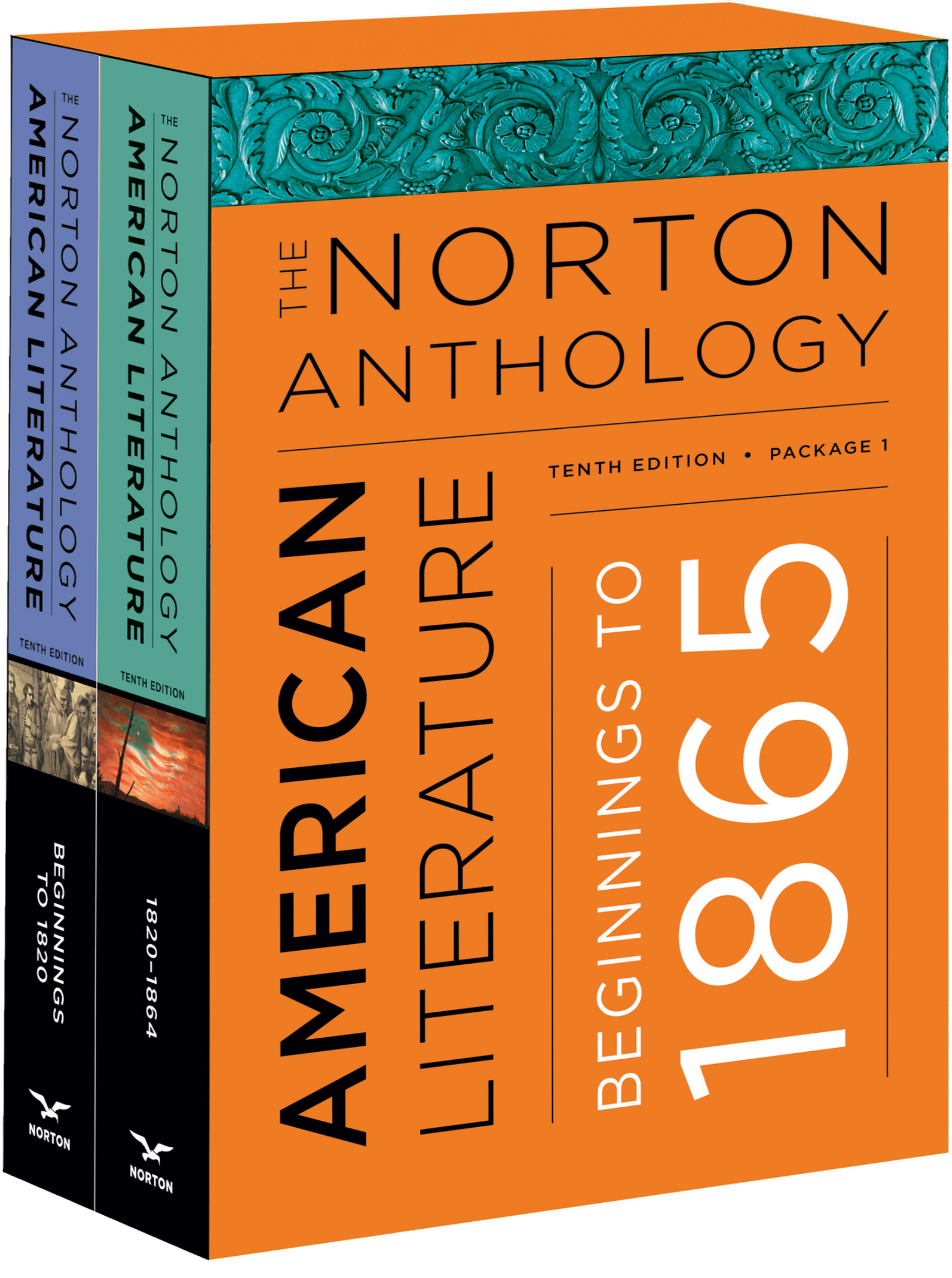
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AMERICAN LITERATURE
TENTH EDITION
BEGINNINGS TO 1820
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BEGINNINGS TO 1865

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THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF

AMERICAN LITERATURE

TENTH EDITION

BEGINNINGS TO 1865

VOLUME A

American Literature, Beginnings to 1820 • GUSTAFSON

VOLUME B

American Literature, 1820–1865 • LEVINE

VOLUME C

American Literature, 1865–1914 • ELLIOTT

VOLUME D

American Literature, 1914–1945 • SIRAGANIAN

VOLUME E

American Literature, 1945 to the Present • HUNGERFORD AND AVILEZ

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TENTH EDITION

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BEGINNINGS TO 1865

W. W. NORTON & COMPANY
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This Full Edition ebook includes all selections found in the Shorter Edition print book. The asterisks in the following table of contents indicate which selections are found in the Shorter Edition and the corresponding Shorter Edition page reference.

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Preface to the Tenth Edition

The Tenth Edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* is the second for me as general editor; for the Eighth Edition, I served as associate general editor under longstanding general editor Nina Baym. Over the past two editions, we have undertaken some of the most extensive revisions of the anthology in our long publishing history. For this edition, two new editors have joined the team: Lisa Siraganian, J. R. Herbert Boone Chair in Humanities at Johns Hopkins University, who succeeds Mary Loeffelholz as editor of American Literature, 1914–1945; and GerShun Avilez, Professor of English at the University of Maryland, who joins Amy Hungerford in editing American Literature, 1945 to the Present. Sandra M. Gustafson continues as editor of Beginnings to 1820; Robert S. Levine, as editor of American Literature, 1820–1865; and Michael A. Elliott as editor of American Literature, 1865–1914. Each editor, new or continuing, is a well-known expert in the relevant field or period and has ultimate responsibility for his or her section of the anthology, but we have worked closely together to rethink many aspects of this new edition. Volume introductions, author headnotes, thematic clusters, annotations, illustrations, and bibliographies have been updated and revised as necessary. We have also added new authors, selections, and thematic clusters. We are excited about the outcome of our collaborations and anticipate that, like the previous nine editions, this edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* will be the anthology of choice for those teaching American literature.

From the anthology's inception in 1979, the editors have had three main aims: first, to present a rich and substantial enough variety of works to enable teachers to build courses according to their own vision of American literary history; second, to make the anthology self-sufficient by featuring many works in their entirety along with extensive selections for individual authors; third, to balance traditional interests with a commitment to diversity in a way that allows for the complex, rigorous, and capacious study of American literary traditions. As early as 1979, we anthologized work by Anne Bradstreet, Mary Rowlandson, Sarah Kemble Knight, Phillis Wheatley, Margaret Fuller, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frederick Douglass, Sarah Orne Jewett, Kate Chopin, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, Booker T. Washington, Charles W. Chesnutt, Edith Wharton, W. E. B. Du Bois, and other writers who were not yet part of a standard canon. Yet we never shortchanged writers—such as Franklin, Emerson, Whitman, Hawthorne, Melville, Dickinson, Fitzgerald, and Faulkner—whose work many students expected to read in their American literature courses, and whom most teachers then and now would not think of doing without.

The so-called canon wars of the 1980s and 1990s initiated a review of our understanding of American literature, a review that has enlarged the number and diversity of authors now recognized as contributors to the totality of American literature. The traditional writers look different in this expanded context, and they also appear different according to which of their works are selected. Teachers and students remain committed to the idea of the literary—that writers strive to produce artifacts that are both intellectually serious and formally skillful—but

believe more than ever that writers should be understood in relation to their cultural and historical situations. We address the complex interrelationships between literature and history in the volume introductions, author headnotes, thematic clusters, chronologies, and some of the footnotes. As in previous editions, we have worked with detailed suggestions from many teachers on how best to present the authors and selections. We have gained insights as well from the students who use the anthology. Thanks to questionnaires, discussions face-to-face and over the phone, letters, and email, we have been able to listen to those for whom this book is intended. For the Tenth Edition, we have drawn on the careful commentary of over two hundred reviewers and reworked aspects of the anthology accordingly.

Our new materials continue the work of broadening the canon by representing 17 new writers, without sacrificing widely assigned authors, many of whose selections have been reconsidered, reselected, and expanded. Our aim is always to provide extensive enough selections to do the writers justice, including complete works wherever possible. The Tenth Edition offers complete longer works, including Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* and Kate Chopin's *The Awakening*, and such new and recently added works as Margaret Fuller's *The Great Lawsuit*, Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw*, Abraham Cahan's *Yekl: A Tale of the New York Ghetto*, F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, Nella Larsen's *Passing*, Katherine Anne Porter's *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night*, Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire*, Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun*, and August Wilson's *Fences*. John Rollin Ridge, Constance Fenimore Woolson, George Saunders, and Natasha Tretheway are among the writers added to the prior edition, and to this edition we have introduced Edward Everett Hale, Dorothy Parker, Ann Petry, Lorraine Hansberry, Carmen Maria Machado, N. K. Jemisin, Viet Thanh Nguyen, and Claudia Rankine, among others. We have also increased coverage of such important figures as Olaudah Equiano, Harriet Jacobs, Ernest Hemingway, and F. Scott Fitzgerald. The Tenth Edition further expands its selections of women writers and writers from diverse ethnic, racial, and regional backgrounds—always with attention to the critical acclaim that recognizes their contributions to the American literary record. Recently added writers such as Samson Occom, Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, John Rollin Ridge, and Sarah Winnemucca, along with the figures represented in "Native American Oral Literature" and "Native American Eloquence," enable teachers to bring early Native American writing and oratory into their syllabi.

We are pleased to continue the popular topical or thematic gatherings of short texts that illuminate the cultural, historical, intellectual, and literary concerns of their periods. Designed to be taught in a class period or two, or used as background, each of the clusters consists of an introduction and brief primary and, occasionally, secondary texts, about five to eight per cluster. Diverse voices—many new to the anthology—highlight a range of views current when writers of a particular time period were active, and thus allow students to gain insight into some of the larger issues that were being debated at specific historical moments. For example, in "Slavery, Race, and the Making of American Literature," texts by Thomas Jefferson, David Walker, William Lloyd Garrison, Sarah Louisa Forten Purvis, Angelina Grimké, James M. Whitfield, and Martin R. Delany speak to the great paradox of pre–Civil War America: the contradictory rupture between the realities of slavery and the nation's ideals of freedom.

The Tenth Edition strengthens this feature with eight new and revised clusters. To help students address the controversy over race and aesthetics in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, we have revised a cluster in Volume C that shows what some of the leading critics of the past few decades thought was at stake in reading and interpreting slavery and race in Twain's canonical novel. New to Volume A is "Captivity and Gender in Mary Rowlandson's

Narrative," while Volume B offers "Women's Rights and Women Writing" and "Stories, Songs, and Poems from the Civil War." Volume C newly features "Reconstruction," while Volume D's new clusters are "Popular Genre Fiction," "Debating Black Art," and "The 1930s: The Great Depression and Social Upheaval." To Volume E we have added "Bodies as Technology: Science Fiction."

The Tenth Edition features a rich illustration program, consisting of both the black-and-white images placed throughout the volumes and the color plates so popular in the last several editions. In selecting color plates—from Juan de la Cosa's sixteenth-century world map to Jeff Wall's "After 'Invisible Man' " at the beginning of the twenty-first century—the editors aim to provide images relevant to works in the anthology while depicting art and artifacts representative of each era. In addition, graphic works—a page from the colonial children's classic *The New-England Primer*, selections from Art Spiegelman's *Maus* and Alison Bechdel's *Fun Home*, and a facsimile page of Emily Dickinson's manuscript—open possibilities for teaching visual texts.

Period-by-Period Revisions

Volume A, Beginnings to 1820. Sandra M. Gustafson, the editor of Volume A, has trimmed some selections and rearranged others to create an even more streamlined and cohesive volume. Newly enlarged offerings include the full text of Christopher Columbus's "Letter of Discovery," as well as additional chapters from Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative,* which expand the presentation of his post-enslavement life. Keeping the selections in line with those of previous editions, we are now including David Frye's authoritative recent translation of Cabeza de Vaca's *Chronicle*, which better captures the texture of the original work. A new cluster on "Captivity and Gender in Mary Rowlandson's *Narrative*" includes selections from critical works by Annette Kolodny, Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, Susan Howe, and Lisa Brooks, as well as the poem "Captivity" by Louise Erdrich. The fiction of Charles Brockden Brown is represented by a short story titled "Somnambulism. A Fragment." This psychological thriller anticipates themes that are prominent in the works of Edgar Allan Poe.

Once again Volume A features narratives by early European explorers of the North American continent as they encountered and attempted to make sense of the diverse cultures they met, and as they sought to justify claiming the territory for Europeans. Central to the volume are the voices of Native Americans, which are amply represented in "Native American Oral Literature" and "Native American Eloquence," as well as with the inclusion of Samson Occom's "A Short Narrative of My life," three of his hymns, and his "Account of the Montauk Indians on Long Island." We continue to offer the complete texts of Rowlandson's *Narrative*, Royall Tyler's popular play *The Contrast*, and Hannah Foster's novel *The Coquette*, which uses a real-life tragedy to meditate on the proper role of well-bred women in the new republic and testifies to the existence of a female audience for popular novels of the period. As in the Ninth Edition, we close with Washington Irving, a writer who looks back to colonial history and forward to Jacksonian America. The inclusion of Irving in both Volumes A and B, with one key overlapping selection, points to continuities and changes between the two volumes.

Volume B, American Literature, 1820–1865. Under the editorship of Robert S. Levine, this volume over the past several editions has become more diverse, even as it continues to offer complete works from the period, such as Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* and Douglass's *Narrative*. Aware of the importance of African American writers to this period, and the

omnipresence of race and slavery as literary and political themes, we added William Wells Brown and Frances E. W. Harper to recent editions, and new to this edition are poems by Sarah Louisa Forten Purvis. Also new is a chapter from Douglass's *Life and Times* focusing on his meeting with Lincoln in the White House, and eight additional chapters from Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Thoreau's "Plea for Captain John Brown," a generous selection from Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the cluster "Slavery, Race, and the Making of American Literature" add to the perspectives on slavery. "Native Americans: Resistance and Removal" gathers oratory and writings—by Native Americans such as Black Hawk and Whites such as Ralph Waldo Emerson—protesting Andrew Jackson's ruthless national policy of Indian removal. Recently added is a selection from *The Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta*, by the Native American writer John Rollin Ridge. This potboiler of a novel, set in the new state of California, emerged from debates that began during the Indian removal period.

Perhaps the most significant additions to Volume B are two new clusters: "Women's Rights and Women Writing" and "Stories, Songs, and Poems from the Civil War." The cluster on women's rights and women's writing includes works by Purvis, Catharine Beecher, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Sojourner Truth, Caroline Kirkland, Harriet Farley, and Fanny Fern, just about all of whom are new to this edition. This cluster helps to situate women's writing in relation to the women's rights movement (which crystallized with the Seneca Falls convention of 1848) and increasing opportunities for women as columnists, poets, and fiction writers. In addition to offering fascinating new texts, the cluster provides a contextual backdrop for reading the other women writers in the volume, such as Lydia Sigourney, whose searing feminist poem "The Suttee" has been restored to this edition. The new cluster on Civil War writings takes the volume through and beyond the war, and includes such writers as Louisa May Alcott, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Frances Harper, along with Ethelinda Beers, Julia Ward Howe, George Moses Horton, and Sarah Piatt, all new to this volume. The Civil War poetry selections complement the Civil War poetry of Melville, Dickinson, and Whitman already included, while showing how central poetry was to nineteenth-century readers.

Two other highlights: For the first time, we include a "born digital" text of *Billy Budd*, which we hope encourages students to do their own textual editing of this complex work. And for the first time we include a selection from the untitled first 1855 printing of Whitman's *Song of Myself*. This selection will help students better understand how Whitman revised his great poem over the multiple editions of *Leaves of Grass*.

Volume C, American Literature, 1865–1914. Edited by Michael A. Elliott, the volume includes new works that illustrate the range of literary styles throughout the period, as well as the way that the historical challenges of this time prefigure our own. In addition to complete longer works that have appeared in previous editions, such as Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Kate Chopin's *The Awakening*, Henry James's *Daisy Miller*, Abraham Cahan's *Yekl: A Tale of the New York Ghetto*, and Stephen Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*, we have added two new works: James's gripping psychological masterpiece, *The Turn of the Screw*, and Edith Wharton's surprising tale of the supernatural, "The Lady's Maid's Bell."

The period immediately following the Civil War, known as Reconstruction, left a lasting legacy in the United States that is still being felt in the national reckoning with racism and inequality. The Tenth Edition offers an introduction to Reconstruction and invaluable contexts for the literature of this period by including a cluster of key voices from the political struggles of the time, among them Frederick Douglass, Frances E. W. Harper, and Robert Elliott, one of sixteen African American men to serve in the U.S. Congress during this period. We also include a new selection from the Chinese North American writer Sui Sin Far, "Leaves from the

Mental Portfolio of an Eurasian," an autobiographical essay about the obstacles faced by Asian Americans in the early twentieth century. A revised cluster on the Ghost Dance songs and Wounded Knee brings together critical Native American voices from the period.

Finally, we have added three new selections from well-known authors of the period. We include a selection from Ambrose Bierce's wickedly funny *Devil's Dictionary*—the kind of book that defines a year as "a period of three hundred and sixty-five disappointments." Frank Norris is now represented by the first two chapters of his bitter and bizarre novel *McTeague*. And we include Jack London's "South of the Slot," in which an academic is caught up in the working-class fight for fair wages.

Volume D, American Literature, 1914–1945. Edited by Lisa Siraganian, Volume D offers a number of complete longer works—William Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*, Willa Cather's *My Ántonia,* Nella Larsen's *Passing,* and, new to this edition, F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*. New authors Djuna Barnes ("A Night in the Woods"), Ann Petry ("Like a Winding Sheet"), Anzia Yezierska ("Wings"), George Schuyler (from *Black Empire*), and James Agee and Walker Evans (from *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*) further contribute to the volume's exploration of issues connected with racial and social geographies. New selections by Amy Lowell, Gertrude Stein, H.D., Marianne Moore, Jean Toomer, and Langston Hughes encourage students and teachers to contemplate the interrelation of modernist aesthetics with current explorations of gender, sexuality, and race. Volume D also introduces several new clusters. "Popular Genre Fiction" includes works, such as Dorothy Parker's "Big Blonde," that were first published in popular magazines; it focuses on genres, including sentimental and science fiction, not usually associated with modernism. Other illuminating clusters address controversies and central events of the modern period. In "Debating Black Art," writings by George Schuyler, Langston Hughes, W. E. B. Du Bois, Zora Neale Hurston, and Richard Wright wrestle with new terms to appraise the value of African American literature. "The 1930s: The Great Depression and Social Upheaval" depicts a tumultuous decade in American history by showcasing a diverse group of authors ranging from avant-garde creative writers like Muriel Rukeyser and Américo Paredes Manzano to popular journalists Meridel Le Sueur and Studs Terkel. Also added to this edition are stories from Ernest Hemingway's *In Our Time*, including "Indian Camp" and "Soldier's Home." Other recent and new additions to Volume D include Gertrude Stein's poetic portraits "Matisse" and "Picasso," new selections in the "Modernist Manifestos" cluster, a selection from Richard Wright's *Black Boy*, and typescript pages of the manuscript of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, which reveal the detailed revisions suggested by Vivienne Eliot and Ezra Pound.

Volume E, American Literature, 1945 to the Present. Amy Hungerford and GerShun Avilez, the editors of Volume E, have revised the volume to present a range of poetry, prose, drama, and nonfiction that speaks to today's diverse students and showcases the riches of contemporary writing. The editors have added Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun* to the plays that return in this edition: Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire*, Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, and August Wilson's *Fences*. Adding to the coverage of graphic narratives, Volume E now includes an excerpt from Alison Bechdel's *Fun Home*, which joins a chapter from Art Spiegelman's *Maus* to expand the possibilities of teaching with images. Adored by students, these works have won critical acclaim and a durable place in the literary classroom. Stand-alone segments from novels by Saul Bellow (*The Adventures of Augie March*), Kurt Vonnegut (*Slaughterhouse-Five*), Jack Kerouac (*On the Road*), and Don DeLillo (*White Noise*), as well as the full text of Allen Ginsberg's *Howl*, give students access to these influential writers. A new cluster gathers science fiction, a key genre in the period that has attracted both writers of talent and topics that feel immediately germane, including

enslavement, environmental degradation, and the impacts of technology. The cluster includes stories by Philip K. Dick and Ursula K. LeGuin (from the Ninth Edition) and adds works by Octavia E. Butler and N. K. Jemisin. Also appearing for the first time is the story "Spanish in the Morning," by Edward P. Jones, and works by a new generation of writers, including the Native American poet Layli Long Soldier and the fiction writers Viet Thanh Nguyen and Carmen Maria Machado. Filling out coverage of the late twentieth century—especially of the war in Vietnam—we include for the first time Tim O'Brien's "How to Tell a True War Story" from *The Things They Carried*. O'Brien's piece pairs well with Viet Thanh Nguyen's newly included "War Years," which reflects on the legacy of the Vietnam War from the perspective of the refugees of that war who eventually remade their lives in America.

One of the most distinctive features of twentieth- and twenty-first-century American literature is a powerful vein of African American poetry. This edition includes for the first time a selection from Claudia Rankine's *Citizen*, arguably the most important work to emerge from the renewed reckoning with anti-Black racism that began in 2014, arising from shootings of young Black men—particularly of Trayvon Martin in 2012 and Michael Brown in 2014. Rankine's work extends the political and poetic tradition of the African American poets whose work has long helped define the anthology—among them, Rita Dove, Gwendolyn Brooks, Robert Hayden, and Audre Lorde—and joins a distinct voice and formal orientation to the twenty-first-century poetry added in the Ninth Edition, which includes work by Tracy K. Smith and Natasha Trethewey.

"Postmodern Manifestos" (which pairs with "Modernist Manifestos" in Volume D) and the popular "Creative Nonfiction" cluster return to fill out the volume's survey of radical change in the forms, and social uses, of literary art. Also returning are two powerful selections that appeared last in the Eighth Edition: Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham Jail" and a selection from Julia Alvarez's *¡Yo!* Alvarez is joined by the newly included poet Juan Felipe Herrera and fiction writer Carmen Maria Machado. The work of these writers—in addition to long-standing entries from Sandra Cisneros and Gloria Anzaldúa, among others—deepens the anthology's engagement with Latinx literature. Teachers and students will also find fresh selections for standing authors, including two spectacular—and accessible—late poems by James Merrill and "Tobacco Origin Story," from Joy Harjo's 2021 collection.

We are delighted to offer this Tenth Edition to teachers and students, and we welcome your comments.

Additional Resources from the Publisher

The Tenth Edition retains the paperback splits format, popular for its flexibility and portability. This format accommodates instructors who use the anthology in a two-semester survey but allows for mixing and matching the five volumes in courses organized by period or topic, at levels from introductory to advanced. We are also pleased to offer the Tenth Edition as an ebook. The Digital Anthology includes the content of the print volumes, with print-corresponding page and line numbers to help keep the whole class on the same page. Footnotes are accessible with a click or a tap, encouraging students to use them with minimal interruption to their reading. Norton's ebook reader facilitates active reading with a powerful annotation tool and allows students to do a full-text search of the anthology and read online or off. The ebook can be accessed from any computer or device with an Internet browser and is available

to students at a fraction of the print price at digital.wwnorton.com/americanlit10. For exam copy access to the ebook and for information on making it available through the campus bookstore or packaging it with the print anthology, instructors should contact their Norton representative.

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STUDENT RESOURCES

Access to the following student resources is included with all new copies of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, Tenth Edition, and is available as an affordable standalone purchase option for students with used copies:

- **InQuizitive** New to the Tenth Edition is InQuizitive, Norton's auto-graded, easy-to-use learning tool that motivates students to read with increased focus and confidence. A variety of interactive question types that go beyond basic multiple choice keep students engaged, and answer-specific feedback models close reading and promotes scaffolded learning from comprehension to analysis. Page references, included with each question, direct students back into the anthology. Modules are available for each of the period introductions, a selection of frequently taught works, the challenging genre of poetry, and writing about American literature. New videos featuring the anthology editors are embedded in InQuizitive to bring the key insights of their respective period introductions to life. InQuizitive is easily integrated with any learning management system so that grades flow back to your LMS gradebook.
- **Close Reading Workshops** Each of the more than twenty workshops focuses on a passage from an often-taught work in the anthology and includes a series of guided writing prompts. Auto-graded at 100 percent for completion (with the ability for instructors to change students' scores if they so choose), the workshops give students valuable low-stakes writing practice. LMS integration also allows grades for the workshops to report directly to an LMS gradebook.
- ***Writing about American Literature* ebook** This ebook by Karen Gocsik (University of California–San Diego) and Coleman Hutchison (University of Texas–Austin) is an accessible, step-by-step guide to writing about literature, from active reading to final revision. Sections devoted to reading analytically and interrogating sources provide students with an essential foundation. Tips on reading critically and creatively, generating ideas, narrowing a topic, constructing a thesis, structuring an argument, and revising lead students through the entire arc of the writing process.
- **MLA Citation Booklet** This mini ebook includes the latest MLA guidelines for easy reference.

Visit digital.wwnorton.com/americanlit10 or contact your Norton representative for more information about these student resources.

INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES

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- **Norton Teaching Tools** Rich with dynamic resources created by experienced instructors, the Norton Teaching Tools site for *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* is your first stop for creative and engaging materials to refresh your syllabus or design a new one. The contents are organized by period and type, making them easily sortable. Content includes teaching notes and discussion questions from the popular instructor's guide as well as images, videos, and lecture PowerPoint slides. Additionally, the site features sample syllabi and tips for assigning InQuizitive, including how to get the most out of its powerful analytics on class and student performance.
- ***Teaching with* The Norton Anthology of American Literature: *A Guide for Instructors*** The much-praised instructor's guide by Edward Whitley (Lehigh University) is available for download as a PDF at wwnorton.com/instructors. Each author/work entry offers teaching suggestions, discussion questions, activities and assignments, and suggestions for incorporating multimedia.
- **Reading Comprehension Quizzes** Norton Testmaker brings Norton's high-quality testing and quizzing materials online. Teachers can create assessments for their course from anywhere with an Internet connection, without downloading files or installing specialized software. The reading comprehension quizzes include multiple-choice questions on often-taught works. Easily export ready-to-use quizzes to Microsoft Word as Common Cartridge files for your LMS.

Editorial Procedures

As in past editions, editorial features—period introductions, headnotes, annotations, and bibliographies—are designed to be concise yet full and to give students necessary information without imposing interpretation. The editors have updated all apparatus in response to new scholarship. All selected bibliographies and each period's general-resources bibliography have been thoroughly updated. The Tenth Edition retains three editorial features that help students place their reading in historical and cultural context—a Texts/Contexts timeline following each period introduction, a map on the front endpaper of each volume, and a chronological chart, on the back endpaper, showing the lifespans of many of the writers anthologized.

Whenever possible, we reprint texts as they appeared in their historical moment. There is one exception: we have modernized most spellings and (sparingly) the punctuation in Volume A on the principle that archaic spellings and typography pose unnecessary problems for beginning students. We have used square brackets to indicate titles supplied by the editors for the convenience of students. Whenever a portion of a text has been omitted, we have indicated that omission with three asterisks. If the omitted portion is important for following the plot or argument, we give a brief summary within the text or in a footnote. After each work, we cite

the date of first publication on the right; in some instances, the latter is accompanied by the date of a revised edition for which the author was responsible. When the date of composition is known and differs from the date of publication, we cite it on the left.

The editors have benefited from commentary offered by hundreds of teachers throughout the country. Those teachers who prepared detailed critiques, or who offered special help in preparing texts, are listed under Acknowledgments. We also thank the many people at Norton who contributed to the Tenth Edition: Marian Johnson, editor; Sarah Rose Aquilina, media editor; manuscript editors Alice Falk, Katharine Ings, and Harry Haskell; Edwin Jeng, assistant editor; Serin Lee, editorial assistant; Sean Mintus, senior production manager; Catherine Abelman, photo editor; Julie Tesser, photo researcher; Debra Morton Hoyt, art director; Joan Greenfield, cover designer; and Elizabeth Trammell, who cleared permissions. We also wish to acknowledge our debt to the late George P. Brockway, former president and chairman of Norton, who invented this anthology, to the late Nina Baym, who as General Editor helped to bring the American anthology into the twenty-first century, and to Julia Reidhead, president of Norton, who, earlier in her career, worked with Nina Baym on a number of editions of the anthology. All have helped us create an anthology that, more than ever, testifies to the continuing richness of American literary traditions.

ROBERT S. LEVINE, General Editor

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Beginnings to 1820

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY

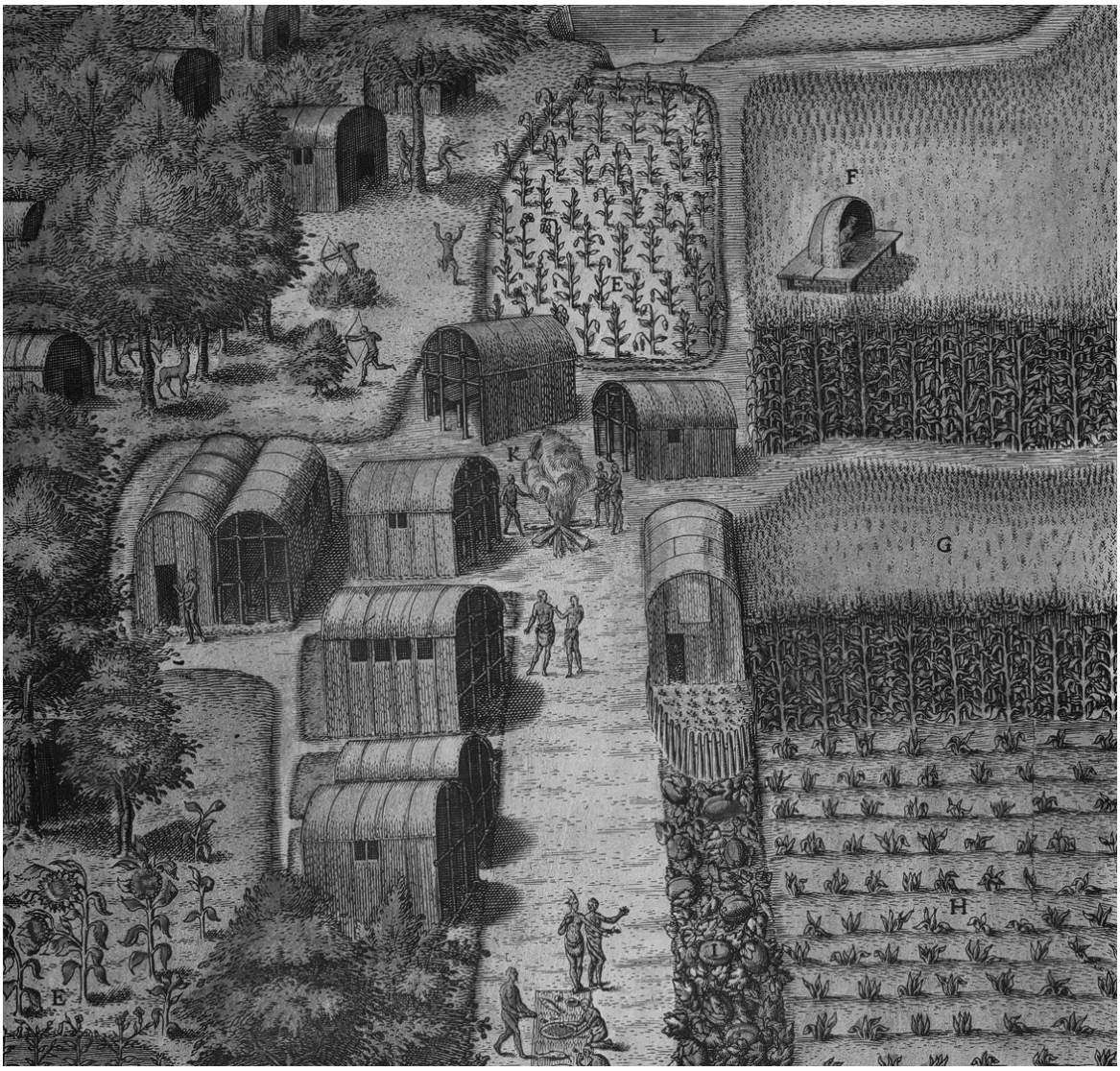
BEGINNINGS TO 1820

TENTH EDITION

AMERICAN LITERATURE

The Indians Giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet in a Conference at a Council Fire Near His Camp on the Banks of Muskingum in America in October 1764, between 1765 and 1766, Benjamin West. This engraving depicts a meeting between British representatives led by Colonel Bouquet and a delegation of Shawnee, Delaware, and Ohio Indians. The two sides are negotiating the return of hostages taken on the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontier. At the end of the council, the Indians handed over 206 captives, some of whom had been raised by Indian families and later fled back to them. West's engraving highlights the power of the Indian orator, who dominates the scene. The British officers look entranced—one holds his hand over his heart, and another leans forward attentively as he records the proceedings. Indian oratory was of great interest to writers, including Thomas Jefferson, who held up "Logan's Speech" (in this volume) as a major example of the genre.

Introduction



John White, **Indian Village of Secoton** (detail), 1585. For more information about this image, see the Image Gallery in this volume.

QUESTIONS OF IDENTITY

In 1631, the English captain John Smith published *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England,* the last and most polished of his works. Smith had been instrumental in the 1607 founding of Jamestown in Virginia, England's first long-lived American settlement, and he later provided guidance for both the Pilgrims who established Plymouth in 1620 and the Puritans who founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony 10 years later. Reading *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters* now, when anticolonial and independence movements have made colonization justly suspect, Smith's endorsement of English plantations in North America strikes a discordant note. Smith anticipated such objections, for he heard them from his contemporaries. "Many good religious devout men have made it a great question, as a matter in conscience, by what warrant they might goe to possesse those Countries, which are none of theirs, but the poore Salvages [i.e., savages']," he wrote. He considered the answer to this objection self-evident: "for God did make the world to be inhabited with mankind, and to have his name knowne to all Nations, and from generation to generation." Although hardly a pious man, Smith saw God's hand at work in England's seizing of the Americas.

On a more mundane level, the dense population and soil depletion in England seemed to Smith sufficient reason to take advantage of the fact that "here in Florida, Virginia, New-England, and Cannada, is more land than all the people in Christendome can manure [that is, cultivate], and yet more to spare than all the natives of those Countries can use and culturate." The continent's native inhabitants, he enthused, would "sell you a whole Countrey" in exchange "for a copper kettle and a few toyes, as beads and hatchets." In his text, Smith did not consider that these "sales" might have been based on different concepts of property, nor did he dwell on the deadly epidemics that decimated Native societies following the arrival of Europeans. He based his arguments for colonization on the precedents available in sacred and secular history. Adam and Eve established a plantation, Smith argued, as did Noah and his family after the flood, and so on through "the Hebrewes, Lacedemonians, the Goths, Grecians, Romans, and the rest." Moreover Portugal and Spain had a one-hundred-and-forty-year lead on England in terms of colony formation, and they were wresting great wealth from the people of the Americas, who once had possessed the natural resources. It would be "neglect of our duty and religion" as well as "want of charity to those poore Salvages" to fail to challenge these Roman Catholic countries for control of the hemisphere, Smith concluded. The difficulty today of seeing European settlement as an expression of "charity" to the "Salvages" means that the "great question" raised by the "good religious devout men" opposed to colonization remains fresh and vital.

In 1805, the Seneca orator Sagoyewatha, or Red Jacket, offered a Native perspective on colonization in an address to the missionary Jacob Cram that can serve as a rebuttal of Smith. "There was a time when our forefathers owned this great island," Sagoyewatha told Cram. "Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. The Great Spirit had made it for the use of Indians." When "your forefathers" arrived, he continued, "they found friends and not enemies. They told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and had come here to enjoy their religion. They asked us for a small seat. We took pity on them, granted their request; and they sat down amongst us." Sagoyewatha went on to describe the devastating impact on Native Americans of the strong alcohol introduced by Europeans and to relate how the once small colonial populations had grown and spilled over onto lands that the

Natives had not meant to relinquish. He also challenged Cram on the relevance of Christianity to Native communities, which, he stressed, had their own religious traditions. In addition, Christianity hardly seemed a unifying force for good. "If there is but one religion," Sagoyewatha asked, "why do you white people differ so much about it? Why [are you] not all agreed, as you can all read the book [that is, the Bible]?"

In his 1782 book *Letters from an American Farmer*, the French-born writer J. Hector St. John de Crèvecœur posed another resonant question of identity: "What is an American?" Crèvecœur offered his most explicit answer to this question in Letter III, where he described "the American" as a "new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions." The American people were "a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans and Swedes," he wrote, emphasizing that they farmed their own land and peacefully practiced various faiths, including Roman Catholicism, Quakerism, and several forms of Protestantism. Crèvecœur's description captured important aspects of late colonial society. In its early years, the American colonies were shaped by competing empires: the large ones—New Spain, New France, and the English colonies, including Virginia and New England—and more modest efforts, such as New Netherland and New Sweden. In the eighteenth century, even as Britain consolidated its empire in North America, an influx of immigrants from Northern Europe produced in the mid-Atlantic colonies the particular mixture that Crèvecœur described. He contrasted this American "melting" of peoples with life in Europe, where national and religious divisions fueled chronic wars while lingering feudal systems and powerful states oppressed the common people.

Elsewhere in *Letters*, Crèvecœur complicated his idealized vision of America as a place where Europeans could liberate themselves from the constraints of the Old World. He noted the attractions of the frontier, a borderland where hunting surpassed agriculture as the dominant mode of life. In that contact zone, European Americans adopted the customs and habits of Native Americans even as they sought to supplant them. He also reported on the hierarchical plantation-based societies of the southern colonies, and the horrors inflicted there on enslaved African Americans. His description of a caged slave is one of the most unforgettable passages in the book. In these selections, the liberating potential of the New World is shown to have sharp limits, and the process of nation-formation to have negative ramifications as well as positive consequences.

Letters from an American Farmer proved an immediate sensation, for it offered insights into what the emerging nation might become, and how the result might affect Europe. Though Crèvecœur was probably a Loyalist supporter of British rule, his work was greeted enthusiastically by political radicals in England and Enlightenment philosophes in France, as well as by the American statesman Thomas Jefferson, who echoed Crèvecœur's enthusiasm for the yeoman farmer in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787). After a period of relative neglect in the nineteenth century, Crèvecœur's vision of America was revived in 1908, when Israel Zangwill's "The Melting Pot," a play focused on recent waves of European immigration, became a smash hit. Readers embraced *Letters* as a classic of American literature presenting an archetype of American identity. Unfortunately, the resulting view of *Letters* highlighted the formation of European American identity while marginalizing non–European Americans. In recent years, a more comprehensive approach to Crèvecœur's work has emphasized the sections on slavery and White/Native interactions on the frontier. *Letters from an American Farmer* offers today's readers vivid accounts of assumptions and contradictions that helped shape the early United States and its literature.

Nearly four decades after *Letters from an American Farmer* became one of the literary hits of the age of revolution, Washington Irving cast a backward look at this founding era in his tale

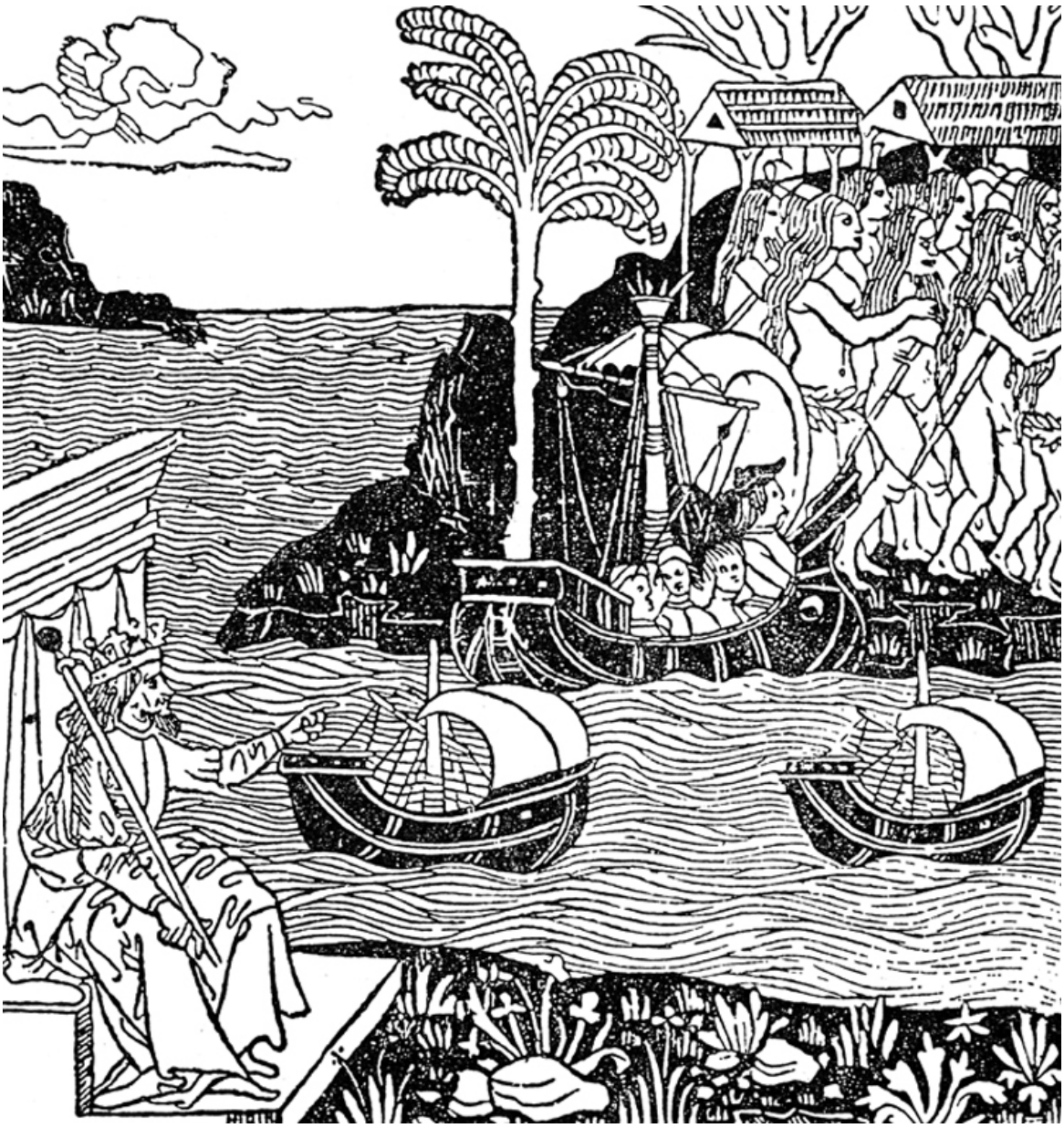
"Rip Van Winkle." Irving was born in 1783, the year that the Treaty of Paris brought a formal close to the Revolutionary War, and he was named for the Virginia planter and slave owner who led the Continental Army to victory and later became the first president of the United States. Irving was one of the earliest American-born authors to win international literary celebrity, which he achieved as an expatriate writer living in England. The work that first made him famous was *The Sketch Book* (1819–20), a volume of stories and essays that includes his best-known tales, "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." While these stories take place in the Catskill region of New York and there are two essays on Native American life and history, the bulk of the volume concerns English customs. This fact suggests the limits to revolutionary change in the literary world of Irving's day. Despite the ambition of many writers to create distinctly "American" works, the literature of the United States remained oriented toward England for decades after independence.

"Rip Van Winkle" emphasizes continuity more than transformation, and it highlights the checkered quality of human nature rather than its potential for radical new beginnings. Based on a German folktale and set in a sleepy Dutch village on the Hudson River shortly before the Revolution, the story features Rip, a slacker who embarks on a hunting expedition to evade his wife's demands. In the mountains, he mysteriously finds himself in the company of the English explorer Henry Hudson, who in 1609 traveled from New York Harbor as far as Albany, sailing up the river that now bears his name. Hudson and his men silently invite Rip to drink with them, and he soon falls into a deep and unnaturally prolonged sleep. When he returns to his village after a twenty-year interval, the Revolution has passed, and Rip finds much that is unfamiliar, as well as things that are uncannily familiar yet somehow different. Frustrated, he bursts out with the question, "Does nobody here know Rip Van Winkle?"—and a version of his younger self is pointed out to him. This person turns out to be the son he left at home two decades earlier, now grown up to be a man much like his father, further confusing Rip's sense of identity.

Irving invites his readers to consider the disorienting nature of social transformation. He particularly contrasts the quieter, slower colonial world with the bustle and clamor of the newly democratizing political culture. The story suggests that despite some obvious superficial differences, not very much has changed, and that some of the circumstances that have changed have not necessarily improved. These central themes are captured in Irving's description of how the image of King George III on the sign of the local inn has been repainted as George Washington. The sign offers a compelling symbol of how things can remain the same underneath even as external appearances transform. The excitement of radical change and the appeal of tradition and continuity that Irving explores in this story have been fertile themes for many American writers. Questions about the competing values and historical narratives that shape American identities were as relevant for Irving's readers as they had been two hundred years earlier for John Smith.

EXPLORING ORIGINS

The question of identity is often tied to the nature of origins. Most of the earliest surviving writings about the Americas are narratives of discovery, a vast and frequently fascinating category of works that includes Samuel de Champlain's chronicles of New France; Thomas Harriot's descriptions of Native customs and natural resources in the Chesapeake Bay region; and—of great interest to Washington Irving—the account of Henry Hudson's explorations written by Robert Juet, the sailor who later mutinied and set Hudson adrift in the bay that bears his name, never to be seen again. Irving's retelling of the Hudson story in his *History of New-York* (1809) greatly mutes the brutality in Juet's narrative to present a colonial history that is notably relaxed and genial, while explicitly marginalizing Native Americans. Virtually all colonization narratives tell a story that is closer to Juet's than to Irving's. These works show that while some elements of influence and exchange were peaceful, conflict and violence were major forces shaping this new world. Individually and collectively, these writings demonstrate that "discovery" entailed a many-sided process of confrontation and exchange among heterogeneous European, American, and, eventually, African peoples. It was out of encounters such as the ones described in these narratives that the hybrid cultural universe of the Atlantic world began to emerge.



Columbus Landing in the Indies, from *La Lettera dell'isole che ha trovata nouovamenta il re di'spagna,* 1493. This woodcut was created to accompany a metrical version, by the Florentine poet Giuliano Dati, of the letter Columbus wrote describing his first voyage. The image is interesting for its symbolic presentation of European authority (in the person of Ferdinand of Spain) and its early conceptualization of what the Taino Indians looked like.

In 1828, Irving published a biography of Christopher Columbus, the Genoese explorer who sailed across the Atlantic four times on behalf of the Spanish Empire. Columbus's own writings provide a remarkable view into the radical changes that his voyage of 1492 set in motion. His *Letter to Luis de Santangel Regarding the First Voyage* (1493)—better known as the Letter of Discovery—was the first printed account of the territory that Europeans later came to call America. This riveting description of the unexpected marvels that Columbus and

his crew encountered in the West Indies circulated widely throughout Europe. Columbus lavished praise on the stunning island mountains, the many different types of trees and beautiful forms of vegetation, the rivers that appeared to be full of gold, and the fertile soil promising agricultural riches. He described the indigenous population as welcoming, loosely organized, and largely defenseless. And in a harbinger of things to come, he told how "in the first island that I came to, I took some of them by force." He captured these Natives—and took some of them with him on the return voyage to Europe—with the idea that Europeans and Natives could learn to communicate through gestures and, eventually, language. Before long, however, captivity in the service of potentially peaceful exchange yielded to other types of coercion, including enslavement.

Perhaps it was one of Columbus's original captives who in 1494 returned home to relate tales of a new world full of "marvels"—that is, the marvels of Spain, which were as unfamiliar to his Native audience as the marvels of the West Indies were to Columbus's European readers. The man in question was a Taino Indian from the Bahamas, who had been baptized and renamed Diego Colón, after Columbus's son. (Colón is the Spanish version of the family's name.) Diego Colón and another captive served as translators for a large party of Spaniards, around fifteen hundred, who arrived in the Caribbean early in November 1493. In the words of the Spanish historian Andrés Bernáldez, who knew Columbus well and edited his papers, Colón regaled the other Natives with tales of "the things which he had seen in Castile and the marvels of Spain, . . . the great cities and fortresses and churches, . . . the people and horses and animals, . . . the great nobility and wealth of the sovereigns and great lords, . . . the kinds of food, . . . the festivals and tournaments [and] bull-fighting." Colón's story catches in miniature the extraordinary changes that began to occur as natives of Europe encountered natives of the Americas in a sustained way for the first time in recorded history.

Each group of peoples was of course the product and agent of its own history and brought a unique sense of "reality" to the encounter. For example, the year of Columbus's first voyage was also the year of the Spanish *Reconquista*, that is, the final defeat of the Islamic Moors of North Africa who had conquered Spain more than 700 years earlier. The *Reconquista* was just one phase of the centuries-long wars between Christian and Muslim empires that shaped European perceptions of, and actions in, the Americas. Captain John Smith had earned his military title fighting in southeastern Europe against the imperial forces of the Ottoman Turks, then at the height of their power. There were recognizably imperial states in the Americas as well. In the two centuries before Columbus's voyage, the Aztecs had consolidated an empire in present-day Mexico, and over the course of the fourteenth century the Inca Empire had expanded to encompass territory from what is now southern Colombia to Chile. Because of the Aztec and Inca presences, the view of European conquest as a contest of empires is particularly strong in Spanish accounts. The conquistador Hernán Cortés described the sophistication and wealth that existed in the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán, before he ordered his forces to destroy it. In a more muted way, Smith portrayed English interactions with the Powhatan Indians as the product of their competing imperial projects, with Chief Powhatan undertaking to absorb the English newcomers within his expanding area of influence while Smith struggled to establish dominance.

When the Europeans arrived in the Americas, the indigenous people numbered between fifty million and one hundred million. Mass deaths among the indigenous communities facilitated European expansion. Almost literally from 1492, Native peoples started to die in large numbers. Whole populations plummeted as diseases such as smallpox, measles, and typhus spread throughout the Caribbean and then on the mainland of Central and South America. These diseases became even more lethal as a consequence of war, enslavement, brutal

mistreatment, and despair. The rapid introduction of slavery of Native Americans by Europeans, which Columbus helped initiate, reflects both historical practices and contemporary developments. The word "slave" derives from "Slav," which refers to speakers of Slavic languages, in central and eastern Europe; many Slavs were taken as property by Spanish Muslims in the ninth century. Race-based slavery emerged shortly before Columbus's first voyage: the European slave trade in Africa began in 1441, and in 1452 Pope Nicholas V authorized the enslaving of non-Christians. In 1500 slavery was a common form of labor, with variants around the globe, including in Africa and the Americas. Columbus had intended to create a market in enslaved Americans, and a substantial number of Natives were taken as slaves, but ultimately this project failed because too many Native people died. Europeans began transporting small numbers of enslaved Africans to the Americas shortly after arriving there. Those numbers soon multiplied, and the social and cultural features of this new world became even more complex as the enslaved people introduced the arts and traditions of various African societies.

The impacts in the Americas of disease and of slavery can be seen in miniature in the history of the Caribbean island Hispaniola. The population of Hispaniola (estimated at between one hundred thousand and eight million in 1492) plunged following the Spanish occupation, partly through disease and partly through abuses of the *encomienda* system, which gave individual Spaniards claims to Native labor and wealth. Faced with this sudden decline in Native workers, Spain introduced African slavery there as early as 1501. In 1522, the first major slave rebellion in the Americas took place on the island, when enslaved African Muslims killed nine Spaniards. From this point forward, slave resistance became commonplace. Nevertheless, by the mid-sixteenth century the Native population had been so completely displaced by enslaved Africans that the Spanish historian Antonio de Herrera called the island "an effigy or an image of Ethiopia itself." Hispaniola was the leading edge of broader devastations and transformations; colonization, disease, and slavery had similarly sweeping effects in many parts of the Americas.

New World Natives, from an anonymous German woodcut, c. 1505. The text accompanying this detailed early illustration comments on Native Americans and their customs, praising their physical appearance and healthfulness as well as their distaste for both private property and public government. Only in passing does it assert that they kill and eat their enemies, smoking the dead bodies above their fires, as on closer inspection the woodcut indicates.

It would be inaccurate to picture indigenous Americans as merely victims suffering an inexorable decline. The motif of the "vanishing Indian" that became prominent in the early nineteenth century misrepresents historical realities, which involved unevenly textured cultural developments. Some indigenous Americans made shrewd use of the European presence to forward their own aims. In 1519, the disaffected Natives in the Aztec Empire threw in their lot with Cortés because they saw a chance to settle the score with their overlord, Montezuma. In New England, the Pequot War of 1637 involved a similar alignment on the English side of such tribes as the Narragansetts and the Mohegans, who had grievances with the militarily aggressive Pequots. The Powhatans of the Chesapeake Bay region and the Iroquois in the Northeast seized on European technology and the European market, adopting novel weaponry (the gun) and incorporating new trade goods into their networks as a means of consolidating advantages gained before the arrival of the colonists. Beginning in the eighteenth century, the Comanches built an empire that dominated other Native groups and contested European (and later United States and Mexican) power in the southern plains and southwestern regions of North America. Above all, Native societies were not static. Even as their populations shrank, indigenous Americans resisted, transformed, and exploited the cultural and social practices that Europeans and Africans brought to the Americas. Eventually, these resilient, resourceful peoples embraced writing and print to protect their communities, advance their interests, and convey their vital place in the world.

Meanwhile, the African population in the Americas was expanding. Although free Blacks were a growing presence, most of the Africans were enslaved people who were often forced into heterogeneous groups that brought together members of various cultures speaking distinct languages. Under the harsh conditions of European domination, they created new forms of expression that retained ties to their cultures of origin. One notable instance of this dynamic process involves the West African figure of Esu Elegbara, the guardian of the crossroads and interpreter of the gods, who appears in works of verbal art created in African communities throughout the Americas. Esu features in narrative praise poems, divination verses, lyrical songs, and prose narratives and is particularly connected with matters of heightened (that is, "literary") language and interpretation. By the eighteenth century, many African Americans practiced Christianity, and the Bible provided a stock of characters and rhetorical postures that they used to articulate their experiences and worldviews and to advocate for their freedom.

LITERARY BACKGROUNDS AND CONSEQUENCES OF 1492

Apart from the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome, few of the works now regarded as classics of European literature had been produced when Columbus sailed in 1492. Those that did exist can be grouped into a few genres. There were epic poems, such as *Beowulf* (English), *The Song of Roland* (French), and Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Italian); chivalric romances, including *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (English); shorter romances, such as the lais of Marie de France; story sequences, including the Italian writer Boccaccio's *Decameron* and the English poet Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; sacred lyric poems, such as by Hildegard of Bingen; and sonnets, notably those by the Italian poet Petrarch, who honed the form into a major genre that, during the Renaissance, Shakespeare made important to English literature. Aristotle's and Cicero's works were already widely known, and the revival of Greco-Roman classics that characterized the Renaissance was on the horizon. Augustine's *Confessions* was among the broadly influential works of sacred prose, while secular chronicles and histories attracted many readers. In 1300, Marco Polo's account of his travels to China began to circulate; *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, a fabulous account of a journey through the Middle East and beyond, appeared five or six decades later. Published in manuscript before the Gutenberg printing press was invented around 1440, both works are thought to have influenced Christopher Columbus's writings about his "new world."

Beginning with the publication in 1493 of Columbus's Letter of Discovery, the printing press became part of the engine driving European expansion in the Americas. Explorers and adventurers produced a large and intriguing body of literature that communicated the wonders of the new world, described Native societies with varying degrees of accuracy and appreciation, and offered explanations and justifications for numerous colonial projects. In some cases, notably that of the Spanish friar Bartolomé de las Casas, writers also testified about the atrocities being committed against Native peoples. Print increasingly made possible the dissemination of texts rich with imagery and practical knowledge, helping to stir individual imaginations and national ambitions with regard to the West Indies and the Americas and, in a few instances, seeking to limit the negative impact of colonization on indigenous Americans.

Cataclysms such as the devastation of the Indies and the Conquest of Mexico produced not only the Spanish narratives of Columbus, Cortés, and Las Casas but also Native responses. For example, in 1528 anonymous Native writers, working in the Nahuatl language of the Aztecs but using the Roman alphabet introduced by the Spanish, lamented the fall of their capital to Cortés:

> Broken spears lie in the roads;
>
> we have torn our hair in our grief.
>
> The houses are roofless now, and their walls
>
> are red with blood.

No one reading these four lines will easily glorify the conquest of Mexico or of the Americas more generally. Such testimonies offer an essential outlook on this painful history. The selections in this volume grouped under "First Encounters: Early European Accounts of Native America" offer both European and indigenous perspectives. So, for instance, the excerpt from Robert Juet's narrative of Hudson's third voyage, published in 1625, relates the same events as the Delaware narrative that John Heckewelder recorded from his Native sources in the early nineteenth century—which in turn also provides an important perspective on the narrative of these events offered, later in the volume, by Heckewelder's contemporary Washington Irving.

At the time of conquest Native Americans had rich oral cultures that valued memory over material means of preserving texts. There were some important exceptions. The Aztecs and a few other groups produced written works in their own languages, though Spanish conquerors destroyed many of the *amoxtli* and other types of Native "books." Many indigenous communities used visual records in subtle and sophisticated ways, with a notable example being the Andean quipu, a type of knotted string. North American recording devices included shellwork belts, known as *wampum*, and painted animal hides, tepees, and shields. The histories and rituals encoded in these devices were translated into spoken language in ways that had significant parallels in what is sometimes called print culture. Scripture was regularly interpreted and delivered in a sermon in much the same manner as a *wampum* belt might be "read" at a treaty conference. Again, a printed narrative might be read aloud, similar to the way that Native tales were recounted; while hymns and ballads were designed for singing and provided an early contact point between European and Native verbal artists.

In addition to taking diverse forms, early American literature reflects the linguistic and cultural range of the colonial world. Spanish, French, German and its variants, and other European languages are prominent in the written archive about North America, as exemplified here in works by writers such as Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Samuel de Champlain. Dozens of Native languages left traces, which include evidence of at least eight creation narratives, with notable examples being the Iroquois and Navajo creation stories included in this volume. Although English eventually became the main language in the United States, and thus the dominant medium of classic American literature, it was a late arrival in the Americas. Likewise, although the New England colonies, founded in the early seventeenth century, have conventionally been regarded as the central source of early American literature, the first North American settlements were established elsewhere many years earlier. The Spanish founded colonies at present-day St. Augustine, Florida (1565), and Santa Fe, New Mexico (1610), and Dutch settlers established New Netherland (1614), which came to include New York City and Albany (1614). All of these cities, which started as colonial outposts, are older than Boston (1630), which was not even the first permanent English settlement in North America. That distinction goes to the Jamestown colony, in Virginia (1607).

The writings of Thomas Harriot and John Smith about Virginia's Chesapeake Bay region are crucial to a full understanding of the English-language literature of the Americas. Harriot produced the first account of England's new world in *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), which combines descriptions of marketable commodities, a detailed and often accurate description of Native beliefs and practices, and a narration of how Wingina, the Algonquian headman on Roanoke Island, interacted with the English colonizers and sought to understand the devastating effects of the illnesses that followed in their wake. As noted earlier, John Smith was an enthusiastic and prolific proselytizer for English colonization, instrumental in the establishment of Virginia and influential as well in the founding of New England. Smith epitomized those proponents of colonization who came from the underclasses in their native countries, and he made a powerful case for the opportunities that America

offered them. Energetic and confident, Smith could be subversive, even mutinous, in his writings as in his life. His works present a vision of America as a place where much that was genuinely new might be learned and created. This vision came to maturity in his writings about New England, and helped to shape what many regard as the most influential body of writings from the early period.

LITERARY NEW ENGLAND

The founding of Plymouth Plantation, in 1620, marks a new phase in the literary history of colonial North America. The first months of the Plymouth colony were inauspicious. After landing on the raw Massachusetts shore in November 1620, the Pilgrims braced for winter. They survived this "starving time" with the essential aid of the nearby Wampanoag Indians and their leader, Massasoit. From these "small beginnings," as the colony's leader, William Bradford, refers to them in *Of Plymouth Plantation* (c. 1630), grew a community that later came to be invested with a symbolic significance that far exceeded its size and remote location. The Pilgrims' religious motivation for leaving England is only part of the story. Backed by English investors, the seafaring migration was commercial as well as spiritual. Among the hundred people on the group's ship, the *Mayflower*, almost three times as many were secular settlers as were Separatist Puritans. The persistent tension between the material and spiritual goals of the Plymouth colonists appears in many early writings about the region. For instance, Thomas Morton portrays this conflict in values in *New English Canaan* (1637), where the Plymouth leaders appear not as holy men but as domineering and repressive antagonists of Morton's colony at Ma-re Mount. Morton also conveys a different sensibility about relations with the Natives, expressing little desire to convert them to Christianity and focusing instead on joining with them in May Day festivities. Although Morton probably overstated the ideological differences and minimized the economic rivalry with Plymouth, the contrast suggests a spectrum of colonial responses to their new environment. In addition, Morton's language reflects a major strand in English Renaissance writing, a playful style that contrasts with the plain style of Bradford and other Puritan authors.

Much larger than either Plymouth or Ma-re Mount was the Massachusetts Bay Colony, founded in 1630 by Puritans under John Winthrop. The Massachusetts Bay colonists initially wanted to retain their ties with the Church of England, leading to their designation as non-Separating Congregationalists, which distinguished them from the more radical Separatists at Plymouth. On other issues, they shared basic beliefs with the Pilgrims: both agreed with the Protestant Reformation leader Martin Luther that no pope or bishop had the right to impose any law on a Christian without consent, and both accepted the Reformation theologian John Calvin's view that God freely chose (or "elected") those he would save and those he would damn eternally.

A

In *Adam's* Fall
We Sinned all.

B

Thy Life to Mend
This *Book* Attend.

C

The *Cat* doth play
And after slay.

D

A *Dog* will bite
A Thief at night.

E

An *Eagles* flight
Is out of sight.

F

The Idle *Fool*
Is whipt at School.

G

As runs the *Glass*
Mans life doth pass.

H

My *Book* and *Heart*
Shall never part.

J

Job feels the Rod
Yet blesses GOD.

K

Our *KING* the good
No man of blood.

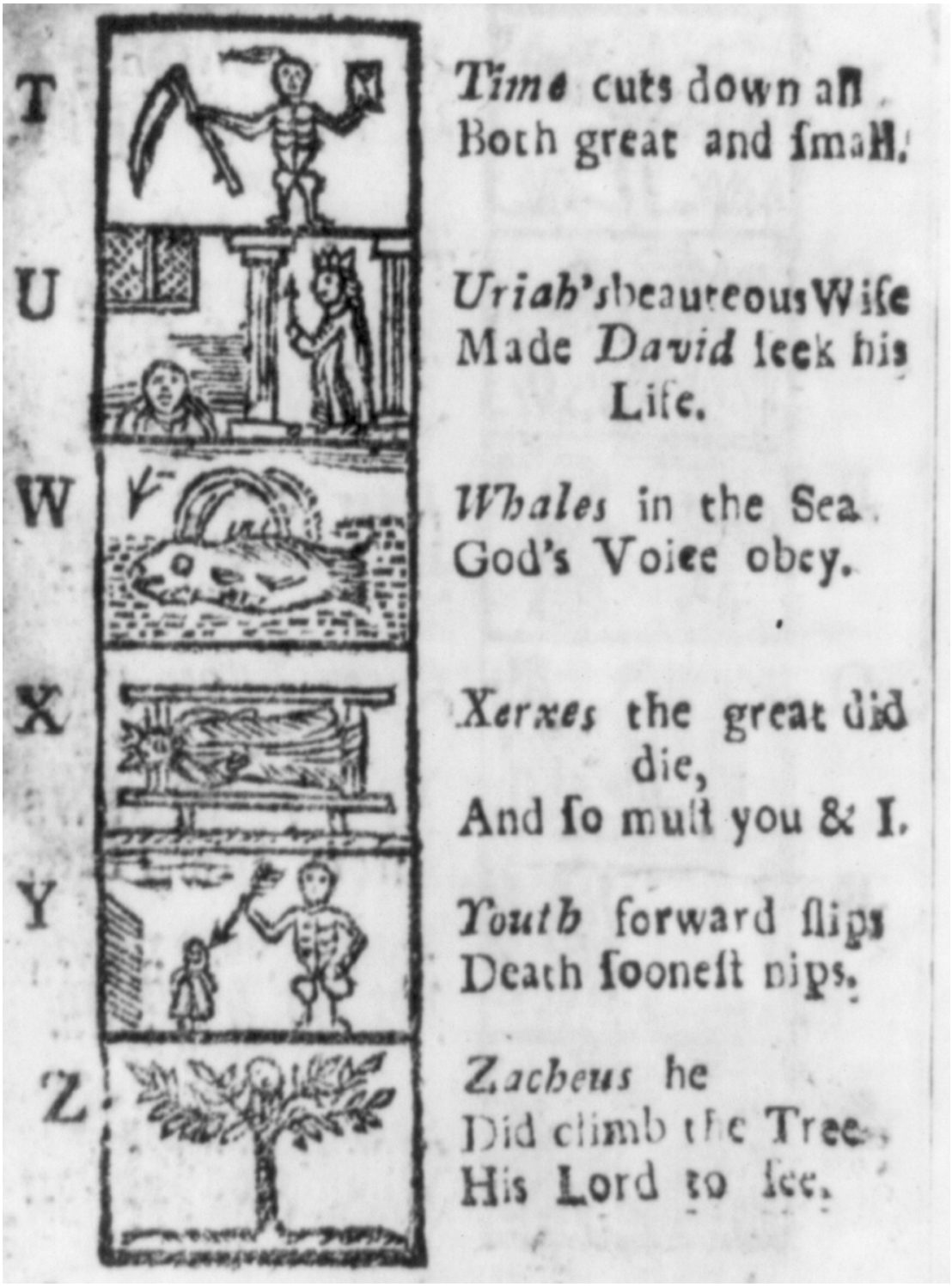
L

The *Lion* bold
The *Lamb* doth hold.

M

The *Moon* gives light
In time of night.


N
O
P
Q
R
S
Nightingales ſing
In Time of Spring.
The Royal Oak
it was the Tree
That ſav'd His
Royal Majeſtie.
Peter denies
His Lord and cries.
Queen Eſther comes
in Royal State
To Save the JEWS
from diſmal Fate.
Rachel doth mourn
For her firſt born.
Samuel anoints
Whom God appoints.



The New-England Primer, 1690. Like other Protestants, Puritans believed that the Bible should be accessible to all believers, and to that end *The New-England Primer* was designed for children learning to read. Benjamin Harris printed the first edition in Boston; a London edition appeared in 1701. Many more editions followed—though very few

copies survived. In the mid-eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia print shop sold nearly forty thousand copies of its own later version. These pages are from *The New-England Primer, a Reprint of the Earliest Known Edition* (1899), edited by Paul Leicester Ford, which reproduces the one surviving, incomplete copy of the 1727 edition.

Puritans have a grim reputation as religious zealots, prudes, and killjoys. These conceptions stem from the Calvinist doctrine of election. However, counter to the stereotype, Puritans did not necessarily consider most people damned before birth. Instead, they argued that Adam broke the "Covenant of Works"—the promise God made to Adam that he was immortal and could live in Paradise forever as long as he obeyed God's commandments—when he disobeyed and ate of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thereby bringing sin and death into the world. Their central doctrine was the new "Covenant of Grace," a binding agreement that Jesus Christ made with all people who believed in him and that he sealed with his Crucifixion, promising them eternal life. The New England churches aspired to be more rigorous than others, and this idea of the covenant contributed to the feeling that they were a special few. When John Winthrop in *A Model of Christian Charity* (written 1630) expressed the ideals that he wanted the colonists to embrace, he wrote that the eyes of the world were on them and that they should strive to be an example for all, a "city upon a hill." In their respective histories of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, Bradford and Winthrop wished to record the actualization of the founding dream, which was first and foremost a dream of a purified community of mutually supporting Protestant Christians.

In keeping with the doctrine of election, Puritan ministers typically addressed themselves not to the hopelessly unregenerate but to the spiritually indifferent—that is, to the potentially "elect." They spoke to the heart more often than the mind, always distinguishing between heartfelt "saving faith" and "historical," or rational, understanding. While preachers sometimes sought to evoke fear by focusing on the terrors of hell, as the latter-day Puritan Jonathan Edwards famously did in his sermon "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" (1741), this method did not reflect the exclusive—or even the main—tenor of Puritan religious life. The considerable joy and love in Puritanism resulted directly from meditation on Christ's redeeming power. The minister-poet Edward Taylor conveys this element of Puritan experience in his rapturous litany of Christ's attributes: "He is altogether lovely in everything, lovely in His person, lovely in His natures, lovely in His properties, lovely in His offices, lovely in His titles, lovely in His practice, lovely in His purchases and lovely in His relations." All of Taylor's art considers the miraculous gift of the Incarnation, reflecting his typically Puritan sensibility. Similar qualities are evident in the works of Anne Bradstreet, a Puritan and the first British North American writer to publish a volume of poetry. Bradstreet confessed her religious doubts to her children, but she emphasized that it was "upon this rock Christ Jesus" that she built her faith. The Puritan minister Michael Wigglesworth titled a poem *The Day of Doom* (1662), but concluded it with God joyfully embracing the saints in heaven.

SEVERAL

POEMS

Compiled with great variety of Wit and Learning, full of Delight,

Wherein especially is contained a compleat Discourse, and Description of

The Four { ELEMENTS, CONSTITUTIONS, AGES of Man, SEASONS of the Year:

Together with an exact Epitome of the three first *Monarchyes*

Viz. The { *ASSYRIAN*, *PERSIAN*, *GRECIAN*.

And beginning of the Romane Common-wealth *to the end of their last King:*

With diverse other pleasant & serious *Poems*;

By a Gentlewoman in *New-England*.

The second Edition, Corrected by the Author, and enlarged by an Addition of several other Poems found amongst her Papers after her Death.

Boston, Printed by *John Foster*, 1678.

The Tenth Muse. Anne Bradstreet's first book appeared in London in 1650, with the title *The Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung up in America*. There were nine muses in the classical world. In 1678, this second edition of Bradstreet's poems was published in Boston.

Religious emotion provided a unifying factor for diverse denominations, leading to the kind of melding that Crèvecœur would later find characteristic of American life. The closest thing in New England to Crèvecœur's ideal was in the Providence colony, which the Puritan theologian Roger Williams helped guide toward a more capacious understanding of religious freedom than was accepted in Plymouth or Massachusetts Bay. Williams insisted that "christenings make not Christians." In other words, as he interpreted the doctrine of election, rituals and displays meant less than inner faith. Accordingly, he helped make Providence a refuge for religious dissenters and outsiders, including Antinomians, Quakers, and Jews. He also worked hard—and for a time, successfully—to establish good relations with the region's Narragansett Indians. However, harmonious relations were shattered in 1675, when King Philip led the Wampanoags and their Narragansett allies to war against the colonies, with devastating effects on both sides. In her captivity narrative, the Puritan settler Mary Rowlandson movingly describes the mutual betrayal experienced by the indigenous people and the colonists.

Just over a decade after Rowland's captivity, King William's War became the first in a series of conflicts between New England and New France that culminated in 1763 with Britain's victory in the French and Indian War. During the intervening decades, colonists regularly fought alongside European troops and Native allies. European state politics informed the fighting, as did religious differences between Protestant Britain and Catholic France. The *Jesuit Relations*, vast chronicles of life in the borderlands of New France, reflect the imperial and religious tensions. A 1647 narrative included in this anthology focuses on Isaac Jogues, one of the eight Jesuit missionaries killed by Natives, canonized (that is, sainted) by the Roman Catholic Church, and sometimes referred to as the North American Martyrs.

Conflicts between Protestant England and Catholic France infused events that roiled Puritan communities as well, notably including the Salem witchcraft crisis of 1692. That famous and, in a certain sense, defining crisis reflected complex transformations of colonial authority and identity. Though small in comparison to the witch trials that took place in Europe and the British Isles in roughly the same period, the tragic events at Salem, which culminated in the execution of twenty people, loom large in part because of their distinctive features and overdetermined meaning. The trials unfolded as the new royal charter transformed Massachusetts Bay from a colony to a province, shifting power to the metropolis. Meanwhile, rivals to Puritanism were becoming more visible, not only in New France, but also in other British colonies with different religious identities and competing understandings of the relationship between church and state. Maryland, established in 1634, had a strong association with both Catholicism and religious toleration, while Rhode Island, which had grown from Roger Williams's settlement at Providence, was granted a royal charter in 1663. The founding of the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania in 1681 posed an especially strong challenge to the Bay Colony, both because of the rapid growth of Philadelphia into a major hub and because of Quakerism's competing approach to Christian reform.

One of the most controversial features of Quakerism was its embrace of women's religious leadership. This issue resonated in the colony that had banished Anne Hutchinson in 1638 and, some two decades later, went on to execute Mary Dyer, a follower of Hutchinson who later embraced Quaker beliefs and returned to Massachusetts to challenge its authorities. In 1661, shortly after the end of the Commonwealth and the restoration of the monarchy, King Charles

II rebuked the Bay Colony for executing Dyer and three male Quakers. Concerns about Puritan intolerance contributed to the new regime's approach to the Massachusetts charter, which unfolded over three decades even as the monarchy underwent a sustained period of instability that culminated in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, when the Catholic King James II was replaced by the Protestant monarchs William and Mary. All these developments contributed in important though indirect ways to the Salem proceedings.

Several men were executed during the Salem crisis, but the majority of the condemned were women. What's more, the first person to be accused was the enslaved woman Tituba, who was practicing folk rituals with a group of Puritan girls when the "afflictions" began. Probably an Indian from the South American mainland, Tituba had arrived in Salem by way of Barbados. In 1656, that island had been the immediate point of origin of the first Quaker evangelists to Massachusetts, who were accused of witchcraft and imprisoned. Though the Puritans understood what was happening to their community in different terms than those suggested here, focusing their fears on the presence of the devil in Massachusetts rather than on social, political, and religious pressures, their writings did at times reflect an awareness that many forces inflamed the crisis. Two selections in this volume give some insight into this symbolically important moment in early American literary history: the diary of Samuel Sewall, who had served as a judge in the Salem trials and went on to take an early stand against slavery, and the excerpt from Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693), which shows how an internationally renowned Puritan intellectual who was attuned to the new science sought to understand the nature of witchcraft.

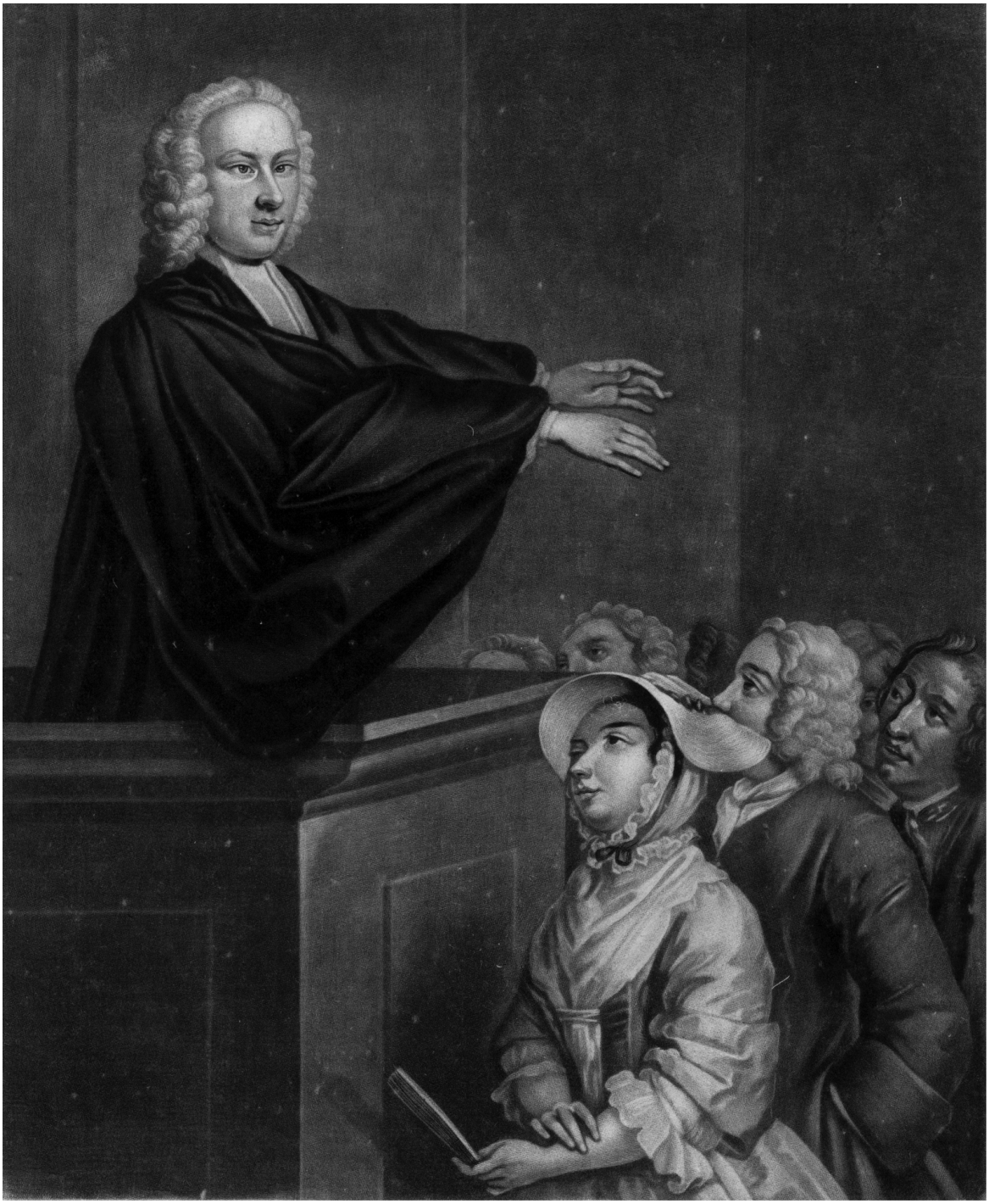
ENLIGHTENMENT IDEALS

The Salem witch trials proved to be a watershed moment, tied to dramatic social and economic changes during the late colonial period. These shifts were gradually matched by transformations in intellectual life. By the early eighteenth century, scientists and philosophers in Europe and the Americas had posed great challenges to seventeenth-century beliefs. Many intellectuals now embraced the power of the human mind to comprehend the universe as never before. What is sometimes called the "modern era"—characterized principally by the gradual supplanting of religious worldviews by scientific and philosophical ideas anchored in experiential knowledge—emerged from efforts to conceive of human existence in new terms. These developments in science and philosophy, known generally as the Enlightenment, did not necessarily lead to secularization. For example, Isaac Newton and John Locke—respectively, the leading English scientist and philosopher of the age—both sought to resolve implicit conflicts between their work and Christian tradition. Newton's study of the laws of motion and gravity had the potential to undermine religious beliefs insofar as it revealed a natural order that was perhaps independent of divine power. Locke's theory of the human mind as a tabula rasa, or blank slate, endowed with powers of perception but without innate content, posed a direct challenge to established forms of Christianity by calling into question the idea of original sin. Arguing that God worked in reasonable, not necessarily mysterious ways, these thinkers saw nothing heretical in contending that the universe was an orderly system whose laws humanity could comprehend through the application of reason.

Many Enlightenment scientists and philosophers deduced the existence of a supreme being from the construction of the universe rather than from the Bible, a view often called Deism. For many Deists, a harmonious universe could represent the beneficence of God, and this positivity extended to an optimistic view of human nature. Locke said that "our business" here on earth "is not to know all things, but those which concern our conduct," prompting his followers to consider human actions and motives as worthy objects of study. The philosophers of the Scottish Common Sense school built on Locke's insights about human faculties to propose that sympathy and sociability functioned as a kind of emotional glue that could unite communities no longer held together by shared beliefs and traditional structures of authority. Indeed, they claimed that one's supreme moral obligation was to relate to one's fellows through a natural power of sympathy. Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) was a notably influential contributor to this vein of social analysis. Meanwhile, earlier modes of thought—for instance, Bradford's and Winthrop's penchants for the allegorical and emblematic, with every natural and human event seen as a direct message from God—came to seem anachronistic and quaint.

Interest in ordinary individuals as part of nature and society led to developments in literature. While religiously themed works such as John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) remained popular, the novel began to take a recognizably modern shape in the early eighteenth century. English novelists such as Aphra Behn, Daniel Defoe, Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding, and Laurence Sterne portrayed emotions and experiences with increasing directness. In the colonies, the influences that were giving birth to the Anglophone novel also engendered new forms of descriptive naturalist and ethnographic writing, exemplified here in selections from Sarah Kemble Knight, William Byrd, Alexander Hamilton, Samson Occom, and William Bartram. The same confluence of

intellectual and social developments also gave rise to nonfiction works such as Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* (written between 1771 and 1790).



***George Whitefield,* c. 1741, by John Wollaston.** Transatlantic revivalist George Whitefield preaching to a crowded meeting during the Great Awakening.

Modernity has often been characterized as a radical break from faith-based forms of thought. Consider, however, that both the religious Bunyan and the more secular Defoe were among

Franklin's literary influences. From the old to the new there were substantial continuities, as well as shifts that were more gradual than immediate. In the first half of the eighteenth century, a number of religious revivals occurred in England and America, but they were fueled by the new emphasis on emotion as a defining component of human experience. For example, the religious fires that burned from 1734 until about 1750 in what became known as the Great Awakening were directly produced by the Locke-inspired cult of feeling that was reshaping narrative prose. Now ministers, echoing the Enlightenment philosophers, argued that humanity's greatest pleasure—indeed, its purpose—was to do good for others and that sympathetic emotions might guarantee future glory. These ideas, a small part of earlier religious thought, acquired a new salience in connection with revivalism.

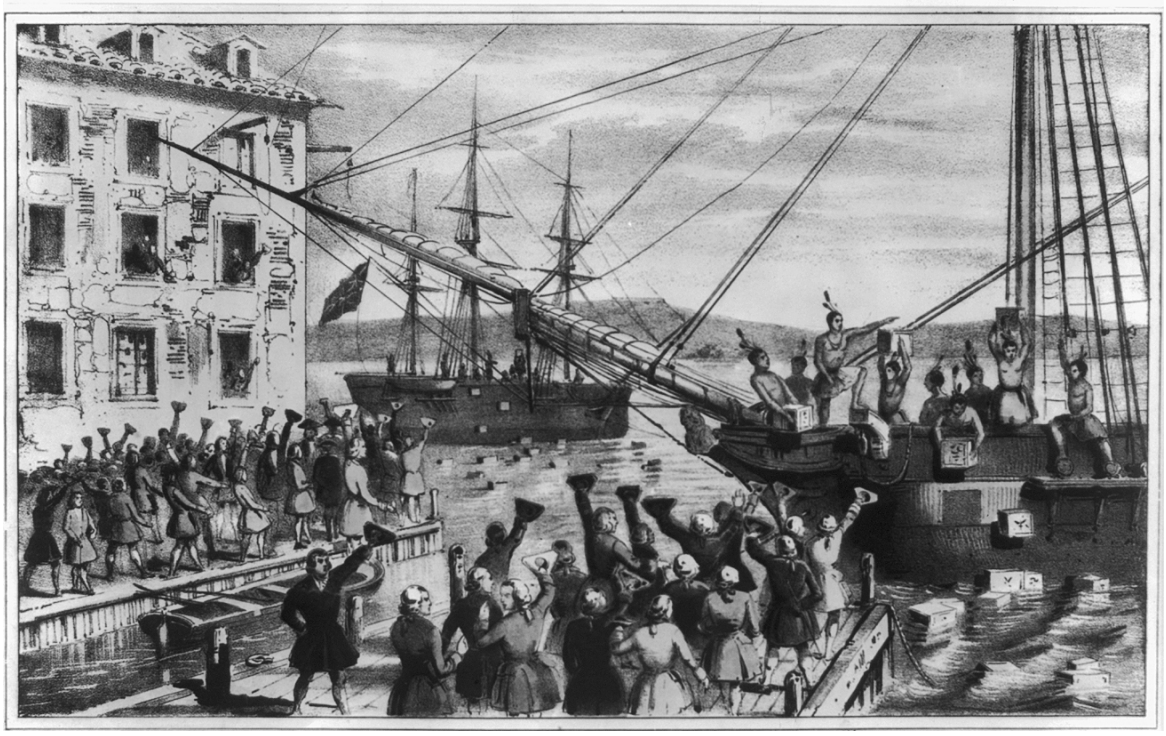
The most significant figure in transatlantic revivalism was Jonathan Edwards, a leading minister and theologian who helped form this new culture with a series of "awakenings" in and around Northampton, Massachusetts. Edwards's description of these events in *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God* (1737) was hugely influential on the movement. Having read Locke, Edwards believed that if his parishioners were to be awakened from their spiritual slumbers they had to experience religion viscerally, not just comprehend it intellectually. In a series of sermons and treatises, Edwards worked to rejuvenate the basic tenets of Calvinism, including that of unconditional election, the sixteenth-century doctrine most difficult for eighteenth-century minds to accept.

Edwards insisted that such doctrines made sense in terms of Enlightenment science, and he developed what one literary historian has called a "rhetoric of sensation" to persuade his listeners that God's sovereignty was not only the most reasonable doctrine but also the most "delightful" and that it revealed itself to him, in an almost sensuous way, as "exceeding pleasant, bright, and sweet." In carefully reasoned, calmly argued prose, Edwards brought many in his audience to accept that "if the great things of religion are rightly understood, they will affect the heart." This "heart religion," as it later came to be known, involved both the terrors of hell, which Edwards describes in the sermon "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," and the joy that his faith brought him, as he expresses it in his "Personal Narrative" (c. 1740) and his apostrophe to his future wife, Sarah Pierpont (written in 1723). In Edwards's work, the pietist strains of Puritan writing—the embrace of emotion and its verbal expression—were amplified and brought close to similar developments in secular literature. For example, the English writer Samuel Richardson's novel *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740) was a favorite in the Edwards household.

The revivalists' styles of worship proved more welcoming to Native American and African American Christians than the Puritans' styles had been. Members of these groups had greater opportunities for literacy and training for the ministry, and mixed-race and Black and indigenous congregations were formed in increasing numbers. As a result, the Great Awakening fostered greater mingling of expressive styles in sacred song and speech—including hymnody, whose flourishing during the period also contributed to the growth of secular poetry—and led to the writing of some of the earliest English-language literature by Native Americans and African Americans. The writers John Marrant, Samson Occom, Olaudah Equiano, and Phillis Wheatley emerged from this evangelical melding of cultures. At the same time, a parallel "Indians Great Awakening" revived indigenous spiritual practices and helped catalyze the resistance of leaders such as Sagoyewatha, Pontiac, and Tecumseh to colonial military and cultural power.

PURSUING HAPPINESS

In the second half of the eighteenth century, religion continued to play a major role in many colonists' lives even as politics took on a new importance. After winning the French and Indian War in 1763, Britain consolidated its empire in North America. To help pay for its war debt, the monarchy heavily taxed the colonies. Colonial resentments about increasingly heavy-handed tax policies escalated until April 1775, when the Battles of Lexington and Concord, both in Massachusetts, began the American Revolutionary War against Britain. That summer, representatives from the thirteen British North American colonies convened a Second Continental Congress to take charge of the war effort. In the June 7, 1776, session of this Congress, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia brought a decade of colonial agitation to the boiling point by moving that "these united colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states." Another Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, led a committee—including John Adams of Massachusetts and Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania—that drafted a Declaration of Independence, which was issued on July 4. The heart of this document was the statement that "certain truths are self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." These words reflect Jefferson's reading of the Scottish Common Sense philosophers, particularly Francis Hutcheson and Lord Kames (Henry Home), who built on Locke's work to argue that a moral sense is common to all humans. This universal sense of right and wrong justified the overthrow of tyrants, the restoration of political order, and the establishment of new covenants—not, as Bradford and Winthrop would have argued, for the glory of God, but, as the Declaration argued, for the individual's right to happiness on earth.



The Destruction of Tea at Boston Harbor, lithograph by Nathaniel Currier. The Boston Tea Party of 1763, when colonists, some disguised as Native Americans, protested a new British tax on tea and other commodities.

In January 1776 the young journalist Thomas Paine published his pamphlet *Common Sense*, which proved hugely influential in tipping the scales toward revolution. Though Paine probably did not choose his title to allude to the Scottish philosophers who were so important for Jefferson and other patriot leaders, his manifesto invoked similar ideas. In arguing that separation from England was the colonists' only reasonable course and that "the Almighty" had planted these feelings in us "for good and wise purposes," Paine appealed to basic tenets of the Enlightenment. He had emigrated from England to America in 1774 with a letter of recommendation from Benjamin Franklin. Franklin was, among many other things, a successful newspaper editor and printer, and Paine was quickly hired to edit the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, one of the new periodicals transforming the literary scene. The first newspaper in the colonies had appeared in 1704, and by the time of the Revolution there were almost fifty papers and forty magazines. Paine's magazine work helped shape a plain style that proved effective in catalyzing revolution. He was the most prominent of a number of writers who took advantage of the transformation in print culture that was to make modern authorship possible.

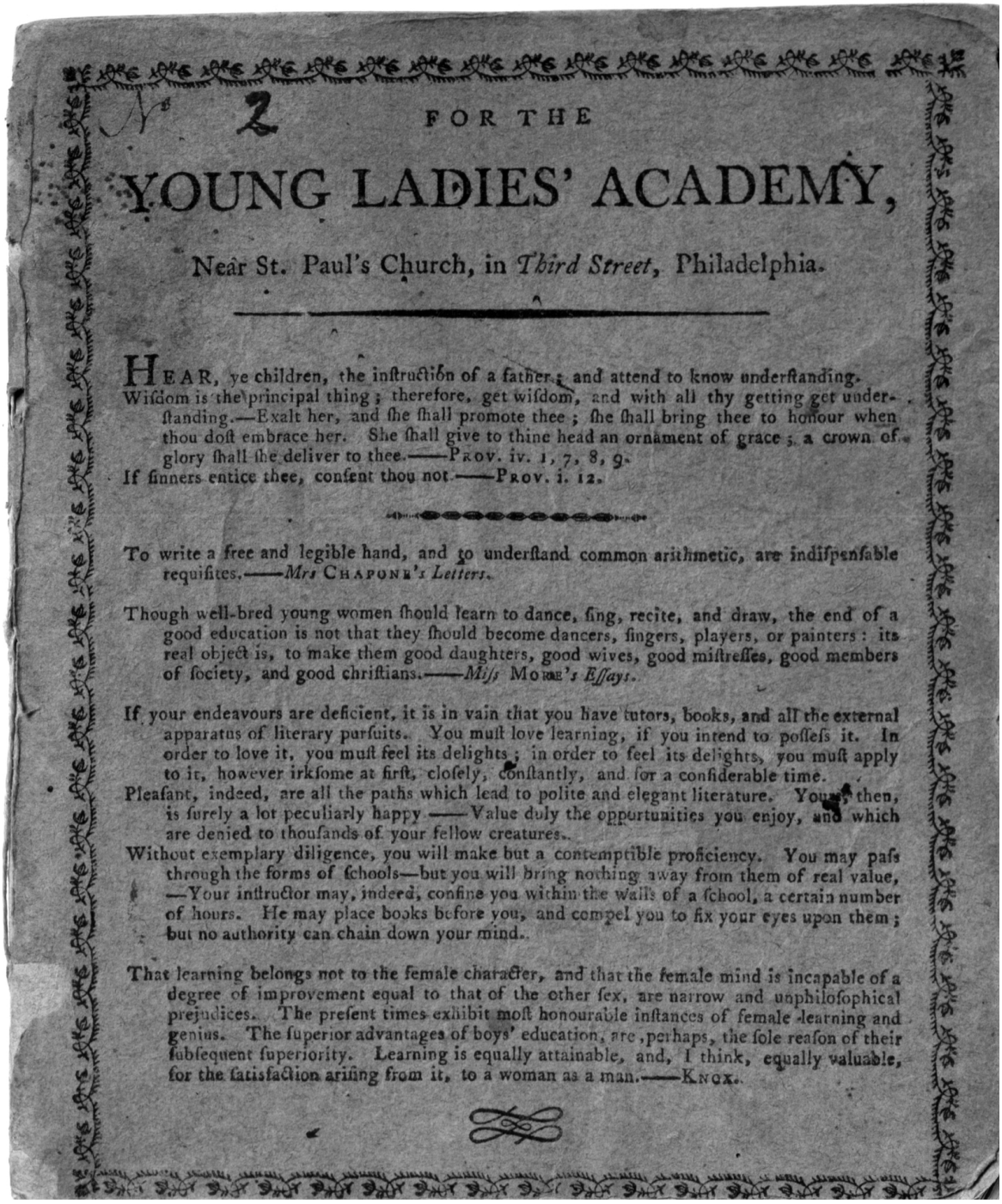
After the former colonists' victory over the British in 1783, people from greatly different backgrounds and of varied nationalities now found reasons to call themselves "Americans." America, as Washington Irving would later note, was a "logocracy," a polity based in and governed by words, and the political events of the 1770s presented a distinctive opportunity for writers. The most significant works of the period are political writings, and among the most notable of these are the essays that the statesmen Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison wrote for New York newspapers in 1787–88 in support of the new federal Constitution, which are collectively known as *The Federalist* or *The Federalist Papers*. The impact of the revolution on the rise of early national literature can also be seen in the career of Philip Freneau, who aspired to be a full-time writer, combining journalism with belles lettres. Though he failed to sustain himself with his pen, Freneau made numerous contributions to the literature of the Revolution. His volume *Poems Written Chiefly during the Late War* (1786) contains notable patriotic works, and his later political poetry includes a tribute to Thomas Paine.

Women writers, too, expressed a revolutionary political sensibility. In the most famous letter of her lively and informative correspondence with her husband, John, Abigail Adams exhorted the Second Continental Congress to "remember the Ladies" in the new code of laws they were then framing. John and his fellows largely failed to heed Abigail's call. However, inspired by Enlightenment ideals of reason and equality, women such as Annis Boudinot Stockton, Judith Sargent Murray, Susanna Rowson, and Hannah Webster Foster wrote works exploring women's rights as citizens. Murray tackled the subject in her essays on the intellectual capacities of women, whereas Stockton's poems, as well as the writings of Rowson and Foster, explored the social and legal constraints on women and considered their right to be equal partners in the new nation's democratic experiment. Like such self-consciously "American" productions as Royall Tyler's play *The Contrast* (first performed 1787) and Franklin's *Autobiography*, these works mark the beginning of a new sense of national identity.

Not all the responses to the new order were enthusiastic or uncritical. For example, fiction offered an avenue for biting social critique. Often considered the first American novel, William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* was published in 1789, the year that the first government

under the new Constitution was established. It tells an anti-utopian tale of incest and suicide. Charles Brockden Brown adapted the conventions of Gothic fiction to explore the dangers and limits of democratic republicanism in works such as his story "Somnambulism. A Fragment," which explores the depths and dangers of the unconscious mind. Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1791) and Foster's *The Coquette* (1797) were important precursors of the many popular sentimental novels of the nineteenth century—most famously, Harriet Beecher Stowe's antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852)—that carried powerful social messages.

Perhaps the most hopeful aspects of the Revolution were represented by Benjamin Franklin, whose reputation continued to grow after his death, in 1790. As parts of his *Autobiography* appeared in print in 1791 and 1818—the full text finally became available in 1868—Franklin increasingly came to represent the promise of the Enlightenment in America. He was self-educated, social, assured, a man of the world, ambitious, public-spirited, speculative about the nature of the universe, and in matters of religion content "to observe the actual conduct of humanity rather than to debate supernatural matters that are unprovable"—a stance that John Locke had earlier endorsed. Franklin always presented himself as depending on firsthand experience, too worldly-wise to be caught off guard, and minding "the main chance" (that is, for personal gain), as a Franklinian character in Tyler's *The Contrast* counsels. These aspects of Franklin's persona, however, belie another side of him and of the eighteenth century: an idealistic assumption about the common good. He absorbed this sense partly from the works of Cotton Mather, which he encountered during his Boston youth, and it forms the basis of the American Revolution's great public documents, especially the Declaration of Independence.



№ 2 FOR THE

YOUNG LADIES' ACADEMY,

Near St. Paul's Church, in *Third Street*, Philadelphia.

HEAR, ye children, the inſtruction of a father; and attend to know underſtanding. Wiſdom is the principal thing; therefore, get wiſdom, and with all thy getting get underſtanding.—Exalt her, and ſhe ſhall promote thee; ſhe ſhall bring thee to honour when thou doſt embrace her. She ſhall give to thine head an ornament of grace; a crown of glory ſhall ſhe deliver to thee.——PROV. iv. 1, 7, 8, 9.
If ſinners entice thee, conſent thou not.——PROV. i. 12.

To write a free and legible hand, and to underſtand common arithmetic, are indiſpenſable requiſites.——*Mrs* CHAPONE's *Letters.*

Though well-bred young women ſhould learn to dance, ſing, recite, and draw, the end of a good education is not that they ſhould become dancers, ſingers, players, or painters: its real object is, to make them good daughters, good wives, good miſtreſſes, good members of ſociety, and good chriſtians.——*Miſs* MORE's *Eſſays.*

If your endeavours are deficient, it is in vain that you have tutors, books, and all the external apparatus of literary purſuits. You muſt love learning, if you intend to poſſeſs it. In order to love it, you muſt feel its delights; in order to feel its delights, you muſt apply to it, however irkſome at firſt, cloſely, conſtantly, and for a conſiderable time.
Pleaſant, indeed, are all the paths which lead to polite and elegant literature. Yours, then, is ſurely a lot peculiarly happy——Value duly the opportunities you enjoy, and which are denied to thouſands of your fellow creatures.
Without exemplary diligence, you will make but a contemptible proficiency. You may paſs through the forms of ſchools—but you will bring nothing away from them of real value, —Your inſtructor may, indeed, confine you within the walls of a ſchool, a certain number of hours. He may place books before you, and compel you to fix your eyes upon them; but no authority can chain down your mind.

That learning belongs not to the female character, and that the female mind is incapable of a degree of improvement equal to that of the other ſex, are narrow and unphiloſophical prejudices. The preſent times exhibit moſt honourable inſtances of female learning and genius. The ſuperior advantages of boys' education, are, perhaps, the ſole reaſon of their ſubſequent ſuperiority. Learning is equally attainable, and, I think, equally valuable, for the ſatisfaction ariſing from it, to a woman as a man.——KNOX.

Syllabus of lectures from the Young Ladies' Academy, Philadelphia (courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia). Educational opportunities for girls expanded after the American Revolution. The Young Ladies' Academy opened in 1787, attracting great interest from leaders in what was then the nation's capital.

The Revolution established the United States as an independent nation with ideals such as freedom and equality that were both ambitious and deeply ambiguous. The only people who consistently possessed the right to vote in the new government were European American men

who owned property. Most African Americans were enslaved, and many Native communities were being pushed off their lands. Yet Revolutionary principles appealed to some writers who suffered from their limited application. In 1774, the year she was manumitted, the poet Phillis Wheatley wrote a letter to the Mohegan leader and Presbyterian minister Samson Occom that was later printed in a dozen colonial newspapers. Here Wheatley posited that "in every human Breast, God has implanted a Principle, which we call Love of Freedom; it is impatient of Oppression, and pants for Deliverance." Though they sometimes used language similar to Wheatley's, Revolutionary leaders held conflicting views about slavery. In his will, George Washington, the first U.S. president, freed the enslaved people who worked on his plantation. Thomas Jefferson, the third president, liberated just five of those enslaved in his household, leaving the vast majority in bondage at his death. Benjamin Franklin embraced the antislavery cause late in life, and in 1787 became the president of the first abolitionist organization in the United States. John Adams, the second U.S. president, sought to gradually end the system through legislation, an effort that succeeded in some places. Even Adams, however, was uneasy with the Quaker-led abolitionist movement, whose at times confrontational strategies he believed counterproductive. The rising urgency of the abolitionists reflected changing realities. After the inventor Eli Whitney patented the cotton gin in 1794, the slave system gained a new lease on its brutal life. The end of the Atlantic slave trade in 1807 led, not to slavery's eventual demise as Adams and many others in the founding generation had hoped, but to forms of enslavement that in some ways were even crueler than before.

The conditions for many Native Americans also worsened in the nineteenth century. Various eastern tribes had sided with the British during the Revolution, driven by their vulnerability to colonial expansion. After the British defeat, they were exposed to the vengeance and greed of European Americans. Entire tribes were systematically displaced from their traditional territories, pushed ever farther west, or forced onto reservations. In an effort to resist the United States' encroachments on Native territory, the confederacy headed by Shawnee leader Tecumseh sided with the British in the War of 1812, a two-and-a-half-year conflict that resolved issues left from the Revolution with a U.S. victory. Meanwhile, Tecumseh's confederation collapsed after American forces killed him in 1813. "Indian Removal" was vigorously debated in the 1820s, with anti-Removal activism emerging as a major social movement. Eventually the movement failed, and Removal became the policy of the federal government.

In 1820, freedom and equality remained future prospects for multitudes of Americans. Many European American men still could not vote unless they owned property, though restrictions lessened more quickly over the next decade as universal suffrage became a reality for them. Meanwhile, even as the educational opportunities for European American women were expanding, their legal status remained sharply limited. They were wards of their fathers until marriage, at which point their legal identities were merged with their husbands', so that they could not own property or keep any wages they earned. Yet many people embraced the idea that with the application of intelligence the principles of liberty could be extended and the human lot improved. This "progressive" or "perfectibilist" spirit was fostered in some places by newer liberal Churches such as the Unitarians and Universalists, as well as the more established Quakers. Imaginative energy flowed into extending the principles of liberty codified by the Revolutionary generation and correcting a variety of institutional and social injustices. In addition to the causes previously mentioned, post-Revolutionary social movements targeted the misuse of prisons, the use of capital punishment, the existence of war, and the treatment of the blind and disabled. Many works of literature reflected on this progressive sensibility, whether to foster it or to question its premises.

While at the start of the period covered in this volume "America" was merely imaginary—and its literature even more so—by 1820 "American literature" had come to mean something fairly specific: the poems, short stories, novels, essays, orations, plays, and other works produced by authors who hailed from, or resided in, the United States of America. As this list of genres suggests, "literature" itself had come to resemble its contemporary meaning more closely than it did in 1492. Printed works had become far more accessible, giving rise to an increasingly robust literary marketplace that featured both locally produced works and influential writings from across the Atlantic. Technological innovations such as the cylinder press created sweeping transformations in the book market, and new kinds of writers (women, African Americans, Native Americans, laborers) were finding outlets for their creations. All the while American literature continued to be shaped by its formation in the Atlantic world's crucible of cultures, its distinctive configuration of the sacred and the secular, the influence of the American Revolution, and the intertwined histories of empire and nation.

BEGINNINGS TO 1820*

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
Peoples indigenous to the Americas orally perform and transmit various "literary" genres, including speeches, songs, and stories	
	1000–1300 Anasazi communities inhabit southwestern regions
	1492 Christopher Columbus arrives in the Bahamas • an estimated 4–7 million Native Americans in what is now the United States, including Alaska
1493 Columbus, "**Letter to Luis de Santangel Regarding the First Voyage**"	
	1500 Native American populations begin to be ravaged by European diseases • enslaved Africans begin arriving in small numbers
	1514 Bartolomé de las Casas petitions Spanish Crown to treat Native American peoples as humanely as other subject populations
	1519–21 Cortés conquers Aztecs in Mexico
	1526 Spanish explorers bring first enslaved Africans to South Carolina
	1539 First printing press in the Americas set up in Mexico City • Hernando de Soto invades Florida
1542 Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, ***The Relation of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca***	
1552 Bartolomé de las Casas, ***The Very Brief Relation of the Devastation of the Indies***	
	1558–1603 Reign of Elizabeth I

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
	1584 Walter Raleigh lands on "island" of Roanoke; names it "Virginia" for Queen Elizabeth (sometimes called the Virgin Queen)
	1603–13 Samuel de Champlain explores the Saint Lawrence River; founds Québec
	1607 Jamestown is established in Virginia • Powhatan confederacy saves colonists from starving; teaches them to plant tobacco
	1619 More than twenty Africans arrive as indentured servants in Jamestown on the British ship the *White Lion*; they are the first known Africans in a British colony
	1620 *Mayflower* drops anchor in Plymouth Harbor
	1621 First Thanksgiving, at Plymouth
1624 John Smith, ***The General History of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles***	
1630 John Winthrop, "**A Model of Christian Charity**" (pub. 1838)	**1630–43** Immigration of English Puritans to Massachusetts Bay
1630–50 William Bradford writes ***Of Plymouth Plantation*** (pub. 1856)	**1634** The first English settlers arrive in Maryland aboard *The Ark* and *The Dove*
1637 Thomas Morton, ***New English Canaan***	**1637** Pequot War
1640 **Bay Psalm Book**	**1638** Anne Hutchinson banished from Bay Colony for challenging Puritan beliefs
1643 Roger Williams, ***A Key into the Language of America***	**1642–51** English Civil War
1650 Anne Bradstreet, ***The Tenth Muse***	**1649** Execution of Charles I
	1660 Restoration of British monarchy
1662 Michael Wigglesworth, ***The Day of Doom***	**1663** Royal Charter granted to Rhode Island (and Providence Plantation)

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
1673–1729 Samuel Sewall keeps his ***Diary*** (pub. 1878–82)	**1675–76** King Philip's War destroys power of Native American tribes in New England
	1681 William Penn founds Pennsylvania
1682 Mary Rowlandson's ***Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration***	
1682–1725 Edward Taylor writing his ***Preparatory Meditations*** (pub. 1939, 1960)	**1689–97** King William's War (first of four colonial wars involving France, Britain, and Spain)
	1691 New royal charter creates the Province of Massachusetts Bay, which includes Plymouth
	1692 Salem witchcraft trials
1702 Cotton Mather, ***Magnalia Christi Americana***	
	1718 French found New Orleans
	1726–56 The Great Awakening
1741 Jonathan Edwards, "**Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God"**	**1741** Vitus Bering discovers Alaska
	1755–63 French and Indian Wars
1768 Samson Occom, ***A Short Narrative of My Life*** (pub. 1982)	
1771–90 Benjamin Franklin continues his ***Autobiography*** (Part I pub. 1818)	
1773 Phillis Wheatley, ***Poems on Various Subjects***	**1773** Boston Tea Party
1774–83 John and Abigail Adams exchange **letters** (pub. 1840, 1875)	
	1775–83 American Revolutionary War
1776 Thomas Paine, ***Common Sense***	**1776** Declaration of Independence
1780s Annis Boudinot Stockton publishes **poems** in magazines and newspapers	
1782 J. Hector St. John de Crèvecœur, ***Letters from an American Farmer***	
	1783 Britain opens "Old Northwest" (region south of Great Lakes) to United States after Treaty of Paris ends American Revolution

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
1786 Philip Freneau, ***Poems***	
1787 Thomas Jefferson, ***Notes on the State of Virginia*** • Royall Tyler, ***The Contrast***	**1787** U.S. Constitution adopted
1787–88 ***The Federalist*** papers	
1789 Olaudah Equiano, ***The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano***	**1789** George Washington elected first president
1790 Judith Sargent Murray, ***On the Equality of the Sexes***	
	1791 Washington, D.C., established as U.S. capital
1797 Hannah Foster, ***The Coquette***	
	1803 United States buys Louisiana Territory from France
1805 Charles Brockden Brown, **"Somnambulism. A Fragment"**	
	1812–14 War of 1812 (against England)
1819 Washington Irving, **"Rip Van Winkle"**	**1819** Spain exchanges the Florida Territory for U.S. assumption of $5 million in debts • Missouri asks to be admitted as a slave state, sparking a crisis resolved the next year through the Missouri Compromise

Endnotes

1. Note *: Boldface titles indicate works in the anthology.

Native American Oral Literature

The languages, political economies, and religious beliefs of Native American peoples are extremely diverse, and so are their tales, orations, songs, chants, and other oral genres. Examples of oral works include the trickster tale cycles of the Winnebago Indians (or Ho-Chunks), Apache jokes, Hopi personal naming and grievance chants, Yaqui deer songs, and Yuman dream songs. Many genres have a religious or spiritual dimension, including Piman shamanic chants, Iroquois condolence rituals, Navajo curing and blessing chants, and Chippewa songs of the Great Medicine Society. Most of the works were not translated into alphabetic forms until long after the arrival of Europeans, and the circumstances of their initial creation and development are largely unknown. The use of written records in the precontact Americas was relatively circumscribed, and European conquerors systematically destroyed the bodies of writing in places such as Tenochtitlán (present-day Mexico City), leaving just a handful of the pictograph codices known as *amoxtli* to carry forward pre-Columbian practices. Other indigenous American recording devices include Andean *quipu*, which are colored, knotted strings used to represent a numeric system. In North America, painted hides or bark and wampum belts made of shell could serve as prompts for the recitation of tales or in treaty negotiations and other ceremonies. These nonalphabetic texts share some of the mnemonic and narrative functions of literature.

Although the term "literature" comes from the Latin *littera*, "letter," and so has been linked to alphabetic writing, all literature has roots in the oral arts. In keeping with Aristotle's *Poetics* (c. 335 B.C.E.), the earliest surviving work of literary theory, forms of Western literature have traditionally been grouped into lyric, which takes its name from the lyre, a stringed instrument used by the ancient Greeks to accompany a song or recitation; drama, which originated in the religious cultures of ancient Greece and the medieval Christian Church; and epic (more broadly, narrative), developed in and for oral performance. (The first works of European American literature, the *Vinland Sagas* of the thirteenth century, are epics.) Rhetoric and oratory, which Aristotle treated separately from the other forms because of their prominent and distinctive place in ancient Greek culture, also involve the spoken word. There are parallels as well as differences between these Aristotelian genres and the types of oral literature created by the earliest American societies.

From first contact, Europeans were intrigued by indigenous oral performances and sought to translate them into alphabetic written forms. Christopher Columbus and the explorers who came after him described the formal speeches of Native leaders, even though they often did not understand their meaning. Over time, Native artists taught Europeans and European Americans to recognize other kinds of verbal art, such as creation tales and poetic songs. Eventually collaboration and indigenous authorship became more common. Today scholars are actively studying pre-Columbian history and art, and the sources and traditions of the most ancient texts from the American hemisphere are gradually coming to be better understood.

The archive of Native American oral genres continues to expand as new instances are identified in the written record or transcribed in a modern form. The selections in this cluster represent some genres that were common in the repertoires of many North American indigenous societies before 1820: creation and trickster tales, orations, and songs (here rendered as poems). Native American creation stories serve Native cultures much as the Book of Genesis serves the Judeo-Christian world: they posit a general outlook and offer perspectives on what life is and how to understand it. All Native peoples have stories of the earliest times; reprinted here are two, one from the Iroquois of the Northeast and one from the Navajo of the Southwest. Like creation stories, trickster tales are among the most ancient elements of Native American cultures, and they have survived because they provide both pleasure and instruction. The term "trickster" is often used to describe a wandering, bawdy, gluttonous, and obscene figure, a threat to order everywhere. Yet a trickster can also be a culture hero, one who long ago helped establish the order of the world that we know today, and in this way as well trickster tales resemble creation stories. The qualities of this paradoxical figure—both creator and destroyer of order—are on display in the selection from the Winnebago trickster cycle included in this section.

Oratory was the first Native American genre that Europeans recognized as a verbal art. Formalized speech is a common feature of human cultures, notably in diplomatic settings, whether a reception at a European court or a performance of an Iroquois condolence ritual. The formalized modes of address that Native Americans used in their early encounters with Europeans were often lavishly described in narratives of contact. One reason such scenes were central in Renaissance-era accounts is that the writers were imitating classical historiography, with its emphasis on oratory. As set pieces in their narratives, the writers included moving and aesthetically pleasing speeches based more or less loosely on memory and other sources. "Powhatan's Discourse of Peace and War," by John Smith, and "King Philip's Speech," by William Apess, are reconstructed works that provide narrative drama in their original contexts and stand alone as effective examples of Native eloquence.

The poems included here were transcribed by European Americans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, reflecting an evolving approach to Native American oral genres. While the three recorders of these works served as diplomats and, in one case, as a missionary, they took an active interest in indigenous verbal arts. At the time, a ballad revival in Britain had awakened a curiosity about oral traditions and popular culture, a curiosity that fed into literary Romanticism. Transcriber-authors took indigenous forms from their ritual or other performance contexts and brought them in written form to non-Native audiences. These transcribers often collaborated with the artists to present something of the larger contexts and significances of the works to readers.

The selections in this cluster illustrate the variety of ways that Native American oral literature has been experienced historically, and suggest some of the pleasures and complexities involved in its reception today. Whether reconstructed from memory, recorded with the aid of a translator, or produced by Native authors, they provide insight into the verbal arts of pre-Columbian America as they have survived to the present. The more modern works included here were created with the involvement of indigenous verbal artists, and their sources can be traced to the period before 1820 covered by this volume.

STORIES OF THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD

THE IROQUOIS CREATION STORY

The people known collectively as the Iroquois (as the French called them), or the Five Nations (as the English called them), were made up of the Mohawk, Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga nations. This confederacy may have formed in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. In the eighteenth century, the Tuscarora of North Carolina joined the confederacy, which became the Six Nations. The heart of Iroquois country lies in what is now upstate New York, west of the Hudson River. At different times in its long history "the ambiguous Iroquois Empire," as one scholar has termed it, extended around Lake Ontario, including parts of what is now Canada, and south into present-day Pennsylvania. The Six Nations called themselves People of the Longhouse (*Haudenosaunee* in Seneca, *Kanosoni* in Mohawk), in reference to their primary type of dwelling. Their longhouses were about twenty feet wide and from forty to two hundred feet long, accommodating several families who shared cooking fires. The largest Iroquois towns included as many as two thousand people.

The Iroquois creation story exists in some twenty-five written or printed versions, making it one of the best-known instances of Native American oral literature. The Frenchman Gabriel Sagard first translated and transcribed the tale in 1623. Two centuries later, David Cusick became the first Native person to write it down. Cusick published the version included here on the eve of Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency, and he was well aware of Jackson's stated intention of "removing" eastern Indians to lands west of the Mississippi. Perhaps because the Iroquois were under intensifying pressure from European American settlement, Cusick's version emphasizes the conflict between the twins Enigorio, the good mind, and Enigonhahetgea, the bad mind. Although the story involves monsters and supernatural events, Cusick calls the work a history, because it tells the history of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Atotarho. This is one of four engravings that David Cusick included in the second edition (1828) of *Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations*. It shows the war chief of the Onondagas, Atotarho, said to be a sorcerer, with a twisted body and snakes in his hair. Several times Atotarho rejected pleas from the Great Peacemaker, Deganawidah, and his

follower, Hiawatha, that he join them in uniting the Iroquois. Finally, after they healed him and combed the tangles from his hair, he agreed and became the traditional "firekeeper"—tender of the sacred fire—of the Iroquois Confederacy.

David Cusick was born around 1780 on the Oneida Reservation in central New York, in Madison County, to a Tuscorora family. His father, Nicholas, an important leader among his people, was a Christian who had served on the American side during the Revolution. Educated by the missionary Samuel Kirkland, David Cusick became a physician and an artist. The woodcuts at the front of the second edition (1828) of his *Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations* are his work. Cusick's *Sketches* was well known in its time and served as an important source for Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's influential *Notes on the Iroquois* (1847), which shaped the literary culture of the day. In his preface to that work, Schoolcraft wrote that "no nation of the widely spread red race of America, has displayed so high and heroic a love of liberty, united with the true art of government, and personal energy and stamina of character, as the Iroquois."

Part I of Cusick's *Sketches*, excerpted here, deals with the foundation and establishment of the Iroquois world. Parts II and III present the ancient Iroquois as defending themselves against both monsters and other tribes by means that may have resonated with the Iroquois defense against expansionist Americans.

The Iroquois Creation Story[1]

A Tale of the Foundation of the Great Island, Now North America;—the Two Infants Born, and the Creation of the Universe

Among the ancients there were two worlds in existence. The lower world was in great darkness;—the possession of the great monster; but the upper world was inhabited by mankind; and there was a woman conceived[2] and would have the twin born. When her travail drew near, and her situation seemed to produce a great distress on her mind, and she was induced by some of her relations to lay herself on a mattress which was prepared, so as to gain refreshments to her wearied body; but while she was asleep the very place sunk down towards the dark world.[3] The monsters of the great water were alarmed at her appearance of descending to the lower world; in consequence all the species of the creatures were immediately collected into where it was expected she would fall. When the monsters were assembled, and they made consultation, one of them was appointed in haste to search the great deep, in order to procure some earth, if it could be obtained; accordingly the monster descends, which succeeds, and returns to the place. Another requisition was presented, who would be capable to secure the woman from the terrors of the great water, but none was able to comply except a large turtle came forward and made proposal to them to endure her lasting weight, which was accepted. The woman was yet descending from a great distance. The turtle executes upon the spot, and a small quantity of earth was varnished on the back part of the turtle. The woman alights on the seat prepared, and she receives a satisfaction.[4] While holding her, the turtle increased every moment and became a considerable island of earth, and apparently covered with small bushes. The woman remained in a state of unlimited darkness, and she was overtaken by her travail to which she was subject. While she was in the limits of distress one of the infants in her womb was moved by an evil opinion and he was determined to pass out under the side of the parent's arm, and the other infant in vain endeavoured to prevent his design.[5] The woman was in a painful condition during the time of their disputes, and the infants entered the dark world by compulsion, and their parent expired in a few moments. They had the power of sustenance without a nurse, and remained in the dark regions. After a time the turtle increased to a great Island and the infants were grown up, and one of them possessed with a gentle disposition, and named ENIGORIO, i.e. the good mind. The other youth possessed an insolence of character, and was named ENIGONHAHETGEA, i.e. the bad mind.[6] The good mind was not contented to remain in a dark situation, and he was anxious to create a great light in the dark world; but the bad mind was desirous that the world should remain in a natural state. The good mind determines to prosecute his designs, and therefore commences the work of creation. At first he took the parent's head, (the deceased) of which he created an orb, and established it in the centre of the firmament, and it became of a very superior nature to bestow light to the new world, (now the sun) and again he took the remnant of the body and formed another orb, which was inferior to the light (now moon). In the orb a cloud of legs appeared to

prove it was the body of the good mind, (parent). The former was to give light to the day and the latter to the night; and he also created numerous spots of light, (now stars): these were to regulate the days, nights, seasons, years, etc. Whenever the light extended to the dark world the monsters were displeased and immediately concealed themselves in the deep places, lest they should be discovered by some human beings. The good mind continued the works of creation, and he formed numerous creeks and rivers on the Great Island, and then created numerous species of animals of the smallest and the greatest, to inhabit the forests, and fishes of all kinds to inhabit the waters. When he had made the universe he was in doubt respecting some being to possess the Great Island; and he formed two images of the dust of the ground in his own likeness, male and female, and by his breathing into their nostrils he gave them the living souls, and named them EA-GWE-HOWE, i.e., a real people;[7] and he gave the Great Island all the animals of game for their maintenance and he appointed thunder to water the earth by frequent rains, agreeable of the nature of the system; after this the Island became fruitful and vegetation afforded the animals subsistence. The bad mind, while his brother was making the universe, went throughout the Island and made numerous high mountains and falls of water, and great steeps, and also creates various reptiles which would be injurious to mankind; but the good mind restored the Island to its former condition. The bad mind proceeded further in his motives and he made two images of clay in the form of mankind; but while he was giving them existence they became apes;[8] and when he had not the power to create mankind he was envious against his brother; and again he made two of clay. The good mind discovered his brother's contrivances, and aided in giving them living souls, (it is said these had the most knowledge of good and evil). The good mind now accomplishes the works of creation, notwithstanding the imaginations of the bad mind were continually evil; and he attempted to enclose all the animals of game in the earth, so as to deprive them from mankind; but the good mind released them from confinement, (the animals were dispersed, and traces of them were made on the rocks near the cave where it was closed). The good mind experiences that his brother was at variance with the works of creation, and feels not disposed to favor any of his proceedings, but gives admonitions of his future state. Afterwards the good mind requested his brother to accompany him, as he was proposed to inspect the game, etc., but when a short distance from their moninal residence,[9] the bad mind became so unmanly that he could not conduct his brother any more.[1] The bad mind offered a challenge to his brother and resolved that who gains the victory should govern the universe; and appointed a day to meet the contest. The good mind was willing to submit to the offer, and he enters the reconciliation with his brother; which he falsely mentions that by whipping with flags would destroy his temporal life;[2] and he earnestly solicits his brother also to notice the instrument of death, which he manifestly relates by the use of deer horns, beating his body he would expire. On the day appointed the engagement commenced, which lasted for two days: after pulling up the trees and mountains as the track of a terrible whirlwind, at last the good mind gained the victory by using the horns, as mentioned the instrument of death, which he succeeded in deceiving his brother and he crushed him in the earth; and the last words uttered from the bad mind were, that he would have equal power over the souls of mankind after death; and he sinks down to eternal doom, and became the Evil Spirit.[3] After this tumult the good mind repaired to the battle ground, and then visited the people and retires from the earth.[4]

Endnotes