content not forthcoming here, or even elsewhere. Whittier unexplainably ignored the most famous aspect of that Truce of Piscataqua in 1676, and thereby lost the chance to chastise a manifold scoundrel.

The story he does not tell is that in 1676, on the Piscataqua River (between Maine and New Hampshire, on the seacoast), the Cocheco (Dover, New Hampshire) Treaty of 3 July brought hope of peace, but on 6 September Major Richard Waldron's "Trick" marked him as a villain extraordinaire. Taking advantage of the coincidental presence of immense numbers of both colonial troops and visiting Indians, Waldron organized a military "game," in which ca. 200 "suspected" Indians were captured for later execution or enslavement in foreign parts. Surely Major Waldron's perfidy during the truce at Piscataqua in 1676 is noteworthy indeed, yet Whittier avoided the issue, even though he despised Waldron for the persecution of Quaker women (described in his 1883 poem "How The Women Went From Dover:), and even though the Wabanaki eventually (1689) punished Waldron for his many misdeeds to them -- a tale worth telling in itself.

An even stranger omission by Whittier has come to my attention serendipitously. While turning the pages of an ("irrelevant") article on Morrill family genealogy in Sprague's Journal of Maine History, enroute to a paper on another ("important") subject, my eye chanced upon the following:

> Peter (3) had a daughter killed and scalped by the Indians. As the story is told, she and an older brother had been sent into the forest to get a hemlock broom. She happened upon some lurking savages, who were waiting for darkness to attack the settlement. She screamed and the savages caught and scalped her to prevent the spread of the alarm. She expired on her father's doorstep.
>
> When the Indians learned that they had killed a Quaker maiden they were filled with regret; on their return march north they stopped at a small lake, some three miles away and carved her picture on a great tree.
>
> This lake was then named "Picture Lake" and is still so called. The tree was often visited and the story is still told beneath its boughs by the old inhabitants to the children of today "in her memory." [McCollister 1921:190]

The Peter (3) Morrill family lived in North Berwick, Maine, and the "Berwick Quandrangle" 15-minute topographical map indeed shows a "Picture Pond" in the abutting town, Sanford, on a potential water route northward. Perusal of Morrill family genealogical documents at Maine Historical Society turns up only repetitions of this tradition with no further details. I assume that the victim was either Sarah (b.1736) or Ruth (b.1744), but nothing is stated regarding the death (or death date) of either daughter.

How did Whittier, the Quaker voice of New England's history, happen to miss this fascinating scenario? Even when I looked further, I found no answer -- only an even more baffling non sequitur. In a typescript notebook at the Maine Historical Society, a member of the Morrill clan "name-dropped" that the poet Whittier was a family friend, quoting an uncited line of his ("The friendly doors of distant Berwick Town") as evidence, and suggesting that his 1873 poem "The Friend's Burial" was a tribute to a contemporary Morrill (although its locale seems to be Seabrook, New Hampshire). Undoubtedly each of us has similar unfinished business, for no really good reason but inertia, yet it is frustrating indeed not to know why Whittier passed up these two made-to-order opportunities -- on the one hand, Waldron's persecutions, perfidy, and eventual punishment by the Wabanaki, and on the other hand the true pathos of the Morrill scalping and sculpture.

Perhaps some "mental archeologist" someday can answer either or both of these questions which I now cannot. Certainly the answer does not seem to lie in any manifest attitudinal unwillingness of Whittier to credit the Wabanaki with sensitivity. He clearly evidences later having outgrown his 1831 jingoistic attitudes of envisioning Indians as mere hostile fiends plaguing an innocent New England frontier.

HAWTHORNE

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) was born at Salem (or Naumkeag, as it was called by the Pennacook Wabanaki), in the same Essex County of Massachusetts as Whittier. He too became enthralled with New England history and worked it into many of his literary creations. Although Hawthorne wrote no novels or short-stories about the Wabanaki or any other Indians per se, he is included here because of certain interesting perspectives he gives us on Indians and the New Englanders who fought them. Through consideration of Hawthorne, we can better understand the zeitgeist of the other two authors.

As a boy, Hawthorne visited lengthily at an uncle's house in Raymond, Maine, on Sebago Lake in what was then the wilderness. The forest and its former Native American occupants made a lasting impression upon him, as is evidenced in various of his literary works. Hawthorne used both forest and Indians to symbolize the antithesis of the many constraints upon which the White Man's civilized society is dependent for better or worse. This is the old European "wildman" symbol in New World garb. I am not sure that Hawthorne meant to denigrate Indians by this symbolic usage; he even seems to view Indians as less self-deluding than Christian Euro-Americans. Yet the Child of Nature image is as unrealistic as the image of the Noble Savage, and just as open to implying less capacity for culture than civilized peoples possess.

However, it is not always clear what Hawthorne believed about Indian potentialities and accomplishments. In his short-story "Young Goodman Brown" (1835), Hawthorne depicts Salem Village's Puritan minister and deacon as riding into the forest to meet with the Devil at a large unholy gathering. The deacon comments to the minister that they expect to meet there "several of the Indian powwows, who, after their fashion, know almost as much deviltry as the best of us [Puritans]." While this seems relatively complimentary to the Indians, it is followed soon afterward by a put-down: "Scattered also among their pale-faced enemies were the Indian priests, or powwows, who had often scared their native forest with more hideous incantations than any known to English witchcraft."

Hawthorne's own opinion appears even more ambiguous at times by his use of Puritan attitudes in relating his tale. His short-story "The Maypole of Merry Mount" (1836) tells of the raid by Massachusetts Puritan soldiers to destroy the non-Puritan English settlement of Mount Wollaston, called Merry Mount because of the continual festivities held there. "But a band of Puritans, who watched the scene, invisible themselves, compared the masques to those devils and ruined souls with whom their superstition peopled the black wilderness."

It is curious that Hawthorne passed up a Raymond (Maine) legend to use for a literary theme. Within four miles of his uncle's home in Raymond is Frye's Leap, a 70-foot

lakeside cliff named after one Captain Frye who, when pursued by hostile Wabanaki, supposedly leapt off it into either water and/or snow-covered ice below, then swam and/or ran the quarter-mile remaining to nearby Frye's Island -- the Indians permitting him to escape in tribute to his bravery. Surely there seem to be all of the literary requirements present here to formulate a fine escape story (even if the historical details are uncertain), yet Hawthorne ignored this unused theme in favor of a shopworn one.

About thirty miles west of Raymond, on the same road from Portland to the White Mountains of New Hampshire, is Fryeburg (or Pequawket/Pigwacket), on the bend of the Saco River. Here, in 1725, occurred "Lovewell's Fight" with the Indians, made famous in regional ballads and the subject of two of Longfellow's "juvenile" poems. Hawthorne opted to rework this event as the basis of an indirect-escape story -- "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1832). He must have been prompted to do so by a number of factors.

First, Longfellow was a friend and Class-of-1825-mate of Hawthorne's, at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine. Hawthorne must have been acquainted with Longfellow's 1820 "Battle" and 1825 "Ode" poems, as well as with the relevant ballads (both acknowledged and unacknowledged) of Bowdoin philosophy professor Thomas Cogswell Upham (1799-1872).

Second, the Pequawket battle centennial -- for which Longfellow composed his "Ode" -- took place in May 1825. Hawthorne must have been at least indirectly interested in this event which so obviously stimulated Longfellow and Upham.

Third, Maine became a state in 1820, and popularized propaganda commemorating its bloody colonial history still must have been very much in vogue during Hawthorne's Bowdoin years.

Fourth, the U.S.A. celebrated its first half-century anniversary in 1826, and there is reason to believe that Hawthorne became dissatisfied by some of the overblown and distorted folk-history that was published for and around that occasion. All four of these factors well may have intersected to make "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1832) Hawthorne's own subtle response to the overkill of biased stimuli.

For background, it will suffice to say that the Pequawket battle was one of a number of incidents in the Abenaki War of 1721-1726 -- a war with no European counterpart, in which New Englanders largely took the offensive to attack Wabanaki villages. Captain John Lovewell led an English party of scalp-bounty-hunters from Dunstable, Mass., first to Ossipee in New Hampshire, then to Pequawket in Maine where he and many of his men were killed by Wabanaki led by one Paugus (who may have been a Scaticook, visiting northern New England to try to even up a dispute with the English).[4] Because Paugus and many of the Wabanaki involved were killed, and others left the area, this no-winner battle was hailed as

a New England "victory" -- no matter how Pyrrhic. Immediately the press and populace waxed enthusiastic, and an 18-verse ballad account of the fight supposedly was composed at that time by a now-unknown author. Its opening stanza tells us:

> Of worthy Captain Lovewell I purpose now to sing,
> How valiantly he served his country and his king:
> He and his valiant soldiers did range the woods
> full wide,
> And hardships they endured to quell the Indians' pride.

However, it was the centennial observances of the Pequawket fight that indulged in the greatest excesses of palaver. The January 1824 North American Review stated "The story of Lovewell's Fight is one of the nursery tales of New Hampshire [why not Maine, too?]; there is hardly a person that lives in the eastern and northern part of the state but has heard incidents of that fearful encounter repeated from infancy."

Farmer and Moore's Collections, Volumes I, II, & III (1822, '23, 24) present various accounts of Lovewell's battle, including an anonymous 30-verse ballad later attributed to Bowdoin professor Upham, one stanza of which is:

> Twas Paugus let the Pequawket tribe --
> As runs the fox would Paugus run;
> As howls the wild wolf, would he howl,
> A large bearskin had Paugus on.

At some point, Upham visited the Fryeburg battle site and was inspired to write a seven-verse poem which he acknowledged as his own. It includes these separate lines of overblow:

> For the names of the fallen are graved in our hearts....
> The bosoms that once for their country beat high....
> Sleep, soldiers of merit! sleep gallant of yore!...
> The tear drop shall brighten the turf of the brave.[5]

The 25 May 1825 issue of The Columbian Centinel pontificated that "Lovell's Fight and incidents relating to many of those who marched with him, leave nothing for the embellishments of romance." And the story of the battle therein presented purported to be the "mirror of true history," emphasizing Lovewell's "chivalrous devotedness, hardihood, and contempt of danger unknown in modern times."

In a 1964 paper entitled "History and the Bible in Hawthorne's 'Roger Malvin's Burial,'" Ely Stock puts this jingoistic journalism in proper perspective.

> The treatments of Lovell's Fight current in...
> [Hawthorne's] day were perfect instances of
> the transformation of what had formerly been
> religious feelings into secular myth.
> [Stock 1964:285]

> [New England clergymen] ... were able to
> transform a band of fortune hunters into embodi-
> ments of the ideals of progress and perfectability.
> [Stock 1964:284]

> It is hardly surprising that Hawthorne, keenly interested as he was in the moral consequences of human action in colonial times, directly contradicted this popular and typical treatment of the historical incident. For the newspaper report... [assumed] that since the results of Lovell's Fight were favorable in national terms, the event could be treated apart from consideration of the consequences of the action on the individuals involved. By ignoring the moral implications of the action of Lovell and his band the frontiersmen were transformed in an indiscriminate way into folk heroes. [The] ... popular treatments of Lovell's Fight...overlooked certain embarrassing features of the incident which were known in Hawthorne's time... [such as] the offer of one hundred pounds from the Massachusetts General Court for every Indian scalp [brought in] .... [Stock 1964:283]

Hawthorne opens his 1832 short-story "Roger Malvin's Burial" with a strong ironical commentary on these contemporary views of history. The story itself tells of events well after the battle. Except for the statements that the Indians' "war was with the dead as well as the living," and that "the savage enemy" regularly destroyed farmers' crops, and that "savage beasts and savage men were as yet the sole possessors" of the wilderness to the north, there is nothing else relevant for our consideration here. This story is a true put-down by Hawthorne of the jingoistic literature and journalism of his day. His concern is with the moral interaction of two Whitemen after the battle of Pequawket, and only the opening paragraph speaks of the event from which they are returning, wounded.

Although Hawthorne is sometimes thought of as being pro-Puritan (and, ergo, anti-Indian), such a simplistic belief is inadequate in the light of the following quotations from others of his short-stories.

In "The Gray Champion" (1835), Hawthorne refers to "the veterans of King Philip's war, who had burned [Indian] villages and slaughtered young and old, with pious fierceness, while the godly souls throughout the land were helping them with prayer."

"The Maypole of Merry Mount" (1836) contains the following description:

> Unfortunately, there were men in the new world of a sterner faith than those Maypole worshippers. Not far from Merry Mount was a settlement of Puritans, most dismal wretches, who said their prayers before daylight, and then wrought in the forest or the cornfield till evening made it prayer time again. Their weapons were always at hand to shoot down the straggling savage. When they met in conclave, it was never to keep up the old English mirth,

> but to hear sermons three hours long, or to proclaim bounties on the heads of wolves and the scalps of Indians. Their festivals were fast days, and their chief pastime the singing of psalms. Woe to the youth or maiden who did but dream of a dance! The selectman nodded to the constable; and there sat the light-heeled reprobate in the stocks; or if he danced, it was round the whipping-post, which might be termed the Puritan Maypole.

In "Endicott and the Red Cross" (1838), amongst various ironic perspectives on the Puritans, the military might of their militia is compared with that of the Indians:

> Except the malefactors..., and the diseased or infirm persons, the whole male population of the town, between sixteen years and sixty, were seen in the ranks of the trainband. A few stately savages, in all the pomp and dignity of the primeval Indian, stood gazing at the spectacle. Their flint-headed arrows were but childish weapons compared with the matchlocks of the Puritans, and would have rattled harmlessly against the steel caps and hammered iron breastplates which inclosed each soldier in an individual fortress. The valiant John Endicott glanced with an eye of pride at his sturdy followers, and prepared to renew the martial toils of the day.
>
> "Come, my stout hearts!" quoth he, drawing his sword. "Let us show these poor heathen that we can handle our weapons like men of might. Well for them, if they put us not to prove it in earnest!"

The Devil himself, in the forest, tells "Young Goodman Brown" (1835) that

> I helped your grandfather, the constable, when he lashed the Quaker woman so smartly through the streets of Salem; and it was I that brought your father a pitch-pine knot, kindled at my own hearth, to set fire to an Indian village, in King Philip's War. They were my good friends, both....

Truly the deepest of the authors considered in this paper, Hawthorne keeps us guessing about his attitudes toward Indians. It might well be said that he seems to damn Indians with faint praise. But at least he placed no Indian-fighters on pedestals, and obviously thought the less of those who did. In that respect, Hawthorne's treatment of the subject is more even-handed than that of Longfellow or Whittier, and, unlike them, Hawthorne is more consistent over time.

CONCLUSION

The literary evidence shows that both Longfellow and Whittier each evolved a more humane image of Native Americans after each had risen above the blinding cloud of jingoistic folk-history in which they were brought up. However we may feel today about the Noble Savage stereotype, it was a positive improvement over that of the Blood-Thirsty Savage, at least. Hawthorne can be seen not only to have surfeited on the prevailing form of chauvinism, but also to have worked against it consistently in his own subtle way. While he still may be labelled as a chauvinistic writer himself, he was not jingoistic -- i.e., while strongly patriotic, Hawthorne was not inclined toward a military-might-makes-right type of patriotic fervor. He clearly demonstrates considerable objectivity in his writings, if only of the "A plague o' both your houses!" sort. Hawthorne was ahead of his time and colleagues, attitudinally.

The indoctrination effect of nineteenth-century literary jingoism lasted until ca. 1950, as I personally can testify. As a child, in Portland Maine, I had live-in grandparents who were born ca. 1865. New England folk-history and literature were one of their favorite pastimes. Nor were they unique, because several of my early-grade-school teachers shared these interests thoroughly. Although younger than my grandparents, these teachers had had my parents as grade school students. Poetry learning-and-recital were still routine; Longfellow was the hometown hero, and we celebrated his birthday regularly in school. Accepted at face value, poetic history was standard fare, especially during World War II, when our daily rites of intensification included heroes of past wars enshrined in song and story.

By 1950 all of these older teachers had retired, and new curricula allowed less time for poetry. However, in 1950 a more prosaic style of jingoism began, in the form of Senator Joseph McCarthy's anti-Communist witch-hunting. Perhaps it was this American tragedy which most clearly opened my eyes to what jingoism is. Earlier I had learned that "poetic license" allows authors to bend historic data to fit their rhymes and plots. It takes no quantum leap to conclude that "poetic license" plus jingoism equals a very distorted folk-history -- however politically useful it may be. Apparently a great many of our fellow citizens today are either unable or unwilling to make such a conclusion, however. So, the echoes of early-nineteenth-century ethnocentrisms are with us still, perhaps most noticeably in the attitudes of Whites toward Indians.[6]

NOTES

[1] Longfellow's "Juvenile Poems" constitute the first section of the Appendix of Volume 1 of the fourteen-volume Longfellow's Works (1966:1:289ff).

[2] That makes a total of three poems about dead Indians published by Longfellow in the single year 1825. The psychological reasons for this, if known, probably would be both interesting and relevant to the present paper's concerns.

[3] "The Human Sacrifice" is a title that Whittier uses twice in different contexts. I refer herein to his 1831 prose account of purported Indian activities in Moodus, Connecticut, and not to his 1843 poem opposing capital punishment.

[4] Maine ethnohistorian Fannie Hardy Eckstorm (1939) has presented a rather convincing case that Paugus was a visiting Scaticook. He seems not to have been a long-term local sagamore of Pequawket.

[5] These several ballads appear in descriptive contexts in Farmer and Moore (1822:25-36) and (1824:64-66; 94-97), in Drake (1851:312-317), and in Kidder (1865/1909:94-102).

[6] Thanks are due to several persons who helped me in the development of this paper, which was conceived years ago, after I first saw reference made to Longfellow's first poem. It was prenatally nourished by my encounter with two papers about Henry David Thoreau's (1817-1862) Penobscot Indian guides, whom Thoreau himself described in The Maine Woods (1864) and elsewhere (see Snow 1970 and Smith 1971).

Fredonia English professors Douglas Shepard and George Sebouhian assisted me in its birth. Dr. Shepard located Longfellow's first poem for me, and called two others of these "juvenile poems" to my attention in the process. Dr. Sebouhian suggested the inclusion of Hawthorne's works -- starting with "Roger Malvin's Burial" (for which story he loaned me a file of critiques).

At its christening, the paper elicited some audience responses which I have endeavored to heed in preparing it for graduation (i.e., publication). University of Michigan English professor Walter Clark commented that Hawthorne's use of Indians, as well as of the forest, is largely symbolic, representing the antithesis of all the constraints upon which Euro-American civilized society depends. Smithsonian linguist Ives Goddard and McMaster ethnologist Richard Preston both warned me not to be as ethnocentric as the nineteenth-century authors under discussion, in my assessments of that literature, and I now have tried at least to explain (if not excuse) my biases herein, a la Robert Redfield (1953:141). Finally, Mrs. Sarah Preston suggested that Whittier might have had personal Quaker reasons for not writing of the Morrill murder-scalping, namely that to do so might prove distressing to his friends (fellow Friends) the Morrills.

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