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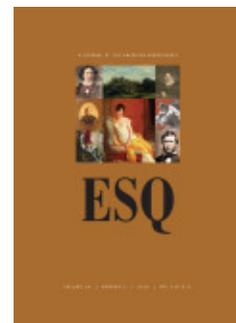
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Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's
Synchronic Strategies

BETHANY SCHNEIDER

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

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

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

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

—Jane Johnston Schoolcraft (1839)



"THERE ROVED MY FOREFATHERS, IN LIBERTY FREE":

CITATION AND TRANSLATION

In March of 1839, Jane Johnston Schoolcraft (Ojibwe) left her eleven-year-old daughter Janee and her nine-year-old son Johnston at boarding schools on the East Coast and returned to her home in Sault Ste. Marie, in Michigan's upper peninsula.¹ She had not wanted to part from them, but her husband, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, insisted. As Robert Dale Parker politely puts it in his new volume of Schoolcraft's poetry and prose, *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky*, "she deferred to his judgment."² Upon leaving the children, Schoolcraft wrote a short poem in Ojibwe. Nine years after her death in 1842, the poem was published in her husband's *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers*. Henry titled the poem "On leaving my children John and Jane at School, in the Atlantic States, and preparing to return to the interior," printed it in the original Ojibwe, and then provided his own "free translation." Looking at the Ojibwe, printed here on the previous page, even the nonspeaker notices the concision and structure of repetition—the poem is four stanzas long, the first and third stanzas having five lines, and the second and fourth stanzas having four lines. Each line of the poem is five words long. The line "Ain dah nuk ke yaun" repeats four times, the word "yaun" six. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's version, by contrast, is six stanzas long, each stanza having six lines of eleven syllables and an AA BB CC rhyme scheme. Although these structural details hint that the two poems are actually very different, readers who cannot speak Ojibwe have had to rely for 154 years on Henry's rendering.

Henry's "translation" is, in his terms, "free." Parker kindly suggests that Henry's "thought-provoking, expanded version probably draws on his interpretation of remarks he heard from Jane."³ More accurate still, perhaps, would be to call Henry's robustly free "translation" a *citation*. In scholarship, we cite—or move—the words of another into our own writing, in order to bolster our arguments. "Free" after his wife's death to speak in

her voice, Henry uses a strategy akin to scholarly practice: he is able to express grief over leaving his “sweet lovely daughter, and bonny boy dear” at school and *cite* Schoolcraft in a way that represents her acquiescing to his edict.

Translation and citation are related terms. Each entangles notions of movement and transport—to “cite” something is to “summon, call; arouse, excite.”⁴ In Henry’s poem, “freedom” is tied directly to movement—the meaning at the root of both translation and citation. “Freedom” allows Henry both to *move* Schoolcraft to dutiful agreement and to *move* Native American presence offstage. In stanza 3, he writes of Schoolcraft’s attachment to her land: “One feeling more strongly still binds me to thee, / There roved my forefathers, in liberty free—.” Schoolcraft’s Indian ancestors are shown to be adrift, and this quality itself, rather than political sovereignty, signifies their freedom. The stanza goes on to remember the forefathers’ wandering deeds, “ere Europe had cast o’er this country a gloom.” Although European colonization here figures darkly, the stanza finishes with a more ambivalent invocation of whiteness: “Nor thought they that kingdoms more happy could be, / White lords of a land so resplendent and free.”⁵ The stanza is otherwise about Indians, so why the sudden advent of the adjective “white”? Is whiteness merely a ubiquitous positive descriptor, or is Henry overlapping the “red” past with the “white” future in his description of a presently *métis* culture? Are “White lords” the roving Indians, as syntax would suggest, or are they the coming white settlers, whose new government will be “resplendent and free” just as the indigent forefathers traveled “in liberty free”? Henry cites the discourse of freedom as a means of moving seamlessly between an indigent Indian-ness placed firmly in the past and a white future, between the perambulatory “freedom” of Schoolcraft’s Indian forefathers and the political “freedom” of white settlers. This movement conveniently obscures the multiple political *translations* that led from Ojibwe sovereignty to U.S. sovereignty.

But if Henry uses translation and citation to produce movement, Schoolcraft, as her poem intimates, experienced change very differently—as accrual, rather than movement—and she experienced it both spatially and physically. Schoolcraft had

traveled as far as Ireland with her father as a teenager, but she and her family never *moved*: she lived her whole life in the place where she was born. She was also, as a daughter and a mother, the physical manifestation and conduit of a cultural shift. Henry stages a stark division between a Native American past and a white future in his poem, but Schoolcraft herself was born of a much more complicated world. Her father was a successful Irish trader, her mother the daughter of an important Ojibwe war leader, Waubojeeg. Raised bilingual (her Ojibwe name is Bamewawagezhikaquay, Woman of the Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky), she grew up in Sault Ste. Marie, in the Michigan Territory. As Parker describes it, Schoolcraft's early life unfolded in a radically intercultural world:

Until well into the nineteenth century, there emerged in the old Northwest a *métis* world, "the middle ground," that was neither red nor white in the way those concepts later came to be understood. Instead it was both red and white at once. [Schoolcraft lived to see that cultural complexity] shift not only from Ojibwe and French-Canadian cultural dominance to the dominance of the encroaching United States, but also from British rule to U.S. federal rule.⁶

Schoolcraft married a man who was not only white but also a citizen of the United States, a man who came to Sault Ste. Marie as the agent of that change. Henry was the Michigan Territory's first federal "Indian agent." At the center of the political relationship between the federal government and Indian Nations of the then far west, Henry was also able, through his association with Schoolcraft's family, to become the foremost white authority on Indian, specifically Ojibwe, language and culture. His prolific writings about the Ojibwe relied heavily on his wife's knowledge, her writings and translations, and the connections he maintained through her family. Jane Johnston and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's children, Janee and Johnston, were born mixed race but in a different era and a different political

landscape than their mother had been. Schoolcraft came of age in a place and time when marriages between Ojibwe women and white men, while complicated, were nevertheless fully part of the landscape of *métis* culture. Her children were born in the same geographical location but to a nation and a wider culture that abhorred exactly those marriages and children. And although they were the great-grandchildren of an Ojibwe leader, Janee and Johnston—who carried Schoolcraft’s “white” names forward—were also the children of a white man involved in separating out the dynamism of the “middle ground’s” *métis* culture into Indian pasts and white futures. In his poem, Henry—with what he considers his children’s best interests at heart—sees Janee and Johnston’s Indianness as citation merely. Their Indianness quotes a past that predicates the future. Once on their way east, the children are no longer *métis*—mixed and living in a culture and place that understands mixedness as symbiotic—but, in the common parlance of the United States across which they travel, mixed bloods or half-breeds. Divided subjects, they literally move from an Indian past and place to a white futurity understood as both destiny and destination.

Though Henry’s title makes them the occasion as well as the center of the poem, he does not invoke the children and the pain that leaving them causes until stanza 4, exactly the turning point between past and present. Stanzas 4 and 5 ruminate on the painful division Henry allows Schoolcraft to feel between duty and a desire to keep her children near. But his final stanza ends with the firm triumph of duty and the return home:

I return to my country, I haste on my way,
 For duty commands me, and duty must sway;
 Yet I leave the bright land where my little ones dwell,
 With a sober regret, and a bitter farewell;
 For there I must leave the dear jewels I love,
 The dearest of gifts from my Master above.⁷

The “return to my country” is sad, and now the East where the children are is “the bright land.” The gloom of stanza 3 returns here, but now it is cast by the children’s absence rather than by the European presence. Schoolcraft’s return to her beloved

country is marked by “sober regret” and “bitter farewell,” while the more thoroughly white East becomes sunlit. Henry’s rendering figures the children as jewels: rough, dark, native products of their homeland, they are pulled from the gloomy earth of home and taken to the light and enlightened East to be cut and polished, made to reflect the white light of education. The poem ends with a spatial triangulation between the bright East, the dark West, and “my Master above.” Heaven, above earthly concerns and divisions, is, of course, a Christian’s *real* homeland.



“AIN DAH NUK KE YAUN”:

SCHOOLCRAFT AND THE INTRANSITIVITY OF LAND

In 2005, a new translation of Schoolcraft’s poem from the Ojibwe was prepared by Dennis Jones, Heidi Stark, and James Vukelich for Parker’s edited volume—a version that carefully maintains the verse form and line repetitions of the original, preserving its sparseness. Although both the land and the children structure this translation of the poem, almost none of the other elements animating Henry’s translation appear here. Schoolcraft’s poem in this version contains no flowery description of her country, no mention of whiteness or Indianness, no mention of ancestry, duty, education, heaven, or God. But most importantly, the poem does not *move* conceptually, and only “begins” to *move* physically in the next-to-last line:

As I am thinking
 When I find you
 My land
 Far in the west
 My land

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

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

My land
 To my home I shall return
 I begin to make my way home
 Ahh but I am sad⁸

The poem's opening word—"as"—could be a simile—"as if, like"—or it could be synchronic—"while." A simile *moves* between meanings. But we quickly realize that "as" is synchronic here, and that in fact the entire poem folds upon itself, the beginning mirrored by the ending, where "As I am thinking" turns into "Ahh but I am sad." The synchronicity of "As" in "As I am thinking" lets us read the poet's sadness at the end of the poem as a refusal of resolution; Schoolcraft will not *think* herself toward duty or resignation: *as* she is thinking, *ahh* she is sad. The "Ahh" is as emphatic as the translators' inserted note at line 10 tells us "But soon" is. Emphases convey more than what is expressly articulated, meaning that is not inherent in the word, and they too are different than similes: they make alternate meanings coincident with, simultaneous to, their vehicle words, and they do so through the very enunciation of the word itself.⁹

Parker provides a wonderful reading of the original poem and the new translation, pointing out that the poem's sparseness "suspends [Schoolcraft] in thinking without naming or imaging the object that she thinks about, suspends her in the homelessness of a contemplation unmoored from what it contemplates." He describes the poem as producing a "field of intransitive thinking," and argues that the line "That is the way that I am, my being" "suggests a desire to live in ontological continuity in the midst of what might seem like traumatic cultural change." Parker notices Schoolcraft's resistance to any break between an Indian past and a white future, a resistance, as he puts it, "to any reduction of the Ojibwe and Indian worlds to a state

of mere diminishment over the horizon.”¹⁰

Parker chooses very useful words to describe Schoolcraft’s engagement with her subject matter: suspended, homeless, unmoored, intransitive. Noting the poem’s intransitivity, its non-attachment to an object, is compelling as an analysis not only of its language but also of its material production. Schoolcraft wrote the poem while traveling, and in its course, her distance from “my land” and the children shifts, as if she is caught between sometimes traveling to, sometimes away from, the two points that draw her—such that physical movement becomes, through the poet’s distress, non-movement. At the poem’s beginning, “my land” is “Far in the west”; the second stanza invokes “My little daughter / My little son,” and the poet admits, “I leave them behind.” The last line of that stanza, “Far away land,” could refer to either the East where the children are or the West to which the poet travels. By the fourth stanza, *somewhere* is near in both space and time: “But soon / It is close however.” Nevertheless the poem ends with the vast distance again, with the journey and the long span of time it will take only just starting: “I begin to make my way home.” The body of this poem repeats “my land” as punctuation and refrain to what might seem like a sea of “returns,” “beings,” and “far aways.” Sometimes the West is far, sometimes the East; sometimes “soon” is “close,” and sometimes the speaker “shall return” to the way she is. Beginnings can be endings and returns can happen at home. The poem is both a lament and a celebration of how “my land” turns oppositions—thinking and feeling, distance and nearness—into synchronicities.

I like Parker’s suggestion that Schoolcraft reaches, through the intransitivity of this poem, toward a state of “ontological continuity” in the face of *cultural* shift, but his reading of the poem’s repetition of “my land” (*Ain dah nuk ke yaun*) as Schoolcraft’s anchor, her literal space of comfort, is problematic. “This poem,” he suggests, “registers both Schoolcraft’s subjection to cultural self-doubt and an alternative to doubt that she builds by dwelling in the encompassing confidence of being in and of her native land.”¹¹ While Schoolcraft was clearly “in and of her native land,” her engagement with “land,” I would argue, is as painfully conflicted as is her engagement with culture.

Two years before the writing of this poem, in 1837, Michigan became a state. In her travels from the school in the East back to Sault Ste. Marie, then, Schoolcraft never left the United States. This is a different kind of intransitivity, in which the traveler moves but never leaves the confines of the encompassing U.S., a nation that has ingested and transformed Ojibwe land and sovereignty.

If we read Schoolcraft as *both* Ojibwe (an identity already complicated by the fact that she was half Irish) and a subject, whether willingly or not, of the United States, “my land” becomes an ambivalent register in the poem. In Parker’s reading, “home” and “my land” invoke the same place, allowing “being in and of her native land” to mean “encompassing confidence.” But Parker uses “*native land*” to underscore this reading, and he notes that Henry Rowe Schoolcraft does, too, in his “free translation.” Although they make very different arguments, both Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and Parker, I would suggest, make land a comforting constant to which “native” can easily adhere.

But qualifying “land” with “native” stabilizes that which, in the poem, is already radically unstable, encompassed not by confidence but by the United States, and made alienable by the laws of property. Thus, although Schoolcraft’s nativity was in Sault Ste. Marie, although she was Native, and although she clearly located her “home” in the Ojibwe world rather than in the United States, as of 1837 Schoolcraft was *also* an inhabitant of the State of Michigan and the United States. She could not, as we see in the poem’s shifting location betwixt and between destinations, ever leave or arrive at a place that was *different* from, or outside. Schoolcraft’s homeland was now contained in one of many “united” states, and she gave her American children to the educative machinery of those United States, depositing one child in Pennsylvania and another in New Jersey. Seen in this light, Parker’s delicate reading of ontological continuity works, but it is mirrored, unpleasantly, by the blunt ontological continuity imposed by the very ingestive and unifying structures of the United States.

The poem, in other words, is quite literally intransitive—it cannot travel, or refuses to admit travel as travel. This

geographical reading of the poem's intransitivity raises the question: are culture and land separate enough for one to be the stable palliative to the instability of the other? What if *both* land and culture shift beneath Schoolcraft's feet? Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's translation papers over the transition between Indian and white sovereignties. He does this in order to produce an uninterrupted, neatly teleological journey from Indianness to whiteness, from resistance to acceptance of duty, and from the East to the West. For Henry, change and movement are an equal exchange and therefore free. Change happens equally and lockstep in time, space, and culture. Although he has married a métis woman and lives in the complexity of an intercultural world, Henry inhabits a fantasy of the coming white nation in which there is no overlap and no cost.

For Schoolcraft these exchanges are never free, for the simple reason that land remains contested and bears the traces of that contest. If her "home" is not alienable, not exchangeable, even as "land" and sovereignties shift beneath her feet, then land cannot be a blank template for the new nation, or, for that matter, any of the "old" nations that called "the middle ground" home. Instead, her landscapes and timescapes must become synchronic, overlapped, interpenetrating. In this poem, as in several others—such as "To the Pine Tree," "Invocation to my Maternal Grand-father on hearing his descent from Chippewa ancestors misrepresented," and, as I will show, "On the Doric Rock" and "The Contrast"—Schoolcraft is intransitive across the space of U.S. national expansion and ingestion, always thinking *vertically* through interpenetrating times and spaces, rather than horizontally. If meaning is *intransitive*, then intransitivity understood as a condition of space and time dictates that meanings do not replace one another in free exchange but pile up, overlap, accrue. This is Schoolcraft's strategy of synchronicity. It heeds and gives voice to the gravitational, up-and-down pull of "my land." Hers is a strategy of verticality, where verticality is the spatial expression of synchronicity.

In making sense of this spatial intransitivity—this synchronicity—of Schoolcraft's, I am tempted to follow Wai Chee Dimock's methodological lead. Arguing that what we call "American Literature" is in fact a shorthand for "a much more

complex tangle of relations” reaching across the globe and to timescapes far beyond the human scale, Dimock proposes “deep time” as a methodology elucidating this phenomenon: “What [deep time] highlights is a set of longitudinal frames, at once projective and recessional, with input going both ways, and binding continents and millennia into many loops of relations, a densely interactive fabric.”¹² Dimock’s “loops of relations,” and her insistence that meaning, in space and time, is both projective and recessional, does have pertinence for Schoolcraft’s resistive strategies. Renée Bergland has noted Dimock’s usefulness for American Indian Studies, pointing out the likeness between her insistence that we read “through layers of time into a place where realities overlap” and N. Scott Momaday’s assertion that, “according to the native perception, there is only the dimension of timelessness, and in that dimension all things happen.”¹³ I, too, am thrilled by Dimock’s expansiveness, her call for scholars to accept forbidden associations and conversations across barriers of time and space. But the “deepness” of her time does not engage the specificities of Indian cultural and political sovereignties that are land based. Dimock characterizes deep time as a global network, longitudinal rather than gravitational, and it is because of this reach outward that her argument seems unable to engage the specificity of American Indian pasts. Distressingly, deep time results in a totalized invocation of American Indian presence in the Americas, with a concomitant rejection of the importance of place-based struggles for sovereignty:

Putative beginnings, monumentalized and held up like so many bulwarks against the long histories of other continents and the long history of America as a Native American habitat, cannot in fact fulfill their insulating function. The continuum of historical life does not grant the privilege of autonomy to any spatial locale; it does not grant the privilege of autonomy to any temporal segment. The nation, as segmenting device, is vulnerable for just that reason. It is constantly stretched, punctured

and infiltrated. Territorial sovereignty is a poor prophylactic.¹⁴

Dimock argues against pinpointing historical moments of origin on an original “ground” of Native American “habitat,” despite relying elsewhere on the comforting eternal past of “native land.” There are many vexed histories along the way, if indeed such a “habitat” ever existed (the Ojibwe themselves trace their origin in the Great Lakes region to migration from elsewhere). Schoolcraft knows this, is herself of and for that very vexation. Here and elsewhere in the book Dimock makes continental what “Native American” means in order to produce her continent-traversing network.

The characterization of American Indian lands as one “habitat” is at the root of the problem. “Habitat” invokes the continent as a single ecosystem and makes Indian concerns primarily ecological; Dimock invokes what she calls “the Native American tradition” as a single cohesive ecological philosophy. She does not account for the fact that Indian peoples—*plural*—lived and live on the continent in political formations—*plural*—and that the very “territorial sovereignty” she characterizes as a “poor prophylactic” remains fundamentally important to American Indian struggle today. This problem, of making American Indian concerns generic and environmental in the effort to expand beyond the nation-form of the United States, is central not only to Dimock’s argument but to the present preoccupation of American Studies in general with the global and the transnational.¹⁵

The move to the global is a means of exploding the narcissism of American Studies, to be sure, but American Indian concerns are radically intra-national to the United States and inter-national among Indian nations, which are legally defined as Domestic Dependent Nations under the “guardian” care of the United States. American Indian concerns as a whole, and especially individual tribal concerns, are too easily panned away from—made to appear singular—in the stampede toward global and international understandings of American Studies. Dimock’s proposed deep time is very useful for imagining a broad resistance to the kinds of linearity I’ve described

Henry modeling, but it is proposed at the expense of Indian specificity—relying instead on notions of “habitat” and generic “Indian Land.” Schoolcraft’s version of a sort of deep time must be understood quite differently.

Schoolcraft faced a linearity that aimed to remove her and the complexity of her Ojibwe world from presence in both time and place, and the discourse engines that fueled that linearity operated largely through the proliferation of citation. The law works through precedent and citation—because Massachusetts is a state, so may Michigan be—and culture, especially print culture, works that way too. Ever since Christopher Columbus strategically insisted that he saw Asia in the landscape of the Caribbean, Europeans and white Americans have searched for histories *other* than Native American to explain Native American presence in the so-called New World and to claim American Indian land as alienable. By the early nineteenth-century, this system of citation—America is like India—had become a complicated network of references: biblical, scientific, and literary. Writers could rely on a long history of representation of Indians to construct their own conquest fantasies. It was those highly articulated, referential, and racist systems of citation that Schoolcraft battled as a poet, at the level of the sentence, the fragment, and the word. Her fight was against the lineage-building ideologies of citation, ideologies that enabled all sorts of removals, including the claiming of Indian land. Schoolcraft had to clear her land of such citational structures and build, instead, an up-and-down model that allowed for her own synchronic network of affiliation, that could account for and preserve the enduring complexity of an Ojibwe and *métis* present and presence.

An enormous amount of important scholarship analyzes the citational structures of racism, as I’m calling them—structures that enabled ideologies of “conquest.” In fact, there is so much of this scholarship that academics working in the field of American Indian Studies tend to be tired of it and believe it precludes work that fulfills the goals of what Eva Marie Garrouette calls “Radical Indigenism,” or “a distinctively *American Indian scholarship*,” growing out of and circling back to Indian communities. For Garrouette, the term “Radical Indigenism”

"reflects the Latin derivation of the word 'radical': *radix*, meaning 'root': "Radical Indigenism illuminates differences in assumptions about knowledge that are at the root of the dominant culture's misunderstanding and subordination of indigenous knowledge. It argues for the reassertion and rebuilding of traditional knowledge from its roots, its fundamental principles."¹⁶ Many scholars are concerned that endless fascination with the citational machineries of Indian Hating is incompatible with "Radical Indigenism," and that this work functions as a red herring, keeping attention on the destruction of Indian culture rather than on survivance. As Craig Womack puts it: "I want to emphasize the 'innovat[ion] on tradition' and 'initiat[ion] of new ways of life' rather than 'the world created by contact.' European contact is a given; . . . I am more interested in what can be innovated and initiated by Native people in analyzing their own cultures."¹⁷ This call, in American Indian Studies, to versions of "Radical Indigenism" is very exciting—and deeply challenging to an academic establishment used to having Indian bones at their fingertips.

But how to bring this challenge to a writer like Jane Johnston Schoolcraft? As Bergland puts it: "Situating Native America and Native Americans in the nineteenth century risks displacing them from the present. The past is a great vexation to Native American studies."¹⁸ And often, Native *women* from the past are that much more a vexation because of their role as cultural mediators in their own tribal community or as a result of their willingly or unwillingly taking white lovers and having mixed-race children. Like Malinche, like Sacajawea, like Pocahontas, Schoolcraft is not immediately or obviously available for Radical Indigeneity. Karen L. Kilcup has described the strategic position of many such Native American women writers: "We can perceive a sophisticated and subtle kind of 'double-voiced discourse' in much of their work. That is, rather than seeing their writing as lacking a coherent or unified perspective, we might more effectively understand their work in the way that Phillis Wheatley has recently been read: as speaking simultaneously to two audiences and from two sometimes conflicting perspectives."¹⁹ For Schoolcraft, I argue, this specifically female "double-voiced discourse"—or

in Schoolcraft's case, multi-voiced discourse—became a means of petitioning for the simultaneity Kilcup describes as coming from two *different* perspectives, as in fact *coincident* in both time and space, vertical through land as well as horizontal between different audiences and points of view. If we are devoted to lifting the radical potential from Schoolcraft's life and writing, and I think we should be humbled by the call to do so, our methods must engage some of the very things—pay attention to “the world created by contact”—that Womack finds both boring and destructive.

Jane Johnston Schoolcraft *needed* a strategy, and she needed it from within the “given” of contact. As *métis*, living across the generation that saw Michigan become a state, as a woman, as a poet in Ojibwe and in English, as the wife of a white American employed by the government to legislate the relationship between the Ojibwe and the U.S., as the mother of children available for and given over to ingestion by the U.S., Schoolcraft saw enormous change, much of it in the service of streamlining and simplifying people, land, gender, and nation. Maintaining the richness of “my land” required a careful insistence on complexity in the face of totalizing gestures aimed to alienate and make obsolete the ground beneath Schoolcraft's feet, restructuring her own and her children's relationship to that land as that which is left behind in both time and space. Schoolcraft could not simply ignore these changes or deny they were happening; she had to find a way to keep what was now figured as “the past” present, in both time and space.

Written almost two centuries ago, Schoolcraft's poetry, I think, answers both Garrouette's call to Radical Indigeneity and Womack's warnings against getting stuck in the labyrinthine structures of racism. But in order to read Schoolcraft's writing as “radically indigenous,” and as “innovative of tradition” and “initiating of new ways of life,” it is necessary to understand the power of the ideologies that both constituted part of Schoolcraft's world and against which she struggled. Schoolcraft was born of and lived in the clash of meaning, the overlaps and multiple refractions of “*Ain dah nuk ke yaun*.” Her poetry sits resolutely in that synchronicity, and her deployment of synchronicity becomes a means of claiming—against

the citational structures of the ideologies that helped dispossess Indian people—her *place*, Ojibwe place, and her *time* as, if not autonomous, then at least present in both the temporal and geographical senses of that word. It is a strategy that reaches out, perhaps “through other continents,” to implicate Europe in an expanse of time in which Europe will circle round to face its own endless regressions.



“A LARGE URN OF NATURE’S OWN DESIGN”

MORE TROUBLE WITH CITATION

In 1831 Jane Johnston Schoolcraft wrote a poem in English titled “On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior.” The “Doric Rock” was a naturally occurring stone arch on the southern shore of Lake Superior; the arch collapsed in the 1940s, but in Schoolcraft’s day it was considered one of the wonders of the Great Lakes region. Addressed “To a Friend,” the poem begins with a flowery stanza of thanks to explorers who discover far-flung natural wonders for the benefit of those left behind. It continues on to a middle stanza that muses on the difference between human architecture and natural formations, and ends with a stanza imagining an Indian man’s response to the Doric Rock and the religious conclusions he draws from it.

Parker suggests that the poem’s dedication “to a friend” allows us to read it as a direct response to letters about the Doric Rock that Schoolcraft received in July of 1831, one from her husband Henry and another from a young man named Melancthon L. Woolsey. Woolsey was a member of the federal expedition Henry was leading west from Sault Ste. Marie to Prairie du Chien to “negotiate a treaty, vaccinate Indians against smallpox, and conduct scientific exploration.”²⁰ Schoolcraft’s brother, George Johnston, also traveled with the expedition. Schoolcraft and her children accompanied the party just a little way but had turned back recently enough that Henry and Woolsey wrote to her with the taste of her cooking still in their mouths. “We took our dinner in the little cove near the Doric Rock, partaking of one of your pies, for a desert [*sic*],” Henry reported in his letter, while Woolsey, in slightly more tor-

tured and distant prose, explained that the group had “regaled [them]selves on some of the dainties furnished by [their] excellent friends at the Sault.”²¹

Woolsey devotes much of his letter, remarkably, to describing the Ojibwe landscape to this Ojibwe woman, as if she had never seen it. He represents the landscape as abandoned and misunderstood by Indians and finally stages an Indian response to the landscape that produces that Indian as voiceless, in need of this white writer’s interlocution to translate the Ojibwe reaction to an Ojibwe reader. Here Woolsey recounts what the travelers found as they began to climb to the top of the Doric Rock:

A large urn of nature’s own design and workmanship, appears before us. It might be a fit depository for the ashes of some of those mighty men, who before the children “with a white, white face,” overran their country, strode through these forests, or, in their light canoes bounded over these vast waters—but alas, their graves and those of their fathers are mingling with the common dust!²²

Woolsey visited a naturally occurring stone arch already inserted into a citational history, by way of its name, “Doric” presumably referring to the massive simplicity of the columns that supported it. For Woolsey’s generation, ancient Greece was understood as the origin and ideal of civilization, so-called, and he excitedly adds his own Greek accessory to the citational scene: an outcropping that resembles an urn “appears,” like the *Zeitgeist*, before the travelers. Woolsey’s description of this “Attic shape” has affinities with Keats’s now hyper-canonical “Ode on a Grecian Urn” (1820).²³ Woolsey imagines that this American “urn of nature’s own design and workmanship” should likewise commemorate a sylvan culture, namely, American Indian culture. He thinks the urn should hold the ashes of great Indian hunters or warriors, but this urn neither tells nor contains a tale; it serves instead to commemorate the Indians’ failure to produce memory: “but alas, their graves and

those of their fathers are mingling with the common dust!" The Greeks on Keats's urn are all *about* to achieve their goal; it is a portrait of libidinal and spiritual consummation almost, but not quite, achieved, a depiction of Greek culture and religious practice as futural, albeit uncannily so. Woolsey shows us the still-warm ashes of Indian presence and the ashes of Indian religious practice. Ashes, of course, belong *in* an urn, and their religious significance is usually depicted *upon* it; instead, the ashes of Indian ceremony lie on the ground nearby, to be washed away in the next rain.

Woolsey invokes the Greekness of the Doric Rock and its attendant urnlike outcropping in explicit contrast with Indian culture. The sign of European engineering and military triumph—the arch—and the sign of European memorial practice—the urn—await the arrival of a reader who can understand their "true" significance: the triumph of white conquest and the mournful, but inevitable, disappearance of Indians. The ashes of Indian culture, here beside both arch and urn, seem as unnatural and transient as the arch and urn seem natural and permanent. The very Doricness of the Doric Rock underscores this understanding, since the Dorian invasion of Greece marked the transition in Greek culture from savagery to "civilization."



"BUT THE TRACES OF HIS FINGERS":

SCHOOLCRAFT'S REBUTTAL

Schoolcraft's poem—written, it seems quite clear to me, in response to Woolsey's letter—suggests a powerful referendum on the culture of citation as I have been discussing it. Having turned back with her children before the party reached the Doric Rock, Schoolcraft can only, in this instance, occupy the position of homebound reader, who must learn about the "foreign" from explorers. She adopts a satiric tone of fawning gratefulness:

Dwellers at home, in indolence and ease,
How deep their debt, to those that roam the seas,

Or cross the lands, in quest of every art
 That science, knowledge, pity can impart
 To help mankind, or guild [*sic*] the lettered page
 The bold discoverers of every age.²⁴

Several aspects of this stanza undermine the initial tone of thanks. Accompanying a mission designed both to aid (inoculate) and to dispossess (treat with) Indian people, Woolsey imagines he is “help[ing] mankind,” but in fact his writing merely provides decorative underscoring to an old script, “guild[ing]” on the already “lettered page” of European conquest disguised as beneficence. Woolsey imagines he is traveling in the service of “science” and “knowledge,” but Schoolcraft recognizes and names his musings on Indian benightedness as condescending “pity.” She finishes the stanza by dismissing his activities as nothing new: “Every age” has seen its “bold discoverers.” This is merely another scenario in the age-old reiteration of conquest.

In stanza 2 the poet abandons the conceit that she has learned from her “friend” and instead claims and conveys her native knowledge of the country in question, turning the explorer’s experiences back to him with the confidence of prior knowledge. The stanza begins:

This spirit—in thy breast the ardent guide
 To seek new lands, and wastes as yet untried
 Where none but hunters trod the field before
 Unveiled the grandeur of Superior’s show
 Where nature’s forms in varied shape and guise
 Break on the view, with wonder and surprize.²⁵

Slyly pointing out the absurdity of the traveler’s fantasy of firstness in this landscape—“hunters trod the field before”—Schoolcraft renders the landscape and its emotional effect from memory, mentioning the way the landscape unfolds as one paddles along the lakeshore. Both her word choice and her description of an evolving, shifting scene echo her husband’s letter. Henry reminded Jane Johnston Schoolcraft of the landscape, instead of teaching her: “I have only to name them to

remind you that granduer [*sic*] here puts on such varied forms, as to keep the eye constantly on the stretch."²⁶ Schoolcraft is firmly placing *herself* as the "hunter" who went "before." Here, she is not *métis*, not even contemporary—she gladly takes on the fantasy of a lost and distant Indianness in order to model the preposterousness of placing *her* in a primordial past. Indianness, she thus argues, persists firmly into the present day and is, in fact, inalienable. In reminding her "friend" that she is Indian, she is therefore able to dwell "at home, in indolence and ease" in the very country described to her as if she were foreign to it. The Doric Rock and Schoolcraft's home are both, to quote her boarding-school poem, "my land."

At first glance, the rest of stanza 2 seems a simple refusal of Woolsey's titillating structure of geographical and literary citation:

Not least, among those forms, the traveller's tale,
 These pillared rocks and castle pomps prevail
 Standing, like some vast ruin of the plain,
 Where ancient victims by their priests were slain
 But far more wondrous—for the fair design
 No architect drew out, with measured line
 'Twas nature's wildest flower, that graved the Rock,
 The waves' loud fury, and the tempest's shock
 Yet all that arts can do, here frowning shine,
 In mimic pride, and grandeur of design.²⁷

The Doric Rock is not, actually, an example of human architecture. With this simple point, Schoolcraft refutes Woolsey's citational fantasies. But Schoolcraft was very well read; her father had one of the best libraries in the "west," and she was raised fully cognizant of and conversant with the romantic movement, to which her own poetry is clearly indebted and of which she is part. Even as she sweeps her landscape clean of Woolsey's contaminating references, Schoolcraft engages and combats his structure of citation—specifically his invocation of "Ode on a Grecian Urn"—with citations of her own. The latter half of Schoolcraft's stanza 2 produces a "citation" of Percy Bysshe Shelley's 1817 poem "Ozymandias":

I met a traveller from an antique land,
 Who said—"Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
 Stand in the desert. . . . Near them on the sand,
 Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,
 And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command
 Tell that its sculptor well those passions read
 Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,
 The hand that mocked them and the heart that fed;
 And on the pedestal, these words appear:
 My name is Ozymandias, King of Kings,
 Look on my Works, ye Mighty, and despair!
 Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
 Of that colossal Wreck, boundless and bare
 The lone and level sands stretch far away."²⁸

Schoolcraft closely follows the referents and meaning of Shelley's first three lines, writing: "Not least, among those forms, the traveller's tale, / These pillared rocks and castle pomps prevail / Standing, like some vast ruin of the plain." In both Shelley and Schoolcraft a "traveller" tells someone at a remove about a monumental wonder found in the wilderness. Schoolcraft's "pillared rocks" recall Shelley's "two vast and trunkless legs." But Shelley's image is a "colossal Wreck" that "stand[s] in the desert." Schoolcraft insists that while the Doric Rock is also found "standing," it is only "*like* some vast ruin of the plain." One *could* indulge oneself in the game of similes that Woolsey plays, but Schoolcraft points out that the Doric Rock is not, in fact, a wreck at all. Like Shelley, Schoolcraft invokes an artist, but her sculptor is nature, and it *feels* the passion that Shelley's sculptor only *interprets* onto lifeless stuff. For Schoolcraft, the artist nature is "wild," filled with "fury" and "shock," and the Doric Rock is a result and a part of that passion—far from lifeless, it is *still* in progress; its seeming "ruin" is the continued, living expression of nature's emotion. Ozymandias's "shattered visage" lies in the sand, his "frown / And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command" an ironic statement about the lasting interpretive power of art beyond the fall of empire and the fatal arrogance of humankind. The pedestal's message underscores this reading: "nothing beside" the fading traces

of art—writing and sculpture—remains of this once-mighty human empire. Schoolcraft's arch is also "graved," and it also frowns, but in shining triumph: "Yet all that arts can do, here frowning shine, / In mimic pride, and grandeur of design." All that art can possibly achieve *shines* here: the frown of command is not in ruins; it survives, and the emotive and creative power of nature continues in and beyond what we only see as "ruin" because of our compulsion toward citation.

"Ode on a Grecian Urn" argues that art remains even beyond our capacity to read its meaning, and that future empires will rise and fall and continue to ponder the moment of incipient origin caught in the frieze around the urn. The future, in other words, will still look with wonder to the urn's representation of a Greek origin. "Ozymandias," on the other hand, proposes a longer life for art than empire but shows that eventually the howling wastes of wilderness will triumph even there. In the face of time and nature's depredations, our origins will fade along with our presents and our futures. Schoolcraft trumps Woolsey's eternal urn with Ozymandias, then turns around and trumps Ozymandias with the eternally generative passion of nature. For Schoolcraft, the wilderness that buries Ozymandias is, in fact, the immortal masterpiece.

In her final stanza, Schoolcraft shows the superiority of Indian understanding of Indian land and dispenses with Woolsey's last fantasy. In his letter to Schoolcraft, after he has cleared the scene of dead and departed Indians, Woolsey brings a live Indian back on stage, to perform shock and awe and to start the cycle all over again. George Johnston, Schoolcraft's brother, was traveling with Woolsey and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, and it is in the mouth of this real live Indian that Woolsey puts the pre-verbal, emotional response to the view:

We were soon at the top of the Doric Rock, and from its dizzy height the prospect was such as to preclude all attempt at delineation, at least by language. Your brother expressed his emotion as well as it was in the power of any mortal to do. Clapping his hands together, and putting a peculiar emphasis upon the last syllable, he

exclaimed “Oh! *Oh!*” Nothing more could be said.²⁹

Woolsey’s happy verbosity belies this claim to the impossibility of “delineation, at least by language”; his tongue runs on greased wheels up to and away from George’s paradigmatically curt Indian grunt (so *close* to actual language—after all, there is “a peculiar emphasis upon the last syllable”).

A son rather than a daughter of the Johnstons’ mixed marriage, George Johnston was even more educated, by white standards, than his sister. But of course Woolsey’s description of a pre-verbal, gesticulating Indian would have been offensive even had George been a non-English-speaking Ojibwe. The point is that under Woolsey’s logics of citation, the complexity of George’s actual culture falls away, and his Indianness serves as *emphasis*—citation again—allowing Woolsey to make the tired argument that only Indians can express—through nonexpression—the beauty of the landscape, while only white writers can interpret and thereby colonize that landscape through vast and iterative citational description.

Schoolcraft ends her poem with a somewhat different interpretation of George’s reaction:

The simple Indian, as the work he spies,
Looks up to nature’s God above the skies
And though, his lot be rugged wild and dear,
Yet owns the ruling power with soul sincere,
Not as where, Asia’s piles of marble high,
For idol gods the beast was doomed to die,
But, guided by a purer-led surprise,
Points to the great good sovereign of the skies
And thinks the power that built the upper sphere,
Hath left but traces of his fingers here.³⁰

George Johnston was anything but a “simple” Indian, and certainly not to his sister who knew both him and the complex textures of Indianness intimately. But just as when she became the hunter, Schoolcraft here allows her brother to inhabit the stereotype—the citation—of the Indian, in order, ultimately,

to bring Indianness forward, out of a distant past, and into the contemporary Ojibwe condition—to insist on the viability of Indians in a present and continuing cultural scene—to make Indians inalienable.

Schoolcraft's "simple Indian" expresses wonder at the "work" he encounters. Woolsey has suggested that the Indian's deity is seductive but false: "Who can wonder that the untaught natives of a region like this, should make to themselves a Deity in the rushing stream or the beetling cliff? They act from the impulse of nature, and well will it be for those who enjoy every advantage that civilization and Christianity can bestow, if when weighed in the balance, even with the pagan Indian, they are not found wanting."³¹ Schoolcraft counters this dismissal of Indian religion, which is also a dismissal of Ojibwe belonging in Ojibwe land, by having her "simple Indian" look to "nature's God." The phrase "nature's God" is itself a resonant citation, through which she quietly but firmly reminds readers that among those who "act from the impulse of nature" are America's founding fathers, and that what nature impelled them to do was declare their freedom and independence from a colonizing power. Thomas Jefferson coined the term "nature's God" in the very first sentence of the founding document of American independence, a document that sundered the connection, the allusion and overlap, between Great Britain and the United States:

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.³²

Schoolcraft dryly uses the very document that established the nation responsible for colonizing her land to take down Woolsey's arrogant dismissal of Indian religion and claims to belong-

ing. Thomas Jefferson himself argues that “the laws of nature and of nature’s God,” on whom we may rely as just *because* we see and admire the structures and logics of nature, *both* reveal that the displacements of colonial power are wrong.

Schoolcraft has swept the Doric Rock clean of all referents and allusions that could possibly claim it as anything other than Indian. She has used Woolsey’s own structure of association against him, producing first nature as the only artist and then nature’s God, to remind us that this land, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, “is and by rights ought to be” Indian, not overlaid by European pasts or futures. The “simple Indian” thus becomes “simply Indian”—*only* Indian—no substitutions allowed—not a degenerate who cannot understand the meaning of what he sees, not a member of a lost tribe of Israel, not a deluded pagan who is almost, but not quite, a Christian. Schoolcraft is not arguing for some primordial, untouched Indianness here—this move does not undo her own radically layered cultural experience. What it does do is make Indianness, Indian sovereignty, and cultural relevance present, conscious, and, while changeable, still irremovable.

Until the final gesture of the poem, Schoolcraft counters Woolsey’s system of substitute and citation point for point, outmaneuvering him at his own game, revealing the absurdity of his system through counter-citations that each clear away a bit more of his red tape. She rejects citational arguments’ insinuation that Indians have no right to their land because the ruins of the plain suggest prior European occupation, that their practices resemble the practices of the ancient Israelites, that they themselves engaged in the violent dispossession of others, or that . . . the list is endless. Schoolcraft has to wage her battle on a tiny scale, repelling, with the precision of gesture, citational arguments of descent, of inheritance, of firstness and lastness, of teleology—arguments that produce Indians as prior and as surpassed.

But it is in the poem’s final gesture, I think, that Schoolcraft finally hangs Woolsey out to dry. Finally, the bold discoverer fades from the scene and now the “simple” Indian “Points to the great good sovereign of the skies / And thinks the power that built the upper sphere, / Hath left but traces of his fingers

here.” Invoking the alternate world of Christian theology—the skies—Schoolcraft argues that the architecture of that other sovereignty where God reigns is found nowhere on earth in any way that can be seen and quantified. Her final image is, itself, citational within the European tradition that Schoolcraft knew so well; it cites the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, and God and Adam’s moment of touch, perhaps the moment of creation, perhaps of severing. But if Schoolcraft refers to the Christian moment of origin, it is important to attend closely to her syntax. The simple Indian points to the sovereign of the skies, but it is not clear that “the great good sovereign of the skies” is the same entity as “the power that built the upper sphere.” Perhaps there is more than one creator figure, and perhaps the structures of kinship, of reciprocity, mean that the pointing Indian is as responsible as that creator or those creators, through ceremonial engagement with the world, for the remaking of the world. The image, in other words, is a mirror. The Indian points up to heaven as a creator’s fingers point down to leave their trace. Which landscape is heaven? Which figure is the creator? The verticality of this image—heaven above, earth below, or perhaps vice versa, the touch that travels up and down rather than across—disables Woolsey’s constant gestures away from Ojibwe land to Europe. You will not find a Greek origin to the picture Schoolcraft paints here. The simple Indian touches, creatively, the creator. That touch, again, does not undo Europe or the history of colonization and mixture into which Schoolcraft herself was born, but it keeps the Ojibwe also and always *here*, in creative synchronicity with *here*. And “here,” resolutely, is the final word of the poem.

Schoolcraft’s invocation of creation brings us back, as Garrouette would have “Radical Indigenous” scholarship do, to origin. But Schoolcraft leaves us with no clear moment of origin—the signs of creation are “but traces of his fingers,” and it is unclear who is creator or even how many creators and re-creators there may be. For Garrouette, the importance of attending to origins and traditions is not so much a recovery project as a way forward that brings the logics of the origin, and the original, along with it. Recognizing that she will be critiqued for calling upon “tradition,” Garrouette explains:

I am glad to agree that “tradition” does not equate to some petrified pattern of life: to what The People have always, unchangingly done. American Indian communities have found so many and such varied solutions to the problems of survival that individuals living in different historic periods might have difficulty even recognizing their ancestors. . . . Nor does “tradition,” by my understanding, equate to ancient practice: to whatever The People did at the most distant historical moment of which we have knowledge. . . . My approach to defining “tradition” is consistent with the goal of Radical Indigenism: to respect the tenets of indigenous philosophies of knowledge. This approach accepts that tradition is fundamentally a *sacred* concept. As such, it is inextricably bound up with the idea of Original Instructions: it designates the modes of thinking and acting that correspond to the fundamental principles of those teachings.³³

To illustrate her point, Garrouette quotes one of her interviewees, whom she calls Joyce J.: “Tradition is what is passed on orally, and it tells you the way you are *supposed* to be. It has to give us *good*. It has to give us *growth*. It is the lessons that were taught us by the ancient ones and the elders to help [each of] us be a better person, and closer to the Creator.”³⁴ Original Instructions are like traces; passed down orally, they enable living forward, growingly. Garrouette’s insistence—and the insistence of many Native scholars—that Indian philosophies and knowledges be engaged as, precisely, philosophies and knowledges, gets at the heart of what I think Schoolcraft is arguing as well: Indian land remains Indian land, its meanings, both cultural and spiritual, residing in spite of and in the same literal space as European ideologies that argue for their disappearance. Original Instructions remain, and cannot be relegated to a past. And it is here, with Garrouette’s definition of tradition and relationship to origins as a set of “Original Instructions”

for the future fresh in our minds, that I wish to consider the “traces of his fingers.”

Which means, of course, that I must wheel in Jacques Derrida for the grand finale. After all, he calls the trace “that which does not let itself be summed up in the simplicity of a present.” For Derrida, writing leaves a trace that survives even without the presence or legible intention of its author. Writing always refers back not to an author but to another trace, making impossible belief in a single moment of origin: “The trace is not only the disappearance of origin, . . . it means that the origin did not even disappear, that it was never constituted except reciprocally by a non-origin, the trace, which thus becomes the origin of the origin.”³⁵ If I take my own argument seriously, then it is perfectly possible and even necessary that Derrida be available to Schoolcraft for synchronic citation. Her pointing Indian and her creator constitute themselves and the world “reciprocally by a non-origin.” But to give Derrida the credence of an *answer* would be to make land once again alienable in the service of writing, and in the face of Joyce J.’s assertion that tradition is what is passed down *orally*. I think that Schoolcraft invokes the “traces of his fingers” to show the non-origin of the origin, but to do so by invoking a philosophy of the “here” to which citational structures do not stick. This is very different from Derrida’s trace, which *is* citation. He is arguing that citation is all and undoes origin; Schoolcraft is creating a radically indigenous model of *presence* that is neither singular in origin nor citational.

In other words, Schoolcraft’s “simple Indian’s” thought, that the creator leaves only traces of his fingers, disallows the sort of reading that can *interpret* origins as citational. Instead, Schoolcraft acknowledges the agency of a creator without opening that agency up to citation, and she argues that the *traces* of creation work against the “proofs” of origin that Woolsey and others cite in the service of dispossessing Indians. Schoolcraft’s traces locate the Indian *here*. For her, “here” is a complex, synchronic presence without originary origin and without end. At the close of the poem, with “but traces” of a creator’s fingers, Schoolcraft’s synchronicity finally and quite simply rubs out Woolsey’s system of citation.



POSTSCRIPT:
ENTANGLING THE FUTURE

There is a bumper sticker you can see now and then on the highways and byways, if you're looking for it and if you're lucky. In big red letters on a white ground it reads, simply, "INDIANS DISCOVERED COLUMBUS." Gerald Vizenor's *Heirs of Columbus*, Louise Erdrich and Michael Dorris's *Crown of Columbus*, Thomas King's *Green Grass, Running Water*³⁶ . . . many contemporary Indian writers have employed what might be called a version of synchronic presence in order to turn the teleology of "discovery" around. I want to end with a short analysis of a third Schoolcraft poem, one that takes us past the structure of rebuttal "On the Doric Rock" employs and shows us how her strategy of synchronic presence entangles the future of U.S. expansion into a gravitational *here*.

Schoolcraft wrote "The Contrast" in 1827. There are two versions of this poem. The first details Schoolcraft's happy childhood and contrasts it with the doubts she feels once she falls in love. The second again details Schoolcraft's childhood but this time describes Sault Ste. Marie before it became a part of the United States, when Indians made their own use of the town square. Schoolcraft then contrasts those times and that place with the present. The second version ends with these eight lines:

Adieu, to days of homebred ease,
When many a rural care could please,
We trim our sails anew, to steer
By shoals we never knew were here,
And with the star flag, raised on high
Discover a new dominion nigh,
And half in joy, half in fear,
Welcome the proud Republic here.³⁷

In an act of supreme intransitivity and synchronic presence, Schoolcraft imagines those who have experienced the shift from past to presence as travelers—they trim their sails anew—ready to

leave days, not places. The journey takes them across a place they know well—it is “here,” but it reveals aspects of itself that were unknown before. The shoals are not new; they are simply noticed for the first time. And shoals are also *land imminent*—the places where you run aground. The future troubles, in other words, were always a part of this landscape, were always here. They simply waited to be noticed, and when they are, the time travelers realize the ways in which past and future all pile up upon this place.

On a voyage of discovery in their own home, the travelers—who may be white or Indian, or white and Indian—raise the flag of a new political order. From this position, already carrying the banner of what is to come, they “discover,” like Columbus, “a new dominion nigh.” Like Tisquantum greeting the Pilgrims in English when they first landed, these time travelers carry the sign of the coming future forward from the past. A new dominion is “nigh” in both time and space; the United States will *soon* be *here*. On an intransitive reconnaissance mission into the future, the travelers are suddenly the Indians on the shore, transfixed by conflicting emotions, watching the seemingly inevitable arrival of the proud republic. But this arrival is itself strange. “We” welcome not a ship, or a person, but a place—the proud republic—*here*.

Schoolcraft is addressing the strange experience of being consumed by—and of consuming—a spatio-temporal dominion. The proud republic arrives—but is also already arrived. It is welcomed—and discovered. As in “On the Doric Rock,” the final word of the poem is *here*. For Schoolcraft, that word encompasses all time, past, present, and future, and treats time as geography: Indians are the discoverers of a future that was already present.

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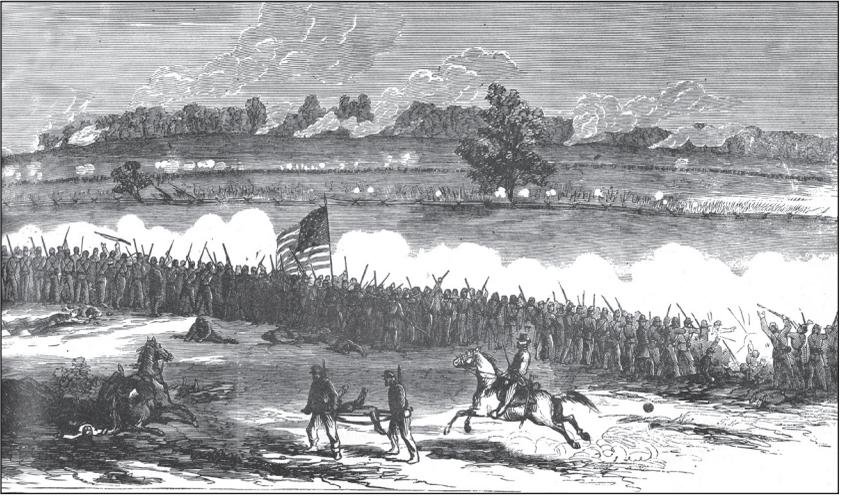
NOTES

I would like to thank Mark Rifkin, Jane Hedley, Radcliffe Edmonds III, Peter Briggs, and Michael Tratner for their invaluable help in preparing this essay.

1. Throughout this essay I will refer to the poet as "Jane Johnston Schoolcraft" and "Schoolcraft," and I will refer to her husband as "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft" and "Henry." The epigraph is Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's "Nyau nin de nain dum" (1839), from *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft*, ed. Robert Dale Parker (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 141.
2. Robert Dale Parker, notes for "On leaving my children John and Jane at School," in *Sound the Stars Make*, 143.
3. Robert Dale Parker, "Introduction: The World and Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft," in *Sound the Stars Make*, 48.
4. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Cite."
5. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, "Free Translation," in *Sound the Stars Make*, 142.
6. Parker, "Introduction," 4.
7. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, "Free Translation," 142.
8. Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, "New Translation," in *The Sound the Stars Make*, 142–43.
9. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Emphases."
10. Parker, "Introduction," 50.
11. Parker, "Introduction," 50.
12. Wai Chee Dimock, *Through Other Continents: American Literature across Deep Time* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2006), 3–4.
13. Renée Bergland, "The Native American Nineteenth Century: Rewriting the American Renaissance," *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 52 (2006): 142; N. Scott Momaday, "Personal Reflections," in *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, ed. Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1987), 158.
14. Dimock, *Through Other Continents*, 4.
15. Some theorists of globalization are concerned with exactly these problems. See, for example, Robert Eric Livingston, "Glocal Knowledges: Agency and Place in Literary Studies," *PMLA* 116 (2001): 145–57.
16. Eva Marie Garroutte, *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 2003), 101.
17. Craig Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1999), 12.
18. Bergland, "Native American Nineteenth Century," 141.
19. Karen L. Kilcup, "Writing 'The Red Woman's America,'" in *Native American Women's Writing, 1800–1924: An Anthology*, ed. Kilcup (Oxford, England: Blackwell, 2000), 6.

20. Robert Dale Parker, notes for "On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior," in *Sound the Stars Make*, 95.
21. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and Melancthon L. Woolsey, quoted in Parker, notes for "On the Doric Rock," 96–97.
22. Woolsey, quoted in Parker, notes for "On the Doric Rock," 96.
23. "Ode on a Grecian Urn" was not popular enough in 1831 for us to assume Woolsey's familiarity with it, but the poem first appeared in an edition of *The Annals of the Fine Arts*, "surrounded by essays by Hazlitt and B.R. Haydon which . . . strenuously promote the verisimilitude of the Elgin Marbles, their truth to nature, over what they cast as the conceptual and artificial aesthetic favored by the Royal Academy." The "Ode," in other words, expresses convictions about Greek art's pure representation of nature that were ubiquitous. See John Kandl, "The Timeless in Its Time: Engaging Students in a Close-reading and Discussion of the Historical Contexts of 'Ode on a Grecian Urn,'" in *"Ode on a Grecian Urn": Hypercanonicity and Pedagogy*, ed. James O'Rourke, October 2003, par. 2, Romantic Circles Praxis Series, Univ. of Maryland, <http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/grecianurn/contributorsessays/grecianurnkandl.html>.
24. Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, "On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior," in *Sound the Stars Make*, 94.
25. Schoolcraft, "On the Doric Rock," 94.
26. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, quoted in Parker, notes for "On the Doric Rock," 95–96.
27. Schoolcraft, "On the Doric Rock," 94.
28. Percy Bysshe Shelley, "Ozymandias" (1817), in *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, ed. Donald H. Reiman and Sharon B. Powers (New York: Norton, 1977), 103.
29. Woolsey, quoted in Parker, notes for "On the Doric Rock," 96.
30. Schoolcraft, "On the Doric Rock," 94.
31. Woolsey, quoted in Parker, notes for "On the Doric Rock," 97.
32. Thomas Jefferson, Declaration of Independence, in *The Heath Anthology of American Literature: Volume A: Colonial Period to 1800*, 5th ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2006). On the coinage, see Ivy Schweitzer, "On Nature and Nature's God," in the anthology.
33. Garrouette, *Real Indians*, 137–38.
34. Joyce J., quoted in Garrouette, *Real Indians*, 137.
35. Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1976), 66, 61.

36. Gerald Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus* (Middletown: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1991); Louise Erdrich and Michael Dorris, *The Crown of Columbus* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991); Thomas King, *Green Grass, Running Water* (New York: Bantam, 1994).
37. Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, "The Contrast," in *Sound the Stars Make*, 118.



*Fig. 1. The Battle of Antietam. Sketch by A. Waud,
from Harper's Weekly, 11 October 1862, 648.*