…nicht die Menschen im Walde, Wilde genannt werden sollen: Images of Aboriginal Peoples in the Works of Sophie von La Roche, Charles Sealsfield and Karl May

by

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Abstract

The term “Indian” has come to represent not the Indigenous peoples of North America but the European construct of an entire people. My dissertation examines this construct with a view to answering the following question: to what extent is “the Indian” not simply a White or a European invention, but a German one?

In my dissertation I investigate the origins and trace the development of the image of North American Indigenous peoples in three works of German fictional prose from the period between the late eighteenth-century and the late nineteenth-century: Sophie von la Roche (1730-1807), Erscheinungen am See Oneida (1798); Charles Sealsfield (1793-1864), The Indian Chief or, Tokeah and the White Rose (1829) and Karl May (1842-1912) Winnetou I-III (1893). My analysis shows the role that representations of North American Aboriginals played and continue to play as stereotypes of the Other in the ongoing and complex processes of German identity-formation.

The three works belong to different moments in a historical period of rapid change, but their authors have made a significant contribution to the enduring image of the Aboriginal. All three authors mobilize an image of Indigenous populations that reveals tensions in the representations of the European and the Aboriginal characters. Chapter One
discusses La Roche’s emphasis on the underdevelopment that she believed existed in Aboriginal society in the realms of education and culture. Chapter Two examines how Sealsfield championed Manifest Destiny by showing that the archaic political system of the Oconee, which he based on the Metternich regime, led to the tribe’s demise. Chapter Three considers May’s *Winnetou* as an elegiac reflection on the “dying man,” and the author’s motivation in creating a fantasy Blood Brotherhood of Germans and Apache.

The Epilogue challenges the reader to consider the future of this German image in a global context. Bear Witness’ short film *The Story of Apinachie and her Redheaded Warrior* is used as a case study. In his short film, Witness confronts the audience with a provocative juxtaposition of two stock images of Aboriginal peoples, one from a West German Karl May film and the other from the video game *Virtual Fighter V*. Witness shows that Aboriginal peoples are aware of the German image of Indigenous cultures and are now slowly beginning to reclaim these images as their own in the context of a postcolonial discourse.
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Historical truth is the least of our concerns

-Sigmund Freud

In a 2002 copyright case, the German Federal High Court ruled that “Winnetou” is not a literary character anymore but the “name for a certain human type, that of the noble Indian chief”

-Markus Kreis, German Wild West 271
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Introduction: The *German* Image of the Aboriginal

“The Indian is the invention of the European.”¹ The Indian is the creation of explorers, like Columbus, who, in searching for an alternative trade route to Asia, falsely called the Indigenous people of the western hemisphere Indians. The term Indian later came to be representative of the inhabitants of that entire hemisphere, not taking into account the vast number of peoples with distinct cultures and languages who inhabited it. While the currency of this definition has become irresistible – “[s]ince the original inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere neither called themselves by a single term nor understood themselves as a collectivity, the idea and image of the Indian must be a White conception. Native Americans were and are real, but the *Indian* was a White invention…”,² the aim of this dissertation is to analyze this construct and to specify to what extent “the Indian” is not simply a White or a European invention but a specifically German one.

Franz Kafka’s fragment “The Wish to Be a Red Indian” (1913) captures with great precision German perceptions of North American Aboriginals³ since the Enlightenment. In this short text, the narrator describes the freedom of Plains Aboriginals riding a mustang bareback through the prairie- a freedom he wished he knew. Mark Anderson has pointed out, the fragmentary wording of Kafka’s “The Wish to be a Red Indian” reflects the unstable image of the Aboriginal in German culture. It is an image that the reader

³ In this study I use the terms Aboriginal or Indigenous when referring to the first inhabitants of North, South and Central America. In a Canadian context, Native Americans is not generally used and although First Nations or Native have been deemed as politically correct terms, these terms do not include such peoples as non-status Aboriginals and Metis.
cannot grasp as it only offers “the possibility of an image […] that its own subsequent movement then retracts or suspends.” Kafka’s “vanishing Indian”, much like the Aboriginal characters of the three authors of this dissertation, thus confronts the reader with an image that “presents itself with uncommon force and vividness, only to erase itself in a series of ambiguous, contradictory, anti-mimetic gestures.” This guides the reader’s imagination towards an inconsistent and paradoxical image of the Aboriginal which leads to an obscuring of simple categorical definitions of Aboriginal characters.

A similar act of imagination is still operative today in the representation of Aboriginals in German culture and has continually re-appeared from the Enlightenment onwards, particularly at moments of intensified cultural struggle for a national identity. This dissertation traces the origins and development of images of Aboriginal peoples in the works of three authors: Sophie von la Roche (1730-1807), Charles Sealsfield (1793-1864) and Karl May (1842-1912). These analyses show the role that representations of

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5 Anderson 105. See also John Zilcosky, *Kafka’s Travels: Exoticism, Colonialism and the Traffic of Writing* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) specifically 14-18 where Zilcosky discusses ways in which to read Kafka. Zilcosky also stresses the tensions between actual travel and the idea of travel found within Kafka’s texts.
6 Research in the works of Sophie von la Roche (1730-1807) has recently enjoyed a renewal as the field of gender studies has become an area of increasing scholarly interest, especially regarding female authors of the eighteenth century. Considered the first German-speaking female novelist and professional writer, much scholarly attention has been directed towards her biography, her famous salon and her first novel, *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*. Slowly, more attention has been focused on her other works and her influence as a writer. The work my dissertation focuses on, *Erscheinungen am See Oneida*, is one of her lesser-known works and as a result there has been a negligible amount of scholarship dedicated to this work.
7 Charles Sealsfield (1793-1864), the nom de plume of the Austrian priest Carl Postl, on the other hand, has received much more scholarly attention than Sophie von la Roche. An interesting figure, Sealsfield is often included in both American and German Studies. As a result, much of the scholarship on Sealsfield around the turn of the twentieth century deals with the question of his nationality and his role as an author of the American West. Often regarded as an American author, his works have been read accordingly. But in the context of a German, his works take on a different light. Newer scholarship has dealt more critically not only with his biography but also his works as political treaties on the difference of the form of government and life in America and Europe.
North American Aboriginals played and continue to play as stereotypes of the Other in the ongoing and complex processes of German identity-formation.

It might initially seem that the three authors examined in this dissertation have little in common: a privileged woman of the late Enlightenment, who spoke French before German but became the German-speaking world’s first female author; a disillusioned Austrian priest who fled the oppressive Metternich regime, traveled in North America, and was eventually championed as “America’s Greatest Author”; and finally one of Germany’s most beloved and notorious writers, who spent time in jail and whose stories of the German immigrant and Apache Blood Brothers have influenced generations of German-speaking people’s image of not only Aboriginals but of North America as well.

Their works belong to three different, albeit somewhat overlapping, historical periods, being published in 1798, 1829 and 1893 respectively. Each employs a different style of writing: La Roche writing for a female audience in an epistolary form; Sealsfield writing in English, not his first language, authoring a frontier romance; and May composing escapist fiction for the masses. Aside from financial gain and literary

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8 The amount of scholarship on Karl May (1842-1912) is staggering. One of the best-known authors of German Unterhaltungsliteratur, May’s popularity, and especially his series Winnetou, has led to extensive scholarship mostly in Germany, but also slowly in North America. Often used in North American scholarship as the quintessential example of the German fascination with North American Aboriginals, May’s fantasies of North America have come under much scrutiny. The Karl May Gesellschaft publishes an annual journal exclusively dealing with May’s works, sources and life. Many aspects of Karl May’s life and works have already been extensively and exhaustively studied, but comparatively little has been written about the Aboriginal view of the Karl May and Winnetou phenomenon. There are different avenues of research available, one must, however, be aware of the “pro-May” scholarship, that tends not to critically engage with the texts.

9 Sealsfield traveled in the United States, Mexico and even spent time in Canada. He returned to Europe, spending the last years of his life in Solothurn, Switzerland. He never, however, returned to the land of his birth.

10 Theodor Mundt, Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart (Berlin: Simion, 1842) 425-426.
recognition, each had a different motive in writing. For La Roche, her motivation was didactic, as she tried to educate *Teutschlands Töchter*.\(^{11}\) Sealsfield’s purpose was political - he used his work as a backdrop for a critique of the Metternich regime. May created his own fantasy world, in which he also saw himself as Old Shatterhand.

What the stories of these three authors have in common is their contribution to the enduring image of the Aboriginal. All three authors mobilize an image of Indigenous populations that reveals tensions in the representations of the European and the Aboriginal characters. La Roche wanted to emphasize the underdevelopment of Aboriginal society that she believed existed in the realms of education and culture. Sealsfield championed Manifest Destiny by showing that the archaic political system of the Oconee, which he based on the Metternich regime, and their unwillingness to accept Western expansion of the United States had led to the tribe’s demise. And while May’s *Winnetou* offers an elegiac reflection on the “dying man,”\(^{12}\) he was above all motivated by the creation of a fantasy Blood Brotherhood of Germans and Apache.\(^ {13}\) His Teutonic “superman”\(^ {14}\) inspired

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11 La Roche was the first publisher of a periodical for young girls called *Pomona: Für Teutschlands Töchter*.  
14 Jeffrey L. Sammons, *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May and Other German Novelists of America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998) 231. Jeffrey Sammons decades long interest and research on the German image of America is also an important source for this dissertation. His monograph *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May and Other German Novelists of America*, is a comprehensive and well-written analysis of two of the authors of my study. Sammons, however, does not look solely at the image of the Aboriginal in the work of the two authors, but rather concentrates on the image of America. See also his articles on Charles Sealsfield and other authors’ images of America: Sammons, 2011, 2007, 2002, 1998, 1988.
Germans to strive to go beyond the lot they were born with and become “Men of the West.”

All three authors seem to work with the distinction between the “good Indian” and the “bad Indian.” My dissertation argues that this distinction creates a simplistic dichotomy that fails to fully describe the roles of Aboriginal characters in the three texts examined. I maintain that the words and actions of Aboriginal characters in these texts, when read in a more nuanced way, make Aboriginal characters more intricate than perhaps the authors intended. Moreover, it is important to take into account the surroundings in which these interactions between Aboriginals and Europeans take place: specifically, two spaces. One is the Aboriginal village, where there is an idealized sense of closeness to nature, coupled with a simplistic style of living, reflected in the Aboriginal characters in this idyllic state. The other space in which the reader finds Aboriginal characters is either in a white settlement or among white characters. In these situations, the Aboriginal characters are negatively portrayed, removed from their closeness to nature.

Naturally, the image of the Aboriginal in German literature changed over the course of the three authors’ lifetimes. This is because of the rise of information about the New World and also because travel to and from its shores changed the image of America in the German speaking world. Wynfrid Kriegleder writes: “Der direkte, persönliche Kontakt zwischen Europäern und Amerikanern ist vor 1800 noch relativ selten. Wenige

15 May Winnetou I 27.
Deutsche kennen Amerika aus eigener Anschauung. “16 This allowed authors, such as Sophie von La Roche, to use America as a tabula rasa upon which to inscribe her images of America and the Aboriginals. America was still seen as a barren land with little or no civilization or culture.17 As more people began to travel between the two continents, the flow of information increased and a more detailed image of America slowly developed in Germany. Sealsfield’s first hand experience is symptomatic of this growing trend of travel to the ever-expanding New World. Paradoxically, May’s fabricated America is a reflection of the sheer amount of information that had by the late nineteenth century become common knowledge in Europe, a development which can also be illustrated by the Völkerschauen and Bill Cody’s Wild West shows that were popular among people from every social stratum.

With the European18 discovery of America and the subsequent expansion and colonialization of the Americas, the Aboriginal came to represent at one and the same time

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16 Wynfrid Kriegleder, Vorwärts in der Vergangenheit: Das Bild der USA im deutschsprachigen Roman von 1776 bis 1855 (Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1999) 53. Two works from German language scholarship can be seen as all encompassing, landmark analyses of the German-Indian “question”: First, Hartmut Lutz’s 1985 “Indianer” und “Native Americans”: Zur sozial- und literarhistorischen Vermittlung eines Stereotyps (New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1985), is an exhaustive and well researched study of the image of the Aboriginal in German culture and literature. Second, Lutz’s pioneering work has been supplemented by Wynfrid Kriegleder’s 1999 Vorwärts in die Vergangenheit, an extensive study which analyzes the image of America in the German-speaking world during a formative period of nation-building. His work does not engage exclusively with the image of the Aboriginal but offers an in-depth look at the function of the image of America in German literature.


18 In the scholarship that looks at the colonizer’s interaction with Aboriginals, the German interaction is most often not more than at best a sentence in a paragraph dealing with “other” views of Aboriginals or a footnote. Ter Ellingson’s study, The Myth of the Noble Savage (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), very briefly addresses the Karl May phenomenon in Germany but little else. Daniel Francis’ Canadian study The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), is similar in its treatment of the German interest in the Aboriginal image and culture. Robert K. Berkhofer’s popular study The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), also only sparingly deals with the German image of the Aboriginal. In all of these works, the German image remains on the periphery.
both the hopes and fears of the “Old World.” Were the original inhabitants of the Americas good or bad? Savages or civilized? Travelers, settlers, explorers and religious orders brought back their impressions to Europe, and as the New World became a continent to explore and settle, the Indigenous peoples, their customs and beliefs became an area of great interest for the people of Europe, whose countries rapidly developed commercial interests in the Americas.

The German principalities, however, were slow to explore and claim land abroad. The process was slower than in other European countries because the Germans were struggling with the question of a collective German identity well into the late nineteenth century. Germany was not a political entity until 1871, when it was unified under Bismarck. This lack of a central government led to a late entry into the imperialist race that had occupied Britain, France and Spain as well as other countries since the European discovery of the American continents. Susanne Zantop, however, maintains that the interest in colonies began as early at the 1770s in the German collective mindset. This collective mindset inspired people to search for a collective German identity. Through this search for identity, Germans altered “the colonialist urfantasy of the encounter between

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19 Susanne Zantop, Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial German, 1770-1870 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997) 2. In North American scholarship, the German fascination with Aboriginals has also been thoroughly researched. The edited volume: Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, Susanne Zantop, Ed. Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002) along with Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop Ed. The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998) are considered important collections in the areas of German colonialism and the German image of the Aboriginal. Although the latter focuses more on the German involvement in its colonies in German Southwest Africa, the volume helped to shift research in North America towards a post-colonial discourse and inevitably also to the role of the North American Aboriginal in this discourse. Zantop’s monograph, Colonial Fantasies, is also considered groundbreaking scholarship in this area. Her study casts a new light on German colonialism and the fantasies that arose from this paradoxical relationship. Through tracing the public debate on colonialism of a young nation (and also pre-nation) without substantial colonies, Zantop traces the German literary representations of colonialism in South America.
European and ‘native’, which they recast to meet particular ideological needs.”\textsuperscript{20} Each of the three authors in this study, in some way, employs this \textit{urfantasy} in order to best convey the ideological message contained in their story. Zantop argues that these \textit{urfantasies} built “on one another, creating a network of implicit references, which reinforce their message and anchor it in the minds of their readers.”\textsuperscript{21} This led to the creation of not only an imagined colonial history, but also an “imaginative geography,”\textsuperscript{22} one that could be used and manipulated to create whatever image an author desired.

Unlike the European powers that had vested interests in the New World and established colonies there, the Germans never had extensive overseas ventures. There were, however, scientific explorations, such as Alexander von Humboldt’s expeditions to Central and South America in the nineteenth century. With a late start in the imperial race, and the loss of their colonies after the First World War, Germans never experienced the decolonization of acquired territories that countries like England and France had to manage. It is this paucity of colonies, this lack of a political “\textit{national interest}”\textsuperscript{23} which led Edward Said to argue that Germany should not be considered in his fundamental study \textit{Orientalism} (1979). He believed that Germany’s relationship with the Orient, much like Germany’s relationship to North America, was that of “a Rhine journey and […] hours spent in Paris libraries.”\textsuperscript{24} Said implied that Germans essentially “colonized” through the academy, through British or French primary sources and voracious reading, not by traveling or actual experience. It was this absence of empire that gave the Germans what

\textsuperscript{20} Zantop, \textit{Colonial Fantasies} 2.
\textsuperscript{21} Zantop, \textit{Colonial Fantasies} 2-3.
\textsuperscript{22} Edward W. Said, “Orientalism Reconsidered” \textit{Cultural Critique} No. 1 Autumn, 1985: 2.
\textsuperscript{24} Said, \textit{Orientalism} 19.
they perceived as their moral advantage over other European powers. By not participating extensively in the imperialist race, they could cast themselves in the role of the more humane and morally upstanding colonizer, or in the case of Karl May, as friend and saviour of the Aboriginals.

Like Kafka, Karl May revered the Plains Aboriginal. But May saw the Indigenous peoples of North America as “the dying man.” This dissertation shows that he is the author who most openly expresses the belief that the Aboriginal is reminiscent of an ancient civilization sliding unstoppably towards extinction. May believed that Aboriginal culture was a relic of the past. This belief was widely held in the burgeoning study of anthropology during the Enlightenment. Men such as Blumenbach, Hegel and Herder wrote of the commonality among peoples, but more important were the differences among the peoples they wrote about. In theorizing and writing about exotic cultures and peoples, German and European anthropological writings, on the whole, championed the concept of the European as the superior people. The majority of philosophers and anthropologists thus viewed colonialism as necessary in order to educate other “simpler” cultures. In Sophie von La Roche’s *Erscheinungen am See Oneida*, this sentiment is constantly repeated. Herder called the indigenous peoples of North and South America the “Americans” and, as was common at this time, viewed all peoples of the Americas as one and the same. Herder’s understanding of culture was influenced by organicism; he saw it akin to living entities that were born, grew and then declined. He also maintains that this process happens at different times in different cultures. What is most advantageous for

25 May *Winnetou I*.  
one might be poisonous for another. He did not view the cultures of the Americas as
primitive culture *per se*, but as one that had not yet reached its peak or been allowed to
develop fully.\(^{27}\) Herder took a more anti-colonialist view of the Americans than Hegel,\(^{28}\)
for example, who believed in colonizing “weaker” peoples.

In studies concentrating on the Indigenous cultures of North America, a space that
is far removed from the subject matter of *Orientalism*, many of Said’s arguments remain
relevant in the context of North America’s exoticized Other. Developing Michel
Foucault’s idea that discourse is a form of power, Said argues that Orientalism is the
Occident’s way of controlling the image of the Orient. Said defines Orientalism thus as “a
Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient.”\(^ {29}\) In this
cultural domination, the use of knowledge, collected from a *European* perspective, creates
an imbalance of power, where the *Other* does not speak and is viewed as inferior to the
European. Berkhofer and Francis echo Said but from a North American perspective. Like
the Orient, North America with its Indigenous peoples represented, “almost a European
invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting
memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences.”\(^ {30}\) Nicole Grewling situates this idea
of Aboriginals, like the Orient, as an imagined space by connecting the resulting power
structure and cultural domination of the *Other*, with the German fascination with
Aboriginals. The Germans “created a discourse on Indians that was not based on the

\(^{27}\) Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Munich: Carl
Hanser, 2002). See Zweites Buch, 53; Fünfzehntes Buch, 578.

\(^{28}\) Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (Stuttgart: Reclam,
1961) 139-46.

\(^{29}\) Said, *Orientalism 3*.

\(^{30}\) Said, *Orientalism 1*.
reality of the actual people [sic] and their real cultures but rather on their own fantasies and constructs.”

Sander Gilman suggests that the encounter between the European and the Other is more complicated than that and cannot be reduced to a mere issue of race:

Because there is no real line between self and the Other, an imaginary line must be drawn; and so that the illusion of an absolute difference between self and Other is never troubled, this line is as dynamic in its ability to alter itself as is the self. This can be observed in the shifting relationship of antithetical stereotypes that parallel the existence of ‘bad’ and ‘good’ representations of self and Other. But the line between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ responds to stresses occurring within the psyche. Thus paradigm shifts in our mental representations of the world can and do occur. We can move from fearing to glorifying the Other. We can move from loving to hating.

It is therefore not the positive or negative aspects associated with the image that are problematic, but in actuality the image itself. Francis emphasizes this point when he


maintains that the image of the Aboriginal became anything the European wanted it to be.\textsuperscript{33}

The image and idea of the *Other* as Aboriginal, however, employs much of the same paradoxical relationship as already seen in studies of the Orient. Ter Ellingson maintains that “[t]he “Savage” and the “Oriental” were the two great ethnographic paradigms developed by European writers […] projecting cultural inferiority,”\textsuperscript{34} in order to rationalize colonialist and imperialist endeavours. Consequently, research on exoticism and Orientalism will have a role in the methodology of this dissertation. Formative studies such as Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, although not dealing with North America specifically, open up interesting avenues of contemplation, as does Todd Kontje’s *German Orientalisms*.

For most *bürgerliche* Germans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries traveling to America\textsuperscript{35} seemed a far-fetched idea, something more easily explored at Völkerschauen or World’s Fairs. It was a type of fantasy in a vast dreamscape where the individual in a small town in a German principality could create his own “empire” in America. Ray Billington maintains: “[…] that the image and legend have played a role in shaping human behavior [is] no less influential than facts and events: what a people

\textsuperscript{33} Francis 5.
\textsuperscript{34} Ellingson xiii.
\textsuperscript{35} There was of course, a wave of German immigration to America from the middle of the nineteenth century (1848) until the First World War and already in the seventeenth century German immigration to Pennsylvania. For Germans, however, North America was not a colony but was rather seen as a *Zufluchtsort* for political and religious minorities and also the “Land of [economic] Opportunity”. This does, to a certain extent play a role in the separate narratives studied in this dissertation. Each of the main characters has a reason for coming to America.
thought took place, or believed to exist, was only slightly less important to them than what
did happen, or did exist.”\textsuperscript{36} The stories did not necessarily need to be historically accurate
to be believed. These stories became representative of experience in “colonial space” and
helped to shape German fiction written in the space of the homeland.

The noble savage had occupied the minds of Europeans for generations, but the
concept’s genesis can be traced back to Tacitus and his ethnography of the Germanii. The
Germania, rediscovered in 1450, is often cited to solidify the German affinity towards the
Aboriginals of North America. The parallels are convincing: Tacitus sees the Germans as
a fierce, warlike people living in an unwelcoming environment, whom he views not as
barbarians but rather as \textit{noble savages}. He sees them not as savage but rather in a more
natural state, in contrast to the decadence of Roman civilization. He believes them to be
the original inhabitants of the land and cites the harsh climate as the reason why the
Germans remained uncorrupted. Todd Kontje’s summary of the Germania shows the
similarities between Tacitus’ Germans and the later idea of the noble savage: “[t]hey lead
rugged lives of rustic \textit{simplicity},\textsuperscript{37} practicing a kind of \textit{rudimentary democracy}, eating
\textit{simple} foods, wearing \textit{simple} garments.”\textsuperscript{38}

For the Germans it was above all a question of a national identity. In the
eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Germans reached not only back to Tacitus to find

\textsuperscript{36} Ray A. Billington, “The Plains and Deserts Through European Eyes” \textit{The Western Historical Quarterly} 10.4 1979: 467.
\textsuperscript{37} all italics in this section are my emphasis.
their roots but also created “imagined communities”\(^{39}\) to try to answer their questions of national identity and origins. In the struggle against eighteenth-century French cultural imperialism, writers and philosophers such as Fichte, Herder, Goethe, Lessing and Schiller tried to define a German nation.\(^{40}\) It was on the literary plane that German identity began to be re-formed, or arguably even created. Within this framework the image of the Aboriginal became an important source of identification, even part of the German myth.

It is important to note that the original concept of the noble savage was fictitious. It was a literary device used by European philosophers, such as Rousseau, to comment on the shortcomings of European culture, to point out its flaws and to suggest how it might be improved. Jörg Becker maintains that this interest in the noble savage “provided the basis for Rousseau’s philosophy and laid the roots of the turning away from Europe (‘Europamüdigkeit’) and the enthusiasm for America among the German romanticists […]\(^{41}\).” This was reflected in the exploration of the New World and the resulting travel literature, which led to an ethnographic and European Romantic fascination with the noble savage and the term was used in a similar context to its philosophical roots. As America expanded west, the term was used to either glorify or vilify the primitive way of life of actual Indigenous cultures with which Europeans and white Americans came into contact.


\(^{40}\) The most important figures were Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) and Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814). Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) later also contributed to the project of a German nation. The idea of an ethnically founded *Kulturnation* first began towards the middle and end of the nineteenth century and reached their height of popularity with the “Völkischen Bewegung”. The Weimar Classicists were first seen as the most important German nationalists by historians only after this movement and it was to create a national symbol. For an in depth look at Herder and his influence on the Romantics, I recommend Todd Kontje’s *German Orientalisms*.

The emphasis was placed on either the noble or on the savage aspect of the term, depending on what the author sought to emphasize. The term noble savage was thus used in different, interchangeable contexts to describe Aboriginal peoples and cultures.

With the development of pioneer and frontier literature, the term noble savage underwent another transition. In nineteenth-century literature pertaining to America, the noble savage came to represent the “good Indian.” The individual Aboriginal or the tribes who embraced Western culture and became compatriots or more often, sidekicks of the white man, were seen as “good.” The counterpart to the noble savage, the ignoble savage, came to represent the antithesis, the “bad Indian” - the vengeful, bitter enemy of white expansion West. Louise K. Barnett’s study, The Ignoble Savage (1975), differs from the traditional stance of defining Aboriginals in American Literature through the simple binary of good and bad. Having based her work on the fundamental study Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind (1965) by Roy Harvey Pearce and others such as Edwin Fussell’s Frontier: American Literature and the American West (1965) and Richard Slotkin’s Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860 (1973), Barnett expanded on their scholarship by adding a third category to the commonly used binary of good and bad Indian: the noble savage. Traits that were commonly associated with either good or bad, become part of the noble savage definition for Barnett, which blurred the lines between the “good Indian” and “bad Indian” characters.
Berkhofer reminds us in the preface to his seminal study that: “[…] White fascination with things Indian never entirely fades, it has easily discernable high and low points.”42 Like Barnett’s study, Berkhofer’s was written almost forty years ago and although we must read these studies critically from a present-day perspective, the reason their studies are still used in present day scholarship is the continuing relevance of their arguments.

In discarding the traditional binary of good and bad, which had been explored in Berkhofer’s *The White Man’s Indian*, Barnett’s study allows for a more precise and fluid definition of the noble savage: not all “good Indians” are necessarily noble savages and not all “bad Indians” can be viewed as ignoble savages. For Barnett, the noble savage exists primarily in a realm untouched by European characters. It is contact with the European characters in the story that then transform the noble savage into either a good or bad Indian.

What needs to be pointed out is that all fictive Aboriginal characters of this time possessed what Barnett has called “common traits.”43 These common traits include their “excellent physical condition and appearance” and their ability as highly skilled hunters and trackers. “Indian stoicism”44 and the manner of Aboriginal speech are also included in these traits commonly associated with all Indigenous characters.45 The ubiquity of these

42 Berkhofer xiv.
44 Barnett 75-78.
45 For an extensive study on the use of Aboriginal speech in American Literature see:
traits complicates the distinctions between the good Indians, noble savages and bad Indians.

While Barnett’s study focuses specifically on American Frontier Literature of the nineteenth century, her definitions can also be applied to literature written on America during the nineteenth century in general. The study of the German image of North American Indigenous peoples is a subject area that can be considered to be in the field of either German or English/American Studies. As a result, it is feasible to adopt a framework written from an American perspective and use it to further complicate a German reading of North America. For the purposes of this dissertation, the narrow scope of Barnett’s study will be expanded to include the German authors of this study. I adopt Barnett’s definitions of “noble savage”, “bad Indian” and “good Indian” as a heuristic device for exploring the texts of La Roche, Sealsfield and May. While Barnett’s third category escapes the old, reductive dichotomy of good and bad, my reading of Aboriginal characters in these texts show that even this more sophisticated schema fails to adequately describe the German view of the “Indian”. Contradictions in the German attitude towards Aboriginals are expressed principally in the conflict between a deep psychological need to believe in white European superiority and the manifest evidence of the superior aspects of Aboriginal culture, especially the possession of freedom and a joyful, simple closeness to nature.

The Noble Savage

When defining the separate roles of the noble savage, the bad Indian and the good Indian, it is important to recognize that literature written at this time about the American frontier was not about Aboriginals but rather about the white experience of the expansion westwards. As a result, most works employed the bad Indian stereotype. In her definition of the noble savage, Barnett maintains that there is “an uneasy coexistence with the bad Indian image.”46 In suggesting that there is a coexistence and creating a link between these images, Barnett establishes the analytic value of this third category and breaks the formally arbitrary dichotomy commonly used in defining the Aboriginal in literature as simply “good” or “bad.”

To include the noble savage in the main narrative “authors had to create a fictive situation which partially antedated the white-Indian conflict: in isolation, in his Edenic wilderness, the Indian could be approved of as a noble savage, certainly inferior to white, but suited to the simple and in some ways attractive life of the forest.”47 The author would thus have to create a subplot developing an isolated paradise. If the author chose to create this paradise away from the white characters, when contact between the white and Aboriginal characters took place, the noble savage usually shifted into the role of the “bad Indian.” Francis maintains that this bad Indian image in literature began to develop as the historical white encroachment began.48 Increasingly the Aboriginal was no longer seen as helping the settlers, but rather hindering progress and development. As a result, most authors could only admire the ‘noble savage culture’ from a temporal or spatial distance:

46 Barnett 86.
47 Barnett 87.
48 Francis 8.
either as a civilization of the past, or as a geographically isolated entity. The reason for approaching the noble savage from this perspective was that the conflict between the two cultures could not easily be reconciled. The Aboriginals possessed the land necessary for the white expansion West. The land was usually gained through questionable treaties, outright stealing and resettlement initiatives. When the Aboriginals in the stories reacted to the loss of land, the noble savage was ultimately shifted towards the bad Indian paradigm that figured so prominently in the plot of the stories.\footnote{Barnett 86-87.} The blurring of the noble savage and the bad Indian is best illustrated in Sealsfield’s character Tokeah, who, in fighting for his tribe’s traditional territory, is seen as a noble savage among other Aboriginal characters, but is vilified and seen as a bad Indian when interacting with white characters in the novel.

The Bad Indian

The bad Indian is the most common type of fictive Indian found in literature about America at this time. As previously mentioned, the bad Indian stereotype is used to fulfill a specific function within the narrative structure of the book. The authors create cruel and brutal characters that are simple, two-dimensional and resort to violence and terror without the slightest bit of provocation from the whites. Tangua, the chief of the Kiowa in Winnetou best exemplifies this image of the bad Indian in the works of the three authors.

Words, expressions and actions that were commonly associated with the bad Indian stereotype include “skulking and lurking, exulting over reeking scalps, uttering
chilling cries, and devising fiendish torments for their hapless white victims.” They are also considered “treacherous, vengeful, and superstitious”\(^{50}\) and “[n]akedness and lechery, passion and vanity”\(^{51}\) always led to the bad Indian character to be viewed as inferior to his white counterparts.

In this case, the term *savage* is synonymous with *Indian*. Although the Aboriginal is often characterized in these negative terms, the author commonly refrains from more explicit descriptions. In using less descriptive terms, the author could also let the reader’s imagination create his own image of the bad Indian character. In fact, Sealfield’s *The Indian Chief; or Tokeah and the White Rose* begins with just such a sequence with Tokeah, the chief of the Oconee, described as what could only be regarded as a bad Indian, but his description lacks the detail that the reader receives later in the story, which is perhaps too late for the reader to reconsider the image of Tokeah and change the negative impression initially created. This lack of detailed characterization made it easier for authors, such as Karl May, who did not visit America while writing his series, to exploit these lacunae by copying the schema of his contemporaries in the United States and thus seeming ‘genuine’. Ultimately, the bad Indian stereotype is a strategy of “dehumanizing the enemy and thus robbing him of any appeal to just treatment as he was gradually pushed aside or exterminated,”\(^{52}\) which in all three authors’ works acts perfectly as a plot device.

\(^{50}\) Barnett 81.
\(^{51}\) Berkhofer 28.
\(^{52}\) Barnett 5.
The Good Indian

Aboriginal characters in fiction begin either as a bad Indian or a noble savage. It is only through contact with compassionate whites that an individual Aboriginal character can turn into a good Indian. To be characterized as good, an Aboriginal character ‘can be taught to forego some of the practices and beliefs objectionable to whites and to adopt white values and loyalties.’ He is also described in positive terms, being ‘friendly, courteous, and hospitable,’ especially when interacting with the white man. Usually cut off from their tribes, the good Indian character spends extended periods of time with the compassionate whites, thus becoming ‘de-indianized.’ He becomes something of an interloper between the whites and the other Aboriginal characters, acknowledging the supremacy of the white society over that of his own.

Such a character confirms his status as a good Indian through his loyalty and service to the whites. It is through their interaction with whites that these characters become Europeanized and more importantly Christianized. The authors give them ‘laudable traits and virtues they had learned from their white friends and that were rooted in civilization rather than savagery,’ to show that the good Indian is the product of European influence, not Nature. It is only, however, individual and extraordinary Indigenous characters who maintain this “good Indian” status. For the majority of Aboriginal characters who come into contact with whites, the result is a transformation into “bad Indians”: vengeful, drunk and dependent on the dominant white society.

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53 Barnett 90.
54 Berkhofer 28.
55 Billington 478.
Most often the loyalty displayed by the “good Indian” is towards individual whites. It is through the white teachings, often synonymous with Christianity, that the “good Indian” character develops a rejection of their own way of life with the acknowledgement of the superiority of the white way of life.

The majority of good Indian characters are isolated from their tribes. If or when these characters return to their peoples, the teachings of the whites are lost on the rest of the tribe. The individual “good Indian” cannot educate his people in the civilized ways of the white man and as a result the Aboriginals are doomed to become not only the “dying man” but an extinct civilization.

In accordance with the obvious power structure of superior culture over inferior culture, Barnett maintains that “[…] to become a good Indian is to see Indianness through white eyes; an awareness of their inferiority is exhibited by most fictive good Indians.”

This awareness of their cultural inferiority seems organically connected to their fate in the text. The good Indian character usually dies, protecting his white friends and often saving them from the bad Indians. In May and Sealsfield, both Winnetou and Tokeah are actually killed by bad Indian characters. This obfuscates the white man’s role in the death of the Aboriginal and contributes to the image of the Aboriginal as the “dying man,” leading themselves to extinction.

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56 Barnett 94.
It is important to remember that this image of the Aboriginal shifts as the logic of the narrative requires the image to shift. To allow a coherent narrative to continue, the image of the Aboriginal must change and take on different characteristics to best suit the requirements of the plot.

In the Village

In terms of the space in which La Roche, Sealsfield and May set their stories, each white protagonist spends time in Indigenous villages. These idealized spaces are occupied by inhabitants that can be seen as noble savages. It is not until the influence of the white characters that there is a shift, first, to a good Indian style of space. This space is ultimately then negatively portrayed vis-à-vis the white characters or the villages are outright destroyed. La Roche’s characters live on their own isolated island but swim to the Oneida village where Emilie Des Wattines gives birth while her husband, Carl, encounters the son of Nesquehiounah, the Iroquois warrior who became a colonel in the American army and later returned to his indigenous lifestyle outside of a structured, white society. After their experience in the Oneida village, the Des Wattines constantly criticize the simple state of the Oneida on the basis of their aristocratic European education and upbringing. Arthur Graham, the white protagonist of Sealsfield’s novel, is an Englishman in the United States who is rescued from the French pirate Lafitte and nursed back to health in an Oconee settlement that has been hidden with extreme caution from the white settlers in the area. Finally, Old Shatterhand is injured and brought back as a captive to the Apache pueblos. He is nursed back to health, only so he can die like a man, but after proving his innocence he is then made a chief of the Apache. Although at the outset all
three situations portray the indigenous spaces as positive and idyllic, the view of these settlements slowly shifts into a less positive space. What is called into question by all three authors is the ability of these villages to survive. The areas surrounding these villages are slowly becoming controlled by the white expansion West. All three authors ultimately show that the indigenous societies are, in fact, part of a “past age” and are idealized as such.

It is questionable if any of the white characters would have survived if it had not been for the Aboriginal characters who rescued them. In a sense, each of the characters is “going Native.” John Ralston Saul in his controversial book *A Fair Country* maintains that the term “going native” should be seen differently than “a classical bit of imperial language that was meant to be a denigrating insult, implying the loss of superior European and middle-class standards.”\(^{57}\) Saul argues that it is precisely this action of going native that actually helped early settlers to survive and prosper, especially in the early years. The same can be said of the white protagonists in the three works in this study. Thus the white characters going native should be seen in a positive and essentially anti-imperial light. Up to a point. In all three stories, the white characters are either rescued or nursed back to health by members of a sympathetic tribe. The white protagonists, however, all remain with their Aboriginal counterparts until they decide to return to white settler life. In all three novels the white protagonists not only survive but prosper, albeit differently and to different standards, but also outlive their Aboriginal counterparts. The Des Wattines remain with the Oneida until they decide to return to their isolated island paradise. Arthur

Graham decides that he needs to leave the Oconee village and through his journey realizes that the American way of life is superior not only to the Oconee village but also to the European way of life. Similarly, Old Shatterhand experiences life in the Apache village, a space that has already been colonized by his white predecessor Klekih-petra and is thus representative of a good Indian space, but abandons this space in the name of adventure and by the end of *Winnetou III* protects a German settlement located in the American *Hinterland*, far removed from white settlements or Indigenous villages.

Chapter One looks at *Erscheinungen am See Oneida* written in 1798 by Sophie von la Roche, who is considered the first modern female German language writer. The novel is based on her correspondence with her son and daughter-in-law, when her son was stationed in the United States as a member of the French army. La Roche took the factual elements about a French couple, the Des Wattines, who decided to live among the Oneida and used this as the background of her story, in which she discusses the advantage of raising children in an educated white society instead of a simplistic Aboriginal village. Through the complex narrative structure, the image of the Aboriginal shifts from a positive, exotic image to an image that is seen as negative because it lacks European educational values. Playing with Rousseau’s notion of the noble savage, La Roche shows the reader the negative side of that image.

The second chapter addresses the image of the Aboriginal in Charles Sealsfield’s *The Indian Chief or, Tokeah and the White Rose*. The pro-American standpoint of the Austrian author often confused researchers of Sealsfield’s origins. Sealsfield, however,
portrays the struggle of the Aboriginal fighting for their traditional territories in a more sympathetic manner than many of his American contemporaries. Interestingly, he believes in the concept of Manifest Destiny, but not that the Aboriginals need necessarily be considered part of a past civilization; rather the Aboriginals can practise their lifestyle removed from the American project of expanding West. Tokeah, chief of the Oconee, usually seen as a bad Indian, is actually, I maintain, a noble savage character.\(^{58}\)

The final chapter considers the image of the Aboriginal in Karl May’s *Winnetou*. Often considered the epitome of the noble savage, I argue that Winnetou, as read through the definitions in this introduction, is in fact something much different. Winnetou is transformed from what can be considered a noble savage to that of a good Indian, as is highlighted by his deathbed conversion to Christianity.

The epilogue of this dissertation takes a different perspective from the previous chapters and asks the question: Where do we go from here? While it is universally accepted that these images are not authentic, they still possess extraordinary power in their representations of Aboriginal cultures. The epilogue takes as a case study the short film *The Story of Apinachie and her Redheaded Warrior* produced by Bear Witness, a Cayuga from Ottawa, ON, presented first at the Imaginenative Film festival (2008) in Toronto and later at the 2009 Berlinale Film Festival. Witness confronts the audience with a provocative juxtaposition of two stock images of Aboriginal peoples, one from a West German Karl May film and the other from the video game *Virtual Fighter V*, showing the

power of stereotypes still used in everyday life. Witness shows that Aboriginal peoples are aware of the German image of Indigenous cultures and are now slowly beginning to re-claim these images as their own as part of a postcolonial discourse.
Chapter One: Sophie von la Roche *Erscheinungen am See Oneida* (1798)

It was in the late Enlightenment that Sophie von La Roche (1730-1807) established herself as “the best known and most prolific woman author in Germany.”^59^ Although most widely recognized for her first novel *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (1771), Sophie von la Roche’s literary career was much more extensive than that one book. Her literary œuvre includes countless letters, novels, novellas, travel narratives, a literary journal, works on the education of women (*Frauenbildung*) and cultural-political essays.^60^ She is considered not only Germany’s first modern female author, but also the first female author to live off of her publications. Never recognized by her contemporaries, such as Wieland and Goethe, for her literary achievements, La Roche was able to contribute to the education of the younger generation of women through her monthly journal, *Pomona für Teutschlands Töchter*.

La Roche’s work that is the focus of this study is her “letzter großer Roman,”^61^ *Erscheinungen am See Oneida* (1798), based on the correspondence with her son and daughter-in-law, while they were living in America (1792-1797). Her son, Fritz, spent time in America fighting as a French soldier on the American side of the American Revolution.^62^ Although the novel is based on their correspondence, Gudrun Loster-

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^59^ Kevin Hilliard, “Sophie von La Roche” *Landmarks in German Women’s Writing* Ed. Hillary Brown (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007) 43.


Schneider has shown that La Roche’s interest in America preceded her son’s career there. In using this correspondence, La Roche changes the details found in the travel journals and creates a story that touches upon topics including the French Revolution, the problematic of the noble savage, the idea of a life isolated from society, and very important to women: the birthing of a child. In comparison to her other works relatively little scholarship has been produced on La Roche’s *Erscheinungen am See Oneida*. The majority of publications on this work have focused on the white characters and the use of America as “eine idyllische Robinsonade in der nordamerikanischen Wildnis.” This image of America rarely addresses the actual political developments in the young republic, but rather juxtaposes the concept of an uncivilized America with a civilized Europe. The Des Wattines, a young aristocratic couple from France, are seen not as trying to civilize America *per se* but championing the aristocratic European over the American, here the Oneida. The European is represented by the intellectual—the Des Wattines hold onto, above all things, their encyclopaedias while trying to survive alone in their island paradise. The Oneida, on the other hand are seen as simplistic in their lifestyle because they have no desire to leave their village. This is exemplified later in the story when the settlers speak of the physicality of the Oneida culture in comparison to the intellectual pursuits of the Europeans in the settlement. America, in contrast, as represented by the Oneida in the novel, is seen as a *Mundus Novus* where “den neuen Kontinent dem alten Weltbild [sich intergrieren kann] und zwar topographisch, theologisch und geschichtstheoretisch,” that

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64 Kriegleder, *Vorwärts* 93.
65 Kriegleder, *Vorwärts* 36.
allows La Roche to retain a certain poetic license in her representations of not only the Oneida, but America as well. Andreas Jakob has called this a “Flucht aus der Geschichte” and qualifies his statement with: “es bedeutet in diesem Reiseroman allerdings keineswegs blossen Eskapismus und die Hinwendung zum Ideal.”

La Roche combines her appraisal of America as an uncharted land with her aristocratic critique of the French Revolution. She also engages with the moral philosophies of Rousseau, Schiller, Herder and the French philosopher Bernardin de St. Pierre. It is her closer engagement with St. Pierre’s texts than with Rousseau’s that is interesting but has little to do with the Oneida, rather the idea of an island paradise as utopic.

Commenting on the accuracy of the image of America, Peter Boerner maintains:

“In der im 18. Jahrhundert vielfach auf Amerika bezogenen Konzeption des ‘edlen Wilden’ haben wir keineswegs eine durch authentische Reiseberichte angeregte Aussage über die Urbevölkerung des Kontinents, sondern vielmehr eine auf Rousseau und dessen Anhänger zurückgehende Interpretation.”

La Roche can thus be seen as an author of her time. Her description of the Oneida and their lifestyle as unenlightened and savage people is consistent with other works on America in the eighteenth century. Loster-Schneider maintains that La Roche’s work can be criticized as following: “Freilich kann man die

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67 For a detailed analysis of all secondary literature used in La Roche’s Erscheinungen am See Oneida, see Gudrun Loster-Schneider “Sophie von La Roche als Feld-Pionierin des >Amerika-Romans<”.
vielen kosmopolitischen, pazifistischen, fortschritts- und wissengläubigen Bücher-
Erscheinungen am See Oneida, als naiv, eurozentrisch oder kulturimperialistisch
kritisieren."70 I do agree with Loster-Schneider to a certain extent, but the degree to which
La Roche engages with the works of other authors and philosophers of her time, shows
that although she may be naïve, it is a European naiveté rather than a feminist one. This
does, in fact, situate her work as one of the foremost Amerika-Romane71 to deal with the
idea of America from a late Enlightenment perspective.

Although La Roche does use the background information provided to her, she
transforms the French couple, Carl and Emilie Des Wattines, from a husband and wife that
most likely left France under dubious circumstances,72 to young aristocrats displaced by
the French Revolution. In changing the context of the Des Wattines’ reason for leaving
France from a financial to a political one, La Roche creates a specific ideological agenda.
The young aristocrats on their island paradise and subsequently also in the white
settlement become the space “in which her high-born guinea pigs could prove the innate
superiority of the European aristocracy.”73 Not wanting to stay in the American cities,
which remind them too much of Europe, the Des Wattines make their way to an island in
Lake Oneida in upstate New York. Here, they set up their life away from civilization but
with their encyclopaedias, with which they cannot part. Thus in this isolated environment,

70 Loster-Schneider, “Sophie von La Roche als Feld-Pionierin des >Amerika-Romans<” 209.
71 Kriegleder maintains that Erscheinungen is “the first German novel that treats the North American Indians
seriously, without using them as props in an exotic tale of adventure.” Kriegleder, “The American Indian in
German Novels Up to the 1850s”. German Life and Letters 53:4 October 2000: 489.
72 Bernd Heidenreich, Sophie von La Roche- eine Werkbio grafie. (Verlag Peter Lang: Frankfurt a. M.,
73 Elisabeth Krimmer "A Garden of Her Own: Noble Savages and Superior Europeans in Sophie von La
Roche's Erscheinungen am See Oneida." Harmony in Discord: German Women Writers in the Eighteenth
and Nineteenth Centuries Laura Martin, Ed. (Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main, 2002) 30.
the Des Wattines continue to live their Rousseau-esque life undisturbed for four years, surrounded by the land that they work and their encyclopaedias until their island paradise is discovered by a group of settlers. In terms of the image of the Aboriginal in this work, what is of interest is how the Oneida are portrayed by the narrator on his journey to Lake Oneida and by both Carl and Emilie Des Wattines. As the Des Wattines spend time with the Oneida in their village, the question becomes, does the image of the Aboriginal shift in the development of the narrative, or does this image stay relatively stable throughout the story?

Coming to America

The reader first engages with the unnamed male narrator who is sending letters home to a friend and his cousin about his experiences in America, in which he constantly compares what he experiences in America to what he knows in Europe. After spending time in major cities on the Northeastern seaboard, he writes home expressing his desire to see the wilderness of America. His ideas about the remote interior of the continent are a mixture of a romanticizing joy in an unspoilt landscape and apprehensive fears of a wild land:

> Sie können leicht denken, daß mir diese Aussicht und dieser Wasserfall eine außerordentliche Freude machten, aber die Nachricht, daß die waldigten Theile dieses Gartens von Panther, Tieger, Wölfen, Luchse, Bären, rothen und grauen Füchsen bewohnt waren, und noch sind, machte mich etwas ernst und mißmuthig.

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74 In fact, over 300 books. Barner calls it a “geistiges Rüstzeug im Exil, als kosmopolitisches Reservoir”. Barner 30.
75 Erscheinungen II 170: “Meine theure Base.”
76 Erscheinungen I 17.
After returning from traveling around the Northeastern seaboard to Philadelphia, which he
describes as one of the most beautiful cities of the old or new world,\(^77\) the narrator longs to
see more of the “wild America”, that exists beyond the refined cities:

> [daß] der lebhafe Wunsch in mir entstand: Europäer in einer neuen
Anpflanzung zu sehen; um nach dem so vollkommen Philadelphia und den
schönen Garten von Jersey, ganz wilde Natur und erste arme Holzhütten zu
betrachten.\(^78\)

He juxtaposes the idea of Nature in the domesticated gardens of New Jersey with the
scarcely populated “ganz wilde Natur”, which is in actuality not totally wild as the seeds
of civilization are being sown by the “\(erste\) arme Holzhütten”.\(^79\) But on his way to Lake
Oneida he realizes just how isolated from civilization he really is:

> Die lange, 400 englische Meilen daurende Reise; alle Naturscenen von
Gebirgen, Flüssen, Seen, unabsehbaren Flächen, seit Jahrhunderten nur \(vor\)
\(Gottes\) \(Augen\) geblühter und verwelkter Millionen Pflanzen und grünen
Wildnissen, an welchen ich vorüber gekommen; […] in dieser weiten
Einsamkeit, feyerliche Stille, zu welcher ich, von dem geräuschvollen
Philadelphia an, durch bewohnte und unbewohnte Gegendgen gelangt war,
[…]--Alles dieses hatte schon auf mich gewirkt; ja es erschien mir die Idee
meiner Freunde in Europa, in einigen dunkeln Vertiefungen der Wälder, mit
dem Gefühl: ach wie weit bin ich von ihnen, dem Aufenthalt einer Menge von
wilden Thieren, und vielleicht auch \(wilder\) \(Menschen\)\(^80\) gegen über!\(^81\)

This long journey to Lake Oneida has only reinforced how removed the narrator is from
his reader. In illustrating this distance between himself and the reader, the narrator shows
just how foreign, exotic and possibly dangerous this untamed land seems. He does,

\(^77\) Erscheinungen I 19.
\(^78\) Erscheinungen I 20.
\(^79\) My emphasis.
\(^80\) Both italics in this paragraph are my emphasis.
\(^81\) Erscheinungen I 22-23.
however, find the natural landscape to be everything he expected it to be.\textsuperscript{82} In this passage he highlights the common European ideas of America - an undiscovered and untouched land, inhabited by wild animals and wild people. The anthropological debates of the eighteenth century largely saw the Aboriginals as uncivilized and thus the comparison of the wild animals and wild people is no accident. This land having only been seen by the eyes of God implies that it is empty and unoccupied: unoccupied by the civilized white population. It is in this paragraph that for one of the first times\textsuperscript{83} the Aboriginal population is mentioned: in a seemingly bad Indian, savage context.

His arrival in the European settlement on Lake Oneida is met with much excitement and he quickly feels comfortable among the people. As he describes the settlers and experiences he has encountered, he is less taken with the children of European parentage than he is by the Aboriginals he has seen trading and bartering. It is here that the reader is given a picture of the noble savage:

Doch dünkten mich die jungen Leute der Holländere und Teutschen nicht so stark und schön, als die Stämme der Eingebohrnen, von welchen ich einige bey einem Handel von Biber- und Bärenfellen sah, und mich bey ihrer Schönheit und Stärke an den Auftritt des großen englischen, in Amerika gebohrnen Mahlers: West, erinnerte, welcher in Rom bey dem ersten Blick auf den Apoll des Vaticans ausrief: O was für eine Aehnlichkeit mit einem jungen Krieger der Mohawks, welcher den Bogen gespannt, das Aug'auf den Feind geheftet, ihn mit schnellen Schritten verfolgt!----nur diejenigen, welche wie ich, diese edlen Gestalten sahen, werden finden, daß West nicht als Amerikaner, sondern als Kenner großer edler Schönheit der Natur und Wahrheit, die Kunst in der Nachahmung zu beurtheilen wußte.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{82} Margrit Langner, Sophie Von La Roche: Die Empfindsame Realistin (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1995) 275.

\textsuperscript{83} In volume 2, when the Des Wattines are living among the Oneida, the Oneida are consistently mentioned and although the Oneida or \textit{Indier} are mentioned both earlier and later in the story, none of the passages I cite here significantly elaborates on the image of the Aboriginal in the context of the story. Volume I: 15, 88, 146, 164. Volume 3: 21, 23, 45, 59, 64, 76,95, 107, 205, 245, 293.

\textsuperscript{84} Erscheinungen I 27.
In referring to the painter Benjamin West (1738-1820) and using his reaction to augment his own experience in America, the narrator is creating his own version of the noble savage myth. He is comparing the Aboriginals he sees with paintings that his readers in Europe would know and raising them to almost God-like forms in comparing the Mohawk warrior to the first breath-taking view of the Apollo Gestalt in Rome. West’s painting “The Death of Wolfe” (1770) was a sensation when exhibited in London in the spring of 1771 and although it is almost entirely fictitious, became one of the most reproduced paintings of the time. It depicts the death of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham surrounded by his officers and an Aboriginal warrior. Daniel Francis notes that Wolfe actually died away from the action with only one of the men in the painting around him because he was so disliked by his officers. Francis’ description of the Aboriginal warrior, bending down, watching and contemplating the death of Wolfe, compellingly reinforces the sentimental image of the Aboriginal in Europe at this time:

According to his biographers, Wolfe despised the Native people, all of whom fought on the side of the French, anyway. Certainly, none would have been present at his death. But that did not matter to Benjamin West. Unlike Wolfe, West admired the Noble Savage of the American forest. And so, he included the image of a Mohawk warrior, posed as a muscular sage- a symbol of the natural virtue of the New World, a virtue for which Wolfe might be seen to have sacrificed his life.

This image would have also been known to Sophie von La Roche and she no doubt refers to the artist West in order to remind her readers of the noble savage image in West’s work, and to give her readers a point of comparison for when they later hear of the legendary Nesquehiounah.

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85 Francis 13.
86 Francis 13.
The narrator’s first encounter with the Des Wattines takes place a few days later, after he has become more settled in the village. It is here that he meets the couple and is immediately taken with “einen großen jungen Mann von 27 Jahren mit leichtem edlen Schritt, und einer schönen Frau von etwa 24 Jahr, recht geschmackvoll Europäisch gekleidet, mit einem allerliebsten Knaben von drey Jahr [...]”\textsuperscript{87} The narrator meets the Des Wattines family approximately one year after they left their island paradise and made their home among the settlers. But even after four years alone in the wilderness and one more year among the settlers, the Des Wattines still possess attributes that lead them to be considered aristocratic and thus superior among the other people in the white settlement. When later compared with the Oneida, the Des Wattines represent an innate superiority of the European nobility. The innate superiority of the European nobility is demonstrated in the story after the Des Wattines return from their stay among the Oneida.

It is after this first meeting with the Des Wattines that Herr Vandek, the leader of the settlement takes the narrator to the island and tells him about the first time the settlers encountered the Des Wattines. The young couple had been isolated for four years and their reaction to the settlers exploring the island is one of astonishment. Herr Vandek and the settlers were likewise astonished as they were led to believe that there were no European settlements this far inland. The description of the Des Wattines and their garments also made it clear that they had been surviving for four years on their own. To see other Europeans on their land after four years of isolation from the outside world was a shock,

\textsuperscript{87} Erscheinungen 1 30.
but this experience ultimately led to the Des Wattines returning to white society instead of remaining in their splendid isolation.\footnote{Erscheinungen I 62-64.}

With the description of the Des Wattines, especially their dress and their self-sustaining lifestyle, from Vandek’s account and also from Carl Des Wattines’ own narrative, the Des Wattines in their island isolation can be thought of, at this point, as leading a life of an autarchy. They are completely removed from any other form of society and have, after the help of a few men to build their house, lived and survived on their own and been self-sustaining for four years. America became Carl Des Wattines’ sanctuary and also his salvation. Through his isolation he has rediscovered his faith in God and slowly also his happiness. Carl Des Wattines is in a state of transition. Fleeing Europe for America he has in the “New World” rejected recent European history, but not its accumulative knowledge in the form of their encyclopaedias and returned to the Earth, to a certain extent “going Native.” This closeness to Nature and isolation from European society are also exampled in the Oneida chief Nesquehiounah and both circumstances will be addressed later in the chapter.

The narrator only begins to understand the pain Carl was suffering when he and his bride first came to America after he reads the story Carl has written for him outlining his journey to the island and the first two years spent there. This thirty-three page section of the narrative is focalized through Carl Des Wattines. After Carl’s story, the narrator questions Frau Vandek about her “Inselgeschichte”, which had originally piqued the
narrator’s interest in the Des Wattines and their story. Emilie happens to be visiting Frau Vandek at the same time as the narrator and begins talking about her experience on the island, thus providing a different focalization of the narrative.

Emilie saw the isolation as a “Prüfungszeit,” having a limited duration. Carl, on the other hand, viewed their isolation as a new beginning. But as Emilie explains, Carl found her description too negative and prefers to frame their story as if they were the first people who left Paradise. In using this biblical reference of Adam and Eve, La Roche presents the Des Wattines as at a new beginning but innocent, not having fallen from Grace:

Nein Emilie! ich denke mich lieber in die Lage unserer ersten Eltern, welche aus dem Paradiese wandern und allein wohnen mußten: wo noch kein andres Wesen ihrer Art lebte, und Eva, nicht so ruhig, nicht mit so unschuldsvollem Herzen auf Adam blicken konnte, als meine Emilie auf mich.  

This biblical reference is used to augment the extent to which the Des Wattines are isolated from society, with the difference that Emilie is innocent, unlike Eve, is not responsible for the fall from Paradise. In this sense, it is a new beginning without negative antecedents, which seem to offer the possibility of a perfect future. Carl and Emilie have fundamentally different attitudes regarding their time in the wilderness and this is also reflected in their different attitudes towards the Oneida. Carl describes the Oneida as:

Wir fragten die Leute nach den Indianern, die jenseits des Sees wohnten, und hörten, daß wir nichts von ihnen zu befürchten hätten, da sie wenig an Zahl, und ein sehr gutes Volk wären, das sein Wort immer heilig halte, und nie ein abgegebenes Land beträten. Ich fand dieses auch ganz wahr, denn nie habe ich einen auf der Insel gesehen […].

89 Erscheinungen I 152.
90 Erscheinungen I 152-153.
91 Erscheinungen I 143.
Carl learns about the Oneida by asking other settlers regarding their experiences with the Indigenous settlement. His impression about the Oneida, while on the face of it is positive, conceals a certain amount of apprehension: they are small in number, which implies a calculus of potential threat. But on the other hand, the judgment of the Oneida as a good people who always keep their word and do not trespass on established European land reassures him that this threat is negligible. Later, however, when Emile speaks to the narrator, she admits her worry about her husband while living on the island: “Er suchte auch Wild auf, aber ich liebte es nicht, wenn er auf der Seite gegen die Indier jagte, weil ich besorgte, es möchte sie reizen zu uns herüber zu kommen.” From Emilie’s perspective, just the possibility of interaction with the Oneida was seen as less unlikely and more of a threat, whereas Carl is confident that the Oneida will not seek out interaction with them.

These conflicting viewpoints can be elaborated by studying their narratives in detail. Krimmer maintains that the difference in the viewpoints occurs because: “Carl’s narration is told from a perspective of immediate participation and presence, while Emilie’s stories emphasizes distance in time and space.” As seen in this context, Krimmer seems to be aligning Carl’s narration from more of an ‘Aboriginal’ perspective, whereas Emilie’s is viewed as more of a ‘European’ perspective. As appears later in the narrative, the Aboriginals are viewed as an uneducated, physical culture, contrasted by the European culture as represented by education and reflection. It is not until volume two,

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92 Erscheinungen I 164.
93 Krimmer 35.
however, that the speculation regarding the Oneida is ended and actual contact between the two cultures takes place.

**Among the Oneida: Nicht der Wilde sei wild…**

The second volume of *Erscheinungen* is the point of first contact between the Des Wattines and the Oneida in the narrative. The Des Wattines, according to Carl’s narrative, had been living peacefully on their island for two years. At this point in the story Carl takes the narrator over to the island the next day to tell him the story of how he found out he was going to become a father. Although he was full of joy and happiness, he was possessed by a new found hate for the French revolutionaries. In this way La Roche illustrates that in spite of their two-year isolation Carl had not yet been healed of his pain by God. This explains why, even after the news of becoming a father, Carl Des Wattines refused to return to society.

Emilie had tried to hide her pregnancy from Carl the entire winter, but he knew that she was with child. He would often catch her reading articles on pregnancy in the encyclopaedias. When eventually she told him of her condition, they spent the rest of the winter reading the encyclopaedias together, learning all they could and preparing the small house for the arrival of the child.

As Emilie begins to come to term, the couple thinks they can rely on the fishermen, who usually come at this time of year, for help. The fishermen, however, do not come this

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94 *Erscheinungen* II 66.
95 *Erscheinungen* II 66-67.
year, and the couple is worried about the impending birth. Carl often catches Emilie staring longingly at the Oneida village on the shores of the lake. Emilie one day says to him:

[D]eine und meine gänzliche Unwissenheit in allem, was zum Besten des geliebten Unschuldigen, zur Erleichterung seines Eintritts in die Welt, und zu meiner Erhaltung geschehen muß, dieß machte mich schon lange sorgen, und erweckte am Ende einen innigen Wunsch in mir.  

Carl assumes that Emilie will ask for him to swim over and bring back an Aboriginal woman, thinking she was in need of company from her own sex. Emilie, however, surprises him and says:


In this decision Emile shows a very enlightened attitude towards the Oneida. First, she calls the Oneida their neighbours and very good people. She realizes that she needs an experienced woman to help her through her pregnancy and sees the Oneida as her equals as women. She also points out that from what the fishermen have told them, the Oneida have always honoured the agreement. Ultimately she sees the Oneida as also being God’s children and thus feels that she and her husband can trust them.

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96 Erscheinungen II 81.
97 Erscheinungen II 81-82. Italics are my emphasis.
98 What has yet to be addressed but one can also maintain, that as much as the whites do not want the Oneida on their land, such as the island and the other coast of the lake, perhaps it is also the Oneida, who do not want white encroachment on their land and are also happy to not have interaction with white settlers.
The Oneida, here described by Emilie from a distance and represented by speculation, are viewed as a good Indian stereotype, abiding by the agreement that was reached regarding the land and maintaining their reputation as a good people by not attacking white settlements, which would belong to the bad Indian stereotype. At this point, there has been only one instance of what could be read as a bad Indian stereotype in the novel. This was Emilie’s worry that there could be any possibility of interaction, leading to an experience—either negative or positive. With her decision to swim to the Oneida village, Emilie shows the reader that the necessity of her pregnancy forces her to look past her apprehensions regarding the Oneida and seek their help.

Emilie having time to think about her situation and the health of her child knows that they must ask the Oneida for help. Carl wants to swim to the village and ask one of the women to return to the island with him. Emilie, however, maintains:

> es ist gegen die Sitte dieser Leute, und gewiß, die beste von diesen Weibern hat eigene Kinder und einen Mann der sie liebt, wie soll sie ihre Kinder verlassen, und der Mann seine Frau ruhig mit einem Fremden davon schwimmen sehen? — nein, mein Carl! wir wollen zu ihnen, der erste Blick auf meinen Zustand wird für mich reden.\(^{99}\)

Emilie understands that in her present condition a common language is not necessary. The female body speaks for itself. Presumably with this kind of intuition Emilie realizes that a woman would not want, nor would she likely be allowed, to leave her village with a strange man not of her people. It is safer for everyone involved if they go to the individuals who can offer them help.

\(^{99}\)Erscheinungen II 85.
As Carl recalls the day that he and Emilie swam to the Oneida village, he says that he was more nervous than Emilie: he was constantly worried about her surviving the trip across to the village. Emilie had already prepared for the trip and showed a resolve that calmed Carl. As they arrived on the other shore an Oneida woman in the wigwam closest to the lake took fright and looked behind the two trespassers to see if there were more Europeans following.

It is at this point that Emilie and the Oneida woman communicate and Carl tries to show that he also means no harm to the Oneida, but is there only to support his wife:

Sie betrachteten uns mit Staunen. Eine von ihnen stand auf, sah sorgsam weiter nach dem Wege, wo wir herkamen, ob nicht mehr Leute bey uns seyn möchten. Emilie errieth ihre Sorge, winkte ihr nein, zeigte dabei auf mich, und mit einer Hand die gute Indianerin fassend, mit der andern auf ihren hohen Leib deutend, sagte sie in ihrem wenigen Englisch ihre Bitte mit so rührender Stimme und Wesen, daß die Frau, ob sie schon die Worte nicht verstand, durch die Pantomime belehrt wurde. Ich beobachtete sie, ihre Züge sprachen sehr deutlich von Güte und Verstand. Ich faßte nun ihre noch freie Hand, welche ich an mein Herz drückte, mich auf ein Knie warf, auf Emilien zeigte und auch in meinen Ausdrücken um Hülfe für sie bat. Die gute Sqw legte nun auch eine Hand auf ihre Brust, und indem sie in abgebrochenen kurzen Sylben, doch ziemlich sanft etwas sprach, streichelte sie zu gleicher Zeit Emilien die Hände, zeigte ihr den Eingang der Hütte, und ließ sie neben sich sitzen, besah sie nochmals, fühlte ihr Kleid an, und winkte voll Ungeduld daß Emilie ihren Gürtel sogleich auflöse, indem sie lebhaft deutete, daß es ihr und ihrem Kinde schaden würde.\(^\text{100}\)

This first experience with the Oneida is a positive one, as the “gute Sqw” understands that the Des Wattines mean no harm and are in need of help. In the exchange of language and pantomime between the women, the situation is eventually understood. The Oneida woman and her reaction to Emilie and Carl places her in the good Indian construct. The

\(^{100}\text{Erscheinungen II 90-92.}\)
other Oneida woman returns with a young man who addresses Carl, and as one man is protecting his tribe and the other his wife, the aggression in words and miscommunication seem to reach a climatic point, until Emilie intercedes. Carl recalls the encounter:

Die andre Frau, welche wie verschwunden gewiesen, kam mit eilenden Schritten nebst einem starken jungen Manne, der einen kleinen sehr muntern Knaben an der Hand führte, gegen uns. Der Mann fragte sogleich auf Englisch, was wir wollten, wo wir herkamen? und blickte dabei scharf in mein Auge. Ich sagte auch kurz, wie seine Frage war! von der Insel. Emilie, über meinen Ton beängstigt, eilte zu antworten, ehe ich mehr sagte. Da sie schon bey seiner Annäherung aufgestanden war, und sich an mich anschmiege, bog sie sie nach dem kleinen Indier, reichte liebevoll nach ihm, und sagte dem Alten: o laß mich hier, um deines Sohnes willen, diesem guten Manne (auf mich deutend) auch einen Sohn gebären! 101

Emilie in this effort to keep the situation between the men under control collapses and Carl is reduced to tears. She compares the young man and the little boy to her own husband and his unborn child in an effort to show the universal instinct of protecting family. The young Aboriginal understands the situation and after concluding that the couple means no harm to the tribe he raises his hand to the heavens and says:


This passage shows the Oneida to be sympathetic, God fearing, and knowledgeable in the

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101 Erscheinungen II 92.  
102 Erscheinungen II 93-95.
trials of childbirth. Carl, as an aristocratic European man, exhibits the Romantic idea of a man of sensibilities. This is contrasted in the wilderness by the young Oneida and Carl’s own wife as both are more practical minded in the present situation. As the young Aboriginal sees Carl crying, he tells him to “be a man!” and leave his wife among the women. It is Emilie here, who shows more strength than Carl and must convince him to leave her alone with “the daughters of Nature.” The expression the “daughters of Nature” indicates on the one side a certain closeness to practical, physical side of life but on the other side implies that they are not as refined as the European.

As the young Oneida brings Carl to the lake to look at the island, the two begin to talk and it becomes clear that the young Oneida is the son of a legendary Aboriginal colonel in the American army during the American Revolution:

Ich fragte ihn nun, wo er das Englische lernte? er antwortete mir mit einem Gemisch von Trauer, Stolz und Freude: von meinem Vater Nesquehiounah, welcher als Obrist Louis den Amerikanern ihre Freiheit erwerben half. So war ich auf einmal in einer Familie, mit welcher mein Vater und mein Onkel gegen die Engländer gekämpft hatten, und der Sohn eines Indianers, dessen Geschichte ich in meinem Vaterlande mit Widerwillen anhörte, war nun in dem Wohnsitze seines Vaters Schutzgeist meines Lebens und meiner Familie. O die Alten hatten recht, an ein Wesen zu glauben, das sie Verhängniß nannten.\textsuperscript{103}

Both are sons of men who fought against the British. Stories of Nesquehiounah had also traveled to France where they represented resistance against a common enemy. Carl sees a certain destiny in his current situation. The village and its inhabitants that can offer them help is the same village of the famous Nesquehiounah, whose reputation is known over the generations and throughout the world.

\textsuperscript{103} Erscheinungen II 95-96.
The narrator interrupts Carl’s story and wants to hear more about Nesquehiounah, the colonel. Nesquehiounah in this instance, according to the parameters of this dissertation, is described as a good Indian because of his dress, his service to the American army, and his command of European languages. Within this same passage, however, he makes the transition back to a noble savage, wanting to leave American society to return to his “Edenic wilderness”, away from the European settlements and live out his life in a traditional Aboriginal village:

Er war eigentlich ein Iroquese, diente den Amerikanern mit Geist und Eifer, so gut, daß er zum Obrist gemacht wurde. Er hatte ganz europäische Kleidung, Waffen und Sitten angenommen, sprach englisch, französisch und selbst holländisch. Man konnte ihn für den Rechtsgelehrten und Geographen seines Vaterlandes halten; denn er kannte alle Jagddistricte und Gerechtsame jedes Stammes und jeder Nation seiner Landsleute; die Lage und Länge der Gebirge, den Lauf der Flüsse, die Anzahl der Dörfer und wehrhaften Indier. Er war muthvoll, von einem vortrefflichen Character, hatte mehrere Jahre mit Europäern gelebt, und am Ende des Kriegs erschien die Macht der Gewohnheit so unüberwindlich in dieser schätzbaren männlichen Seele, daß er unvermuthet 1785 zu einem seiner amerikanischen Freunde in Neuyork kam, noch mit ihm zu frühstücken und zu rauchen, ehe er abreise. 104

La Roche describes him as what can be seen as the direct counterpart of the enlightened European man. He is, however, a sort of enigma, an unstable image that shatters Barnett’s categories. Although he has achieved more than many of his fellow white brothers in arms, he has no desire to lead a European style of life. His knowledge of not only his fatherland, peoples and territories, but also of European languages and cultures is so extensive that he is in his own terms as cultivated as the Des Wattines, if not more so, without the encumbrance of many volumes of encyclopaedias.

104 Erscheinungen II 97-98.
Nesquehiounah wears the traditional dress of an Iroquois while he meets his friend and fellow soldier in the city, whom he has come to visit for the last time before returning to his traditional way of life. Europeans who have recently arrived on the continent stare at him:


Nesquehiounah is tired of the white way of life and yearns to grow old surrounded by Nature and family. By consciously shedding his European skin, and returning to his "idyllic wilderness" he is rejecting the dominant white culture and becoming a noble savage. He sees the European culture as too complicated and he desires simplicity and peace, which he can only find when distanced from white culture. He wants little to do with European society. Although he has been successful in European culture, he does not seek the rewards that come with his status. He is consciously rejecting the dominant

105 Erscheinungen II 98-99.
culture, content to return to what is considered a primitive way of life. This shows the reader that although Aboriginal characters can rise to the upper echelons of European society, they exhibit unwillingness to fully adopt a European way of life and thus relegate themselves to a marginal status, as peoples of a past age. Here La Roche’s representative image of the Aboriginal is both unstable and contradictory. The blatant, outright rejection of the superior white culture escapes the categories as explained by Barnett and represents a paradoxical nostalgia as Colonel Louis can be seen as “going Native.” His rejection of European culture is not unlike Des Wattines’ own.

The Europeans, who in this case are French, have just disembarked from the ship and are astounded by Nesquehiounah’s English, receive another shock as he responds in French to their comment on his being an “Indian”:


In this strong critique of European life, Nesquehiounah exposes the luxuries and excesses that have become a part of everyday European enjoyment. He begins with a social critique of a justice system that uses prisons and trials to condemn people and he continues with

106 Erscheinungen II 100-101.
what could be read as a commentary on the excesses of the European life in the eyes of Christianity. Nesquehiounah, who is from Canada,\textsuperscript{107} speaks of the Jesuit who claimed that the Aboriginal life was too empty, while Nesquehiounah argues that it is this constant need to bus oneself that allows the European little peace. The last sentence can be seen as Nesquehiounah’s final rejection of the white way of life and his desire to return to his “savage” roots because it is not until one goes East (Europe) that one loses the good ideas that Manitou has given his people.

After the story of Nesquehiounah as told by his son, Nesquehiounah does not appear again in the story. The power with which Nesquehiounah’s image is introduced into the narrative but just as abruptly vanishes leads to an inconsistent and paradoxical image that escapes the categorical definitions explored in the introduction. Nesquehiounah represents the contradictions of the German attitude towards the Aboriginal. He is seen as an individual who assimilated with the dominant culture, representing at the same time both a noble savage and good Indian image, but in rejecting the dominant culture he returns to a noble savage, but the emphasis is then placed on the \textit{savage} of the term. The \textit{savage} in Nesquehiounah represents the superior aspects of Aboriginal culture, especially the possession of freedom and a joyful, simple closeness to nature.

Carl adds his own commentary to Nesquehiounah’s verbal attack on the French passengers, as he speaks from the opinion of a young officer in the army at that time, who could not understand the desire to be anything aside from a soldier:

\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Erscheinungen} II 98. It can be inferred here that by “Canada” the region that is now Quebec, or Upper Canada is most likely meant. Jesuits had been acting as missionaries in the area.

As a youth, Carl did not see the wisdom of Nesquehiounah’s decision to leave European society. Now that Carl is himself expecting a child, his view of the world has also consequently shifted. His priority is no longer glory among soldiers but the health and welfare of his family. In connection with his newfound understanding of Nesquehiounah’s choice, the idea of being in Nesquehiounah’s village brings Carl reassurance and almost joy, as he knows that Emilie is in good hands. Nesquehiounah’s former reputation in white society calms Carl as the attributes of either a good Indian or noble savage image are projected onto the village as a whole. This is further strengthened by the fact that his son can also speak English and has lived with a white family.

At the narrator’s prodding, Des Wattines continues with his story and focuses on the young man beside him. He asks the young man:

ob er nicht auch bey den Engländern gewesen wäre? Er sagte ja, einige Zeit. Nun fragte ich weiter: warum er nicht geblieben sey, da er doch viel Gutes und Gemächliches bey ihnen sah? Er blickte mit einer Art spöttischem Lächeln mich an, und sagte kurz: nichts als viele Arbeit, welche die guten Oneidas nicht brauchen und ruhen können.\footnote{Erscheinungen II 102.}

Carl is troubled by this comment, as it shows a lack of interest in European culture and rejection of the Protestant work ethic. During this time Carl has been farming on the island

\footnote{Erscheinungen II 101-102.}
for over a year to try to find inner peace. Because he has spent his time working hard on
the island, he does not seem to comprehend that this young man is satisfied with his life
without having done precisely the same as him.

The young man brings Carl to smoke pipes near his wigwam. They each
have their own pipe and then:

tauschte er mit mir, und versicherte mich seiner Freundschaft, zeigte mir die
Stelle seiner Hütte, wo sein Vater starb, und freuete sich, als ich mit
Hochachtung von seiner Tapferkeit und Klugheit sprach; aber mein Herz war
voll Unruhe, immer mit dem Gedanken an Emilien beschäftigt. Ich sagte es
meinem\textsuperscript{110} Indier und bat ihn, mich zu meinem Weibe zurück zu führen.\textsuperscript{111}

After a description of smoking a peace pipe and the youth proudly showing Carl the site of
his father’s death, the two have created a bond with each other. Carl now calls the young
man “his Indian.” This possessive pronoun shows a shift in the way Carl thinks of the
Oneida. Obviously, the son is not like his father Nesquehiounah, who earned himself a
reputation among the Americans as a great soldier and learned man. The son is content
with the simple lifestyle that Carl sees in the village and is thus unenlightened. Unlike his
father, the young man is not to be seen on the same level as a European, but nevertheless
as a good Indian. When speaking about his father’s death, this is the last time in the story
that Nesquehiounah is mentioned. As previously touched upon, the abrupt removal of
Nesquehiounah from the narrative represents a shift away from the past age and even
glory of the Aboriginal peoples to the present ever-shifting image of the Oneida and
subsequent speculation of the future of the Aboriginal peoples, which appears in volume
three.

\textsuperscript{110} My emphasis.
\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Erscheinungen} II 103.
Carl does not call the young Oneida his *friend* but rather his *Indian*. The distinction is such that Carl has made an exception among a separate racial group, implying that the young Oneida is, while still not on the same developed plane as Carl himself, he is nonetheless superior to others in his racial category. The young Oneida’s supremacy among his people is further emphasized in the representation of the Oneida women.

Carl again highlights this point by now calling the young man “unserm Indier,”\textsuperscript{112} and as Emilie wants Carl to stay close to her that night, the young man sets up a tent for Carl outside the wigwam where Emilie is preparing for the birth of their son. Carl laments their situation and again we see the European hierarchy of standards or need for excess as he says:

O was ist eine Wilden-Hütte oder Wigwham für eine Erscheinung, besonders für einen Mann, der wie ich eine geliebte junge Frau hat, welche als Braut zu der Auswahl zwischen zwey prächtigen Familien-Sitzen bestimmt war, und sie nun nahe der Stunde ihrer ersten Niederkunft, in einer solchen Hütte sieht!\textsuperscript{113}

In this moment he is reminded of *what should have been* in France before the French Revolution ruined their life. He thinks of his wife, who should have been offered the best care that French society and European medicine could give her, but now is in the wilderness in an Aboriginal village about to give birth to their son on a bed of beaver pelts. Although more than sufficient to birth a child, from the European perspective of La Roche’s readers, this situation would have been close to unimaginable.

\textsuperscript{112} *Erscheinungen* II 104.
\textsuperscript{113} *Erscheinungen* II 104-105.
This image of the Oneida shifts to a more negatively nuanced representation as the two men move closer to Emilie. Carl can see that Emilie is in pain and he worries for her. He tells the young man to tell his sister, who is looking after Emilie, that she is without parents and he is without a brother, all of who have been killed. It is the reaction of the young woman to her brother that at this point again shifts the image towards that of a good Indian. This impression is strengthened as Carl Des Wattines recounts the episode:


As the young Oneida woman explains the natural process of birth, that it is a timeless phenomenon that is painful but not dangerous, and speaks of God’s belief in her, Carl is calmed. The Christian beliefs coupled with Nature’s Law shift the image of the Oneida again is one of paradox and contradictions as it blurs the categories of the noble savage and good Indian.

To show their gratitude, the Des Wattines try to give the Oneida their wedding rings. This gesture is not appreciated, but as the Des Wattines have heard, or possibly even read in their encyclopaedias, Aboriginals think it to be an honour when children are named after them. Consequently the Des Wattines decide to give their son Carmil115 the second name Nesquehiounah. The Oneida are proud and the young man promises him that if they are to lose their son in the wilderness, he and his dog will find him. The young Oneida

114 Erscheinungen II 108.
115 The name Carl together with Emilie= Carmil.
mentions the example of when a Dutch family’s son went missing. Carl does not know the story but is touched when he hears it and believes that this gesture reflects on the beauty of what he considers to be a bilateral friendship:


Even though the young man extends this kind and generous offer to protect the Des Wattines’ child, the young man remains “Des Wattines’ Indian,” a possession. This gesture of protection is a weak comparison of the similarities between the European and Aboriginal mindset. Here, the Aboriginal is represented as a good Indian, serving the white dominant culture, even in the future, promising to protect the young Carmil in the forest.

The days go by and as the Des Wattines make themselves comfortable in the village, Carl, in the present, reminisces of asking “the Indian” to speak to a young girl for him, regarding her conduct around Emilie. The absence of the possessive pronoun comes before the young man tells Carl of their religion, which is monotheistic like Christianity, and with this explanation of the Oneida religion, Carl again finds admiration for the Oneida:

Sie glauben an ein mächtiges oberstes Wesen, von welchem alles da ist, das in dem Aufgänge der Sonne wohnt, und zu welchem alle gute Menschen kommen. Die Gewitter halten sie für Kennzeichen seines Zorns, machen dann Gelübde und bieten alles zum Opfer an, was sie besitzen: die Stille und Sonnenblicke nach einem Sturme, ist ihnen Beweß der Versöhnung und Güte,

116 Erscheinungen II 116.
Tanz und Gesang der Ausdruck ihres Danks.\textsuperscript{117}

The Oneida also honour their elders and love their children, and Carl admits that the Aboriginals honour their elders better than the Europeans. Carl respects this:

\begin{quote}
Ich liebe sie, sagte er, die verschwisterten Ideen der Menschenliebe und der Kennzeichen der Hochachtung für Verdienste. Liebe für unsere Kinder haben wir auch, wie die Indier; aber in der Ehrfurcht und der Sorge für das Alter, in der Begierde ihre Erfahrungen zu benutzen, darin kommen wir ihnen nicht gleich.\textsuperscript{118}
\end{quote}

He discusses the similar ideas of love and the regard for elders and as he admits that the respect for elders is something the Aboriginals hold in higher esteem than the Europeans, the image of the Aboriginal again takes on more characteristics to that of a noble savage.

\textbf{Return to Paradise}

After fourteen days the couple decides it is time to return to their island paradise. Emilie asks Carl to build a little boat for Carmil to ride in while they swim beside it. After asking his Aboriginal for help Carl begins to build the boat and Emilie learns from their little Aboriginal girl how to weave corn husks together and she wants to teach the girl something in return. The Aboriginals are again referred to in the possessive form, as soon as the couple needs or wants something, alluding to a possible master/servant dichotomy. The Aboriginals seem to belong to the Des Wattines, even though the Des Wattines are guests in their village.

As the Des Wattines get ready to depart for their island, the farewell seems odd to them as the Aboriginals, to the greater extent, act as though nothing has happened. This is

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{117} Ersscheinungen II 119.
\item \textsuperscript{118} Ersscheinungen II 120.
\end{itemize}
an example of what can be considered one of the common characteristics among Aboriginals- stoicism:

Nun sprachen wir von unserer Abreise, die guten Weiber schienen damit eben so zufrieden, wie mit unserer Ankunft. Der Indier sagte doch, in seinem und ihrem Namen: wir könnten bleiben, oder wiederkommen, bey ihrem Feuer uns wärmen und ich mit ihm aus seiner Pfeife rauchen. Ich gab ihm ein gutes Messer, welches ich mitgebracht, und immer verborgen gehalten hatte. Es war ihm recht, aber er nahm es, mit der Gleichmuthigkeit, mit welcher die Indier alles ansehen, was nicht geradezu auch für ihre Leidenschaften und Ideen paßt. Sie zeigten auch nicht die geringste Begierde, uns wegschwimmen zu sehen, oder uns zu helfen, sondern die Weiber gingen morgens mit ihren Kindern weg wie sonst.119

The Des Wattines are always welcome back to the village, but are not helped in their preparations, and the knife that Des Wattines gives the young man is accepted but with the politeness of something that is taken only because it has been offered as a gift, and it would be considered impolite to refuse. It is interesting to note the language that Des Wattines uses as he explains the knife “that he kept hidden.” Why, at this point, when it has long been established that no harm would come to Carl, Emilie or Carmil, did Carl continue to keep the knife hidden? Apparently, in spite of the kindness of the Oneida and the reputation of Nesquehiounah, Carl did not trust the Oneida.

On their return to the island, Carl and Emilie are relieved and happy to be home. Throughout Carl’s story, he has held Emilie and her strength in the highest esteem, especially through the childbirth and recovery. They have been gone for fourteen days and are excited to be back on their island and in their home:

Ach, sie war uns ein Pallast, unsere kleine Habe wurde zu Reichtum, Kleidungsstücke, Weißzeug und Hausgeräth, so wir ganz unverrückt wieder fanden, gaben uns Gefühl von Sicherheit und Ueberfluß.120

119 Erscheinungen II 125.
120 Erscheinungen II 131.
Carl Des Wattines compares their “richness” to the lack of material goods that the Aboriginals had in their homes and almost sadly remarks that “wie wenig der Mensch zum täglichen Fortleben bedarf,”¹²¹ but despite Nesquehiounah’s earlier criticism of the European desire for excess material goods, something that is of no interest to the Aboriginals of the village, the European desire for possessions is still prominent in the Des Wattines’ thoughts. This critique of the village is meant to show how little the Aboriginals have in order to emphasize from a European perspective how hard and even dangerous childbirth was for Emilie under these circumstances. It is meant to show how resolute and determined she is, and this is often repeated in different ways throughout Carl’s narrative of their time spent among the Oneida.

The Des Wattines were forced to the Oneida village to ask for help in the natural process of childbirth. For them, their encyclopaedias were of no help in their isolated paradise. They needed the practical, natural experience of childbirth learned over generations in order to ensure Emilie’s delivery would go smoothly. When confronted with the options of staying isolated and relying on books or going to the Oneida village and asking the “Wilden” for help, the choice seemed obvious. Although constantly criticizing the state of the village from a European perspective, the Des Wattines were happy to make use of everything provided to them to ensure a safe delivery. They then left the village thankful for what was given to them and swam back to their isolated paradise, where they were even more thankful to be back among their own valued possessions and

¹²¹Erscheinungen II 131.
¹²²This is from a European perspective.
their home.

The Oneida village is offered as an alternative to the isolated paradise of the island. Away from European influence, but also among people, the village does seem to be a viable option for the couple. Eleven years earlier, as a young soldier, Des Wattines was not able to understand why Nesquehiounah, a man so successful in American society would want to return to his own idyllic paradise. Now, however, with a wife and child, Nesquehiounah’s decision seems to make sense. The paradoxical image of Nesquehiounah complicates the reader’s idea of the Aboriginal and also situates him outside of the categories established by Barnett.

Carl Des Wattines finishes the story of their stay among the Oneida, and the narrator writes to his cousin:

Gewiß meine schätzbare Base hat während dem Lesen dieser Blätter, an sich und andre Frauenzimmer, auch an gute Bürgerweiber in ihrer Nachbarschaft gedacht. Wie glücklich muß sie sich und alle geschätzt haben, wenn sie an das Schicksal der holden jungen Frau von Wattines sich erinnerte.¹²³

He also writes that he did not dare to interrupt Carl while he recounted the story to ask questions regarding Emilie’s recovery after birth, which in white society would have been typically looked after by a doctor. It is the next day that the Des Wattines come to the narrator and thank him for listening to Carl, and Emilie offers to answer any questions that the narrator might have about what happened in the Oneida village. The narrator responds “ja es fehlen mir alle seine Züge und Schattirungen, welche allein durch eine Frau wie

¹²³Erscheinungen II 137.
Emilie gesehen und bemerkt werden konnten.” It is at this point that the focalization switches to Emilie and the reader gets a female perspective of what happened on the island.

Frau Vandek had already asked Emilie why she decided to go to the village. For Emilie it was a question of survival: she knew she needed help. Her impression of the Aboriginal women is remarkably more negative than her husband Carl’s:


This description of the Aboriginal women draws on the bad Indian image as Emilie believes that the women are not to be trusted and are not representative of the Aboriginal images she has seen in white civilization. The negative description of her reality in comparison with the image of the Aboriginal more widely represented in white culture, shows Emilie’s bias and preference of European society and reinforces Emilie’s fear of the possibility of interaction with the Oneida. Her impression of the women is in complete

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124 Erscheinungen II 139.
125 Erscheinungen II 142-143.
opposition with that of her husband who saw the women as good and helpful and did not comment at all on their physical appearance. Emilie on the other hand, recounts the dirtiness of not only the women but also the wigwams and their lack of European comfort. Krimmer rightly points out that: “In short, to Emilie the effort of swimming through the entire lake to get to the Native American camp is less painful than overcoming her disgust and revulsion at the sight of Native American culture.” It is perhaps not the sight of Indigenous culture that contributed to Emilie’s revulsion of the Oneida, but maybe it was the dirtiness and lack of comfort of the domestic sphere that La Roche was trying to emphasize. In eighteenth-century literature, both the female and the Aboriginal are seen as the Other in contrast to the European male. In creating this hierarchy between the Emilie and the Aboriginal characters, La Roche places the European female higher on the scale than the Aboriginal, and thus creates a separate space and voice for Emilie in her work. Emilie’s image of the Aboriginal is not that of a purely bad Indian image but rather of a savage, or primitive, Indian image. The way in which Emilie describes the dirtiness and primitive aspects of the domestic sphere represents an image that escapes the categories of good Indian, bad Indian and noble savage.

Emilie continues with this savage Indian image when she describes the beginning of her labour:

Es war sonst meine Gewohnheit, bey Schmerzen ruhig und stille, mit zugeschloßnen Augen auf Linderung zu warten, dießmal war ich auch stille, aber ich deckte meine Augen nicht: immer waren meine Blicke mit Aufmerksamkeit und bittend, auf die Mienen und Züge der zwey Sqaws gerichtet.127

126 Krimmer 35.
127 Erscheinungen II 145.
It seems that she does not trust the women and along with her previous comments about believing the evidence of her eyes and not hearsay or the paintings of Aboriginals in a European context, Emile again reinforces a negative, but not necessarily bad Indian image. Like her husband, Emilie finally calls the women “meine Indianerinnen,” reasserting European power over the Other, but she calls bearing a child “die wahre einzige Gleichheit” that binds all of womankind. The raising and feeding of the child, however, is different, and she is upset when the Aboriginal women try to feed her son food she does not recognize “indem ich befürchtete, es möchte meinem europäischen Kinde schaden.” At this juncture she needs to again assert the difference between her child and the others. She views the food or medicine to be given to her son as non-European and possibly poisonous for her child.

Emilie suffers from the need to be continually occupied that Nesquehiounah listed as one of the reasons why he desired to be among the Aboriginals rather than the Americans. Like her husband, she thinks of what could have been in France if the Revolution had not taken place. As she finds herself more isolated during the day, she continues thinking about the Aboriginals and their emphasis on the physical and not the intellectual:

Oft war ich ganz allein, an die Hütte gewöhnt, dachte ich an Philadelphiens und Europens Gebäude, mußte mir sagen: wie unendlich ist der Abstand zwischen einfachem Bedürfniß der begränzten Gefühle des physischen Lebens, und der mit dem Anbau unseres Verstandes sich vermehrenden Begierden, welche bey uns den Wechsel des neuen, und die Menge in allen Dingen zur Nothwendigkeit machten. Diese Hütte faßt alles, was eine Familie der Oneidas zu ihrem Glücke wünscht. Die Begriffe ihres Verstandes von

128*Erscheinungen* II 147. Kriegleder maintains that this reflects Emilie’s belief that the Oneida are unenlightened. Kriegleder, “The American Indian in German Novels Up to the 1850s” 489.
129*Erscheinungen* II 146.
130*Erscheinungen* II 147.
einem obersten Wesen und von andern Geschöpfen um sie her, sind eben so einfach und beschränkt wie ihre Wohnung, ihre Geschäfte, Essen und Kleidung; dennoch ist die Seele dieser Menschen, wie ihr Körper mit allen Fähigkeiten begabt, die wir übrigen stolzen, glücklichen Europäer an uns kennen. Aber mußte ich nicht zugleich denken, daß auch in unserm Europa die Seele einen gleichen Schritt mit dem Körper hält, wie man es in abgelegenen Wohnungen, bey Armen, die wenig Umgang haben, und bey den meisten Landleuten findet, welche man nur für Besorgung der Bedürfnisse des Leibes beschäftigt sieht, indem ihre Seele eben so wenig und so einfache Begierden nach Kenntniß zeigt, als man bey Millionen Menschen einfache Gefühle und Wünsche für körperliches Wohl und äußerliche Umstände antrifft. Wir Europäer kennen mehr Vergnügen und mehr Weh der Einbildungskraft als die Indier; diese wünschen nur heftig, was zu unmittelbarem Genusse führt; Stärke, Geschicklichkeit bey der Jagd und Fischerei, Tapferkeit im Kriege, Genuß der Rache und des Ueberwindens; weil es mehr Kraft beweist. Emilie glaubt auch, daß der Haß, und alle in der einfachen Natur liegenden Leidenschaften, bey den ungebildeten Völkern um so heftiger sind, weil sie, wie ein in unbewohnter Gegend aus einer reichen Quelle fließender Bach, auf keiner Seite in Ableitungen getheilt, und also der Hauptstrom nie geschwächt ward; daher ihre Freuden, Trauer und Haß unbändig, tobend und schreyend sind. Ich war dankbar und gerecht gegen die Natur, daß sie mir in einem der wichtigsten Auftritte meines Lebens unter ihren eigentlichen Kindern Hülfe gab [...].”

In this paragraph, Emilie writes of the Naturmensch, one that is part of a culture of action and physical movement, not one that is educated and reflective like European culture. As she speaks of the Oneida wigwam that she occupies, she reflects on the lack of travel or experience among the Oneida and that this presumably makes them happy with what they have - or as Emilie sees it with the lack of what they have. Their lack of experience and understanding leads them to be considered simple people, like the poor or farmers and other uneducated people in Europe. She does not imply, however, that there is a racial hierarchy between the European and the Aboriginal; it is rather the effects of civilization that creates apparent differences in the appreciation of certain aspects of society. The Aboriginal is not considered part of a lower racial category, but rather less worldly, less

131*Erscheinungen* II 149-152.
experienced, closer to Nature and is thus viewed as more simplistic, or in a less developed state. This is reflected in their love of the physical: Emilie sees the Aboriginals as dangerous because she does not feel that she can anticipate their actions.

Because of her experience and her reflections, Emilie finds that she is thankful for the way she was raised, her education and her religious beliefs. She does not wish to see life as simplistically as the Aboriginal women, who are again called “meine Indianerinnen.” She sees her experience here as one that will lead to her happiness:

Meine verfeinerten Sinnen, meine gebildeten und geweckten Fähigkeiten, machten mich selbst hier, mitten in dem größten Mangel, glücklich. Meine Indianerinen entbehren vieles, ohne Kummer, weil sie wenig kennen, ich entbehre, mit dem süßen Gefühle, einer ausübenden Tugend, geduldiger Unterwerfung in dem göttlichen Willen, und schaffe mir auch Hilfe durch meinen angebauten Verstand. Ich wünschte mir nicht die Zufriedenheit meiner Indier, freute mich für sie, daß sie es sind, weil ich nichts für sie thun kann, aber ich hoffe doch, daß der allmähliche Umlauf der Kenntnisse und Wissenschaften, auch für sie ein edleres Glück hervorbringen wird; aber wie lange mag es noch dauern, bis diese Völkerschaften einmal ihre Kinder die ganze Würde der Menschheit lehren, und ihnen sagen werden: was für große und glückliche Vorzüge hat der Mensch durch die Gestalt und Fähigkeiten seines Körpers! Wie viel mehr aber durch seine Vernunft, vor allen andern Wesen.

She wishes that her women could experience what she has through her religion and education, although she knows that this is not possible because they are too simple and satisfied with what little they know. In this light, Kriegleder maintains that “[d]ie indianische Gesellschaft ist also keine Basis für die künftig zu errichtende - bürgerliche – Agrargesellschaft.” She hopes that the Aboriginal youth will one day be educated in what are European ideals and values so that they can enjoy not just the physical pleasures

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132 Erscheinungen II 153-154.
133 Kriegleder, Vorwärts 113.
of life but the intellectual, which are much more rewarding and which she believes have allowed her “… selbst in der Natur glücklich (zu bleiben).”\textsuperscript{134} She continues in this paragraph to liken the physical realm to that of animalistic instinct not intellectual thought. As she continues, Emilie seems to trace the development of humankind over the generations from what she sees before her, to what the Europeans have become.\textsuperscript{135} She brings to a close her account by contemplating:

\begin{quote}
Ach, wie lange mag es noch dauren, bis alle Gegenden der Erde zu dem seligen Genuß dieser Kenntnisse und dieser Betrachtungen gelangt seyn werden? Wie lange, bis einst ihre Nachkommen die Encylopädie kennen und lieben werden, wie ich und Wattines sie lieben und kennen, durch vermehrte Wissenschaft glücklich, durch erhöhte Gefühle der Tugend gestärkt und getröstet werden?\textsuperscript{136}
\end{quote}

Emilie is an advocate for colonialism. She believes it is only through European education that the Aboriginals can become satisfied and truly happy. She is satisfied to take from the village and the people what she needs and she is grateful for their help in birthing her child, something the encyclopaedias could not help her with, but she is not willing to admit that there could be some good aspects to the Oneida village and lifestyle. Emilie does not think of the Aboriginals as “the dying man,” she does, however, see them as less developed as the European. Krimmer writes that one of the traits that Emilie finds most reprehensible, not withstanding the dirtiness and discomfort of the wigwams is the inability of the Oneida to recognize European superiority.\textsuperscript{137} It is with this final critique of Emilie’s that it is possible to assert that she also sees the Aboriginals outside of the three categories. They have not yet been educated, but possess the capacity to be taught, and their love of the physical can also be won over by the intellectual. It is the emphasis on the

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{134} Langner 281.  \\
\textsuperscript{135} Erscheinungen II 154-158.  \\
\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Erscheinungen} II 157-158.  \\
\textsuperscript{137} Krimmer 36.
\end{flushright}
savage or primitive of the Aboriginal characters that is best represented in Emilie’s viewpoint. It is at this juncture that the narration shifts back to the narrator and to an interesting question regarding the development of Aboriginal society.

Carl asks: “Wann wird die Zeit kommen, daß unsere guten Indier Kenntnisse haben werden wie wir.” Carl, who had already pondered the question goes to his books and pulls out a sheet of paper on which he has his calculations:

Als Cäsar nach Britannien kam, lebten die meisten Einwohner, wie jetzt die Nordamerikaner, in Gebirgen und Wäldern, wußten nichts vom Ackerbaue, mahlten sich den Körper wie Nesquehiounah, als er wieder Mohawk wurde, und deckten sich mit Thierhäuten. Von dort an, bis zu der Zeit, wo England einen Bacon und Newton sah, verflossen 900 Jahre, also müssen die Oneidas, wenn sie nicht von den Europäern ausgerottet werden, noch 937 Jahre warten, bis ein Gelehrter von diesem hohen Verdienste unter ihnen erscheint. So wie die Griechen 514 Jahre bestanden, ehe ein Socrates, und die Römer 642 zählten, ehe Cicero kam, unser aber, sagte er zu mir, von Cäsar an 1700 Jahre durch alle Stufen der Kenntnisse gehen mußte, bis ein Büffon entstehen konnte. For Carl, the comparable timeline began with Julius Caesar entering Britain. This reflects Carl’s opinion that the British culture was the farthest point away from the influence of Roman culture and thus the least civilized. As a result, Britain had to wait the longest for its scientific heroes and best represents an equivalent to the cultural timeline that would reflect the pinnacle of the Oneida’s intellectual development. It is interesting to note that also under this context, the Roman and Greek cultures have peaked and declined and now Britain has become the dominant culture of Europe, especially, in the context of this story, after the decline of France through the French

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138 My emphasis.
139 Erscheinungen II 158.
140 Erscheinungen II 159-160.
141 Barner briefly addresses this section, but uses it to emphasize La Roche’s “Vaterlandsbegriff.” Barner 35.
Revolution and its destruction of the nobility. He does, however, name the scientist Buffon- who is French.

Emilie, to a certain extent, softens her opinion of the Oneida in that she admits that the French Revolution did start in Paris among educated individuals and that the Oneida, because of their entire life revolving around their village, would simply laugh at the French and their revolution. She would, however, rather die than lose her knowledge.

She makes it clear how difficult it was for her among the Oneida:

Unsere Blumen, unsere so schön und ordentlich angebauten Felder, die Aussichten auf den See, unser Loghouse, die Schlafstelle, die Fenster darin, die Abtheilung, mein Herd und weniges Kochgeschirr, mein schottisches Brod, meine Hühner und Eier, meine kleine Kochkunst, wurden viel für mich, im Vergleiche des armeligen Zustandes und der Unreinlichkeit eines Wigwhams und seiner Bewohner. Denken Sie selbst, was unsere Büchersammlung gegen die Unwissenheit der Indier für mich werden mußte. Ich vergoß Freudentrönen, als ich sie wiedersah, wie ich Freudentrönen vergießen würde, wenn ich liebe Verwandte und Freunde an meine Brust drücken könnte. Ich wußte, daß der Zustand dieser Völker einst der von unseren Voreltern war, als auch diese in Wäldern wohnten, und wie Wattines berechnete, so viele Jahrhunderte nöthig hatten, um alle Fähigkeiten ihres Geistes und alle Eigenschaften ihrer Nebengeschöpfe kennen zu lernen, wie sie jetzo dem so glücklichen Europäer bekannt sind.\[142]\n
Emilie missed the structure and order of her European lifestyle while among the Oneida. She also missed the encyclopaedias, as they were for her, a sign of knowledge and thus power. She sees the Unwissenheit of the Oneida as understandable because they are comparable to an earlier European civilization and they have yet to discover and understand the joy of knowledge, which she as a European already knows. Mechthilde Vahsen points out that La Roche “entwickelt […] ein stufenweises Kultur- und Menschheitsmodell. Die von ihr präferierte Stufe skizziert sie beispielhaft am

\[142\] *Erscheinungen* II 165-166.
Emilie is portrayed as a privileged aristocratic woman who is capable of enjoying the luxury of education and high European culture. Because of their lack of cultural refinement and education, the Oneida and other settlers do not share this ability to appreciate these luxuries.

The reader returns to the narrator and he writes of what the group has established must be the “unhappiness” of the Oneida:

Nach einigen Tagen, als wir ganz ruhig unsere Bemerkungen über die Indier uns mittheilten, fanden wir, daß sich der Vorzug unserer Sitten und unserer Denkart täglich erhöhte, und die Gleichgültigkeit der Indier gegen alles, was sie aus ihrem gewöhnnten Gange führen könnte, dünkte uns wahres Unglück zu seyn [...] denn die Gleichgültigkeit der Indier machte uns viel Leiden, da sie nichts von den nahen Wohnungen der Europäer wußten [...].

The perceived indifference of the Oneida bothers the European settlers. The settlers see this as an unwillingness to learn about the Europeans, but perhaps also as an unwillingness to be taught at all and to learn about God and Christianity. For Emilie, it is the spiritual lack of development on the part of the Oneida that has led to them being considered inferior. This paragraph shows the settlers’ desire to colonize the Oneida, as they believe it would make the lives of the Oneida more complete. Kriegleder sums up the actions of the Des Wattines: “Und so nehmen den die Europäer die Herausforderung an und halten die Fahnen der Zivilisation hoch. [...] [D]en sichtbaren Ausdruck dieses Vorzugs aber stellen die mitgebrachten Bücher dar.”

La Roche also uses the image of the indifferent Oneida to warn against idleness in

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144 *Erscheinungen* II 169-170.
145 Kriegleder, *Vorwärts* 114.
European culture. The Des Wattines are portrayed as a noble couple who through four years of isolation and hard work on their island received their penance from God. They have returned to civilization from their Edenic autocracy to become contributing and leading members of society. Their time spent among the Oneida is seen as a fable of sorts, a sojourn among the “savages” and they are thus in a sense interlopers between the Oneida and the European settlers. Whereas the Oneida are seen as simplistic, Naturmenschen, who occupy a primitive, savage space, the Des Wattines, in the context of this story, represent the ultimate paradigm of going Native: educated, Christian, having returned from an isolated “Edenic wilderness” to European civilization in the settlement.

Conclusion

At the end of volume two and throughout the whole of volume three, there is no more contact with the Oneida and they are only mentioned when either the settlers or the narrator want to juxtapose the natural and uneducated state of the Oneida with the superior educated European culture or as a comparison to the French Revolution and the uneducated masses in France. I agree with Langer’s opinion that: “Allgemein besteht die Tendenz des dritten Teils mehr in Exkursen und Phantasien als in der Forterzählung der Geschehnisse,” and this allows the characters to speculate on such things as the uneducated state of the Oneida.

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146 Erscheinungen II 207-208; III 106-107; 147 Erscheinungen III 76-77. 148 Langer 282. 149 See above n. 25.
The narrator thus frames the differing perspectives of the Des Wattines’ stay among the Oneida with two different ideas of Aboriginals. Before he discovered the story and heard the perspectives of the Des Wattines among the Aboriginals, he saw the Aboriginals as noble savages, similar to the paintings of Benjamin West. At the conclusion of the stories, the narrator’s opinion has shifted and he now sees the Aboriginal population, because of their lack of European education, as noble savages, inferior to the dominant European culture. The narrator, who was so keen to visit the Oneida at the outset of the book, never does visit the Oneida village—most likely to protect his image of the Aboriginal. The narrator represents the paradoxical nostalgia of the German reader. He is unwilling to visit the Oneida as the idea of his image of the Aboriginal is more important to him than reality.
Chapter Two: Charles Sealsfield, Manifest Destiny and Andrew Jackson

Charles Sealsfield, the nom de plume of Carl Postl, a priest who fled the Metternich regime for America, is one of the most underrated and puzzling authors of the 19th Century. Eduard Castle’s extensive biography tries without success to document all of his travels, but there are gaps of months and sometimes even years that still cannot be accounted for.\textsuperscript{150} Ernst Grabovszki’s newer biography of Sealsfield, aimed at the wider public, does try to address some of these gaps but not in an academic manner.\textsuperscript{151} Because of his unclear origins, Sealsfield is often included in studies of American Frontier literature from an American perspective but at other times he is studied as a German\textsuperscript{152} living and writing about the American experience.\textsuperscript{153} Albert Faust has called him “der Dichter aus beiden Hemisphären,”\textsuperscript{154} and as Jerry Schuchalter maintains, he was somehow not a part of either culture.\textsuperscript{155} Alexander Ritter writes: “Mit seiner Person und seinem Werk gehört Charles Sealsfield den zwei Literatur- und Kulturbereichen Mitteleuropa und Nord-Amerika an.”\textsuperscript{156} The only consensus that scholars seem to agree on is that there is no

\textsuperscript{150} The name of Castle’s biography of Sealsfield Der grosse Unbekannte, is clearly a play on Sir Walter Scott being known as the “Great Unknown” of English literature.
\textsuperscript{151} Ernst Grabovszki, Zwischen Kutte und Maske. Das geheimnisvolle Leben des Charles Sealsfield (Vienna: Styria, 2005).
\textsuperscript{152} German in this context refers to German speaking (i.e. Austrian, Swiss, German, European).
\textsuperscript{153} In Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy Sammons writes of the “Sealsfield Riddle” (3-22) that Sealsfield could be found as easily in the Oxford Companion to American Literature or in the Oxford Companion to German Literature (14), and that Sealsfield’s placement in literary history is more “a matter of perspective”(14) in that “German and Austrian Germanists tend to locate him as a Central European writer, while American Germanists along with German and Austrian Americanists regard him as an American writer”(14). This paradox makes Sealsfield an interesting case study as it is possible to read his works from both a North American and German perspective.
\textsuperscript{155} Jerry Schuchalter Frontier and Utopia in the Fiction of Charles Sealsfield (Frankfurt am Main: P.Lang Verlag, 1986) 5.
consensus on which perspective(s) Sealsfield’s oeuvre can best be represented and evaluated.

He was deemed an influential American writer, superior to Cooper, albeit by a German. Sealsfield remains unique, as he wrote in both German and English, and his views, for a German speaking European, were uncommonly pro-American. Walter Grünzweig writes: “Dass Sealsfields Indianerdarstellung von literarischen und ideologischen Konventionen amerikanischer Herkunft bestimmt ist.” Kriegleder reinforces this point but adds that Sealsfield was able to make the idea of the American republic more accessible to Europeans: “Denn Amerika ist eben nicht fremd, es ist die Verwirklichung der europäischen Aufklärung.” For Sealsfield, America was the natural political progression of Europe.

His first novel, written in English, The Indian Chief or, Tokeah and the White Rose (1829), is typical of Frontier literature written in the early nineteenth century. Of all of Sealsfield’s works pertaining to America, Sammons maintains that “… Indians rarely

157 Mundt 425-426.
158 Karl J.R. Arndt’s article “Sealsfield’s command of the English Language” deals with the question of Sealsfield’s English. As Arndt points out that when the Austrian police were looking for him, they did not mention that he could speak English rather “that he speaks and writes German, Latin, a little Bohemian, and French ‘more fluently than correctly’”(310) and that although his English works contain a lot of Germanisms “these were not considered a sufficiently serious impediment to cause the publishers to reject them”. (310). Modern Language Notes 67.5 1952: 310-313.
160 Kriegleder, Vorwärts 67.
161 From this point on Sealsfields The Indian Chief, or, Tokeah and the White Rose, will be referred to as Tokeah.
appear in the rest of Sealsfield’s novels.”¹⁶² Most scholarly research focuses on his 1833 German novel, *Der Legitime und der Republikaner*,¹⁶³ which was based on *Tokeah*, over his earlier English work, and it is clear that “Sealsfields Karriere als deutschsprachiger Romancier began 1833 mit der Umarbeitung seines bereits 1829 in Philadelphia in englischer Sprache erschienenen *Tokeah, and The White Rose*.¹⁶⁴ Sealsfield is often compared to James Fenimore Cooper and Castle writes of the quality of *Tokeah*: “Wenn vom einem Wettbewerb Sealsfield mit Cooper überhaupt die Rede sein soll, trifft er viel eher für das spätere Werk zu als für ‘Tokeah.’”¹⁶⁵ This judgement is too harsh. Writing his first novel not in German, his first language, Sealsfield managed to create a narrative that rivalled that of an established author and is much more complex than it at first may seem. Wulf Koepke writes of Sealsfield’s works in general: “They advocate democratic structures, both in form and content, even as they deal with exotic scenery and extremes of character and situation, yet they question the liberal value system, […]. It was through this medium that Sealsfield’s first readers received his democratic message of freedom, equality, and self-help.”¹⁶⁶ These elements of Sealsfield’s writing can also be seen in *Tokeah*. Although one of the first frontier romances, *Tokeah*, lacks much of the staying power of Cooper’s works, including *The Last of the Mohicans*, but its importance in American literature cannot be overlooked. John T. Krumpelmann maintains that *Tokeah*

¹⁶² Jeffrey Sammons “Nineteenth Century German Representations of Indians from Experience” *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*. Colin G. Calloway et al (ed.) (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002) 187. This is, of course, does not include the German edition of *Tokeah, Der Legitime und der Republikaner*.
¹⁶⁴ Kriegleder, Vorwärts 311.
¹⁶⁵ Castle 248-249.
¹⁶⁶ Wulf Koepke “Charles Sealsfield’s Place in Literary History” *South Central Review* 1. 1/2 1984: 63.
is the first book written about the Southwest United States and therefore does occupy an important place in the development of American literature, especially literature pertaining to the American Southwest. In concentrating on the earlier English version, *Tokeah*, instead of the later German version *Der Legitime und die Republikaner*, I have made the conscious choice of choosing the work that is best representative of a German-American author and not a “Austrian-Jacksonian.” This illuminates the transition between the two novels: from a European writing about America and an Americanized author of the New World. Sammons convincingly shows how inaccessible the latter novel would have been for a European audience and thus the choice to concentrate on the former novel.

Although popular at the time, Sealsfield’s works, after his death, almost fell into obscurity. Be it because of the popularity of other authors, such as Cooper and later Karl May, or even because of some unlucky publishing deals, which resulted in Sealsfield not being able to expand his readership, Sealsfield remains not only one of the most

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fascinating German authors of this time from a biographical perspective, but a sort of revolutionary as well. Kriegleder calls Sealsfield the first German to bring American democracy closer to the German reader, and Castle believes that “…Postl [ist] ganz aktuell und in seiner Auffassung der Menschen und Begebenheiten weitgehend realistisch.”

His first novel, *The Indian Chief or, Tokeah and the White Rose*, was published in 1829, three years after James Fenimore Cooper’s *Last of the Mohicans* reached the public. It was seen as another frontier romance, in a burgeoning tradition of the genre engaging with, at least on the periphery, the “Indian question.” Franz Schüppen maintains that Sealsfield’s *Tokeah* is more historically exact than Cooper’s work. While there are similarities between the two novels, in a carefully constructed narrative, Sealsfield addresses a broad range of themes that together makes this work more just a simple frontier romance. Sealsfield’s *Tokeah* goes deeply into the American psyche touching upon contentious political issues of the time, as debates raged about Manifest Destiny, the “Indian problem,” and American Democracy. Castles writes:


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171 Kriegleder, *Vorwärts* 57.
172 Castle 249.
174 Castle 249.
Sealsfield advocates from such an overtly American standpoint—very different from German authors of the time— that it is no wonder that he was once championed as “The Greatest American Author.”

In *Tokeah*, Sealsfield frequently interrupts the flow of his narrative to interject either factual information or philosophical reflection on the Aboriginal characters in the story. When explaining the difficulties experienced by the Creeks, Tokeah’s tribe, Sealsfield devotes pages to describing the recent history of the tribe, to the extent that the reader is strongly encouraged to feel sympathy for their situation. He also gives very detailed descriptions of such things as an “Indian frolic,” performed by the women of the tribe when they are building a canoe. Often compared to Sir Walter Scott, Sealsfield describes the geography surrounding the newest Creek settlement with such intense detail, that the reader feels almost transported to the spot. But because he was such an avid supporter of Andrew Jackson and Manifest Destiny, Sealsfield, in comparison to many of his other German counterparts, had little sympathy for the dilemma of the Aboriginal. In this context, however, his views on the “Indian Problem” are softer than that of many of his American contemporaries. It is instances such as these that help to confound scholars when researching “The Sealsfield Riddle.”

This chapter includes a summary of Tokeah, a description of both Tokeah, chief of the Oconee, and El Sol, chief of the Comanche. An analysis of four scenes then follows.

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175 Boston Daily Advisor March 29, no. 77 p2 col. 1, 1844, editorial.
176 Schüppen shows how Sealsfield used, among others, Scott’s description of landscapes to inform his own work. Schüppen 31.
177 See n. 146.
The analysis will look at the description and actions of the Creeks and Comanche, but focus specifically on the actions of Tokeah and El Sol. The first appearance of Tokeah; the description of the Creek village; Tokeah and El Sol’s discussion with General Jackson and finally Tokeah’s death are the spaces which will be used to examine the Aboriginal and their interactions with the white characters in Sealsfield’s *Tokeah*.

**Summary: The Indian Chief, or Tokeah and the White Rose**

Sealsfield, building on the success of James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Last of the Mohicans*, published a suspenseful novel complete with complex plot twists that results in a happy ending for the white characters, while it also portrays the beauty of life on the American Frontier. Tokeah, the chief of the Oconee, and his tribe are displaced because of this white expansion West. He dedicates himself to the protection of his people from the impending white expansion. Unfortunately at the end of the novel, he has to take the surviving members of his tribe and further backtrack into the wilderness, away from the settlers. During the attempt to reclaim the bones of his father from its grave on what is now white man’s land Tokeah is killed. It is at this point that Tokeah is finally characterized as a noble savage. It is only through his death that it is possible for him to be portrayed as such. His death is also used to show the Aboriginals, who want to stay on their land, that either they have to come to an arrangement with the American government to leave the land, in the form of moving to a reservation, a prearranged area that is most likely not their traditional territory, or like Tokeah, will die and become the noble savages of a past age and civilization.
As in the case of Karl May’s Winnetou, Tokeah gives his name to the novel but the plot has little to do with him. *Tokeah* is one of the best-known examples of a frontier romance novel. The mighty chief Tokeah and his tribe contribute to the story through a captivity narrative in that the White Rose was raised by the tribe and specifically Tokeah’s family. Tokeah is thus more of a minor character in the story and it is Arthur Graham, a shipwrecked English aristocrat, whose adventure the reader actually follows. This is similar to the Winnetou situation, as the adventures of Winnetou and Old Shatterhand are more centrally focused on Old Shatterhand than on Winnetou.

The first chapter starts with a geographic account of the cabin belonging to John Copeland, bordering on Indian territory. “[O]n a stormy December night”178 Tokeah returning from the war path knocks on the cabin door. As he and his twenty warriors enter the cabin, it becomes clear that with him is a baby girl who he found after her mother had been killed and at this point it is unclear if it was the warriors that killed her mother or if it was the result of a different attack. Tokeah demands that the family take the child for seven years, and he compensates the family with animal skins. The child is then taken to live with the Oconee, where she spends another seven years of her life. It is evident that this exceptionally beautiful girl, named the White Rose, is something special and she lives a life of privilege among the Oconee, protected by not only Tokeah, but his daughter Canondah.

178 *Tokeah* 412.
Her white, male counterpart Arthur Graham is a young English aristocrat who, along with his family is kidnapped by the pirate Jean Lafitte. Arthur has succeeded, however, to evade his captor and escape into the swamp. He is bitten by an alligator and is eventually discovered by the White Rose and Canondah. They not only hide him, but nurse him back to health and it is at this point that Arthur and the White Rose fall in love. Tokeah, Canondah’s father, discovers the girls’ secret and is enraged. He believes that Arthur, who was forced to flee into the swamp, will reveal the location of the tribe and thus compromise the safety of the Oconee who were forced to leave their land and flee into the wilderness to escape the American expansion West.

Arthur convinces Tokeah that this is not the case, he only wants to return to “civilization” to save his family, and is eventually allowed to leave the Oconee village. Tokeah gives him a guide to show him the way to New Orleans where the British and Americans are fighting for control of the city. Arthur turns out to be a particularly poor navigator and is soon lost. Dressed in Indigenous clothing he is captured by the Americans who believe he is a British spy. But because he has given Tokeah his word not to reveal the location of the village, Arthur will not say why he is dressed like an Aboriginal. While waiting for his trial, there are many discussions with the judge about the quality of the American way of life in comparison to the British political and social systems. It is this judge and his wife, whose hands Tokeah had left the White Rose in 14 years earlier. They still have two objects that White Rose had with her as Tokeah left her with them when she was a baby. A charm or amulet that contains the picture of an aristocrat convinces Arthur that she is of noble, white, lineage.
As he is brought over to the house of the Senator, a Southern plantation owner, Arthur is again inundated with the superiority of the American democratic government over the British monarchy and also of the advantages of the American racial melting pot. Arthur, who did not make it to New Orleans before being caught, is now brought to New Orleans by the Senator to see the General, who is planning the American defence of the city during the War of 1812. It is with General Jackson’s victory over the stronger British army that he solidifies his reputation and eventually becomes President of the United States. General Jackson does not believe Arthur’s story and orders him to be executed.

Coincidentally, at this same time Tokeah reaches New Orleans with the pirate Jean Lafitte as his prisoner. Lafitte had tried to convince Tokeah that they should combine resources and become business partners and this pact should be finalized with Tokeah giving him the White Rose. Tokeah rejects the offer and this provokes Lafitte’s anger, which culminates with a midnight attack on the Oconee village. Canondah, Tokeah’s daughter who had just been betrothed to El Sol, the chief of the Comanche, is killed in the attack.

Lafitte is captured and Tokeah spends days crossing the Mississippi in his canoe with Lafitte in tow to personally deliver him to General Jackson in a misguided effort to win his benevolence and goodwill. The White Rose accompanies him on the journey to New Orleans. Tokeah and Arthur meet in the city and as soon as Tokeah releases Arthur
from his word and speaks to his behaviour and character as a man, Arthur is released, the execution orders are rescinded, and he is escorted over the river to the British.

After an intense discussion with General Jackson, in which Jackson supports and even praises El Sol’s decision to leave the United States territories and simultaneously and constantly disrespects Tokeah, Tokeah returns to his tribe in order to lead them to a new area away from the white expansion West. He is, however, shot and killed by an enemy tribe while he is attempting to excavate the grave of his father so he can rebury the bones on Indian land. El Sol takes his tribe to Texas, which is at this time part of Mexico, where they can peacefully pursue their way of life without interfering with the American expansion West.

Lafitte kills his prison guards and flees never to be seen or heard from again, and the White Rose and Arthur marry and travel to England. The story ends as the newlyweds are visiting Arthur’s aunt on Jamaica and a Spanish aristocrat, Don Juan, Chevalier D’Aranza, Count de Montgomez appears who has lost his way and came to the house asking for directions. He is invited to stay the night and it is discovered that he is the White Rose’s father. The story has a happy ending for everyone except the Aboriginal characters.

In the summary it becomes clear that this story is centred on the romance between Arthur and the White Rose. There is hardly a better example of a frontier romance available. The lovers fight through distance, violence and aristocratic conventions to
realize their love. There is also a captivity narrative built into the plot. The Aboriginal lovers, El Sol and Canondah, however, are never able to realize their happiness. In this particular story, none of the Aboriginal characters survive, with the exception of El Sol. It comes across as if these characters are from an endangered, threatened civilization: a past age.

**Description of Tokeah and the Creek Nation**

When the reader first meets Tokeah by name,\(^{179}\) he is described by the narrator as a bad Indian. The white men in the novel claim that Tokeah is known to be of “haughty, stern and treacherous character”\(^{180}\) and “his influence with his tribe to be unlimited, and even great with the rest of the Creeks.”\(^{181}\) The description of Tokeah’s reputation actually frames a passage earlier in the novel that describes his gruesome departure from the settler John Copeland’s cabin, who lives on the outskirts of a village. Sealsfield maintains this bad Indian image to portray Tokeah as an antagonist of the American expansion West. He also claims that the Aboriginals are aware of their situation as the powerless race. He calls them “[P]roud, fierce, and jealous of their rights”\(^{182}\) but aware that they were essentially unable to do anything about it. Copeland decides to visit McLellan, the deputy-agent in the Upper Creeks’ territory, to speak of his concern about the Oconee, but on his journey he comes upon a clearing covered with wigwams and patches of vegetation: an Aboriginal village. It turns out to be a reservation and Copeland remarks: “They have their snug

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\(^{179}\) In the first encounter that opens the narrative, Tokeah remains unnamed, reinforcing the bad Indian stereotype.  
\(^{180}\) *Tokeah* 4 I 17.  
\(^{181}\) *Tokeah* 4 I 18.  
\(^{182}\) *Tokeah* 4 I 18.
cabins, and corn and tobacco fields, more like freemen than devilish red skins." He continues by comparing the Aboriginals to the African Americans “…red skins is red skins; and I might as well whitewash my negur, as make them treacherous devils, orderly people.” He believes both the Aboriginals and the African Americans of being incapable of becoming “civilized” people. This again places the Aboriginal in the context of a people from a past age. Pearce writes of the dynamic between an author and the “dying man”:

Certainly, as doomed noble savage the Indian could be pitied; and American literary men, sensitive to the feeling of their readers, cultivated such pity. But he also had to be properly censured, and his nobility to be denied or so qualified as to be shown not really to be nobility; and American literary men, insofar as they were to be American, could not avoid such censure, denial, and qualification. The specifically literary idea of the pitifully noble savage had to be accommodated to that larger idea of savagism which made possible not only pity but censure.

For an author, the need to position the Aboriginal character as pitiful is necessary to create tension within the plot. The reader feels sympathy for the Aboriginal (noble savage) when in an “Edenic wilderness”, but that sympathy turns to incomprehension when the reader is confronted with the ignoble savage or red devil character (bad Indian), which is consistent with using the Aboriginal as a plot device. The narrator makes sure to mention that this opinion of Aboriginals is common among the western settlers and traders, who live and work in these volatile areas. Writing from the white perspective

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183 Tokeah 4 I 22.
184 Tokeah 4 I 22.
185 There has been much scholarship on Sealsfield’s writings on slavery. See, for example Sammons, Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy, in particular chapters 3 and 4 37-78. Cf. n. 161, as much scholarship combines his Jacksonian politics with his view on slavery.
about the Aboriginals who have made the transition to reservations he notes:

Already in those early times, they began to look with an unfriendly eye upon the lawful possessors of these lands, whom they considered as a sort of nuisance, that could not be too soon removed; and as their improvements seemed to imply their firm determination to keep their land, and to make themselves independent.\textsuperscript{187}

Through Copeland, the narrator shows how the whites have become more negative in their opinions of the Indigenous population.\textsuperscript{188} Copeland was one of these men who had “…an innate aversion to the red race, which he hated, to use his own expression, ‘more than polecats.’”\textsuperscript{189} Copeland saw the creation of reservations to be a waste of land, and thought that the extinction of the “dying man” was the best possible solution to the problem surrounding the “Indian question.”

Seemingly perfectly timed and almost as if he was being punished for thinking such thoughts, Copeland encounters Tokeah. Described in ominous terms, a tall and gaunt form “reared itself up before him, completely shrouded in its blanket.”\textsuperscript{190} Tokeah’s head is still covered with cotton from the attack the day before and he only speaks after an extended pause, letting the tension build:

“A mighty warrior,” said he at last, with a voice in which rage and deadly hatred were fearfully mingled, “has thrown this talk before a dog, who will sow weeds on the path which lies between the red and the white men. Has he counted the heads of those he left in his wigwam? When he returns from the white trader, he will find it empty, and the scalps of his women and children drying in the smoke of the red men.”\textsuperscript{191}

\textsuperscript{187} Tokeah 4 I 23.
\textsuperscript{188} See n. 48.
\textsuperscript{189} Tokeah 4 I 23.
\textsuperscript{190} Tokeah 4 I 24.
\textsuperscript{191} Tokeah 4 I 24.
Tokeah’s words and the “low taunting laugh…from both sides of the thicket”\(^{192}\) make clear the bad Indian image of the Creek nation. Copeland tries to conceal his intended reason for trying to see McLellan by claiming he is going for clothes for the child. Tokeah responds by delivering furs to the Copeland household. He still suspects Copeland of being dishonest and warns him: “The paths are many, that lead from the wigwam of the white man to his brethren, and his tongue is very crooked; but the eyes and ears of the chief are wide open. Let not him nor his people be found by the red men, or they will take his scalp.”\(^{193}\) He then tells Copeland to wait until the moon has changed three times to resume his trading but warns him “…but then let him beware his tongue.”\(^{194}\) This threat resonates with Copeland as he realizes that he will not be able to predict where and when an attack would take place on his family. As he contemplates this, he realizes that if Tokeah had wanted to kill the child, he would already have done so.

Throughout this prolonged first scene, Tokeah is cast in the role of the bad Indian. There are brief interludes, such as at the end of the last paragraph, where Tokeah is perhaps seen in a more positive light, but the image always returns to that of a bad Indian. If Copeland had not waited the three moons before he resumed his work, he would have been killed quickly, in a manner similar to “the twelve tribes of the Creeks [that] had united and crushed the unfortunate Choctaws, before their white friends and

\(^{192}\) Tokeah 4124.  
\(^{193}\) Tokeah 4126.  
\(^{194}\) Tokeah 4126.
allies were in the least aware of it.” Tokeah proves that he leads a strong resistance against his enemies.

The detailed description of Tokeah that appears later in the book and seven years later while Tokeah is in the white settlement to reclaim the White Rose. This description does share some similarities with the previously discussed portrayal. This image is reminiscent of the common Indian characteristics that Barnett identifies. Sealsfield uses these common characteristics in his imposing physical description of Tokeah, and he also mentions stoicism, again associated with all Aboriginal characters:

[A] tall, gaunt, colossal Indian stepped into the room, dressed in the attire of an Indian chief of the first rank. His frame was powerful; on his naked arms and uncovered temples arose scars almost finger thick; his whole attitude was imposing in a high degree and resembled more of a bronze statue than a living creature. The most striking part, however, of the Indian, was his countenance; his forehead, crowned with a diadem of plumes in the ancient manner of the chiefs of the Creeks, was extremely narrow, his front small, but it ran out into two immense cheekbones, leaving between these and the narrow chin and the thin lips a cavity, which gave to the dry copper countenance, an inexpressible air of intelligence and haughty stoicism…

Aside from the typical Indian characteristics, Tokeah’s clothing can be seen as representing a “past age,” being worn, “in the ancient manners of the chief of the Creeks,” that lets the reader admire the noble savage but also places him firmly within the context of a past civilization. Tokeah’s entire appearance is daunting, leading him to be both feared and held in great esteem. The colour of his skin is described as copper, not red also categorizes him as more of a noble savage than a

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196 Tokeah 4 I 34-35.
197 Tokeah 4 I 35.
red devil. The copper skin indicates on the racial scale a countenance closer to white and therefore more civilized than a character with red skin. This description of Tokeah situates him firmly in the noble savage context as the “uneasy co-existence” with the bad Indian image is prevalent.

There is a further description of Tokeah approximately seven years after the time he arrived to take back the White Rose from the settlement, around fourteen years after the discovery of the White Rose. Although he still commands respect, it is obvious that he has become old, and is not the man he was even seven years earlier. Sealsfield, here connects the demise of Tokeah’s race and his physical state:

In the midst of this group, sat an old man, whose superior rank was evident, from his commanding attitude, and the extreme deference with which he was regarded. His frame consisted almost wholly of skin and bones, and the softer parts of his body apparently were dried up, leaving nothing but veins and sinews. His open hunting shirt presented a chest and shoulders comparatively much broader than those of the rest, and spread over with a terrible embossment of scars and wounds. There was an air of proud, stoic, mental suffering, in the miko of the Oconees, on whom seven years of expatriation, and the fall of his unfortunate race, had worked such a change.198

This transition from a strong warrior to almost a shell of the person he once was, can be seen as his transition into the “dying man.” A once proud and noble chief, Tokeah is still proud and stoic, but reflected in his physical demise, is the demise of his race.

As a result, the character of Tokeah can be seen more as a noble savage than a bad Indian. This shift contributes to the unstable image of Tokeah throughout the

198Tokeah 4171.
novel. He has saved a white child and because he knows that Copeland has a wife, he brings the child to her. He supports the child with the delivery of furs and thus Sealsfield complicates the simplistic binary of good and bad Indian and creates a more complex character in his frontier romance. Sealsfield continues to complicate this binary opposition when he describes Tokeah seven years later, as a man fighting for his nation’s land, but physically only a shade of the man he once was.

Sealsfield further elaborates on a general and separate image of the noble savage in his work by creating a positive representation of the Creek nation. He is aware of the injustice that the Aboriginals have experienced at the hands of the white man, and he uses Tokeah’s tribe, the Creeks, as a concrete example to show that the Creeks understand the superiority of the white man, which is typical of the good Indian. After Copeland’s negative encounter with Tokeah and his warriors, but still relatively early in the story, Sealsfield describes how the Creeks have been affected by the American expansion West:

The Creeks had been for many years on good terms with the white people; or, what is the same, with the inhabitants of the state of Georgia. They had not only received the agent sent to them by the general government with every mark of respect, thus acknowledging the supremacy of the Great Father, as they called the President of the United States, but they had even entered into the views of the government and of its agent, with respect to their moral improvement, which the agent, with the assistance of such of his fellow-citizens as chose to follow him, had begun to carry into effect. Yet, in spite of these signs of mutual understanding, there were among them the germs of a rising discontent […]. The various treaties they had concluded with the whites, as they called the Americans, had deprived them of the greater and better part of their ancient territory, which extended over the whole state of Georgia,

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199 Wulf Koepke writes: “That Sealsfield indeed understood and was sympathetic with the tragic dilemma of the American Indians is underscored by his first novel […].” 58.
parts of Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi. They had borne these legal cessions, or, as they termed them, spoliations, with firm resignation, and in the hope of enjoying the remainder of their lands in peace and safety. But the restless population of Georgia, thinned by the war, had, during the seventeen years that had elapsed since the termination of the revolutionary struggle recovered sufficiently, and the adventurous sons of the west looked with a wistful eye towards the rich fertile tracts of walnut and hickory bottoms, that lay between the pine forests of these parts.\textsuperscript{200}

In just one paragraph Sealsfield is able to transform the Creeks from the good Indian stereotype to the noble savage, with their desire for an “Edenic Wilderness,” their realization of the American Manifest Destiny and what this means for the “dying man.” The nations, in this case the Creeks, who have not been able to escape into the “Edenic Wilderness,” have ultimately been (re)transformed into the bad Indian stereotype.

**El Sol and the Comanche**

The other Aboriginal character that plays an important role in the story is El Sol. The young chief of the Comanche, in contrast to the older chief Tokeah, can be described from the outset as a good Indian. In comparison to Tokeah’s introduction into the story, in the dark of night and ominous circumstances, El Sol is introduced in a contrasting manner. From the beginning, El Sol is seen positively and as even more powerful than Tokeah. In comparing the Comanche and the Oconee tribes Sealsfield writes: “[The Comanche] were well formed and powerful men, compared with whom the Oconee, with their slender arms and narrow chests, looked like so many children.”\textsuperscript{201} This physical deficiency on the part of the Oconee is reflected in different ways throughout the passage. The Comanche are

\textsuperscript{200} Tokeah 4 I 15-17.
\textsuperscript{201} Tokeah 4 II 23.
rich, live in Mexico and can thus pursue their nomadic lifestyle as they please, implying
that they are free men, not ‘captives’. The Oconee on the other hand, are poor, struggling
for survival on American land and are forced to live a different life than they are
accustomed to, illustrating their lack of free will. Instead of living a nomadic life tracking
and hunting, the Oconee are forced to hide and live a more sedentary lifestyle than they
are used to. Sealsfield points out that if the Oconee were to leave the American territories,
then possibly they would share a similar fate to that of the Comanche. Sealsfield, however,
is not as dramatic in his view of the fate of the Aboriginal as Karl May. For Sealsfield,
there is the possibility of survival for the entire race: they only have to leave America, and
not impede the American expansion West.

El Sol, although already mentioned in the story as the man that heroically rescues
and then falls in love with Canondah, is described as a respectful young man when he is
formally introduced to the narrative:

The young Indian, to whom the words were addressed, halted, and received
the salutation sitting on his horse, with a respectful inclination of his head.
When the old man had spoken, he threw himself from his charger, and
advanced, with the palm of his hand extended, towards the old man. When he
had come up close to him, he bowed, seized the hand of the old man, and laid
it on his forehead.

Nothing could be more strongly contrasted than the dry, almost withered, miko
of the Oconees, with his stern, taciturn, and melancholy expression- and the
open, graceful, and lofty mien of the stranger. His oval head covered with a
picturesque head-dress of plumes; his arched brows and open countenance of a
light copper hue, that seemed to despise the painting of his wilder followers;
his Roman nose and stately form, set off to full advantage by the blue fox skin
that covered his chest; and the panther hide that floated from his back, fastened
with golden clasps on his shoulder, presented a figure, that would have
delighted Thorwaldsen or Canova. He was the pure stature of manly beauty
and majestic grace, reared up in the free and delightful plains of Mexico, and
in the midst of a powerful tribe, who knew of no master but the Great Spirit. 202

The power of his body and the nobility of his moves are in direct opposition to the description of Tokeah, even as a younger man. Now, seven years later, the wrinkled and weathered chief is a shadow of the man he once was and the reader can see the foreshadowing of the generational shift that will eventually occur in the conversation with General Jackson and which is also emphasized in the comparison of Canondah and the older Aboriginal women. The older generation is ultimately portrayed as bad Indian characters as they have had over the years less contact and interaction with the whites. Canondah, representative of the younger generation has lived among the whites and is consequently viewed as a good Indian.

Even in the dynamic between El Sol and Tokeah, it is evident that Tokeah is a person of the past age, whereas El Sol is a leader of tomorrow- more in step with the expectations of the white man. Sealsfield describes the Oconee as less warlike than the Comanche. For Sealsfield, the predisposition to violence in the Comanche is revered, not seen as a negative trait, as it was seen earlier with the Oconee on their raids.

Sealsfield uses many of the typical Indian characteristics to describe El Sol: “t]he Apollo-like form of the lofty young Indian- the complete picture of a noble Highland chief, but for his colour,” 203 maintaining that it is only because of the colour of his skin,
that one knows he is not from an aristocratic, European family. General Jackson treats him like his equal but also makes clear that the Americans “[…] are both generous in rewarding our friends, and have sufficient power to punish our enemies.” And El Sol, as a good Indian character, acknowledges the superiority of the whites.

In creating a character such as El Sol, Sealsfield has developed a foil to Tokeah’s character. In Sealsfield’s narrative it is possible to see Barnett’s “uneasy coexistence,” in the Aboriginal characters. The good Indians ally themselves with the whites and survive in contrast to the bad Indians and noble savages, who are representative of a past age and die during the plot development. El Sol as a good Indian only reinforces in the reader the inconsistent and constantly shifting image of Tokeah. The good Indian serves to show the reader that if all the Aboriginals were like El Sol, who takes his tribe and leaves America, their people could still pursue their nomadic way of life in Mexico. To leave the American territories and not interfere with the white expansion West, would allow for the needed distance between the cultures, and men like El Sol, whose name can be translated as bringer of hope, would again be seen as a good Indian.

In the following scene, the first contact between Copeland and Tokeah is described. On this stormy night, the scene is clearly set for a bad Indian image, but because of Tokeah’s intentions, his image becomes blurred between that of a bad Indian and noble savage.

204 Tokeah 5 III 164.
First Encounter: A Stormy Night

*Have we devils here? Do you put tricks upon us, with Savages and men of India?*—Shakespeare

Thus begins the first chapter of Sealsfield’s English work *The Indian Chief: or Tokeah and the White Rose*. As was common practice at the time, Sealsfield begins each chapter with a quote from Shakespeare. This quote already sets the tone for the first chapter and the entrance of the novel's eponymous character, Tokeah, chief of the Oconee. With this quote, Sealsfield creates a sense of excitement and seems to foreshadow an event of deceit, with which the reader equates Aboriginals (savages) with devils. The colonial paradigm of white superiority and the Aboriginal (or Southeast Asian) as evil or “savage” is subtly reinforced. Grünzweig writes that: “[d]urch seine Existenz als Jäger und Halbnomade sank der Indianer zum “entmenschten” Wilden ab.” This simplistic binary established in the first chapter and reinforced by Grünzweig, remains throughout the book with the few exceptions of when Tokeah is alone with his own people, or other indigenous tribes. It is only times such as these, in scenes of isolation that the Aboriginals are viewed as noble savage characters.

The “uneasy coexistence” of the noble savage and the bad Indian image is evident from the reader’s first encounter with Tokeah. In this first encounter, Tokeah can easily be viewed as a bad Indian. Tokeah, however, is not the first Aboriginal image in the book. The first image is on the entrance sign to John Copeland’s property: a “gaudy copper figure, [...] with his diadem of plumes, tomahawk, scalping- knife, girdle of wampum, and so forth” and underneath this image are the words “Entertainment for Man and

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205 William Shakespeare *The Tempest* 2.2.
206 Grünzweig, *Das demokratische Kanaan* 174.
207 *Tokeah* 4 1 2.
Beast”, written in Egyptian hieroglyphics. This image is representative of the noble savage and the belief that the noble savage belonged to a past age: to antiquity. The hieroglyphics only reinforce that point, although in a very strange way. The relationship between the two cultures is unjustified, yet it is implied both are of an exotic, past age.

In contrasting the noble savage image of the sign with the first description of Tokeah, as one of the bad Indian, Sealsfield establishes the paradigms of the representations of Aboriginal characters in Tokeah. The bad Indian image is evident in the description of the evening Tokeah first appears. The night is ominously described, foreshadowing the situation that is about to arise:

It was a stormy December night; the wind moaned wildly through the black pine forest, on the verge of which the cabin was situated- rain, mingled with hail, dashed against the window shutters, threatening the inmates every movement with deluge, while the crashing of trees, broken down by the storm, sounded like peals of thunder through the dark abode of Captain John […].

The description of the physical movements of Tokeah and his warriors belong to that of the bad Indian image. After Copeland hears a knocking at the door and answers it, the butt end of a rifle appears in his face and Tokeah, followed by his warriors, enters the cabin and sits down by the fire. The warriors “stalked” into Copeland’s cabin and Tokeah’s “blood-stained blanket” tells the reader that the Aboriginals have just returned from the warpath. The adjectives used are typically associated with the bad Indian image and reinforce this particular portrayal of Tokeah. This, paired with Copeland’s first look at Tokeah’s head, which was “concealed by a piece of cotton tied round it, on which, like

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208 Tokeah 413.
209 This is similar to May’s comparison of the Aboriginal and the Turk in the introduction to Winnetou I, but the comparison there has a stronger negative connotation.
210 Tokeah 412-3.
211 Tokeah 414.
fringes, little clots of gore hung,”\textsuperscript{212} again reinforces the bad Indian image. The reason, however, that Tokeah is there could not be more noble. Tokeah and his warriors, while returning from a scalping expedition, discovered a little baby, a girl, whose mother had been killed. Tokeah is there to ask Copeland’s wife if she would give her “milk for a little sister?”\textsuperscript{213}

Copeland’s wife recognizes that this child is not an Aboriginal child, and thus offers her milk. She can also see that the child is from a wealthy family. “Look at the linen and the furs!”\textsuperscript{214} she exclaims, and in doing so sets the stage for the captivity narrative that will soon follow. Her exclamation reinforces the fact that the child is not Aboriginal and following the bad Indian image of Tokeah, she is implying that the child has been stolen from it’s parents. The extreme European wealth staged against the simplistic Aboriginal way of life again shows the paradigmatic opposition of the white man and the Aboriginal.\textsuperscript{215} As Tokeah removes the baby from the ermine pelisse, the riches of Europe are seen: “A robe of gros Naples [and] the finest cambric lined with Brussels lace.”\textsuperscript{216} Tokeah, displaying a disregard for the linens and tired of undoing knot after knot to give the child over to Copeland’s wife, finally takes his scalping knife, cuts the last three layers of cloth and hands over the child naked “to the terrified hostess.”\textsuperscript{217} In return for his wife’s milk, Tokeah tells Copeland that “[t]he red warrior… will give beavers’ skins for the milk

\textsuperscript{212} Tokeah 4 I 6.
\textsuperscript{213} Tokeah 4 I 8.
\textsuperscript{214} Tokeah 4 I 8.
\textsuperscript{215} This is similar to La Roche’s Erscheinungen, where one of the distinctions between the Des Wattines and the Oneida is the Oneida’s lack of respect for the comfort of European culture.
\textsuperscript{216} Tokeah 4 I 10.
\textsuperscript{217} Tokeah 4 I 10.
of his sister; but he will keep what he has picked up, and the door must be open when he calls for the child.” Copeland does not agree with these terms, stating that he has his own children. In a stoic manner Tokeah responds by calmly saying he will take the scalps of Copeland’s children if anything should happen to the child and “drew his knife in a calm concentrated rage.” With this settled, Tokeah demands alcohol, and after he has shared three bottles with his warriors, he pays with a Spanish gold coin, places a necklace around the baby’s neck and “…turning round, he stalked with great dignity towards the door, followed in the same manner by his men.” He stalks, a bad Indian adjective, but with dignity, a good Indian adjective. Such contradictions are found throughout the story and leave the reader questioning the real essence of Tokeah’s character. As he leaves, Copeland’s wife exclaims, “Who’s that red devil?” reinforcing the negative image of the Aboriginal among the whites. Copeland believes that Tokeah cannot have good intentions and that this situation might cost them their lives. The automatic assumption of bad intentions, at the end of this scene leaves the reader inclined to believe that Tokeah did not rescue the child for its own sake and reinforces the bad Indian image.

In this entire scene, Tokeah and his warriors are portrayed as bad Indians, while also possessing the typical Indian traits discussed in the introduction. Their physical description and their desire for alcohol, all these firmly speak to the bad Indian stereotype. What is, however, very easy to overlook, is the fact that Tokeah rescued a child, brought her to a family capable of looking after her and is paying the family the only way he can.

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218 Tokeah 4111.
219 Tokeah 4112.
220 Tokeah 4113.
221 Tokeah 4113.
with animal skins. This shows that the image of Tokeah is, in fact, one of fluctuating continuity.

**In the Village**

Sealsfield portrays Tokeah differently when he is among his tribe, secluded from the whites. When among other Indigenous peoples, Tokeah can be seen as a noble savage. He is powerful, respected and resolute. This dichotomy of the powerful and respected chief when among his people and the vindictive, bitter drunk when among the whites is often repeated throughout the narrative. Although Tokeah is respected by his tribe, the dominant white culture does not respect him or this authority. One example is Copeland who, later in the story, speaking to the missionary in the village, explains to the missionary that Tokeah has annually paid him through furs, for keeping the White Rose: “Though only a red skin, I cannot dispose of his property.”

Copeland shows his contempt for Tokeah, referring to him in terms that make him less than equal: but ultimately, it is only the monetary value of the furs that Copeland respects, not the man who paid him in furs for seven years. It is not only because of skin colour that Tokeah is infamous among the whites, but it is also for his reputation. His name “was known to be synonymous to a deadly enemy of the whites.” Copeland does not fear Tokeah when speaking about him in the third person and not in his presence to the missionary, rather he gains power over Tokeah in reducing him to his skin colour and therefore to a category.

Tokeah has no interest in co-existing with the white man. As he reclaims the White

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222 *Tokeah* 4132.
223 *Tokeah* 4136.
Rose, an argument transpires because the Copeland family and the missionary are unwilling to let the White Rose leave with him. Tokeah makes his intentions clear: “The chief of the Oconees [...] will not talk more with the white father. His path is long; his heart yearns after freedom; he will seek it where no white man has trodden the ground.”

The “ground” that Tokeah yearns for is described in greater detail later in the book. Because of the American expansion west, the Oconee are at this time semi-nomadic, setting up villages for a time, and when discovered, resettling somewhere else, hidden from the whites. But as the Americans expand West, there is less space for the Oconee.

Grünzweig maintains that:


Grünzweig addresses the primitive notion of the Aboriginal village as a location of paradise, but does not address the problematic of nomadism versus sedentary life that comes to a head in the story. This leads the reader to perceive the Aboriginals as a “nuisance” and a primitive civilization. Ritter, although he does not deal directly with Tokeah, maintains that: “Für Sealsfield ist die große amerikanische Ebene eine kolonisatorisch zu erschließende Wildnis […]. Der Gedanke dieser kulturellen Wandlung der Wildnislandschaft ist wichtig.”

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224 Tokeah 4 I 38.
225 Grünzweig, Das demokratische Kanaan 162.
The beginning of Chapter Two gives an extended description of the area “[o]n the northern extremity of the Lake Sabine […], and between the rival rivers Sabine and Natchez,”²²⁷ to the point that it seems to be an unreachable Edenic Wilderness. To reach this place, one must fight through an impregnable forest and a thicket of thorns with oversized, dangerous snakes almost acting as guards to this paradise. This beauty is only exceeded by the beauty “…on the other side towards the Mexican river Natchez, a softer character, and the wanderer sees himself gradually transported into the delightful region of the Mexicos.”²²⁸ The subtle nuances regarding the beauty of Mexico foreshadows that Sealsfield believes that the Oconee would be at more of an advantage if the tribe were to willingly relocate to the Mexican territories instead of staying in the United States. In the United States the Aboriginals are seen as troublesome and a burden. Sealsfield believed so strongly in the Manifest Destiny of the United States, that he saw the Aboriginal way of life as encumbering the project of the American expansion West. As will be seen later, El Sol, the chief of the Comanche, who moved his tribe to Mexico, was allowed to pursue the way of life desired, free from interference from the Americans. Tokeah, however, pays with his life for fighting against the Americans for the land of his people. Sealsfield is also emphasizing how close Tokeah’s tribe is to the Mexican border; as Sammons points out that, unbeknownst to Tokeah, they actually are in Mexico.²²⁹

In his four and a half page description of the beauty of the area, Sealsfield emphasizes this beauty with adjectives that reinforce this impression. In a later passage, he

²²⁷ Tokeah 4 1 42.
²²⁸ Tokeah 4 1 43.
²²⁹ Sammons, Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy 25.
likens the area “to an Italian landscape.”\textsuperscript{230} He also describes the sky as “a blue vault of heaven.”\textsuperscript{231} Sealsfield is setting the scene for what Barnett calls an “Edenic Wilderness.” If the noble savage is to be found, it is often here that he will be discovered away from the white man and closer to nature. Sealsfield in his description is no exception. The focus then shifts to two women “gliding”\textsuperscript{232} through the forest. The first has skin of a “copper hue”\textsuperscript{233} and is subsequently described as:

[... ] a full grown Indian girl, with a fine forehead, an open countenance, a large black eye, and lips exquisitely formed. The mould of her countenance bespake a laughing playfulness,\textsuperscript{234} while the Roman nose gave her an air of decision and authority, with which her dress corresponded. She wore a short calicq gown, with her arms bare; the sleeves met at the points of the squares behind, and were fastened with a gorget. Her hair, instead of hanging in long coarse tresses round her shoulders, was plaited into a knot, in which stuck a comb. A pair of golden ear-rings, with bracelets of the same metal, \textit{heightened}\textsuperscript{235} the favourable impression; and scarlet leggings, with moccasins of alligator’s skin, displayed a neat foot. By her side hung a pocket-knife of considerable size, and of foreign manufacture, and in her hand she carried a large basket. Her gait was more like bouncing, than walking or running.\textsuperscript{236}

The first Aboriginal that the reader meets in this “Edenic Wilderness” is described in stark contrast to the other Aboriginal characters already introduced in the book. The beauty and peace of Nature described is reflected in her physical description, just as the danger of the stormy night in the first encounter mirrors the violent entrance and description of Tokeah. The woman is presented as an exotic beauty, with European (Roman) physical traits and this \textit{favourable} impression is reminiscent of Pocahontas. The gold also implies that she is ‘rich’ or noble. And finally her gait, along with her “playful countenance,” seems to imply

\textsuperscript{230} \textit{Tokeah} 4 I 62.
\textsuperscript{231} \textit{Tokeah} 4 I 45.
\textsuperscript{232} \textit{Tokeah} 4 I 46.
\textsuperscript{233} \textit{Tokeah} 4 I 46.
\textsuperscript{234} Could also be used to deem the noble savage as primitive/childlike
\textsuperscript{235} My emphasis.
\textsuperscript{236} \textit{Tokeah} 4 I 46.
that, even though she is a full grown Aboriginal woman, she is child-like: often how a noble savage is characterized when compared to a European. When comparing this description to that of Tokeah, it is hard to believe that she is his daughter.

Later in the story, however, Sealsfield explains that Canondah is the way she is because “she had been brought up in one of the establishments, introduced by the humane colonel Hawkins, for improving the moral condition of the Creeks,” and thus, it is the American and European influence early in the girl’s life that leads her to be fulfilling the role of a good Indian, not a noble savage. Sealsfield stresses this as he describes the attributes of three generations of Aboriginal women. The grandmothers, mothers and girls:

One could distinguish the grandmothers, whose coarse glossy locks were lightly silvered, their mummy-like countenances deeply furrowed with wrinkles, their whole cast of features betraying sombre fierceness, and a latent savage passion, which seemed only to wait an opportunity to burst forth in its unbridled ferocity. The mothers showed countenances more placid, and evidently already softened by the influence of the white people; but the girls were almost throughout well formed and graceful; and if it had not been for the hard labours they performed, and their prominent cheek-bones, some would have afforded exquisite models for the sculptor. They were dressed in short calico gowns, with their hair hanging round their shoulders. The squaws had, besides their gowns, a blue petticoat: all of them wore silver ear-rings.

Again Canondah is described somewhat differently and her higher status in the tribe is invariably marked by her gold instead of silver earrings. Sealsfield creates almost a hierarchy of noble savagery, with its gradations based on previous contact with the dominant white culture. The more removed from white culture the Aboriginals are, as in the case of grandmothers, the more they tend to be viewed as bad Indians. The “noblest”

237 Tokeah 4194.
238 Tokeah 4196-97.
are the girls, like Canondah, who have had the most contact with the dominant culture, and are thus good Indians. Grünzweig writes: “Canondah ist unauffällige, wenn auch höchst wirksame Agentin der Zivilisation in der pseudoprimitiven Gesellschaft, in die Sealsfield seine Leser einführt.”239 Sealsfield uses Canondah as a cultural interloper who understands both worlds but also knows that she is Aboriginal. Her ability to keep a better household (according to white standards) than the women of older generations, is a symbol of her more cultured upbringing. For Sealsfield, the more integrated into white culture the Aboriginals are, the more positively they are described. The older generations, such as the grandmothers or Tokeah himself, who is obsessed with defending his essentially already lost land, are presented as bad Indians, because they do not accept the inevitability of the white expansion West.

The other girl is in fact not Aboriginal at all, but the heroine of the story, the White Rose, the girl Tokeah took back from Copeland. It is through her sadness that the reader learns that the White Rose is not happy in this “Edenic Wilderness”; rather she longs for more. This is similar to Emilie in La Roche’s *Erscheinungen* in that the white female character is inherently not satisfied with the simplistic way of life of the Aboriginal. Canondah is promised to El Sol, the young chief of the Comanche, who is also seemingly portrayed throughout the story as a noble savage, and the White Rose has apparently been receiving gifts from the “chief of the Saltlake”, a French pirate known as Lafitte who trades with Tokeah. Canondah promises the White Rose that through El Sol’s influence on the Oconee, the chief of the Saltlake will not receive her.

239 Grünzweig, *Das demokratische Kanaan* 168.
This “Edenic Wilderness” is not without its dangers: the women are interrupted by a noise and they find an alligator. Candonah jumps into the water and promptly kills the reptile. In this process, she saves the life of Arthur Graham, who is the hero of the story. The women secretly nurse Arthur back to health, and it is at this point that the White Rose and Arthur fall in love with each other. In describing Arthur, Sealsfield uses similar adjectives that are used for Candonah. He is described as noble and his clothing is that of a gentleman. Sealsfield makes it clear that Arthur is a European aristocrat. The women determine that he is not a sailor, nor is he an outdoorsman, but they do believe that he has escaped “the great chief”: the chief of the Saltlake.

The women leave Arthur hidden and return to the village. The surrounding area is described in idyllic terms, but the description of the village is distinctly more ominous, perhaps foreshadowing the arrival of Arthur, the white encroachment on the village. “[T]he gray blue smoke” is curling; and “a dusky form stealing through the shrubs, in that wary manner which long habits render natural to the red race.” This subtly shifts the perception the reader had of the noble savage back towards that of a bad Indian image.

The physical description of the village is extensive and the appearance of the village is unstructured and aesthetically unpleasing to the narrator. He describes it as lacking

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240Tokeah 41 66.
241Tokeah 41 66.
order and regularity. “…each proprietor seemed to have consulted his own taste,” and were built from simple materials and the roofs “were covered with cane, which gave them an exquisite air of rural simplicity.” And instead of a door, buffalo skin was used. Two cabins, however, stood out from the rest, and one of them belongs to Tokeah. Sealsfield at the end of this long paragraph beautifully portrays the village, but it is more because of the nature surrounding the village than the village itself:

The numerous clusters of trees, under which the cabins peeped forth, like so many hermitages, the hill itself, skirted on two sides by the bright waving cane, and on the third by the columnar range of forest trees, gave to the village an air of charming seclusion.

At this juncture Sealsfield begins another longwinded description, this time of the villagers:

The human beings who enlivened this scene, were, perhaps, with few exceptions, less charming; but taken in the whole, scarcely less interesting. Immediately behind the outer cabins, a group of dusky, swarthy boys were seen gambolling and crawling around on the ground, not unlike a herd of monkies; now twisted together in pliant and subtle folds, like twining serpents—again rolling on the flowery carpet, with an elasticity which would have made it impossible to the eye to follow their windings. Farther up, groups of more adult personages were performing the discovery dance; while some wound themselves along the turf, others were sitting in a listening attitude, their bodies outstretched, their necks bent in the direction where their companions had disappeared behind the hedges, starting up suddenly, and forming themselves into what is called an Indian file, and then advancing to the attack with threatening gestures: not a sound, however escaped them, and, like so many living mummies, they moved forwards and backwards, with the most uncouth, or at other times, the most graceful gestures. The huts, or rather cabins, were open, and, with a few exceptions, occupied by the squaws and their daughters, busied with their daily work. Here and there, before the opening, hung the infants, stretched on an oblong hollow trough of bark, the arms and feet fastened to this cradle with buffalo thongs, and with no other dress than a light strip of cotton round the thighs, the most effective mode of

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242 Tokeah 4 I 66.
244 Tokeah 4 I 67-68.
keeping their forms, during their lifetime, in that erect posture which is so characteristic of their race.\textsuperscript{245}

In this paragraph Sealsfield begins by describing the young men as almost animalistic; as monkeys or snakes. The older men are performing traditional dances, thus becoming more “human” in their characteristics, but again their movements and their description lead them to be seen as between an animal and the dead (mummies). By denying the Aboriginal characters human characteristics and situating them between animals and the dead, the narrator is emphasizing the bad Indian image in “an uneasy co-existence” with the noble savage.

Sealsfield goes from explaining the larger atmosphere of the village to describing the meeting of about fifty men in front of the larger cabin. It is here that the reader discovers the chief and his braves along with their pipes:

They were almost all of them dressed in hunting shirts of cotton, their chests bare, with their girdles of wampum, to which their breech-cloth was attached, by a thong round their shoulders and their tobacco-pouches hung. They wore their hair, and none had a scalping tuft. The meeting seemed merely occasional, and of a private character: the men, however, sat according to their rank, the inner space being occupied by the elder members, while the younger formed the second and third ring. In the midst of this group, sat an old man, whose superior rank was evident, from his commanding attitude, and the extreme deference with which he was regarded. His frame consisted almost wholly of skin and bones, and the softer parts of his body apparently were dried up, leaving nothing but veins and sinews. His open hunting shirt presented a chest and shoulders comparatively much broader than those of the rest, and spread over with a terrible embossment of scars and wounds. There was an air of proud, stoic, mental suffering, in the miko of the Oconees, on whom seven years of expatriation, and the fall of his unfortunate race, had worked such a change. His head was sunk on his breast, and he was absorbed

\textsuperscript{245} Tokeah 41 68-69.
The description of the clothing and hair could be seen as typical Indian characteristics. The structure of the meeting, however, can be interpreted in different ways. Scholars have often maintained that Sealsfield, seen as a critic of the aristocratic powers in Europe and supporter of American democracy, portrayed the Indians in a manner reminiscent of that of the archaic European monarchy. The Aboriginals here, sitting in rank order, consisting of oldest in the middle, whose voices would be heard and the youth towards the outside, taking a secondary and tertiary role in the discussions, is an example of this logic. The most superior, is Tokeah, who is by this time in the narrative an old man. It is his decisions that will guide the tribe, much like an absolute monarchy.

Sealsfield is also highlighting the past age of the Aboriginal in this passage. In this “Edenic Wilderness” the Oconee are lamenting the deaths of their brothers while smoking the pipe. They ask: “[a]nd the holy ground has been dyed with the blood of the red men?” This shows their mode of government to be archaic and out dated. Just as the Aboriginal way of life itself is shown to be of a past age, so is their mode of governance. Grünzweig writes that Sealsfield portrays the Oconee as “…ein streng hierarchisch gegliedertes Volk […], dem Autorität offenbar noch nicht zur Last geworden ist, sondern selbstverständliches Merkmal sozialen Zusammenlebens bildet.” This can also be seen as a slight on the European monarchies, that Sealsfield, as a pro-American author,
criticizes on the one hand as dated and archaic, but on the other Sealsfield seems to respect the idea of the most experienced people guiding the tribe, not necessarily the most physically powerful. This critique appears later in the book as Sealsfield recounts the respect the younger braves show at a council meeting:

None of the younger individuals presumed even to approach the open council-house within hearing distance; not from any fear, but rather from that habitual respect for the traditional institutions of their fathers, that admitted to these councils only the most discerning and experienced; giving, however, to each member of the great family, free scope to become sooner or later admitted among those selected.\(^{250}\)

These actions, again, firmly situate them as an archaic society coming into conflict with modernity and unable to reconcile their traditional ways with those of the dominant white society. They are becoming the “dying man” of Karl May’s *Winnetou*. The idyllic Aboriginal way of life is now seen as something to be honoured and admired, but only as a thing of the past. Tokeah goes as far as to predict this. In a long-winded monologue, Tokeah recounts how the other Aboriginal leaders “shut his ears” to Tokeah seven years ago when he wanted to attack the white settlers and thus preserve the Indigenous way of life. He speaks of the demise of the Aboriginal and that only through uniting the tribes will it be possible to defeat their common enemy and that he will open up his land to his brothers.

Although Sealsfield uses the word “unorderly” to describe the village, it is still, reminiscent of a European village, with the obvious added Aboriginal features, such as buffalo hides. The meeting is also reminiscent of a stratified society that is not as much

\(^{250}\) *Tokeah* 41 238-239.
ordered on financial status, as on age and experience. Sealsfield takes an extended amount of space to explain the daily activities of the women, when the men are away hunting. These activities are no less impressive in Sealsfield’s description and attention to detail. He is again showing the hierarchy within the tribe, but this time that of the women: “When the female party was assembled, one of the old squaws formed them into three groups, to each of which a separate part of the labour was assigned…”

Later in the story, the reader finds Tokeah with his tribe in an isolated area. It is here, in this isolated, “Edenic wilderness” that Sealsfield explains the “Indian” way of life, in almost positive terms. Whenever interacting exclusively with other Aboriginal characters, Tokeah is seen as a noble savage. As soon as a member from the white dominant culture is involved, the White Rose is not considered part of this culture, Tokeah’s image shifts. This ideological struggle of Sealsfield to reconcile irreconcilable elements of the image of Tokeah and the Aboriginal characters will be explored further in the following section, when Tokeah, as a leader of his tribe speaks with General Jackson.

A Conversation with General Jackson

The third scene which I wish to analyze is that of the interaction between Tokeah and General Jackson towards the end of the story. Arthur is already in New Orleans, along with Tokeah and El Sol. There, the two chiefs have a meeting with General Jackson, where all three have the opportunity to express their views. What Jackson makes clear from this episode is that Manifest Destiny and the rights of the American people take precedence over that of the Aboriginals’ rights and desires. Grünzweig reinforces this

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251 Tokeah 4197.
point: “Was den Worten Jacksons, [uns zeigt], ist die Bevorzugung der Zivilisation der Weißen über die “wilde” Lebensweise der Indianer.”

Jackson also treats Tokeah and El Sol differently, and much of this has to do with their opinions regarding the rights of Aboriginals in American territory. Tokeah, representing his people and their land claims on American soil, is treated much differently than El Sol and his view that his tribe should leave American territory.

General Jackson’s description can be seen as similar to that of Tokeah. Busy planning for what will be the 1815 Battle of New Orleans, where a much smaller American army defeats the British powers, General Jackson takes the time to meet the “red men” in his study surrounded by maps, plans and reports. This upcoming battle is also where he secured his reputation as a national hero and led to his eventual election to the Presidency. Sealsfield was an avid supporter and believer in Jackson and his republicanism, hence his pro-American and pro-Southern stance.

Jackson is described as:

“an elderly gentleman, whose tall, slender, and thin, but stately, erect form, exhibited a striking picture of warworn exhaustion, and of noble military loftiness. [...] and a certain slow but dignified motion, bespoke bodily sufferings and trials, which had loosened and stripped of its due proportions, a frame once apparently very powerful: but, as if to bid defiance to a waste, that time and hardships, but not disease, had caused, the stern countenance expressed undaunted determination; and from beneath the prominent arched eyebrows, gleamed a pair of dark blue eyes, whose keenness might have caused an involuntary, tremulous feeling, in those who came in near and unfriendly contact.”

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252 Grünzweig, Das demokratische Kanaan 161.
253 This particular situation would have been before the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, at which time Jackson would have been 48. The adjective “elderly” seems to imply someone older than middle age.
254 Tokeah 5 III 89.
If we compare this to the descriptions of Tokeah, they reflect a similar picture: that of men who are noble but worn out from fighting and other hardships that stem from leading their respective people. Their countenance also seems to be similar, along with their stares, which both appear to be able to stop the hearts of men. Perhaps unwittingly, Sealsfield uses similar expressions to describe the men who represent opposite sides of the “Indian Question.” In emphasizing the similarities between the two men, Sealsfield further complicates the image of Tokeah. This image of Tokeah, throughout the duration of the novel, changes and shifts confronting the reader on the one hand with a powerfully negative image and on the other with the possibility of a powerful and just man.

Jackson also takes pity on Rosa\textsuperscript{255} during her outburst, when she is begging for Arthur’s life. He treats her like a grandchild, with compassion, until he hears that Arthur is the “Englishman.” Sealsfield actually describes Jackson as responding to her request with “chilling coldness.”\textsuperscript{256} Grünzweig notes that in regards to Jackson: “Insbesondere wurde ihm auch seine rücksichtslose Haltung gegenüber Engländern und englischen Kriegsgefangenen vorgeworfen.”\textsuperscript{257} Jackson lost his entire immediate family during the American Revolutionary War and by all accounts blamed the British for his loss.\textsuperscript{258}

\textsuperscript{255} The White Rose. Her name is Europeanized when she is among the white characters.
\textsuperscript{256} Tokeah 5 III 91.
\textsuperscript{257} Walter Grünzweig, “Where Millions of Happy People Might Live Peacefully” 225.
\textsuperscript{258} This would also eventually be seen in his politics regarding Britain. Whereas John Quincy Adams, like his father John Adams were seen as having pro-British tendencies, Jackson was a supporter of the new American Republic with less ties to Britain. See John William Ward, Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age (New York: Oxford UP, 1955).
After Tokeah introduces himself and El Sol to Jackson, Jackson eyes Tokeah “from head to foot, in a manner not quite flattering to his pride.” This description, when juxtaposed with the description of Jackson’s reception of El Sol, makes clear that Jackson is not only suspicious of Tokeah, but also does not respect him. El Sol, on the other hand, is described in more positive terms: “[his] dress and attitude bespoke more the military character of a civilized nation, than of Indians.” Jackson welcomes him warmly to New Orleans. El Sol reacts accordingly and Sealsfield describes the introduction as one of common respect between the two.

Tokeah is treated differently. When he speaks of the reason why they have come: to establish a better relationship between his people and the whites, Jackson greets this statement with disbelief. He thinks there must be an ulterior motive as, from what he understands, the Aboriginals do not like to leave their villages. After the death of Canondah at the hands of the Pirate Lafitte, El Sol captured him and along with Tokeah, traveled with him to New Orleans, to have him hang, but also to receive the bounty on his head. Tokeah admits this is the reason why he has come. Jackson acknowledges his purpose in coming but maintains this is none of his concern, rather that of the governor.

Tokeah makes an extended speech, constantly asking Jackson to either agree or disagree with certain comments. He explains how Arthur came to the village of the Oconee and eventually into the American settlement. Jackson now understands why

\(^{259}\)Tokeah 5 III 91.
\(^{260}\)Tokeah 5 III 92.
Arthur had refused to say where he had come from- it was to protect the Oconee and respect the promise he made to Tokeah.

At this point, the conversation between Jackson and Tokeah starts to take on a more serious and political tone. Jackson assures Tokeah that the village will never be attacked as long as he does not attack first. What becomes in the story tedious to read and seemingly drawn out, in actuality is reflective of the dynamic between the two leaders. As Tokeah divulges the location of the village and how long it has been since he has seen the village, Jackson becomes worried, as if the Oconee no longer want to return to their village. Tokeah maintains that “[t]he sounds of the axes of the white men make a great noise in the ears of the red men: they will go where their eye meets no footsteps of the white men.”

Tokeah makes it clear that they do not want to interact with the white settlers. Their desire to return to the “Edenic Wilderness,” away from white encroachment is a central part of who Tokeah is as a leader. This sentiment, however, is very similar to that of Jackson’s regarding the British: he “…hate[s] the enemies of [his] country.”

With the impending battle with the British in New Orleans, it is fair to argue that Jackson sees both the Oconee and the British as his enemies. These two leaders are much more similar than one might expect, just on opposite sides of the disagreement: Tokeah wants to protect the land he has, while Jackson wants to gain as much territory as he can to allow for the American expansion, be it from the British or the Aboriginals. Kriegleder writes “Andrew Jackson verkörpert zwar das ideologische Zentrum des Romans; in seiner grossen Schlussrede liefert er die vom Erzähler beifällig begrüsste Rechtfertigung der

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261 Tokeah 5 III 98.
262 Tokeah 5 III 100.
Jackson’s speech is used to convince the reader, no matter how sympathetic one may feel towards the Aboriginals, it is the American expansion west that needs to take priority. Sealsfield reinforces this throughout the story by constantly portraying Tokeah as negatively or powerless when among the whites.

As previously touched upon, El Sol is treated differently than Tokeah and Jackson compliments the achievements of the young chief. In this context, it is clear, that El Sol is the construct of the good Indian: not only from the compliments received but also because he has aided the Americans:

‘It is El Sol then,’ said he, after a while, ‘of whom our western newspapers speak with so much admiration, and who saved the last party- sent by our government to explore the western country- from a cruel and terrible death, and relieved the young woman of a terrible fate. You see how accurately we are informed of your doings.’ … ‘I shall be happy,’ continued the general, ‘to receive, for mine and my country’s guest, so distinguished and humane a warrior, as the chief of the Cumanchees, the most powerful of the Indian nations in the Mexicos’. 

Here El Sol is seen as a guest in the United States not a trespasser or a nuisance. Much of what is today the western United States did not belong to the United States at this time, and as Manifest Destiny took over and America expanded west, what was then part of Mexico is today the state of Texas. In analyzing Jackson’s reaction to both El Sol and Tokeah, it is evident that if El Sol and the Comanche were on what the Americans considered to be American soil, they too would be seen as a problem. El Sol in his response to Jackson maintains that the Comanche are a free people, guided only by the

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263 Kriegleder, Vorwärts 386-397.
264 Tokeah 5 III 101.
Great Spirit. This sense of freedom from European social constraints allows El Sol to “act as his own master,” in his “Edenic Wilderness.”

Tokeah, on the other hand, is viewed, as a nuisance. He and his tribe have left their traditional territory, which by 1815 most likely means the reservation assigned to them, and there is a good chance that this land is not the traditional territories of his ancestors. Throughout his dealings with Jackson, it is apparent that Tokeah and his tribe are seen as nomadic troublemakers and not “civilized Aboriginals” who have already moved to the reservations. It is this “savagery” that Sealsfield uses here to portray Tokeah as a man of a past age, fighting against the much stronger “American machine.” Implicitly, it seems that if Tokeah were to move his tribe to the “traditional territories” assigned to them, there would be no problems and no conflict with the white settlers. As Tokeah later tells the reader, this is not the case.

General Jackson takes leave of the meeting and the chiefs are guided around the town. They view the fortifications that are going on in the city and express both wonderment and dismay at the sight of a twenty-four pounder gun: “there was something melancholy in their gaze, doubtless from the deep-felt superiority of their white oppressors.” The chiefs realize that they themselves and the fundaments of their battle strategies, and their weapons are part of a past age, are unable to compete with guns that can kill massive numbers of people in a short period of time.

\[265\] Tokeah 5 III 104.
The power dynamic is made clear, and as Jackson and the chiefs meet again, the scene takes on a different tone. The pirates have escaped and the chiefs, feeling hindered by the white soldiers and settlers in New Orleans, are overwhelmed in the “civilized Wilderness”\(^{266}\) of the city. Jackson’s “… countenance had assumed an expression of condescension…”\(^{267}\) and after declaring El Sol’s words to be good and virtuous, he releases Arthur. At this point, Jackson shifts his attention to Tokeah and demands to know why the chief sought a promise from Arthur to keep silent the whereabouts of his village. Jackson compares the Oconee to wolves, who hide themselves, afraid of daylight and reinforcing the bad Indian image. Tokeah, again, reiterates that the Oconee have no interest in living near the white man:

‘Does my great father like to show what is dear to him to thieves?’ replied the old Indian. ‘The Oconees do not hide their wigwams from the white men, but from the white thieves who come to steal their cattle and their corn, and to burn their wigwams. They want to live in peace with them, and far from them.’\(^{268}\)

When further asked why he has moved his tribe out of their traditional territory into the less fertile and less habitable area they are now occupy,\(^{269}\) Tokeah points to the injustice experienced by the Aboriginals at the hand of the white man:

‘Tokeah,’ continued he, ‘has lived in the land of his fathers, and among the white men, with his people. If their horses or their cattle went across the line, they durst not go and catch them, and if they did, the whites took their lives, as if they were buffalos. If the cattle of the white men came over our lines, they came and took them, and those of the red men too.’\(^{270}\)

\(^{266}\)Tokeah 5 III 155.  
\(^{267}\)Tokeah 5 III 157.  
\(^{268}\)Tokeah 5 III 158-159.  
\(^{269}\)Which is technically in Mexico!  
\(^{270}\)Tokeah 5 III 159-160.
The importance Sealsfield places on this exchange is not lost on the reader. Although eliciting a certain amount of sympathy for the ‘red men’, it is Jackson who makes clear that despite sympathy for the plight of the ‘red man’, America will continue to move West. Jackson points out that there are also “bad” red men, reinforcing the typical binary of good and bad Indian. Unconvinced, Tokeah maintains that justice is swift among the Aboriginals, whereas justice among the whites is slow in coming:271 “It is far to the great father, and he does not hear the cries of his red children; and Tokeah is therefore going where he will never see their trail.”272

In further questioning Tokeah’s intentions, Jackson discovers that Tokeah has lost his only child, murdered by the pirate. He responds, seemingly trying to justify the Americans as more humane colonizers:

There is no doubt that the red men have suffered in some points from the whites, but they have certainly done as much wrong to us as we did to them. They should remember that we are as273 lawful possessors of the land as they are and certainly the strongest. We could have made them slaves, and sent them into our mines, as the Spaniards did. We have left them their lands, and treated them as brethren.274

Needless to say, the question of property becomes the next issue to be broached. Sealsfield’s writing here justifies the white American position in North America. Using European concepts of law, contracts, and property, Jackson maintains that the Americans are not only entitled to the lands, as “their just property,”275 but are equal possessors as

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271 This is reminiscent of Nesquehiounah’s commentary on the prisons and justice in white society. *Erscheinungen* II 100-101.
272 Tokeah 5 III 160.
273 My emphasis.
274 Tokeah 5 III 161-162.
275 Tokeah 5 III 162.
well, because they bought the lands from the Aboriginals. This is in stark contrast to Karl May’s *Winnetou*, in which May maintains that it is the Yankees, the American-born Europeans, who have swindled the Indigenous peoples out of their lands, and are directly responsible for the demise of the Aboriginal.

It is now Jackson’s response that makes it clear to the reader that the American way of life is superior to that of the Aboriginal because the Indigenous nomadic lifestyle is no longer feasible with such a large white population encroaching and wanting to farm and lead sedentary lifestyles. Here Jackson strengthens the argument that the Aboriginal way of life is that of a past age and that the expansion of the Frontier territory is the way of the future:

‘Chief’, said the general, not without vehemence, ‘the Great Spirit has made the lands for the white men, and for the red men, that they may live on the fruits which grow on the earth, and dig the soil, and plough the ground; but not for hunting grounds, that some thousands of red men may find deer, where millions of happy people might live peacefully. If you keep those lands which are left to you, and plough well and hoe the ground, you may live as well as we do, and as independently as we live— you will have the same right as we have. But if you choose a roaming, hunting life, you must abide the consequences, and look for the desert.’

This thinly veiled threat to either adapt to the American way of life or lose their traditional land leads Tokeah to tell the story of the white encroachment by way of an allegory, using a spider as the white man and red birds as the Aboriginal. He tells the story of promises given and not kept, in a paragraph that is rife with the pain of disappointment. Tokeah, again, tells Jackson that he wants nothing to do with the white man, only to be left alone. The conversation between the two men ends with Jackson saying: “… [B]ut I want you to

\[^{276}\text{Tokeah } 5 \text{ III 162-163.}\]
know, that we are both generous in rewarding our friends, and have sufficient power to punish our enemies.”\textsuperscript{277} This leaves no doubt that Jackson’s priority is the American expansion West and not the Indigenous inhabitants, who choose not to adapt to the dominant, sedentary way of life in America.

At this point, Jackson again switches his attention to El Sol and his admiration of the young Chief. It is Jackson’s hope that El Sol with help to further good communication between the red and the white man. El Sol responds by saying that he doubts he will see Jackson again, but leaves Jackson with the warning:

‘… my great father may tell his brethren, that they must never cross the waters which Wacondah has made to separate the red from the white men. El Sol must do as Wacondah and his father have bidden. The chief of the Cumanchees could not save the brethren of the great chief.’\textsuperscript{278}

The chapter is concluded with a handshake between these two men and Jackson waving at Tokeah. Showing that the project of Manifest Destiny is not to be trifled with, Jackson maintains that the historical owners of the land have no say in the developments of the American Republic. The “civilized Indians” who move to the reservations and try to adapt to a sedentary lifestyle instead of a more traditional nomadic lifestyle are rewarded with, among other things, land and whiskey. Tribes like the Ocone, who are still fighting for their land but have no desire to interact with the white men, are shown as problematic and troublesome. This desire to escape to an “Edenic Wilderness,” away from the white encroachment, situates Tokeah and his tribe as members of a past age, and one that is slowly becoming the epitome of the “dying man.” For Castle, it is the logical step that:

\textsuperscript{277} Tokeah 5 III 164.
\textsuperscript{278} Tokeah 5 III 166.
“[n]ach der letzten Enttäuschung durch die Weißen kann und darf nichts mehr folgen als der Tod des Häuptlings.”

The Death of Tokeah

The final scene to be analyzed is that of the death of Tokeah. It is during this scene that Tokeah makes his final transformation from a bad Indian to a noble savage situated in a past age. As the Aboriginals leave New Orleans and travel up the Mississippi, Tokeah, who has now lost both of his daughters- Canondah to death and the White Rose, whom he gave to El Sol, who in return gave her to Arthur Graham with the blessing of Tokeah- is saddened and melancholic. He passes the majority of the 400 miles in silence, which causes El Sol to look at him with a certain amount of “tenderness,” or sympathy.

Finally, the Aboriginals reach the traditional lands of the Oconee and Tokeah, who has put his ear to the ground, makes a powerful and sad statement, which foreshadows his death:

…[E]arth that hast seen the sons of him who gave birth to the son of the red men- Tokeah, greets thee! Earth! Where she is mouldering, whose breast he has sucked- Tokeah, hails thee! The mast of thy boundless forests, was he born; the miko of a mighty people, was he chosen, as his fathers were. A fugitive, he now stands on thy last boundary; an outcast from thy bosom, a stranger to thee, and to the graves of his fathers. Great Spirit, why hast thou done thus? –For countless summers, the fathers of the Oconee have hunted on the banks of these waters, and swayed over a mighty people. Why must Tokeah wander into the wilderness, and turn his back on the land of his

279 Castle 251.
280 Tokeah 5 III 199.
fathers? Why must the memory of him and his race be torn from the earth? Speak, Great Spirit! Let Tokeah have a sign, that he may know thy will!\textsuperscript{281}

Tokeah speaks of the loss of Oconee territory and displacement of his people, but also their slow demise. From a proud people to a dying race, Tokeah asks the Great Spirit why his people must be relegated to a people of the past. The rest of the chapter, in almost a philosophical twist, is dedicated to Tokeah trying to rescue the bones of his father from their resting place that is about to be upturned by the plowing of what has now become farmland. The chapter is rife with foreshadowing of what will be the death of Tokeah, the last chief of the Oconee.

In this scene Tokeah is no longer the strong and mighty warrior he once was. Throughout the novel, Tokeah is consistently described in negative terms and generally with negative connotations. When he does, however, do something that could be seen as morally good, his actions are nonetheless not described positively, rather with a general lack of adjectives. This prevents Tokeah from being seen as a good Indian. In this scene, however, he finally stands up “…with majesty.”\textsuperscript{282}

After standing up, Tokeah makes his last speech. It is moving and powerful and also seems to, like much of this chapter, foreshadow his death:

Seven summers have passed, since the miko of the Oconee turned his back on the land where his forefathers dwelt. Two times he has crossed the big river since, unseen, alone, to lie on the graves of his fathers; he was hunted like the rapacious panther that seeks its prey. It is for the last time, that he now stands on the lands where his fathers have lived. While he was in the great village of

\textsuperscript{281}Tokeah 5 III 201.
\textsuperscript{282}Tokeah 5 III 201.
the white men, and in the painted walls of the wigwam, where their chief had put him with his brethren, his head rolled restless on the couch that was prepared for him, by the enemies of his race. ‘Go,’ said the spirit of his father, who dwells in the green prairie, ‘go to my grave, and collect from it the bones of him who gave life to thee, and of her whose breast gave thee suck; take them from their dark abode, and from those who scorn them, and who send their hoofed beasts to tread upon them. Let them repose in the same ground where my son and his people are dwelling, and rest them among the bones of the red men. Be not afraid of moving them; no curse shall attend thee.’ Tokeah arose…when the spirit had spoken to him, and his soul was troubled. Again he laid down on the couch of the white men. ‘The hoe,’ said the spirit of his father, ‘has passed over the hillock of death, where thy father lies; a short time, and his bones will be cast from it, and scattered in the winds.’ […] ‘El Sol, […] Tokeah must do what the spirit of his father has bidden; he must take the bones of his father, that they may rest undisturbed. He must leave the chief of the Cumanchees for six suns, and go to the plain where his father is buried.’

This speech also touches upon the settlement of the whites, but from a decidedly Aboriginal perspective. The formerly traditional hunting grounds are dark, and the graves are not respected, and soon to be lost due to farming. The spirits of his ancestors are unsettled and are thus calling to him to be among their own people, where ever that may eventually be.

In this long-winded speech, it is clear to the other Aboriginal characters that Tokeah must honour the wishes of his elders so to avoid the curse of not respecting their desires. The bones of his elders need to be moved before the desecration of their graves takes place, and as such Tokeah feels the need to hurry to their gravesite. Tokeah does not believe that El Sol should wait for him, but El Sol insists. He will wait for Tokeah to finish his task and together they will ride to Mexico, to their “freedom.”

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\[283\] Tokeah 5 III 201-203.
The removal of the bones, however, has to be done at a specific time to avoid the curse originally set upon them. If anyone should remove the bones and expose them to light, the person doing so would become white with shame;\(^{284}\) thus the bones need to be moved under the cover of night. The Oconee build a coffin for the bones with the local wood and in a morbid scene, Tokeah sits in this coffin. It was “… to enjoy that rest which he wanted so much […],”\(^ {285}\) and he rises from the coffin under the cover of night to begin the retrieval of the bones. He hears a barking in the distance and believes that the white men are near the grave of his father. Breaking into a run, Tokeah finds the area surrounded by fencing and already ploughed and planted with corn. Dead trees also cover the gravesite. Progress and the American expansion West have taken over the land and transformed it from the hunting and gathering lands of the Oconee to the settled agriculture of the white man. Sealsfield here begins to foreshadow the end of Tokeah’s life. What happens next is a sad commentary on the life of the great chief, who towards his end is reduced to a pathetic reminder of what he once was. This is representative of the Indigenous cultures as whole that have transformed from the noble, proud people to a shell of what they once were. The narrator recounts this episode as Tokeah tries to dig up the bones:

The plough had passed round the withered tree, whose ragged outlines seemed mourning in the pale moonlight over its decay. The old man fell senseless to the ground. His followers bounded after, to assist him. … With his hands, he dug up the half frozen ground. The sharp stone cut deep into the withered palms. The blood ran from his fingers; the skin was torn from them; but the haste of the Indian increased, as if afraid lest some one might deprive him of his treasure. He bored till he had turned up the whole mass of earth and collected all the remains of his father. For the first and only time in his life,

\(^ {284}\) *Tokeah* 5 III 205.
tears gushed from his eyes. He ran towards the grave of his mother. The plough had here gone deeper. Only a few handfuls of earth covered her bones. With unutterable grief he added her remains to those of his father. The moon poured her bright silvery light on the savage, as he lay on the ground, before the coffin.\textsuperscript{286}

It is again through this desperation to save his elders that Tokeah can be seen as a noble savage. The yearning for the past as well as the desire to move the bones to an “Edenic Wilderness”, away from the ploughs and development of the white man, firmly situates him in this context. The blood spilling from his cut hands and falling onto the Earth is representative of the final mixing of his being and his traditional territory and lifestyle. However, even in this last scene, Tokeah’s image fluctuates back and forth between a noble savage and a bad Indian. Upon finishing the removal of his parents’ bones, Tokeah swears revenge on the people responsible. He asks his elders to persuade the Great Spirit to grant both him and his children the strength to seek this revenge. As he dramatically bids farewell to his traditional territory, Tokeah returns to his meeting place with El Sol. The two, along with their tribes, begin the trip to Mexico.

On their trip, Tokeah sees the land where he wishes to leave the remains of his elders. To reach this land, however, Tokeah must cross the “imaginary boundary line,”\textsuperscript{287} of the Osages. His and El Sol’s senses are aroused and during the night they make their way with the canoes along the river and find a group of thirty to forty Osage warriors. They are spying on the warriors, while they track the previous trails of the Comanche and Ocone. The Comanche, led by El Sol, attack the warriors, and it is during this fight that

\textsuperscript{286}Tokeah 5 III 208-209.
\textsuperscript{287}Tokeah 5 III 212. It serves to point out, that this line is considered imaginary, because it is not a line drawn by the US Americans or Canadians, rather the Aboriginals, whose traditional hunting grounds it dictates.
Tokeah is mortally wounded. He asks El Sol to promise him that he will be buried on the grounds of the Comanche and that El Sol will be a kind leader of the Oconee. El Sol does not understand why Tokeah is asking these things of him until he realizes that Tokeah has been shot in the crossfire:

He muttered a few words into the ears of one of his Oconees, and the savage burst into a yell of the wildest despair. El Sol seized the arm of the old man—his hands still grasped the coffin, which reposed on his knees, but his frame was relaxed— a ball had entered his breast, and life was gone.

It is with Tokeah still clinging to remnants of the past that he dies. Tokeah, who was too concerned with the bones of his elders, was either not able or not willing to defend himself during the exchange of bullets and arrows. It is his last words that sum up his contempt for the white expansion West, and reinforce the bad Indian image as “…he is doomed to die on the lands of the whites,” and not reach the “Edenic Wilderness,” away from the dominant white culture that he so desired and dreamt of.

In a manner similar to the death of Karl May’s Winnetou, it is not the whites who kill Tokeah, rather other Aboriginals. It almost seems that both authors contrived this to suggest that it is the savage and wild ways of the Aboriginal that lead to their deaths, not the influence of the white man nor their expansion West. As the “dying man,” it is inevitable that they are to die, but they are their own worst enemies, killing each other. Instead of adapting to the dominant society’s ways, these people struggle to maintain the traditions of old and can no longer survive in modern society. Thus they kill each other

288Tokeah 5 III 219.
289Tokeah 5 III 219.
instead of joining forces to fight against the common enemy.\cite{290} This failure to embrace the dominant culture’s way of life is integral to the development of the stories as these stories are written for an American and European audience and as history has shown, the dominant culture of the Americans did overtake the ancient ways of the Indigenous inhabitants.

**Conclusion**

The main theme of *Tokeah* is not the future of the Aboriginals but the political system of America in juxtaposition with the old European monarchies:

\[\text{Auf seine eigene Kraft bauende, den Fesseln des Feudalismus entzogene, freie Gutsbesitzer- das ist die Existenz, die der gelungenen amerikanischen Revolution und der hergestellten Freiheit entspricht.}\]

Sealsfield shows Europeans that America is the political system of the future. In *Tokeah* he emphasizes the contrasting features of the dominant white American culture and the ancient Aboriginal cultures. He shows that the ancient Aboriginal culture, much like the out-dated European political system, stands in the way of progress. In stressing the primitive culture of the Aboriginals, Sealsfield gives his reader ethnographic insights to the “dying man”:

\[\text{Das einfache Leben in der Natur, fernab von der Weißen Zivilisation, vermittelt in jeder Handbewegung das primitivische Bild des Indianers. Verbunden ist dieser Primitivismus des öfteren mit ethnographisierenden Beobachtungen.}\]

The image of both Tokeah and the Oconee throughout the entire book equivocates between that of a noble savage and bad Indian depending on the situation. When alone, in

\[\text{\cite{290} Which Tokeah originally argued for.}\]
\[\text{\cite{291} Kriegleder, \textit{Vorwärts} 52.}\]
\[\text{\cite{292} Grünzweig, \textit{Das demokratische Kanaan} 163.}\]
their village, away from white influences, the description of the Oconee is that of an organized society, performing their customs and living happily with each other. When there is white influence or when the Oconee are in a white settlement, this image invariably shifts to that of a bad Indian. This almost schizophrenic representation of Tokeah reflects the German attitude towards the Aboriginal characters. On the one hand, the reader longs for the “vanishing Indian” of the past age, but this image is irreconcilable with the project of Manifest Destiny. The Oconee possess the land that is needed for the further development and in refusing to acknowledge the power of the dominant culture, the Aboriginal character must die. It is the desperate and not quite successful ideological struggle of the text to reconcile irreconcilable elements of German attitudes towards the "Indians".

Grünzweig believes that the death of Tokeah reflects Sealsfield’s view of the Aboriginal as the “dying man”:

Mit dem Ende Tokeahs scheint, zumindest in Sealsfields fiktionalem Amerika, auch das Ende der Indianer gekommen zu sein. Im Unterschied zu Cooper zeigt Sealsfield kein Interesse an der Wiederaufnahme des Themas durch Regression in die Vergangenheit seiner Helden. Daraus kann geschlossen werden, dass Sealsfields Hauptanliegen darin bestand, das “Ende” der Indianer auf dem nordamerikanischen Kontinent als Beleg für den erfolgreichen Aufbau der Weißen Zivilisation darzustellen und nicht, wie die “ethnographische” Richtung innerhalb der Sealsfieldforschung annimmt, die Sitten und Gebräuche der nordamerikanischen Indianer zu zeichnen.293

293 Grünzweig, Das demokratische Kanaan 158.
This statement reinforces that Sealsfield’s main priority with his book was not the Aboriginal situation in America, but rather the development of the American republic and its differences with Europe.

This image of Tokeah and the Oconee is provocatively juxtaposed with that of El Sol and his Comanche, who are always portrayed simplistically and fit perfectly into Barnett’s category of good Indians. The Comanche and their leader El Sol strive to return to their way of life away from the American expansion West: in Mexico. In leaving the US territories, El Sol saves his people from death, much like Tokeah could have done, if he had also taken his tribe to Mexico and not stood in the way of the American expansion West. With the Oconee, who want to live separate from the whites but on “American” land, the tensions in the story lead to an irreconcilable impasse - the nostalgia for a past age versus the development of the future.
Chapter Three: Karl May and “The Dying Man.”

Karl May hat das Interesse an Amerika und die Begeisterung für “Indianer” natürlich nicht erfunden, sondern er fand es vor und entwickelte es weiter.  

For a North American, it can be difficult to understand the impact of Karl May and his Unterhaltungsliteratur on the image of the Aboriginal in Germany. Karl May is virtually unknown in North America. I share Jeffrey Sammon’s sentiment regarding the lack of interest in May from a North American standpoint in that: “it is a question whether May’s fiction is in any intelligible sense about America at all, and whether the provincial introversion underlying its superficial exoticism accounts to some degree for the American lack of interest in it […].” It can also be questioned if there is anything “American” about Sophie von la Roche’s Erscheinungen am Oneida as well. Unlike Sealsfield, neither author traveled to America while writing their novels. While May was writing the Winnetou series, he had never been to North America, it was not until 1908 that he traveled to America and he did not visit the Southwest. There are times where La Roche’s setting does seem as though it could be anywhere in the world, yet it resonates with a German audience as does May’s fiction. It is not the authenticity of the image that is of interest here, but rather the staying power of the image in Germany.

Helmut Schmiedt maintains that it is May’s German America that makes his Winnetou series more popular than authors, such as Gerstäcker and Möllhausen who had actually experienced America before writing their stories:

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295 Sammons, Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy 245.
Mays Amerika-Romane blenden immer wieder, in kurzen Handlungssequenzen, aber auch in vielerlei gedanklichen Exursen, Assoziationen und Vergleiche in die mitteleuropäischen Lebensverhältnisse zurück [...] das Auftreten zahlreicher deutscher Emigranten-- einzeln oder in Gruppen-- ergänzt das Porträt. 296

Hermann Hesse, Albert Einstein, and Albert Schweizer have all praised the works of Karl May and all three have cited these works as a means of escape and hope in their lives. His popularity among Germans is difficult to ignore and generations of Germans have read his works or are at least aware of them: the “grünen Bücher” are legendary and can be seen on the shelves in almost any German household. As Jochen Schulte-Sasse points out, “[...] seine Ergebnisse sind in unverändertem Sinne nur für jene knapp 2 Millionen Bände gültig, die bis zu Mays Tode Leser gefunden haben.”297 If we are to believe this statistic, since May’s death in 1912, there have been more than 200 Million copies of his works published. In fact, Dagmar Wernitzig claims that “[e]ven in times of iPod and Xbox, Harry Potter and Lord of the Rings, May’s Indian oeuvre continues to be a bestseller among children and teenage readers.”298 Goethe’s, Heine’s and Mann’s works, though deemed higher in quality, lack the overall popularity of May’s.

May and his works are not only popular in print form. There are Karl May

298 Dagmar Wernitzig, Europe’s Indians, Indians in Europe: European Perceptions and Appropriations of Native American Cultures from Pocahontas to the Present (Lanham: University Press of America, 2007) vii. Wernitzig may be a bit generous in her exhaltation of May’s popularity. Although still popular, the sales of his works have decreased significantly since the 1950s. See, among others: Sammons, Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy 232.
Festspiele held every year in Germany, and there were the twenty-three Karl May films that were produced from 1912 until 1964. The films produced after the Second World War in West Germany inspired the Indianerfilme in its Communist counterpart. As the Communist Party demanded that East German cinematographers compete with the immense popularity of the post World War Two Karl May films, there arose a similar renewed fascination with the image of the Aboriginal,\textsuperscript{299} albeit from a Communist perspective. It seems that Karl May and his influence can be found apparently everywhere in German life.

The popularity of Karl May is obvious. May’s works appeal not only to youth but adults as well, for whom he offers the attraction of escapism. His stories are a mixture of adventure and fantasy not only for the young but also the young at heart. His works have been an overwhelming commercial success. Gunter Sehm maintains that “das neben der Luther-Bibel meistgedruckte, vor allem aber meistgelesene Buch deutscher Zunge,”\textsuperscript{300} is actually the Winnetou series and Winnetou I in particular.\textsuperscript{301} The popularity and the financial success of May’s works can scarcely be overestimated. Both against the long-standing traditional importance of Martin Luther and the newly-minted fantasies of J. K. Rowling, Karl May continues to hold his own – at least in Germany.

Despite his popularity among the general population, May has been largely

\textsuperscript{299} This will be addressed more extensively in the Epilogue of this dissertation.


\textsuperscript{301} Dieter Sudhoff, Hartmut Vollmer(ed.) Introduction to Karl Mays ‘Winnetou’. (Oldenburg: Igel Verlag, 2007) 9.
ignored or regarded as inferior by scholars of German Literature. His adventure literature, which catapulted him to fame, is simplistically written and predicates itself on action rather than reflection. This keeps the reader interested and engaged throughout the story. His travel adventures influenced more than three generations of German speaking youth and young at heart and were often among the first stories children read. The pictures of foreign lands and exotic peoples that May developed in his stories have often remained engrained in the imagination of readers for a lifetime. Still, the number of scholars who have actively engaged in studying his vast collection of books and other printed matter and the cultural impact of his works is small in comparison to those who devote their energies to canonical German authors.

Because of his popularity, it should, therefore, come as no surprise that his character Winnetou, the Aboriginal protagonist of the *Winnetou* series and the focus of this chapter, has come to represent to many German people the quintessential image of the North American Aboriginal- or his German imaginary counterpart. This series, however, is more than just the image of the “German” Aboriginal. It has also come to represent the Blood Brotherhood between Old Shatterhand and Winnetou and ultimately between the Germans and the Aboriginals. Old Shatterhand, who May claimed was based on his own exploits abroad, has played almost as large of a role in the image of the Aboriginal as Winnetou himself. Old Shatterhand as the German immigrant to the Wild West, who leads

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302 Sammons has a somewhat more critical view of May’s works.
303 May also claimed that he was Kara Ben Nemsi from his Orientzyklus: *Durch Wüste und Harem, Durchs wilde Kurdistan, Von Bagdad nach Stambul, In den Schluchten des Balkan, Durch das Land der Skipetaren, Der Schut.* Much has been made of May’s over-identification with these two characters, especially towards the end of his life. See Helmut Schmiedt’s Suhrkamp collection: *Karl May.*
“[…] a Christian life, and Shatterhand often resembles the celibate Teutonic knight in search of the Grail,” represents to the German reader the possibility of America. With only his intelligence, strength and education to guide him, Old Shatterhand shows the reader anything is possible.

May’s other characters Kleikh-petra, the “German-Apache,” and Winnetou’s family: his father Intschu tschuna and his sister Nscho-tsch, are also worth mentioning. It is through Kleikh-petra’s Christian influence on the Apache that Old Shatterhand, who is guided by his Christian morals and strong work ethics, and Winnetou become friends. It is because of the death of his family that Winnetou can travel throughout the Wild West with Old Shatterhand and not have to worry about the “homefront.” The Christian morals of Old Shatterhand guide the two Blood Brothers through their adventures and ultimately leads to Winnetou admitting that the white man is superior to the Aboriginal in every way, an admission that leads to Winnetou’s eventual conversion to Christianity.

This chapter will examine the introduction to Winnetou I as well as three scenes. Winnetou has been most commonly described as a noble savage. I argue however that this is not the case. It is, in fact, his father, Intschu tschuna that can best be described as a noble savage. While Winnetou may on the outset appear like a noble savage character, it is through his Blood Brotherhood with Old Shatterhand, that Winnetou actually transforms into a good Indian character.

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305 “The whites are more skillful and know more than we do. In almost everything, they are our superiors.” Karl May, Winnetou. Trans. Michael Shaw (New York: Continuum, 2002), 362-363.
Also of interest in this chapter is the role of religion, more precisely Lutheranism as a power mechanism. Klekih-petra and Old Shatterhand’s differing relationships to God will be discussed as well as the missionary role played by Klekih-perta in an attempt to save the soul of the “dying man.” It is this power construct that allows the reader to identify with the “death of the Indian,” while still championing the German as the saviour of the “dying man.”

The four scenes of the Winnetou series that I will examine in this chapter are: the opening scene in Introduction to Winnetou I, in which May discusses the “dying man” and why he needs to be saved; the first encounter between Old Shatterhand and the Apache, where Klekih-petra, the German Apache is killed; the scene in the Apache village to best show the influence on the Apache by Klekih-petra and eventually also Old Shatterhand. Finally I examine Winnetou’s death and his conversion to Christianity in the face of his imminent death, which also marks his transformation from a noble savage character to that of a good Indian.

The Introduction to Winnetou I: Setting the Stage

Even from the first lines of the introduction of Karl May’s Winnetou I, it is clear that May is working with stereotypes and comparing two separate images of the Other:

Immer fällt mir, wenn ich an den Indianer denke, der Türke ein. Das hat, so sonderbar es scheinen mag, doch seine Berechtigung. Mag es zwischen beiden noch so wenig Vergleichsmöglichkeiten geben, sie sind einander

306 May wrote over 85 novels, countless newspaper articles and Kolportageromane. I am concentrating solely on the Winnetou series and its image of the Aboriginal as it is the most popular of Karl May’s works. There should, however, be made mention of just how extensively May did publish and therefore how many people his works did reach.
dennoch in gewissem Sinne ähnlich, in dem einen Punkt nämlich, daß die Weltmeinung mit ihnen beiden so gut wie abgeschlossen hat, wenn auch mit dem einen weniger stark als mit dem anderen: Man spricht von dem Türken kaum anders als vom ‘kranken Mann’, während jeder, der die Verhältnisse kennt, den Indianer als den ‘sterbenden Mann’ bezeichnen muss.  

With this opening paragraph, May uses the German fascination of the Near East and its inhabitants to compare it with that of North America and the First Nations. He calls the Turk the sick man of Europe, but maintains that the First Nations is the “dying man”. In the context of the late nineteenth century, the Turk, or der kranke Mann am Bosporus, was representative of the last remnants of the Ottoman Empire, seen by Europeans as a corrupt and despotic land. This represented the tension between not only Europe and the Near East but also that of the geopolitical tension with Russia as a powerful force, gaining power to the east of central Europe.

In an interesting footnote added by the publisher, the publisher acknowledges that much has changed since May wrote this book, regarding in particular, how the Turk is portrayed. The Turk, “ist [...] durchaus kein ‘kranker Mann’ mehr.” The archaic nineteenth century image of a despotic empire is no longer politically correct. After the Second World War and the Gastarbeiter from nations such as Turkey, calling the Turk the “kranker Mann,” is simply unacceptable. Nothing, however, is mentioned about the nineteenth century image of the Aboriginal as inappropriate, or misrepresentative. One reason could possibly be, that Germans still believed as late as 1992, the date of publication of the edition used for this dissertation, that the Aboriginal was still the “dying man”. It is the lack of actual experience with Aboriginal populations compared to the day

307 Winnetou I 1.
308 Winnetou I 5.
to day interaction with Turkish Germans that perhaps leads to this distinction on the one hand being made and on the other, in regards to the Aboriginal population, being seen as not necessary.

This paragraph thus perfectly frames the problematic image of the Aboriginal in German literature, one that is caught between stereotypes of both the Near and Far East and North America. It is also in this sense that many of the arguments that Edward Said puts forward in *Orientalism*, that not only the power structures between the Occident and Orient but also the image of the Orient in the European and North American Aboriginal is still firmly situated within an “imaginative geography.” While not addressing the image of Aboriginals in North America specifically, as touched upon in the introduction, Said does look at the nineteenth century German academic as symptomatic of this European fascination with the *Other*, and specifically the role the German academic played as essentially the “armchair conquistador.” 309 Not considered a colonial power and not known for traveling as extensively to foreign lands, the German academic did, however “colonize” the scholarship of anthropology and even created the study of *Orientalistik*, and this armchair colonization and speculation, allowed the German to thus create his own images from other peoples’ experiences and writing.

Karl-Heinz Kohl in tracing the European fascination with the Orient in the eighteenth century, writes of the exotic, feminine and decadent Orient. He mentions the French and English economic interests and travel to the Orient, while pointing out the lack

309 Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 17.
of German “kolonialistichen Ambitionen”\textsuperscript{310} in the area. In pursuing this angle that has already been established in the introduction, I maintain that this fascination with the feminine Orient was juxaposed in the nineteenth century with “das Gegenbild zu dem von Prüderie und strenger Selbstdiziplinierung gekennzeichneten Zeitalter der Industrialisierung und des Bürgertums.”\textsuperscript{311} May showcases this through the Blood Brotherhood\textsuperscript{312} between his main character Old Shatterhand and Winnetou. In creating an overly masculine Cowboy adventure narrative, May also shows that it is through Christianity, hardwork and discipline that Old Shatterhand garners so much fame and respect. These German values are not lost on the reader.

This image of the “dying man”, a man that is fighting for his survival as either an embittered drunk or as a noble savage, are the two polemic images that not only May, but other authors as well, use to describe Aboriginals in their works. May calls it the “unerbittliche[s] Schicksal,”\textsuperscript{313} that is closing in on the red race. For May there is no future for the Aboriginal, death is inevitable. Published in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it is possible that May came to this conclusion of the Aboriginal as the “dying man” through the news about America and the American Indian Wars. These wars, and in a sense, the 1876 Battle at Little Big Horn, which represented the last successful defeat by Indigenous tribes of the Americans, and the Massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, which embodied the end of the Aboriginal as represented in Kafka’s short prose piece, are


\textsuperscript{311}Kohl 104.

\textsuperscript{312}Peter Bolz has proven that the \textit{Blutsbruderschaft} among Aboriginal populations in North America did not exist. See: Peter Bolz, “Der Germanen liebster Blutsbruder” \textit{Karl May: Imaginäre Reisen} 171-186.

\textsuperscript{313}Winnetou I 5.
reflected in May’s *Winnetou*. The creation of reservations and the loss of freedom for the Aboriginal represented for May, “the dying man,” a man who could no longer lead his life the way he wanted. Peter Uwe Hohendahl has pointed out, however, an interesting point of contemplation. He maintains that because May is writing a fictional account that: “[d]ie Indianerpolitik der Vereinigten Staaten muss wenigstens erwähnt werden, um zu verdeutlichen, wovon die fiktionale Literatur nicht redet.”

The introduction also takes a somewhat philosophical approach when asking if the Aboriginal is responsible for his early death and if therefore he earned it. In a rebuttal that is reminiscent of some of Herder’s anti-colonialist musings, May writes:

Wenn es richtig ist, daß alles, was lebt, zum Leben berechtigt ist, und wenn sich das ebenso auf die Gesamtheit wie auf das Einzelwesen bezieht, so besitzt der Rote das Recht zum Dasein nicht weniger als der Weiß und darf wohl Anspruch erheben auf die Möglichkeit, sich in sozialer, in staatlicher Beziehung nach seiner Eigenart zu entwickeln.

Herder, in his work *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, discusses the importance for the need of different cultures, and different *Völker*, to develop themselves, on a separate timeline without interference from outside, or more specifically, European forces. The European was still the ideal Herder considered, but it would take different cultures different amounts of time to fully realize their potential. In this same thread, May

315 *Winnetou I* 5.
316 *Winnetou I* 5.
argues, that in contrast to the popular belief that the Aboriginal does not possess the characteristics to further develop, the Aboriginal should have been allowed this time to reach his potential, which is undoubtedly his “European” self:

Der Weiße fand Zeit, sich fortlaufend zu entwickeln. Er ist nach und nach vom Jäger zum Hirten und von da zum Ackerbauer und Gewerbetreibenden fortgeschritten. Darüber sind viele Jahrhunderte vergangen. Der Rote aber hat diese Zeit nicht gefunden, denn sie wurde ihm nicht gewährt. Er sollte von der ersten untersten Stufe einen Riesensprung zur obersten tun und man hat, als man dieses Verlangen an ihn stellte, nicht bedacht, daß er dabei zu Fall kommen und sich lebensgefährlich verletzen musste.318

In this statement, which is meant to defend the seeming lack of development within Aboriginal cultures, May writes like a sympathetic colonizer. He defends Aboriginal cultures for not having developed to the European standard expected by his readers. Again, for the European, the history of North America began with its discovery in 1492 and this leads May to argue that the lack of development and differences in lifestyle are due to the lack of time that the Aboriginal has had to develop along the same lines as the whites, and the Aboriginal should be afforded this time, as cultural development in this short of a timeframe is impossible. The whites should consequently be more understanding in their treatment of the Aboriginal.

May seems to switch his argument to one of social Darwinism,319 in order to argue that this is the reason for the death of the Aboriginal. The Aboriginal is simply not

318 Winnetou I 6.
319 For an indepth analysis of May’s ideas of evolution see: Hermann Wohlgeschafft, “Karl May und die Evolutionstheorie: Quellen - geistesgeschichtlicher Hintergrund - zeitgenössisches Umfeld” JBMG. (KMG:Hamburg, 2003) 189-243. In this article Wollschaft maintains that May had among later sources “der Bibel (I), der neuplatonischen Lehre (II), der philosophia perennis (III) und der darwinistischen Theorie (IV)” 190.
capable of developing in the time provided to the extent that he can harmoniously co-exist with the white man. They are part of a Past Age. May asks, however, if a “christliche Milderung”\footnote{Winnetou I 6.} has taken place when dealing with the inevitable extinction of the Aboriginal. It is at this point that the reader first takes notice of one of May’s underlying themes throughout the duration of his *Winnetou* series, that of Christianity in the Wild West, and its use to soothe the “dying man” in his last days. The concept of Christianity, not only as the superior religion but also as a device to distinguish between the images of the noble savage, good Indian and bad Indian consistently reappear throughout the duration of the series and in *Winnetou III* reaches a peak with Winnetou converting to Christianity moments before his death.

Continuing on this tangent May describes, using an immense amount of cliché, the injustices suffered by Aboriginals at the hands of the European colonizers. In recounting these injustices, May makes it clear that the Aboriginals could do nothing: that through their lack of European development, it was not their fault that they lost their lands and culture. “Die Weiße kam mit süßen Worten auf den Lippen, aber zugleich mit dem scharfen Messer im Gürtel und dem geladenen Gewehr in der Hand. Er versprach Liebe und Frieden und gab Hass und Kampf.”\footnote{Winnetou I 6.} The sophistication of the European weapons system was enough to conquer the lands and peoples of North America. May also touches on the naiveté of the Aboriginals in their first encounters and hospitality with regards to the Europeans.\footnote{John Raulston Saul argues differently in his *A Fair Country* in that he maintains that it is the Aboriginal culture that creates and fosters a welcoming of strangers, essentially producing a “hybrid” sort of culture. He}
are, obviously, noble savages, at this time, still free of European influence. Karl-Heinz Kohl points out, however, that Indigenous populations after contact with European settlers in the eighteenth century reacted and developed in reaction to this encroachment:

\[\text{[...]} \text{die indianischen Kulturen des nordamerikanischen Kontinents zu} \]
\[\text{hybriden Mischkulturen} \] \text{geworden [waren]. Sie übernahmen von den}
\[\text{KOLONIAListen zahlreiche Techniken und Fertigkeiten, verstanden dabei aber}
\text{zugleich an ihren sprachlichen, sozialen und religiösen Traditionen in einem}
\text{erstaunlichen Ausmass festzuhalten.}\]

For May, however, these “hybriden Mischkulturen” are not representative of his perceived image of the Aboriginal. For May, the Aboriginal does not adapt to the white dominant culture, rather he is a romanticized image of a past age, one that is struggling against his ultimate death, not adapting or intermixing with whites but all the while maintaining his own traditions.

At this point May also addresses the concept of “Feuerwasser” and its negative influence on the Aboriginal. In taking the land from the original inhabitants, the white man paid him in trinkets and whiskey and gave him “schlimmere Krankheiten.” In reconstructing the history of North America, May takes a sympathetic view of Indigenous cultures as a whole. Aboriginals as a people were not able to defend themselves from the overpowering European encroachment and remain weak in the eyes of the European. As a result, “[d]arüber erbittert, rächte er sich an dem einzelnen Bleichgesicht, das ihm

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323 My emphasis.
324 Karl Heinz Kohl. “Kulturelle Camouflagen” Karl May: Imaginäre Reisen. 98.
325 Winnetou I 7.
326 Winnetou I 7.
327 See again Saul 8.
begegnete, und die Folgen davon waren dann stets grausame Metzeleien, die unter den Roten angerichtet wurden,"\textsuperscript{328} creating the red devil, or ignoble savage- a construct found in literature and even history books about America. May then juxtaposes this negative figure of the Aboriginal with that of one with extremely noble characteristics, which he neatly sandwiches between negative images of the original inhabitants, but one that the Aboriginal, himself, is not responsible for:

\begin{quote}
Dadurch ist er, ursprünglich ein stolzer, kühner, tapferer, wahrheitsliebender, aufrichtiger und seinen Freunden stets treuer Jägersmann, ein Heimlich schleichender, misstrauischer, lügnerischer Mensch geworden, ohne dass er dafür nicht kann, denn nicht er, sondern der Weiß ist schuld daran.\textsuperscript{329}
\end{quote}

Almost as if May is comparing the Aboriginal to the animals of the prairies, May, in a series of rhetorical questions makes the transition from speaking of the Aboriginal to the land, animals and the concept of reservations. The slow extinction of the mustangs and the buffalo is then followed by the increasing dependence of the Aboriginal not on their traditional foods but rather their reliance on the white man:

\begin{quote}
Wovon lebt er heute? Vom dem Mehl und Fleisch, das man ihm liefert? Das würde er wohl tun, wenn sich nicht Gips und andere schöne Dinge in diesem Mehl befänden; meist ist es ungenießbar. Und werden einem Stamm einmal hundert ‘extra fette’ Ochsen zugesprochen, so haben sie sich unterwegs in zwei oder drei alte, abgemagerte Kühe verwandelt, von denen kaum ein Aasgeier einen Bissen herunterreißt; meist ist es ungenießbar. Und werden einem Stamm einmal hundert ‘extra fette’ Ochsen zugesprochen, so haben sie sich unterwegs in zwei oder drei alte, abgemagerte Kühe verwandelt, von denen kaum ein Aasgeier einen Bissen herunterreißt könnte. Kann er auf eine Ernte rechnen, er, der Rechtlose, den man immer von neuem verdrängt, dem man keine bleibende Stätte lässt?\textsuperscript{330}
\end{quote}

In emphasizing the Aboriginal dependence on the white man, May also again stresses, that the Aboriginal is not in control of his current life, nor is he in control of his future. He has no rights, and no land, thus no power or control. May then segues to the past, proud life

\textsuperscript{328} Winnetou I 7.
\textsuperscript{329} Winnetou I 7.
\textsuperscript{330} Winnetou I 7.
of the noble savage. This description seems reminiscent of Kafka’s “Wunsch Indianer zu werden” and touches on certain noble savage constructs and feats of unbelievable courage that are seen later in the novel, which is again contrasted with the image of the Aboriginal of Karl May’s present:

Welch eine stolze, schöne Erscheinung war er früher, als er, von der Mähne seines Mustangs umweht, über die weite Savanne flog, und wie elend und verkommen sieht er jetzt aus in den Fetzen, die kaum seine Blöße decken! Er, der einst in überstrotzender Kraft dem schrecklichen Grauen Bären mit Messer und Tomahawk zu Leibe ging, schleicht jetzt wie ein räudiger Hund in den Winkeln umher, um sich hungrig einen Fetzen Fleisch zu erbetteln oder zu stehlen!\(^{331}\)

May returns to the premise of the first paragraph of his introduction to *Winnetou*, in that the Aboriginal is not only the “sick man” of the New World but also the “dying man.” He maintains that the white man is beside him as he is on his deathbed, essentially holding his hand as he passes away. It is here that May overtly states that this death is even more tragic as it is dealing with the death of an entire race. For May, the death of Aboriginal peoples cannot be prevented or avoided, but rather it should be treated as inevitable. It is with such generalized statements as these that May does show his lack of understanding in the history, politics and life in general of North America and which allows him to create his imagined images of not only North America, but also of its original inhabitants, with such great success.

In again using the technique of positing rhetorical questions May asks the reader to consider “what could have been” in regards to the Indigenous race:

\(^{331}\) *Winnetou* I 7-8.

This flurry of questions creates for enormous amounts of speculation on the part of the reader. The first question again leads to a sort of philosophical speculation and even sympathy for the Aboriginal regarding time needed in the development of a race and the impact of the loss of a unique culture and the character of a people to the rest of humanity.

In the second part of the paragraph, May posits the question about the necessity of the absolute death of the Aboriginal. He does, however, compare the idea of Indian reservations as a potential solution for the salvation of the Aboriginal to that of the creation of a national park to save the buffalo. With this comment, May again takes the agency of the death of the Aboriginal away from him and firmly places it in the hands of the European colonizer. The Aboriginal is thus, just as helpless and as silent as the buffalo, an animal to whom he is compared.

Just as suddenly as he offers the reader the possibility about saving the original inhabitants of North America, May demands that the reader contemplate what use it would be to speculate on the creation of reservations as the Aboriginal is “…angesichts des

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332 Winnetou I 8.
Todes, der nicht abzuwenden ist! Was können Vorwürfe helfen, wo überhaupt nicht mehr zu helfen ist!“

It is within this paragraph that May rather shrewdly asserts himself as the narrator of the impending story, from the first person perspective. May claims he has met the “red man” over the course of years and specifically he knew one that “unter ihnen einen, der hell, hoch und herrlich in meinem Herzen, in meinen Gedanken wohnt. Er, der beste, treueste und opferwilligste aller meiner Freunde, war ein echter Vertreter der Rasse, der er entstammte, und ganz so, wie sie untergeht, ist er auch untergegangen.” It is with these words that the reader is introduced to the eponymous hero of the story: Winnetou. And it is with these words he also implicitly implies that if the most noble of the “red race” is dead - that the rest of the race will follow.

The introduction thus becomes a dedication to the “edelster Sohn,” of the red race, Winnetou, the chief of the Apache. May wants the reader to think of Winnetou when he thinks of the “gerechtes Urteil” that the rest of the Aboriginals will inevitably succumb to. The introduction ends here and the reader turns the page to begin the adventures of Old Shatterhand, the German immigrant to America and his Blood Brother, the noble chief of the Apache, Winnetou.

333 Winnetou I 8.
334 Winnetou I 8.
335 Winnetou I 9.
336 Winnetou I 9.
First Encounter

The first encounter between the Apache and the white characters in the story takes place in the chapter named for the white man who lives with the Apache, Klekih-petra. A German teacher of higher education who fled Europe during the 1848 rebellion, Klekih-petra has created a place for himself among the Apache. When he arrived in Kansas, Klekih-petra was determined to end his life because of the extreme guilt he felt about leading the younger generation away from God in his position as an educator. Instead of taking his life, he found a different calling, which is a perversion of religion: he is trying to convert the Other, the Aboriginal, in an attempt to save himself. Klekih-petra has managed to establish himself in the tribe as someone who is respected, and who teaches the Apache about Christianity. It is telling that the first “Aboriginal” character the reader meets is actually a cultural interloper who serves the purpose of making the Apache for the reader the more “noble” of the tribes introduced, because of their innate understanding of white man’s religion.

Klekih-petra, the German Indian, interrupts an argument between Old Shatterhand and Rattler, one of the unscrupulous Yankees. Although dressed in Apache clothing, the narrator, Old Shatterhand, can tell that he is not an Apache:

Er war klein, hager und buckling und fast wie ein Roter gekleidet. Man konnte nicht recht unterscheiden, ob er ein Weißer oder ein Indianer war. Seine scharf geschnittenen Züge schienen auf indianische Abstammung hinzudeuten, während die Farbe seines sonnengebräunten Gesichts früher wahrscheinlich weiß gewesen war. … Sein Auge blickte außerordentlich intelligent und er machte trotz seiner Missgestalt keineswegs einen lächerlichen Eindruck.337

337 *Winnetou I* 96.
The importance of Klekih-petra to the development of the story and more specifically the friendship between Old Shatterhand and Winnetou cannot be overlooked. Klekih-petra acts as an interloper between the two cultures and thus helps the Apache to be more understanding of the white ways, and here it is the Christian way, most often associated with the German immigrants in the series and not the Yankees. The Yankees are seen by May as only a step more civilized than the Aboriginals, and this is most likely only because they are white. May blames the Yankees and the use of firewater, their un-Christian ways, even immoral behaviours as demonstrated by characters such as Santer and Rattler, for the demise of the Aboriginal. As previously established, the Aboriginal has no control in his fate, it is the influence of the white man, here the Yankees, or American characters, that has directly lead to the death of the Aboriginal. It is because of the Yankee way of life and their lack of Christian ethics in the story that leads the German characters to be described as superior to the Yankee characters. May has described the Yankees as uncouth and of questionable moral virtue which “readers are repulsed by overt drunkenness, greed and selfishness – all of which heighten Shatterhand’s noble German traits.” Within the story any seemingly sympathetic Yankee character usually turns out to have German heritage and know even a little bit of German. The Man of the West, Sam Hawkens is the first “good” Yankee to come to mind.

The reader can also see that Klekih-petra, like Old Shatterhand notes, is an intelligent man who does not hold a high opinion of any of the surveyors he has just met.

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339 Cracroft 257.
He asks the question that leads to the eventual disagreement between the Apache and the surveyors: “So habt ihr das Gebiet gekauft?”340 With this question, May slowly starts to create the background for the appearance of the Apache chiefs.

As Rattler hears Klekih-petra’s name he adds that he is the “Schulmeister der Apatschen”341 and is also “eine Art Missionar,”342 which, again creates a different dynamic in the relationship between Klekih-petra and the Apache. As the school teacher of the Apache, he is seen as in a role of knowledge, or power over the people he teaches, this highlights a dynamic that the white man, even within the ranks of Aboriginal tribes, can rise to a position of power, which is then generally attributed to his superior knowledge, and not necessarily his physical prowess. Old Shatterhand, naturally, possesses both superior knowledge and physical strength.

Klekih-petra calls to his companions and as they step out of the forest, May begins with most possibly the best-known description of an Aboriginal343 in the German-speaking world. It is not, however, Winnetou, rather his father, Inschu-tschuna that is first described. There remains little doubt in this description regarding May’s belief that the chief of the Apache is a noble savage:

Der ältere war von etwas mehr als mittlerer Gestalt, dabei sehr kräftig gebaut. Seine Haltung zeigte etwas wirklich Edles und aus seinen Bewegungen konnte man auf große körperliche Gewandtheit schließen. Sein ernstes Gesicht war echt indianisch, doch nicht so scharf und eckig wie bei den meisten Roten. Sein Auge besaß einen ruhigen, beinahe milden Ausdruck, den Ausdruck einer stillen, inneren Sammlung, die ihn bestimmt

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340 Winnetou I 98.
341 Winnetou I 99.
342 Winnetou I 107.
343 In this case Aboriginal person, character or even Gestalt.
seinen Stammensgenossen überlegen machen musste. Sein Kopf war unbedeckt. Das dunkle Haar hatte er in einem helmartigen Schopf aufgebunden, worin eine Adlerfeder steckte, das Zeichen der Häuptlingswürde. Der Anzug bestand aus Mokassins, ausgefransten Leggins und einem lederenen Jagdrock, alles sehr einfach und dauerhaft gefertigt. Im Gürtel steckte ein Messer, ferner hingen daran mehrere Beutel, worin alle die Kleinigkeiten verwahrt wurden, die einem im Westen nötig sind. Der Medizinbeutel war an einer Halsschnur befestigt, daneben die Friedenspfeife mit dem aus heiligem Ton geschnittenen Kopf. In der Hand hielt er ein doppelläufiges Gewehr, dessen Holzteile dicht mit silbernen Nägeln beschlagen waren. Das was das Gewehr, das sein Sohn später unter dem Namen Silberbüchse zu so großer Berühmtheit bringen sollte.\textsuperscript{344}

This description marks not only the beginning of the image of the noble savage in Karl May’s work, but it is also the beginning of its role in contemporary culture. Peter Uwe Hohendahl has expanded on this as he remarks on the simple classification into good and bad Indians: “Ob im Osten, Süden oder Südwesten: die Indianer lassen sich regelmässig in Schurken und Helden, Edle und Niedrige einteilen. Während die Guten nicht selten dem antiken Schönheitsideal entsprechen, fehlt bei den Bösen nie der Hinweis auf die Teufel der christlichen Mythologie.”\textsuperscript{345}

This first encounter is slowly built upon and expanded by May and later others,\textsuperscript{346} but it remains quintessential for the representation of the Aboriginal not only in German literature but also eventually in the twentieth century German culture, through Karl May Festspiele, Cowboy and Indian Clubs and film, not limited to but including the Red Westerns of the former East Germany and the Karl May films of the 1950s and 60s.

\textsuperscript{344} Winnetou I 99.
\textsuperscript{345} Hohendahl 187.
\textsuperscript{346} Susanne Zantop in her introduction to the collection of essays stemming from the conference held at Dartmouth College in 1999, also builds upon and extends this image as she uses the relationship of Old Shatterhand and Winnetou to best exemplify the “Blood Brotherhood” seemingly shared between Aboriginal peoples and Germans.
As May continues describing the scene, he switches his attention to the second figure to appear, that of the son, Winnetou. Continuing with a similar description as that of Intschu tschuna, May describes Winnetou and Old Shatterhand’s impression when he first sets eyes upon him:


In the descriptions of the father and son, May has made a few things clear: they are both seemingly noble (edel), their features are not deemed as characteristically “Indian” as other Aboriginals, and their countenance seems to be more sophisticated and educated than most. Even their skin tones are not described as red, rather light brown or bronze. Much has been made of the homosexual innuendos of this first encounter, but within the context of this dissertation I would like to concentrate more on the non-sexual power structure that appears between Old Shatterhand and Winnetou. Although Old Shatterhand

\(^{347}\) Winnetou I 100.
and Winnetou’s adventures throughout the Wild West can be read as a masculine cowboy narrative, Winnetou in his role as the Other is portrayed in the context of a more feminine Other that has been discussed by Said.

These characteristics that May continually mentions throughout the novel, creates the sentiment that the Apache are not “typical” of other Indigenous cultures, they are somewhere between the Yankees, who are seen as less idyllic than the Europeans and the other tribes, such as the Kiowa, mentioned in the story. On a scale, the Apache and more specifically Winnetou’s family are the representative image of the noble savage.

As Klekih-petra introduces Intschu tschuna and Winnetou to the group of surveyors and Men of the West, Rattler insults Winnetou by implying that he is not a chieftan but rather a “bad Indian,” one guilty of robbing and stealing than of the heroic feats and deeds that have been attributed to him. Winnetou and his father both ignore Rattler, thus displaying characteristics that entail more of the noble savage image. Also contributing to this image in the mind of the reader is the fact that Winnetou speaks a “reines Englisch,” when he asks who killed the bear with the knife. Slowly, all of these characteristics and attributes lead the reader to believe that Winnetou is indeed a noble savage.

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349 Winnetou I 101.
The Apache chiefs add their opinion to the disagreement of who shot the bear and their rationale seems much more logical than that of the surveyors. By calling the whites strange because “[d]ie Roten sind gerechter. Bei ihnen kann ein Tapferer nie als Schwachherz und ein Schwachherz nie als Tapfer gelten,” May here reverses the moral standpoint of the two cultures. The Yankees are questionable in their intentions as they only want the bear carcass as a source of food and Rattler, specifically, wants to embarrass Old Shatterhand. It is the Apache, however, who speak the truth, have the unbiased opinion and cannot understand why this argument has come to this impasse. Clearly, it is the person who stabbed the Grizzly that killed it. May uses this to also show the reader that the Yankees throughout the narrative are not to be trusted. May writes of Old Shatterhand’s newfound respect for the Apache:

Welch ein Unterschied zwischen meinen weißen Begleitern und diesen von ihnen verachteten Indianern! Der Gerechtigkeitssinn der Roten trieb sie, ohne dass sie es nötig hatten, sich zu meinem Gunsten auszusprechen. Und es war ein Wagnis, dass sie es taten. Sie waren nur zu drei und wussten nicht, wie viel Köpfe wir zählten. Sie begaben sich gewiss in eine Gefahr, wenn sie sich unsere Westmänner zu Feinden machten. Daran schienen sie aber nicht zu denken.351

In using the word trieb, however, it can be understood that this action by the Apache was more of an instinct than an actual planned action. Old Shatterhand cannot believe that they would do this, knowingly outnumbered by so many Men of the West. It is with one simple word like trieb, that May shows that although they are noble savages, they are not part of white man’s society, as such a faux pas, would not have been tolerated.

350 Winnetou I 101.
351 Winnetou I 102.
It is just after this moment, however, that the situation changes and the Apache act more accordingly to a bad Indian stereotype. The conversation switches from the bear to what the white men are doing there, measuring the land. As Old Shatterhand tells them that they are measuring the land to build a railway across it, Intschu tschuna’s countenance changes: “Sein Auge verlor den ruhigen, sinnenden Ausdruck. Es leuchtete zornig auf…”352 and May here begins one of his tangents on the conquest of the traditional territories of Indigenous populations and the encroachment of the West by the whites.

As Old Shatterhand tells him that they are paid to do this work, Intschu tschuna looks to Klekih-petra and comments to him about the Christian lessons that Klekih-petra has been teaching the Apache, and that even the best of the white men, as it has been established Old Shatterhand is, are still in this territory for dubious reasons. And Old Shatterhand, as the moral German, must admit, he felt ashamed, as he could not find a reason with which to defend himself. In sympathizing with the Other, May is allowing the reader to also sympathize with the loss of land and culture. This subtle show of emotion on the part of Old Shatterhand allows the reader to react emotionally, and to see himself in the position as more sympathetic and even humane colonizer.

This frames the discussion that is about to occur regarding the land rights of Aboriginals, by essentially admitting that the white man (Yankee) is at fault and that not only this trespass specifically but all trespasses incurred are immoral. By doing this, May places the German on a higher moral ground than the Yankee. And again May reiterates

352 Winnetou I 103.
that it is the Yankees, and not the Europeans/Germans that are at fault for the demise of the original Inhabitants of North America.

During this encounter, the Apache also witness part of the on-going argument between Old Shatterhand and Rattler, one that ultimately ends in the death of Klekih-petra and later of Rattler in the Apache village. It is here, again that that the reader sees the reversal of roles between the European and the Other. The inner tranquility of the Apache, watching the arguments between the white characters while it is the Yankees and Old Shatterhand who act like uncouth savages. This reversal transpires often within the book, when Old Shatterhand is dealing with different Yankees, showing how uncouth and morally objectionable the Yankees are.

Intschu tschuna asks to speak with Bancroft, the head surveyor regarding the land issues. As Bancroft asks if Inschu-tschna would like to be his guest, Intschu tschuna craftily replies: “Wie kann Intschu tschuna dein Gast sein, wenn du dich bei ihm, auf seinem Boden, in seinem Wald, seinem Tal und seiner Prärie befindest?” 353 With this rhetorical question, May leads the reader into a deeper discussion regarding the land rights of Aboriginals. Intschu tschuna begins by asking Bancroft seemingly overly simplistic questions about where he lives and what land he possesses. He asks if Bancroft would tolerate it if his neighbour would build a path through his property and what would the white man do if the Aboriginals came and built a railway through their lands. To this

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353 Winnetou I 106.
Bancroft replies that the whites would send them away. At this point, Intschu tschuna has created a perfect argument to make his point. He responds to Bancroft:


In this passage, Intschu tschuna is addressing many of the points May addresses in the introduction to *Winnetou*. Where May is lamenting the death of the Aboriginal and the
lack of time the white man gave the original Inhabitants to properly develop into a
“European” nation, Intschu tschuna speaks of the real owners of the land. Also, the
elements of Christianity that Intschu tschuna mentions here, consistently appear
throughout the three Winnetou novels to varying degrees, and are mentioned by May in
the introduction.

Intschu tschuna blames the white man for the loss of traditional hunting territory
and of their traditional animals, such as the buffalo and mustangs. In addressing the loss of
land, he also speaks of the material greed for gold and precious stones that seems to drive
the expansion West. Intschu tschuna then addresses the concept of Christianity and the
seemingly hypocritical stance the white man has regarding the Aboriginal, the expectation
that the Aboriginal should act according to a “good Indian” image and accept their fate
and demise instead of fighting against it and protecting their land and peoples.

In recounting the biblical story of Cain and Abel, Intschu tschuna compares this
story to that of the current situation between the white man and Aboriginal. He weaves
this together by making the point that the Aboriginal will defend himself against this, as it
is their right as humans. All he desires is that the white man and the Aboriginal should be
treated as equals, as brothers, both bound by the same laws and rules. And in that sense,
the white man should acknowledge and respect the traditional lands of the Indigenous
peoples.
After listening to Intschu tschuna speak, Old Shatterhand is amazed how educated and “non-Indian” Intschu tschuna seems to be: “Ich war erstaunt über diesen Indianer. Ich hatte viele Bücher über die rote Rasse und viele Reden gelesen, die von Indianern gehalten worden waren, eine solche aber noch nicht. Intschu tschuna sprach ein klares, fließendes Englisch. Seine Gedankenfolge war ebenso wie seine Ausdrucksweise die eines gebildeten Mannes. Sollte er diese Vorzüge Klekih-petra, dem ‘Schulmeister’, verdanken?”

For Old Shatterhand, in order for Intschu tschuna to be considered an educated man, it must have been because of his interaction with the white German, Klekih-petra. It is this specific interaction that also leads to the eventual friendship between Old Shatterhand and Winnetou, as Winnetou has been educated by Klekih-petra, and has thus received albeit a non formal Christian education, but a Christian education nonetheless, which has created certain “German” and Christian sentiments that make it much more plausible for a friendship to develop between the two men.

Klekih-petra acts like a cultural interloper between the Apache and surveyors. He maintains that he understands both sides of the argument and is firmly siding with the Apache chief, but understands the inevitability of the white encroachment of the West: “Es geschieht ein grosses fortgesetztes Verbrechen an der roten Rasse. Aber als Weißer weiß ich auch, dass sich der Indsman vergeblich wehrt. Wenn ihr heute von hier fortgeht, werden morgen andere kommen, die euer Werk zu Ende führen.”

In elaborating on both sides of the argument Klekih-petra shows that he is also aware of the impending doom of the Aboriginal. It also solidifies his role in the West. This becomes very

355 Winnetou I 112.
356 Winnetou I 113.
important for the reader, that Klekih-petra, as a “deutsch-christlicher Lehrer,” shows the reader that it is the Yankees, with the expansion West that should be seen as the enemies of the Aboriginal, and the German immigrants are there as “saviours” or missionaries to help ease the pain of the Aboriginal as they slowly become peoples of the past.

As the Apache leave the rest of the surveyors, Old Shatterhand asks Klekih-petra if he can walk with him. As they walk, they discover that they are both Germans. In a very pro-German paragraph, Klekih-petra expounds on this innate “German feeling”: “Wir Deutschen sind eigentümliche Menschen. Unsere Herzen erkennen einander als verwandt, noch ehe wir es uns sagen, daß wir Angehörige des gleichen Volkes sind. Wenn es doch nun endlich einmal ein einiges Volk werden wollte!” Encounters with other German characters consistently re-appear throughout the Winnetou novels and re-affirm the “Germanness” of America in the context of the novels. The Germans who appear in the text are always morally superior to the Americans and other immigrants, who are introduced in the text. These pro-German sentiments have also contributed to the (in)famy and popularity of Winnetou in German speaking nations. Winnetou speaks one time in the first encounter and this is again a case of Said’s dominant culture speaking for the weaker.

Their conversation and the establishment of their common ancestry leads the two men to talk about God and religion. It becomes evident that both are Christians, although Klekih-petra is further removed from Christianity than Old Shatterhand. Old Shatterhand

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358 Winnetou I 114.
has always remained true and faithful to Christianity, whereas Klekih-petra, while a teacher, championed Reason over Religion, “Meine Göttin hieß Vernunft,” with disastrous results. Feeling responsible for the deaths of many of his students and their relatives as a result of his lectures, he has returned to Christianity, and has tried to repent for his past mistakes. In this sense, he is a sort of “prodigal son returning” from a life worshiping false Gods, here Reason, and returning to Christianity. It is at this moment that May gives his first overtly pro-Christian sermon. Klekih-petra wonders why Old Shatterhand does not use other terms when talking about fate and destiny but instead chooses to use “Gottes Wege” to explain the reason that Klekih-petra has found himself among the Apache. As the two men discuss the similarities in their religious beliefs, Klekih-petra believes that it is “Gottes Wege,” that he has met Old Shatterhand. He observes in Old Shatterhand: “Sie haben Gott, den Herrn, in sich, der Sie nie verlassen wird. Bei mir war es anders,” he had lost his belief in God, or rather felt that God had left him. His attempted reconciliation with God is what has led him to the Apache, essentially as a missionary. It is here that the reader can see that there have been two different paths towards God. Through Old Shatterhand, who has remained true to Christianity and Klekih-petra, who became a non-believer only to return to Christianity and in this attempt to reconcile his actions has led him to believe that he must convert as many Aboriginals as possible in order to repent for his sins.

Klekih-petra recounts the story of how he came to be among the Apache: through an escape to Kansas and thoughts of suicide. As he explains his “recovery”, it is possible to

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359 Winnetou I 114.
360 Winnetou I 114.
361 Winnetou I 115.
see that with the Apache, Klekih-petra has reached his Utopia. He leaves civilization and
almost like a Robinsonade narrative Utopia, he finds himself among the Apache and
thinks it is his destiny to ease their pain as they die:

Um mich innerlich zu festigen, floh ich die Welt und die Menschen. Ich ging
in die Wildnis. Aber nicht der Glaube allein ist’s, der selig macht. Der Baum
des Glaubens muss die Früchte der Werke tragen. Ich wollte wirken,
womöglich gerade entgegengesetzt meinem früheren Bestreben. Da sah ich
den roten Mann sich verzweiflungsvoll sträuben gegen den Untergang. Ich
sah die Mörder in seinem Leib wühlen und das Herz brannte mir vor Zorn,
Mitleid und Erbarmen. Sein Schicksal war besiegelt, ich konnte ihn nicht
retten. Aber eins zu tun, war mir möglich: Ihm den Tod erleichtern und auf
seine letzte Stunde den Glanz der Liebe, der Versöhnung fallen lassen, das
konnte ich. 362

Klekih-petra’s Biblical phrasing in this paragraph reflects the redemptive narrative that
May has created for him. In this same monologue, Klekih-petra mentions that among the
Apache he found what he had lost in Germany, when he left as a disenchanted non-
believer. He comments on how he assimilated himself to the ways of the Apache and he
sees Winnetou as his finest achievement. This, in turn, leads to a curiosity on Old
Shatterhand’s part about his future Blood Brother and the projection of tellingly European
military characteristics that Winnetou possesses, if only he weren’t a member of the
“dying man”!

Ich wollte, Sie könnten Winnetou näher kennenlernen; er ist so recht mein
eigenstes Werk. Dieser Jüngling besitzt reiche Gaben. Wäre er der Sohn eines
europäischen Herrschers, so würde er ein großer Feldherr und ein noch
großerer Friedensfürst werden. Als Spross eines Indianerhäuptlings aber wird
er untergehen, wie seine ganze Rasse untergeht. Könnte ich doch den Tag
erleben, an dem er sich einen Christen nennt! 363

362 Winnetou I 118.
363 Winnetou I 118.
Because it is already a forgone conclusion that Winnetou, like his people will die, it is Klekih-petra’s desire to convert Winnetou to Christianity in order not only to relieve Winnetou of his suffering, but also to use Winnetou as a means of his own redemption in the eyes of God. He sees it as his way to make amends for his former trespasses against God in Europe. This desire to convert Winnetou is a sentiment that consistently reappears throughout the novels, even to the extent that Old Shatterhand feels that he should also convert Winnetou. Later in this chapter, the conversation between Old Shatterhand and Winnetou and Winnetou’s conversion will be discussed. It becomes apparent that Winnetou’s conversion is inevitable, although Winnetou throughout almost the entirety of the narrative does not want to discuss Christianity with Old Shatterhand. What is also apparent throughout the narrative, however, is the subtle power constructs that are consistently re-created in which following the “Christian way” instead of the “Apache way” always leads to a better outcome for the Blood Brothers. It is also eventually Winnetou who asks Old Shatterhand to tell him about Christianity. May stresses in this sense the patience that Old Shatterhand has in converting Winnetou, which makes the eventual conversion seem to be a more natural action than of a missionary preaching to the Aboriginal in an effort to convert them.

Klekih-petra’s death is also foreshadowed in this conversation with Old Shatterhand. He would die for Winnetou, if the need should ever arise. He also ponders if he will die a natural death or if his life will prematurely be taken from him. It is Rattler, one of the Yankee surveyors who eventually takes Klekih-petra’s life. As it was disproven that he had killed the bear and was knocked out by Old Shatterhand’s punch, Rattler had
drunk himself into intoxication. He demands that Winnetou drink whiskey with him, which Winnetou, as a good Indian figure, steadfastly refuses. Rattler throws the whiskey in his face and Winnetou punches him to the ground. Rattler returns with his rifle and as he shoots at Winnetou, Klekih-petra jumps in front of the bullet, and sacrifices his life for Winnetou’s. With his almost dying words, he tells Old Shatterhand, in German: “Bleiben Sie bei ihm- ihm treu- mein Werk fortführen…” 364

Old Shatterhand wants to go with the Apache after the death of Klekih-petra. Winnetou, however, threatens him and refuses him this. As the first encounter between the Apache and the whites draws to a close, it ends with almost a combination of a noble savage and bad Indian construct:

Sie hatten keinen einzigen Blick mehr für uns. … Sie ließen kein Wort der Drohung, der Rache zurück. Sie wandten sich auch nicht ein einziges Mal nach uns um. Aber das war viel schlimmer, als wenn sie uns den fürchterlichsten Tod offen geschworen hätten. 365

The silence of the two Apache allows the reader’s imagination run wild with thoughts and ideas about what will next happen and how Old Shatterhand will succeed in honouring the dying wish of Klekih-petra. As can be seen throughout the first scene of their encounter, Winnetou speaks only once. Although his father Intschu tschuna commands the respect of all present, this first encounter becomes one in which the white man is not only speaking for the Aboriginal, but also the Aboriginal character plays a secondary role to the white man in the form that it is Klekih-petra’s internal struggles with Christianity and his death that actually take centre stage.

364 Winnetou I 122.
365 Winnetou I 123.
In deconstructing the image of the good Indian and the noble savage in the *Winnetou* series, it becomes apparent when following the constructs as they were described in the introduction that it is not Winnetou who should be considered a noble savage but rather it is his father, Intschu tschuna, that actually best fits the role. Although Winnetou has typically been described in the majority of research as a noble savage, his actions are best representative of a good Indian image. This transformation from a noble savage to a good Indian image slowly takes place throughout the development of the story, but at the time of Winnetou’s death in the final book, it is clear that Winnetou has transformed almost entirely into a good Indian character. Intschu tschuna, on the other hand, because of his “uneasy co-existence,” with the bad Indian image, can be better read as a noble savage construct. Both the father and son possess the “common Indian traits” as set out by Barnett, but Intschu tschuna, even to the extent that he plays a role in the narrative, reflects the noble savage image. In the Apache village that will be discussed next, Intschu tschuna is part of a sub-plot that through his death deepens the friendship between the two Blood Brothers. His death also removes the familial ties, which would have forced Winnetou to remain close to his traditional territories rather than be free to travel with Old Shatterhand around the Wild West. Barnett does maintain that it is through contact with white characters that the majority of Aboriginal characters develop into a bad Indian image, this is not the case with Intschu tschuna. It *is*, however, the case with Tangua the chief of the Kiowa. In May’s work this can best be explained by the German influence of Klekih-petra on the Apache. Tangua’s interaction with whites has been almost exclusively with the Yankees, but because Klekih-petra’s influence on the
Apache was through what could be considered a missionary role, not taking monetary advantage of the Apache and trying to educate and convert the Apache to Christianity, Intschu tschuna does not reflect as much of the bad Indian stereotype as many of the Aboriginal characters in Barnett’s study does. Intschu tschuna does, however, reflect some bad Indian characteristics when in the Apache village and consumed by revenge for the death of Klekih-petra. The image, however, remains stable and Intschu tschuna does not fluctuate between varying degrees of imagery like other Aboriginal characters in the story. He fits perfectly into Barnett’s noble savage category.

**In the Apache Village**

In the third scene that I will be analyzing, Old Shatterhand has been taken to the Apache village as a prisoner. Winnetou and his father, Intschu tschuna do not believe him as he attempts to tell them that he was trying to save them. Suffering from among other injuries, including a knife jabbed through his tongue by Winnetou, Old Shatterhand is in and out of consciousness for three weeks after the Apache victory over the Kiowa. The Apache see Old Shatterhand and his Men of the West, Sam Hawkens, Dick Stone and Will Parker, along with the killer of Klekhi-petra, Rattler, as the enemy and are waiting solely for Old Shatterhand to recover from his injuries, only to kill them all in ceremony that is meant to honour Klekhi-petra. As Winnetou comes to check on Old Shatterhand, Old Shatterhand describes him as a cliché-filled noble savage, good Indian paradigm:

Er war jetzt in ein leichtes, leinenes Gewand gekleidet, trug keine Waffe und hielt ein Buch in der Hand, auf dessen Einband in großer Goldschrift das Wort ‘Hiawatha’ zu lesen war. Dieser Indianer, dieser Sohn eines Volkes, das man zu den ‘Wilden’ zählt, konnte also nicht nur lesen, sondern besaß sogar Sinn und Geschmack für das höhere! Longfellows berühmtes Gedicht
Again emphasizing the fact that May believes that Winnetou is part of a dying race, May situates Winnetou as the most noble of his people by the fact that he is ironically reading a copy of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s romantic epic poem *Hiawatha*, which tells the story of the life of the chief Hiawatha and ending in Hiawatha acknowledging the missionaries and their Christian message, as he paddles off into the sunset, never to be seen again. The poem was well received in both America and Germany. The fact that Winnetou is reading this poem not only allows the reader to see him as an educated Aboriginal character with an understanding of European cultures and beliefs, in specific regard to Indigenous peoples of North America, but also foreshadows Winnetou’s eventual conversion to Christianity on his deathbed.

Winnetou refuses to believe that the men are innocent and Old Shatterhand cannot speak as a result of the wound to his mouth. It is the Chief of the Kiowa, Tangua, whose word Winnetou and his father have taken in regards to the guilt of the men held captive in the Apache village. For Winnetou, the word of a chief is worth more than that of the white man and the imposed silence on Old Shatterhand leads to tensions in the story that eventually reconcile themselves and lead to his high standing in the Apache tribe.

Klekhi-petra’s influence over the tribe, however, is still very much present and subsequently influences the Apache Chiefs in their decisions not to kill the captured Kiowa:

366 *Winnetou I* 269.

Old Shatterhand maintains that this is the longest he had ever heard Winnetou speak, and one of the few times after that he also had heard the normally quiet Winnetou insert himself into the conversation. As a common Indian trait, Aboriginals prefer silence to a lot of talk. What is also important to note is the innate European/Christian morals that have appeared regarding the treatment of prisoners. The prisoners are no longer killed, but rather released if a bounty can be paid to the Apache. Something Klekhi-petra had instituted in the tribe.\textsuperscript{368}

As Old Shatterhand is slowly nursed back to health by an old squaw and the beautiful sister of Winnetou, Nscho-tschi, he begins to realize how much Klekhi-petra has influenced the Apache. Nscho-tschi brings him a bowl and a spoon: things that “[d]ie Apatshen derartige Gefäße und Geräte sonst nicht [führen].”\textsuperscript{369} This was his first experience with the “civilization” of the Apache by Klekhi-petra. Klekhi-petra has also succeeded in contributing to the domestic sphere by introducing a hand grinder.\textsuperscript{370} Klekhi-petra, the German, created the sedentary style of life of many for the Apache, thus

\textsuperscript{367} Winnetou I 271.  
\textsuperscript{368} Winnetou I 278.  
\textsuperscript{369} Winnetou I 280.  
\textsuperscript{370} Winnetou I 280.
creating, in the eyes of the European, the beginnings of a civilized society. The pueblos that the Mescaleros Apache live in are contrary to the image Old Shatterhand has read about in his books about the Apache Indians. Other tribes live in pueblos, but the Apache as a seemingly nomadic plains tribe, typically does not. It is, however, only the chiefs, their families and the warriors - the individuals that make up the noble savage construct live in the pueblos, the rest of the tribe lives near them.

May later describes the geography of the land where the pueblos lay. Similarly to Sealsfield, May writes an extended, detailed paragraph pertaining to the outlying area, he still, however, writes from the perspective of a prisoner:

Mein Gefängnis lag also am Pecosfluss, jedenfalls in einem seiner Nebentäler, den wenn ich durch die Tür blickte, fiel mein Auge auf die gegenüberliegende Felswand, die gar nicht weit entfernt war, während das Tal des Rio Pecos selbst viel breiter sein musste.

After he is able to leave the pueblo, however at this point, towards his death, his description of the pueblos themselves becomes more of an educational reading for the reader:

Ich hatte von den indianischen Pueblos bisher nur gelesen, aber noch keines gesehen. Sie sind zum Zweck der Verteidigung errichtet und ihre Bauart, so eigenwertig sie ist, entspricht dieser Bestimmung aufs Beste. Meist füllen sie tiefe Felsstücken aus, bestehen durchweg aus festem Stein- und Mauerwerk und setzen sich aus einzelnen Stockwerken zusammen, deren Zahl sich nach der Örtlichkeit richtet. Jedes Stockwerk [...].

This rather long and intense description again lends credibility to the advanced placement of the Apache in the hierarchy of Aboriginal tribes. They have adapted to a more

371 Winnetou I 277.
372 Winnetou I 284.
373 Winnetou I 288.
sedentary and thus advanced life style and are yet another example of the influence of white civilization that situates the Apache as a tribe as the good Indian image.

It becomes clear that the Apache are a large tribe and as Old Shatterhand is led down towards his death, he remarks on the sheer number of Apache and how they look forward to the enjoyment of the spectacle of their (the Men of the West) deaths.\textsuperscript{374} When he is lead down to the river, it becomes clear to him that “[e]in kurzer Blick auf das Gewühl von roten, fantastisch gekleideten Gestalten sagte mir, dass gewiss sechshundert Apatschen anwesend waren.”\textsuperscript{375}

Here, among the enemy, Old Shatterhand must fight for his freedom. He, as the superior, always has the upper hand, and is thus calm and relaxed in comparison to the other Men of the West. At the beginning of the proceedings, Intschu tschuna holds another long speech, recounting the influence of Klekih-petra on the tribe and touching on certain aspects that remind the reader of the first encounter of Old Shatterhand and the Apache chiefs. It is through this extended eulogy that the reader also becomes aware of the struggle of the Apache and why, ultimately, Intschu tschuna for the sake of the narrative will soon die:

Die Bleichgesichter sind die Feinde der roten Männer; es gibt nur selten eins unter ihnen, dessen Auge sich freundlich auf uns richtet. Der edelste unter diesen wenigen Weißen kam zum Volk der Apatschen, um ihm ein Freund und Vater zu sein. Deshalb haben wir ihm den Namen Klekih-petra- weißer Vater- gegeben. Meine Brüder und Schwestern haben ihn alle gekannt und lieb gehabt. Sie mögen es mir bezeugen! … Klekih-petra ist unser Lehrer gewesen in allen Dingen, die wir nicht kannten, die aber \textit{gut und nützlich}\textsuperscript{376}

\textsuperscript{374} Winnetou I 290.
\textsuperscript{375} Winnetou I 291.
\textsuperscript{376} My emphasis.
Er hat auch vom Glauben der Weißen gesprochen und von dem Großen Geist, der der Schöpfer und Erhalter aller Menschen ist. Dieser Große Geist hat befohlen, dass die Roten und die Weißen untereinander Brüder sein und sich lieben sollen. Haben aber die Weißen seinen Willen erfüllt, haben sie uns Liebe gebracht? Nein! Meine Brüder und Schwestern mögen das bezeugen! … Sie sind vielmehr gekommen, um uns unser Eigentum zu rauben und uns auszurotten. Das gelingt ihnen, weil sie stärker sind als wir. Da, wo die Büffel und die Mustangs grasen, haben sie große Wohnplätze gebaut, von denen alles Böse ausgeht, das über uns kommt. Wo der rote Jäger durch den Urwald oder über die Savanne schritt, da rennt jetzt das dampfende Feuerross mit den großen Wagen, worin es unsere Feinde zu uns bringt. Und wenn der rote Mann davor in die Gründe flieht, die man ihm noch gelassen hat und wo er in Frieden sterben will, so dauert es nicht lange, bis er die Bleichgesichter trifft, die ihm nachgefolgt sind, um den Feuerross auf diesem rechtmäßigen Grund und Boden des roten Mannes neue Pfade zu bauen. Wir haben solche Weiße getroffen und friedlich mit ihnen gesprochen. Wir haben ihnen gesagt, dass dieses Land unser Eigentum ist. Sie haben nichts dagegen vorbringen können, sondern es zugeben müssen. Aber als wir sie aufforderten, fortzugehen und darauf zu verzichten, das Feuerross zu unseren Weideplätzen zu bringen, da sind sie unserer Aufforderung nicht gefolgt und haben Klekih-petra, den wir liebten und verehrten, erschossen…Wir aber wollen den Lehren unseres gütigen Weißen Vaters gern gehorchen und gerecht richten.377

Although he is the epitome of the noble savage and laments the loss of land, it also becomes clear that he is “compromised” in the sense that he has learned too much from Klekih-petra and thus is unable to return to a true noble savage construct, devoid of white influence. He remarks that the Apache have learned all things “gut und nützlich”,378 from their white teacher, implying that these innovations have made their life better. In this sense Klekih-petra has already irrevocably influenced the Apache. The biblical teachings have not been lost on Intschu tschuna and he is trying to respect and ultimately understand Klekih-petra and his preachings. It is Intschu tschuna’s attempts to understand the biblical teachings that ultimately save Old Shatterhand and his comrades.

377 Winnetou I 296-297.
378 Winnetou I 296.
This long, protracted scene does not end with this speech, but continues to such an over exaggerated test of will and savvy on Old Shatterhand’s part that Old Shatterhand defeats Intschu tschuna, in what the Apache see as a test of physical strength and fitness. This victory gives Old Shatterhand the respect of the Apache chiefs and also allows for Old Shatterhand to speak to the chiefs as an equal. In convincing the Apache of the innocence of himself and the other Men of the West, Old Shatterhand proves that Tangua and the Kiowa are liars, who were actually trying to kill the Apache chiefs until Old Shatterhand had, in the night, cut them free while in the Kiowa encampment. Old Shatterhand is challenged to a duel by Tangua, who is insulted that his honour be challenged in front of the Apache and Old Shatterhand defeats Tangua in which he lames the Kiowa chief, solely because of the dishonest way in which Tangua acts and finally becomes the friend of Winnetou. It is at this point that Winnetou calls Old Shatterhand “my brother,” thus signalling the transition of Old Shatterhand from enemy to friend.

Winnetou’s Death

The final scene I wish to analyze is that of Winnetou’s death. It is in this scene that Winnetou, in the arms of Old Shatterhand, while listening to Ave Maria in an isolated German settlement, dies. The most noble son of the red race is killed, but only after he converts to Christianity, thus in a certain way forfeiting his identity as an Apache and becoming an “Apple Indian”. In following an almost Herderian trajectory of cultures Franz Kandolf writes that in “Winnetou sein Leben schildert, einen geschichtlichen Rückblick gegeben über das Entstehen, das Wachsen und das Sterben der roten Rasse.”

379 Winnetou I 123.
Old Shatterhand completes Klekih-petra’s goal of saving Winnetou’s soul, and also, in a sense, proves that the Indian is the “dying man”.

On their journeys, Winnetou asked Old Shatterhand never to speak to him about religion. Old Shatterhand respects this wish and never speaks directly to Winnetou about Christianity. Christianity and also Christian morals consistently re-appeared throughout their adventures and often enabled them to dissolve dangerous situations without any harm to the people involved.

While on the trail of the train robbers, on the third day of their pursuit, Old Shatterhand and Winnetou come across a settlement in a valley:

Am Fuß der Höhe lagen fünf große Blockhäuser mit Nebenhütten, unseren deutschen Bauernhöfen ähnlich, und ganz oben auf der höchsten Spitze stand eine kleine Kapelle, über der sich ein mächtiges Kreuz mit dem aus Holz geschnitzten Bild des Erlösers erhob.\(^{381}\)

It is a German settlement that is celebrating the end of the day. Old Shatterhand is amazed to find a piece of Germany in the Wild West- he goes as far to say:

Hier, mitten im Wilden Westen, im tiefen Urwald, das Bild des Gekreuzigten! Mitten zwischen den Kriegspfaden der Indianer eine Kapelle! Ergriffen nahm ich den Hut ab.\(^{382}\)

In what is seemingly eccentric behaviour for Old Shatterhand, who is normally calm and rational, he cannot control himself at the sight and sound of the village. As the men watch the settlement, the people start to sing and Old Shatterhand is overwhelmed, the song they are singing is his version of *Ave Maria.*

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\(^{381}\) *Winnetou III* 370.

\(^{382}\) *Winnetou III* 370.
Winnetou, on the other hand, does not seem to understand this settlement and needs it to have it explained to him, how this settlement came to be in this place of such isolated wilderness. For Old Shatterhand, however, this turns out to be what could be thought of as his perfect German-American utopia. Far away from other influences, this German settlement has managed to survive, mainly on their pious lifestyle and hard work ethic, which is embodied in one old woman in particular:

Vor der Tür des nächstliegenden Blockhauses stand ein altes Mütterchen. Ihr Gewand war einfach und sauber, ihr ganzes Aussehen zeugte von fleißiger Arbeit und über ihr Gesicht, das von schnee Weißen Haaren eingefasst wurde, lag jener selig lächelnde Friede ausgebreitet, der nur das Eigentum einer Seele sein kann, die mit ihrem Gott in unwandelbarem Vertrauen lebt.\(^\text{383}\)

This old woman’s peace with God is overwhelming for Old Shatterhand. To find people of a similar mindset in an isolated location in America, is something very heart-warming, and familiar in a foreign world for him and he finds that tears are welling up in his eyes. Although Klekih-petra was also a Christian and a German, Old Shatterhand feels more affinity towards the members of this settlement as they reflect, as seen in this one old woman, the Christian morals that also seem to guide Old Shatterhand on his adventures through the Wild West.

The name of this village is Helldorf-Settlement, and as they are speaking English with one another, one of the younger men recognizes Old Shatterhand and tells the older man (Vater Hillmann) that they can speak German with each other, and that Old Shatterhand is the one that wrote the version of *Ave Maria* that the choir has been singing.

\(^{383}\) *Winnetou III* 371.
With his identity discovered Old Shatterhand is received like a triumphant son returning to the village:

\[s\]o rief es rund um mich her und so viele Männer, Frauen, Buben und Mädchen zugegen waren, so viele Hände streckten sich mir entgegen und so viele Stimmen riefen mir ein wiederholtes Willkommen zu.\[384\]

He feels welcomed in the village, around not only people he feels a certain kinship with but also German immigrants who have also come to America and set up a German style settlement. For Old Shatterhand, this is a sort of “return” to his homeland.

The Germans also treat Winnetou like a guest of honour, which the majority of the “Yankee” settlements do not. His name is already known to the people of the settlement as the leader, Old Hillmann exclaims: “[v]on ihm habe ich hundertmal gehört und immer nur Gutes. … Sein Besuch ist eine Ehre für uns, Herr, denn dieser Mann ist berühmter und geachteter als mancher Fürst da drüben im alten Land.”\[385\] In using Old Hillmann to again point out Winnetou’s apparent noble characteristics that tie him to the princes of Europe, this shows the German affinity and to a certain extent respect for the noble savage. Much in the same way Klekih-petra, another German, had done before his death. This again, singles out Winnetou from other Aboriginals in the story and turns him into a either a noble savage or good Indian than a bad or evil Indian and making him a more accessible and sympathetic a character for the German audience. The way the leader of the settlement greets Winnetou “I am your servant, Sir”, as Old Shatterhand himself points out, “Ich muss gestehen, daß mir diese Redensart einem Indianer gegenüber ein kleines Lächeln

\[384\] Winnetou III 373.
\[385\] Winnetou III 373.
abnötigte”. On the one hand, May writes of Winnetou, from the perspective of outsiders, as being a noble savage and reputable man, but when it comes to Old Shatterhand, there is a definite racial hierarchy, in which a white man addressing Winnetou in traditional fashion, greeting him as a lord is staged as comical.

The reader finally discovers where the settlement came from in Germany and in the long description, it becomes clear that it was through hard work and smart investment that the families have come to establish Helldorf:


For May this is the epitome of his utopia. A German settlement in America; isolated from the outside world, self-subsisting, and successful through hard work, smart planning and Christianity. They, however, have not yet been able to find any of the precious stones
mentioned in the above account. Old Shatterhand asks Winnetou if he knows the location of these stones in Apache, as “ein Indianer über Gold- und andere Bodenschätze des Westens nur selten und höchst unglücklich spricht,” but he nevertheless asks him for his fellow countrymen. It was Santer’s greed and search for gold that led to the deaths of Winnetou’s family in *Winnetou I*. It is acceptable, however, in *Winnetou III* for Old Shatterhand to put this question to Winnetou asking on behalf of he fellow German settlers, not the Yankees. Since the group has entered the Helldorf settlement, Winnetou is slowly starting to take on more characteristics of a good Indian rather than a noble savage. His only stipulation is that the choir again sing Old Shatterhand’s version of *Ave Maria*. This surprises even Old Shatterhand, who says: “Hatte die schlichte Weise des ‘Ave Maria’ auf Winnetou einen so tiefen, gewaltigen Eindruck gemacht, dass er, der Indianer, entschlossen war, dafür die Geheimnisse der Berge zu verraten?” There are a few possible reasons for his sudden change of attitude regarding the precious stones. First, May wants to show that the relationship between Germans and Aboriginals is built on a system of respect and trust. This has been shown in the previous paragraph with the Helldorf’s treatment and respect for Winnetou. Secondly, this could be seen as foreshadowing Winnetou’s growing interest in Christianity, and ultimately his death. This of course, is exemplified through the German settlement singing Old Shatterhand’s version of *Ave Maria*. In a backward fashion, it is also showing that it is Old Shatterhand’s influence, through his song, that has led to the conversion of Winnetou.

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388 *Winnetou III* 376.
389 *Winnetou III* 376.
As his impatience grows, Winnetou makes it known that he wants to hear this song while he is standing on a mountain above the valley. Winnetou disappears for over an hour in the dark after the performance of the song when Old Shatterhand goes to look for him. As they meet Old Shatterhand sits silently at his side, Winnetou starts to talk about the Aboriginal and Christian beliefs. For the first time, the two Blood Brothers talk openly about their differing views of religion with serious consequences. Winnetou is deeply concerned that he will not see his friend “Scharlih” after his death. The following passage is riddled with the foreshadowing of the impending death of Winnetou as Winnetou, with almost a pagan sixth sense, can feel that he is nearing his death. Old Shatterhand uses Winnetou’s understanding of his own religion to create his argument about the superiority of Christianity. Winnetou tells him that Manitou, his God, owns the entire world to which Old Shatterhand responds with a long monologue:

roten Krieger glauben ihren Medizinmännern, die sagen, dass die Indianer in den Ewigen Jagdgründen alle Seelen der Weißen töten werden. Wenn nun mein Bruder in diesen blutigen Gründen einst seinem Freund Scharlih begegnete, würde er ihn töten?

In this conflicted passage, Old Shatterhand questions the principle values of Winnetou’s beliefs. He uses rhetoric to ask why would the Aboriginal God Manitou give them so little and the white man so much, if he did in fact own the land and stars. Why would he give the Aboriginal the badlands and why do the Aboriginal warriors believe the medicine men if it meant that Winnetou would have to kill his Blood Brother Scharlih? In contrast, the white Manitou is good and loves all of his children. He is also stronger than the Manitou of the Aboriginal, thus the superior higher being.

Old Shatterhand realizes that this is his opportunity to speak to Winnetou about Christianity as Winnetou had forbidden him ever to speak to him about religion after the death of Klekih-petra in Winnetou I. He maintains that there are good and bad white men in the world, just as there are good and bad Aboriginals, but because Winnetou only knows a small area of the world, he thus does not know that there are many good white men throughout it. Not only does he not know any good people, but because he does not believe in the white man’s God, he is essentially Lebensmüde, as Old Shatterhand asks him:

Worüber kann er sich freuen? Lauert nicht der Tod hinter jedem Baum und Strauch auf ihn? Hat er einmal einem Roten sein ganzes Vertrauen und seine

390 In Book I, the narrator makes a couple of disparaging comments about the heathen nature of the Medicine Man who blesses the convoy riding to St. Louis. Old Shatterhand dismisses the Apache traditions and Sam Hawkens impersonates a Medicine Man thus also emphasizing Old Shatterhand’s position regarding religion among the Indigenous cultures. With the subsequent deaths of Intschu tschuna and Nscho-tschi, Old Shatterhand points out that the Medicine Man’s blessings did not protect them. Winnetou I 408-415.

391 Winnetou III 379-380.

Old Shatterhand tries to point out that because Winnetou does not believe in the Holy Land, that his life has been essentially only work and disappointment. Old Shatterhand, himself, on the other hand, claims has followed the Saviour, be it in actuality or through his beliefs, and as a result has found his inner peace. Old Shatterhand tries to convince Winnetou to also seek out this inner peace that he has found through Christianity.

Winnetou speaks highly of his white brother Scharlih and in the following passage outlines all of the positive traits of Old Shatterhand, who is a Christian, and seems to also place all of these characteristics on the white man in general:


In this passage, Winnetou clearly views himself as an Aboriginal as inferior to his white brother, who has traveled the world, experienced different cultures and reads books

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392 Winnetou III 381.
393 Winnetou III 381.
written by white men. Through his Christian beliefs, Old Shatterhand has also
demonstrated sympathy towards his enemies and thus his word means more to Winnetou
than that of any other person. And it is the music of the white man, the lyrics of the song
Old Shatterhand wrote, *Ave Maria*, that has captured Winnetou’s interest in Christianity
and has thus opened up this conversation about religion.

In the conversation, Old Shatterhand maintains that during his explanation of
Christianity, he always tried to cast a positive light on the Aboriginal and their beliefs,
thus also indicating his opinion that the Aboriginal belief is an inferior one to his own.
Old Shatterhand also spoke in simple, uncomplicated words to the extent that “er hätte
sich aus eigenem Willen und Entschluss ergeben” and as Old Shatterhand maintains “[e]s
war ein liebvolles Netzauswerfen nach einer Seele, die es wert war, aus den Banden des
Irrtums erlöst zu werden.” For Old Shatterhand, it is clear that he will rescue
Winnetou’s soul. Winnetou thinks retrospectively and finally affirms what Old
Shatterhand believed:

Winnetou wird den großen, gütigen Manitou der Weißen, den Sohn des
Schöpfers, der am Kreuz gestorben ist, und die Jungfrau, die im Himmel
wohnt und den Gesang der *Settler* hört, nicht vergessen. Der Glaube der roten
Männer lehrt Hass und Tod. Der Glaube der Weißen Männer lehrt Liebe und
Leben. Winnetou hat schon lange Jahre darüber nachgedacht. Jetzt aber ist er
zur Klarheit gekommen. Mein Bruder habe Dank! Howgh!

From this passage, it becomes apparent that Winnetou is not only a good Indian, but that
he has been thinking about Christianity before he met Old Shatterhand. In this sense, it is
still Klekih-petra’s influence that has led to his conversion. Old Shatterhand has simply

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394 *Winnetou III* 382.
395 *Winnetou III* 382.
provided the final argument to convince Winnetou, after being moved spiritually by Old Shatterhand’s version of *Ave Maria*, that Christianity is the proper religion for the good Indian Winnetou. It is through Old Shatterhand’s music, the European based religious music, that causes Winnetou, who is from what at this time is perceived as a primitive culture based on the rhythmic beating of a drum and the “brüllen und schreien,” that May again uses to prove the idea of the Aboriginal as a people who are primitive and in comparison to the European has not had the time to develop such cultured things as proper, for the European, music.

After this conversation, the two Blood Brothers continue on their way and end up setting a trap to capture the *Railtroublers* and the Ogellallahs, who have been helping them, who have been in the area, attacking railcars and plundering them. After waiting a day and a night, the *Railtroublers* attack, and Winnetou and Old Shatterhand, along with 210 other men, lead the ambush on the *Railtroublers*. It is Winnetou who, in a manner that is uncharacteristic of him, leads the attack, and yells in English: “*Death to the Ogellallahs! Here stands Winnetou, chief of the Apaches! Fire!*” The attack is successful, but Winnetou notices that Old Shatterhand did not kill anyone. He did, however, shoot eight of the white *Railtroublers* in the leg, so they could not move. Winnetou on the other hand, killed the Ogellallah, which is typical of May in his narrative: Aboriginals killing Aboriginals, not Germans killing Aboriginals. The Aboriginals are killing and eradicating each other and the Germans are trying to “save” the souls of the

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396 *Winnetou III* 398.
ones they can. Winnetou, who has still not converted, seems, as part of his irrational behaviour to be close to being convinced that he should become a Christian.

After the fight, Old Shatterhand and Winnetou discover that the Helldorf settlement is to be attacked by the Ogellallahs. One of the men that Old Shatterhand wounded, Lew Monk, on his deathbed has told Spürauge, a Man of the West traveling with Winnetou and Old Shatterhand, that this is going to happen. The men leave for the Helldorf settlement with forty extra men in an attempt to protect the settlement.

As the men arrive in the Helldorf settlement, they see that they are too late. At this point, Winnetou swears revenge on the Ogellallahs, after which May mentions specifically the church, “… auch das Kapellchen war zerstört und verbrannt und das Kreuz hatte man von der Höhe herabgestürzt.” This order of events implies, subtly, that Winnetou is upset about the destruction of the church because of his recently deepened belief in Christianity. It is only non-believers who would also destroy a church. Although none of the settlers were to be found, there were also no bodies, which means that, for the meantime, the settlers are possibly still safe. As Old Shatterhand was concerned about the settlers, Winnetou had climbed to the top of the chapel and taken down the bell, swearing that it will be buried until he returns as the victor. As the men are riding out, May writes of Winnetou: “Man hätte ihn töten müssen, um ihn von dieser Fährte abzubringen, eine solche Erbitterung hatte sich seiner bemächtigt.” Winnetou also knows that to save the

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397 Winnetou III 405.
398 Winnetou III 406.
settlers from martyrdom, they must reach the villages of the Ogellallahs as soon as possible.

As they are on the trail of the Ogellallah and their captives, it is the teamwork of the Blood Brothers that lead the men to the villages. Winnetou tells Old Shatterhand that the Ogellallah are going to Hancock Mountain, where the Sioux sacrifice their captives in order to do the same. Winnetou is aware of this mountain as he had sworn a pact with the Ogellallah, which was consequently broken, rendering the Ogellallah to the bad Indian image in the story. Their actions in the present are simply further justifications that they are, in fact, bad Indians.

The group of men reach Hancock Mountain after traveling through very dangerous and deadly terrain. The cave is on the other side of the mountain and Winnetou demands that only Old Shatterhand follow him as the rest of the men are not suitably trained to go on this part of the journey. They are to stay behind with the horses and wait for the Blood Brothers to return. Old Shatterhand does not continue on this journey with his two rifles the “Bärentöter” and the “Stutzen”, which has serious implications in the upcoming narrative. The two find the settlers, whose feet and hands are bound, and they are guarded by Ogellallah warriors.

It slowly becomes dusk and as Old Shatterhand approaches Winnetou, Winnetou seems to know that he will not survive the impending fight: “Für den Hancock-Berg wird morgen ein neuer Tag beginnen, aber nicht für Winnetou. Seine irdische Sonne wird
Old Shatterhand refuses to believe this and tries to console Winnetou. Winnetou responds:


Winnetou, although he wants to and has understood many of the Christian teachings of Old Shatterhand and Klekih-petra, remains, as he has said, an Aboriginal, in the nineteenth century negative connotation of the term. Winnetou feels that he is inferior to his white brothers, and has even at one point in the story remarked that the white man can do everything better. Even though he has learned more than any of his red brothers, he is still inferior to his white brothers. His feeling of impending death is superstitious at best, and he even mentions that it is “das Wilde” the wild man, the savage, that feels this, not the white man. In doing this Winnetou compares this instinct to that of an animal, that is nearing its death and runs into the wilderness to die. It is the savages’ closeness to Nature which allows him to feel his impending death that the white man cannot feel. Winnetou is

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399 Winnetou III 413.
400 Winnetou III 413-414.
so sure of his death in the battle tonight that he predicts it will be a bullet to the heart that will kill him. As he is about to say that he is going to the eternal hunting grounds, the narrator interjects himself into the narrative:


Instead of overtly admitting to being a Christian, Winnetou states his belief in what can be seen as a sort of reconciliation between the beliefs of the red and white man:

“Ich gehe heute dahin, wohin der Sohn des guten Manitou uns vorangegangen ist, um uns die Wohnungen im Haus seines Vaters zu bereiten, und wohin mir mein Bruder Scharlih einst folgen wird. Dort werden wir uns wieder sehen und es wird keinen Unterschied mehr geben zwischen den Weißen und den roten Kindern des Vaters, der beide mit der gleichen, unendlichen Liebe umfährt. Es wird dann ewiger Friede sein. Es wird kein Morden mehr geben, kein Erwürgen von Menschen, die gut waren und den Weißen friedlich und vertrauend entgegenkamen, aber dafür ausgerottet wurden. Dann wird Manitou die Waagschalen in seiner Hand halten, um die Taten der Weißen und der Roten abzuwägen und das Blut, das unschuldig geflossen ist. Der Häuptling der Apatschen aber wird dabeistehen und für die Mörder seiner roten Brüder um Gnade und Erbarmen bitten”.

Old Shatterhand, however, tries to convince Winnetou that he is simply tired and not thinking straight, that is why he believes that he is going to die in this fight. Old Shatterhand also claims that he can attack on his own, as he is not tired, like Winnetou is. Of course, Winnetou takes this as an affront on his pride and will not grant Old Shatterhand this wish of staying behind and resting instead of joining the attack. Winnetou also wants Old Shatterhand to execute his will for him. This sequence leads to the book

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402 Winnetou III 414.
403 Winnetou III 414-415.
Winnetou IV: Winnetous Erben that is written in 1910 and deals with the will of Winnetou and the rush to find its riches. Here, however, Winnetou tells Old Shatterhand:

“Winnetou wusste, dass du heute so sprechen würdest. Es ist dir kein Geheimnis, dass der Apatsche viele Orte kennt, wo Gold in Erzadern und als Nuggets und Staub zu finden ist. Er brauchte dir nur einen einzigen solchen Ort zu nennen, so wärst du ein sehr reicher Mann, aber nicht mehr ein glücklicher. Der gute, weise Manitou hat dich nicht geschaffen, um weichlich in Reichtümern zu schweben; dein starker Körper und deine Seele sind zu Besserem bestimmt”.

Winnetou then proceeds to tell Old Shatterhand exactly where in the grave of his father, Intschu tschuna, that his will is buried. As Winnetou tries to say good bye to Old Shatterhand, the stoic trait of the Aboriginal comes through. Winnetou says:


In stark contrast to Winnetou’s Stoic behaviour, Old Shatterhand, the white man, cries and begs Winnetou not to partake in the ensuing attack.

After they have climbed the mountain and are getting ready for the attack, Winnetou tells Old Shatterhand, that he is the leader of this attack and will thus go first. It is this action that effectively saves Old Shatterhand from death. This again is a trait, that makes Winnetou the epitome of the good Indian, sacrificing himself for the white

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404 Winnetou III 417.
405 Winnetou III 418.
character in the story. It is a rolling stone and a crying child that ultimately lead to
Winnetou’s death but it is the words of Old Shatterhand: “Vorwärts Winnetou! [...] Sonst
ist alles verloren!”\textsuperscript{406} that leads to Winnetou jumping quickly to the mountain floor and
being caught by an Ogellallah bullet. Although Old Shatterhand inadvertently responsible
for his death, it is, again another Aboriginal character that kills an Aboriginal character in
the story, similar to that of Tokeah being killed by another Aboriginal character. The
whites are not responsible for the deaths of the Indigenous main characters in either story.

As Old Shatterhand attacks the enemy in a rage, only using his fists to bring down
the enemy, he does not even recognize himself. As he rushes to Winnetou’s side, he sees
that Winnetou is, in fact, hit with a bullet in the chest, which had lodged in his lung.

Winnetou wants to watch the battle and does so from Old Shatterhand’s lap. As Old
Shatterhand realizes that Winnetou is dying, he asks Winnetou if he wishes for anything.
He does not answer, and the settlers who have been freed also join the battle. As it is clear
that the battle is won, both the \textit{Railroaders} and the settlers gather around a semi-
conscious Winnetou and Old Shatterhand again asks him if there is anything they can do.

Winnetou has two wishes, he wishes that Old Shatterhand lead the settlers to the Gros-
Ventre-Berge, where there are the many riches that they were seeking are and that the
settlers sing “… das Lied von der Königin des Himmels.”\textsuperscript{407} The settlers fulfill this wish
and as the second verse begins, Winnetou, whose eyes were closed, opens his eyes slowly
and says to Old Shatterhand “Scharlih, nicht wahr, jetzt kommen die Worte von

\textsuperscript{406} Winnetou III 420.
\textsuperscript{407} Winnetou III 423.
Sterben?" With his last breath, Winnetou, after hearing the last verse, whispers to Old Shatterhand “Scharlih, ich glaube an den Heiland. Winnetou ist ein Christ. Leb wohl!”

And in an overexaggerated passage, the narrator describes his death:

Es ging ein Zucken und Zittern durch seinen Körper, ein Blutstrom quoll aus seinem Mund. Der Häuptling der Apatoschen drückte nochmals meine Hände und streckte seine Glieder. Dann lösten sich seine Finger langsam von den meinen – er war tot…

In the following paragraph, it becomes clear that Winnetou is not the only one to have died in Old Shatterhand’s lap. The other two are Klekih-petra, the white father of the Apache and Winnetou’s own sister Nscho-tschi.

He is buried by Old Shatterhand and the German settlers, who happen to be masons. They were careful to cover their tracks so that “kein Indianer unsere Spur aufzufinden vermochte.” Of course the question is which “Indianer” is meant? Is it the Apache or the Ogellallahs, who were fighting at the scene, who should not be able to follow the settlers? This situation is problematic as not only is Old Shatterhand controlling the burial of his Blood Brother, but he is also not including any of Winnetou’s tribe in the matter, only the other Germans from the Helldorf settlement. Winnetou is not buried like Klekih-petra, in a hybrid of religions of sorts, but rather as a Christian. A convert, who, shortly before his death had barely acknowledged that he was in fact, a Christian, Old Shatterhand does make a few concessions, but they are an empty gesture:

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408 Winnetou III 423.
409 Winnetou III 424.
410 Winnetou III 424.
411 Winnetou III 425.

The few Railroaders who decided to stay with the settlers and chose to found another settlement in the area also called Helldorf. The Railroaders who went back to the battle were consequently held accountable for their deeds and punished. The bell that Winnetou buried, in hopes of returning after his revenge, was used in the new settlement’s church and with that, whenever Ave Maria is sung, the people think about Winnetou and “… sind überzeugt, dass ihm erfüllt wurde, was er sterbend durch ihre Lippen betete…”\footnote{Winnetou III 426.} and that is the second verse of Ave Maria, the verse that converted Winnetou to a Christian.

Conclusion

Thus with Winnetou’s death a myth is born. A character representative of all the Edelmenschen of North America, Winnetou not only represents the best of his people, but also the death of his people. Throughout the series, the reader grows with Winnetou. From the noble savage of the first encounter, where Winnetou, along with his father Intschutschuna, speak a clear and fluent English as they address the problematic of land ownership. The reader is there as Old Shatterhand and Winnetou become Blood Brothers, the beginning of the “German-Indian” friendship is established and his transformation from a noble savage slowly to a good Indian begins. Finally the reader is there as Old...
Shatterhand takes Winnetou’s head in his lap and listens as Winnetou finishes his final transformation to a good Indian: he converts to Christianity.

It is through this transformation from a noble savage to a good Indian that the reader becomes enamoured in the idea of Winnetou. A good friend that would die for his white brother Scharlih and now, through his conversion to Christianity, the two Blood Brothers will meet again in heaven. For the German reader of the late nineteenth century, the ability to identify with North America’s most noble being was identifying with North America’s most *German* being. Hartmut Lutz has rightly called Winnetou an “Apfel Indianer”: red on the outside but white on the inside. Lutz explains this in more detail: „Da Winnetou ein Stereotyp ist, ein leeres Klischee, ohne indianische Inhalte oder Identität, ist er so gut zu gebrauchen als Vehikel für weiße- hier deutsche- Ideologie. Winnetou „der rote Gentleman“, entpuppt sich bei näherer Betrachtung als deutscher kleinbürger im Indianerkostüm.” And why Winnetou, more so than Tokeah or Tecumseh has become so entrenched in German culture. Winnetou, however, should not be seen as negatively as Lutz maintains. Winnetou, viewed as European nobility, should be associated with the positive traits of the Wilhelminian ideology of the late nineteenth century.

It is only the image of the Aboriginal in Karl May’s *Winnetou* trilogy that actually conforms to the categories set out by Barnett. Intschu tschuna stays within the context of the noble savage image as does Nscho-tschi in the good Indian image. Although Winnetou’s image does transform from a noble savage to a good Indian, this transition is

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accounted for in Barnett as it is the contact of the noble savage with white characters that transform the noble savage into either a good or bad Indian. It is only the extraordinary Aboriginal character, such as Winnetou, that actually makes the transition to the good Indian and this is usually done through isolation from their tribes, their admittance that the white culture is the superior culture and finally their conversion to Christianity.\textsuperscript{415}

The author arguably furthest removed from Barnett’s framework, is the one that best embodies her categories. This is because May’s characters, in comparison to those of La Roche and Sealsfield, are less developed and two-dimensional. Their functions in the story are simply to drive the narrative forward, in both instances here, through their deaths. Winnetou leaves the reader with the perfect image of a good German Indian, who through his death is part of a past age.

This conclusion of Winnetou as a good Indian instead of a noble savage may be met with some scepticism in German academia as it runs contrary to many years of published research that consistently describes Winnetou as an \textit{Edelmensch} or noble savage. This could be the case especially when written by a North American who could be seen as “one of the descendants of the crass Yankees”\textsuperscript{416} of the \textit{Winnetou} series. He is the symbol of an “imaginative geography,” created by one man that became so popular during his time and after, mainly because people \textit{wanted} to believe; people \textit{needed} to believe that

\textsuperscript{415} See p.22-24 of the introduction.
\textsuperscript{416} Sammons, \textit{Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy} 230.
there is another people, another *Volk* that has it better. As Goethe once wrote: “Amerika, du hast es besser,” perhaps the German psyche believes *Winnetou, du hast es besser.*

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Epilogue: Where do we go from here?

As I have shown in the dissertation, all three authors created images of Aboriginals that influenced generations of German speakers. Sophie von La Roche and her image of the Oneida created a binary opposition between the bad Indian and the noble savage: a representation of a “primitive Indian” image, which she used to emphasize the significance of European culture in even the most dire of circumstances and spaces. Charles Sealsfield used the image of the noble savage to highlight the archaic political structure among the Oconee in order to reflect that same hierarchical and monarchical structure he saw in European countries. When the Oconee are contrasted with the young American Republic, it is clear that the old societies and political structures must make way for the new and the white expansion west is not to be tampered with. May champions the image of the good Indian with the heroic but enlightened and at the same time spiritually Christian Winnetou, who is the blood brother of the German “Greenhorn”. In creating this bond of friendship and an elective affinity between the Aboriginal and the German, May gave his readers an adventure story and an imaginary bond, which still exists today.

All three authors, however, created fictional images to enhance their stories and further the development of their white character’s plot. These images all have a German influence. The Aboriginal characters all represented the differing motivations of the authors. As Francis maintains, the readership was:

[...] exposed to images of the Indian created by various White writers and educators. These images were not all negative. On the contrary, many were very positive. But they were not authentic: they represented the concerns and prejudices of White adult society instead of actual Native Canadians.\textsuperscript{418}

\textsuperscript{418} Francis 145.
In using the Aboriginal characters to represent “the concerns and prejudices,” these authors helped to create or further propagate stereotypes about Indigenous populations.

The Aboriginal characters in each of the stories, when interacting with white characters are part of the power structure described in Said’s *Orientalism* as the “silent Other”. With regard to Flaubert, Said notes the problem of the Occident speaking for the Orient:

[…] in the fact that Flaubert’s encounter with an Egyptian courtesan produced a widely influential model of the Oriental woman; she never spoke for herself, she never represented her emotions, presence, or history. He spoke for and represented her. He was foreign, comparatively wealthy, male and these were historical facts of domination that allowed him not only to possess Kuchuk Hanem physically but to speak for her and tell his readers in what way she was ‘typically Oriental’. 419

With this example, Said recounts an instance of a person who has become an iconic representation of their culture, based on the descriptions of a European author. Each chieftain, Nesquehiounah created by La Roche, Sealsfield’s Tokeah and Winnetou through May, much like Kuchuk Hanem of Flaubert, became archetypically iconic representations for “their” culture.

In the three novels examined, the Aboriginal characters of the three novels became archetypes for a dying culture. Yet it was their white counterparts who spoke for them whose inventions they were. Nesquehiounah had already died and was thus part of the past age of his people. Carl Des Wattines remembers him and speaks with his son, but the Iroquois colonel of the American army did not speak for himself. Tokeah, when speaking

with General Jackson is not heard nor respected and Winnetou’s voice is constantly overshadowed by Old Shatterhand, the narrator of the story. In all three cases, the Aboriginal character was a vehicle for the author. The authors wrote about America but from a European perspective and imagined their Aboriginal characters to illustrate what they found to be important within their own cultural heritage. As a result, these representations of Aboriginals serve as configurations of the perspectives of their German authors. Each of the authors saw the Aboriginal characters as the “dying man”, reflecting different forms of European colonial imagination. It is only Karl May’s characters, however, that fit almost seamlessly into Barnett’s categories of good Indian, bad Indian or noble savage.

Represented differently when not among the dominant white population, the Aboriginal characters are still seen as primitive in comparison to their white counterparts. The one exception is La Roche’s Nesquehiounah, who is seen as a leader in the American army, but he forfeits this designation when he decides to leave white society and return to his previous way of life. The unnamed son of Nesquehiounah, like the Oneida women, help the Des Wattines through the birth of their child but are criticized for choosing to live a primitive lifestyle without books and what La Roche determined to be representative of European culture. Their lifestyle is briefly admired by the Des Wattines but the couple longs to return to their island paradise away from both the Oneida and other settlers in the area. Sealsfield writes positively about the Oconee in the space of the Oconee village, and Tokeah’s role in the village as chief. But the village is destroyed, forcing the Oconee to

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420 Or the potential to be the “dying man”, if the Aboriginals did not conform to the desires of the dominant society.
enter the city of New Orleans. In his meeting with General Jackson, Tokeah is warned to leave American soil to save his tribe. Tokeah’s counterpart, the younger El Sol, does leave for Mexico and is able to continue his nomadic lifestyle whereas Tokeah is killed, trying to rescue the bones of his father. Karl May creates the perfect counterpart to his alter ego Old Shatterhand in the Apache blood brother Winnetou. Among the Apache and among German settlers in the West, Winnetou is seen as a noble savage or good Indian stereotype. The Yankees (Americans), however, see Winnetou as a red devil and bait him at every chance. This German sympathetic representation of Aboriginals through the Karl May character Winnetou is further represented in the medium of film.

Through my reading of Aboriginal characters in these texts, I have shown that even Barnett’s complicated schema fails to adequately describe the German image of the “Indian.” The categorical distinctions proposed by Barnett tend to collapse because they cannot in the end contain the contradictions in German attitudes towards the Aboriginal.

In his book *Playing Indian*, Philip Deloria addresses the issue why Aboriginals have played into stereotypical and homogenous representations of Indigenous peoples in North America. He argues that throughout American history, settler society has appropriated and enacted a variety of Indian images to create a specific national identity as well as individual identities. He also examines the settler history of dressing up and playing Indian as a means of asserting American identity. He notes: “From the colonial period to the present the Indian has skulked in and out of the most important stories
various Americans have told about themselves.” Deloria supports his argument by referencing the establishment of the Western sciences of anthropology and ethnography and the emergence of documenting Indigenous cultures and peoples. Although Deloria writes of the American experience, his argument also pertains to the German image of Aboriginal peoples and the three authors discussed. The Aboriginal characters “skulk in and out” of the narratives becoming whatever the authors desires them to be. Deloria further argues, “the only culture allowed to define real Indian people was a traditional culture that came from the past rather than the present.” This nostalgic image of Aboriginal peoples can be seen in the work of all three authors.

Over the past twenty years Aboriginal artists, writers and scholars have addressed and engaged with this romanticized image of Indigenous peoples as representations of the past, which are far removed from the reality of today. Bear Witness (Cayuga) was one of four Aboriginal artists from Canada selected to create a response to either a Karl May or DEFA Indianerfilme for a panel called “Culture Shock”. It is a discussion of his statement that concludes this dissertation.

At the 2009 Berlinale Film Festival, in Berlin Germany, four Aboriginal artists from Canada created multimedia responses to two German Westerns as part of a panel called “Culture Shock”. Originally commissioned for the ImagineNative Festival held every year in Toronto, this panel was well received in Canada but created a lot of

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422 Deloria 3. Here past image refers to an image reminiscent of Kafka’s in “Wunsch Indianer zu Werden.”
423 Bonnie Devine (Ojibway), Keesic Douglas (Ojibway), Darryl Nepinak (Saulteaux) and Bear Witness (Cayuga).
controversy in Berlin. Bear Witness’ work in particular sparked an immense amount of debate at the Berlinale as he was told that he had misunderstood the (German) image of the Aboriginal. At both festivals, the program included panel presentations and question and answers periods, which led to discussions from two very different audience bases. In Toronto, at ImagineNative the transnational audience was predominantly made up of Aboriginal artists, scholars, curators, arts administrators, students and arts enthusiasts as well as a similar community of non-indigenous, largely North American members. At ImagineNative, Culture Shock as an Aboriginal space, the artists and audience members engaged in conversations about Indigenous self-determination, issues around self-representation, and art as a medium to respond to racist and eurocentric representations of Aboriginal peoples. The Berlinale also had a transnational audience, but was predominantly made up of white-Germans, a composition that led to different discussions. These discussions connected more to German histories, nationalisms and subjectivities and created a significant site of cross-cultural dialogue including an opportunity for the audience members to listen and be exposed to Aboriginal perspective and vantage points. In both screening venues the artists put forward their film responses, which ultimately forced diverse audience members to engage with their texts. The members of the audience engaged with Aboriginal self-representations and cultural agency and questioned the notions and stereotypes as well as concepts of Aboriginal identities and notions of authenticity.

Redheaded Warrior,\textsuperscript{424} Witness ingeniously adds another dimension to the German Aboriginal representation as he introduces images taken from the video game “Virtual Fighter V”, a game in which you can design your own fighter, based on standardized images provided. Witness’ response that uses the images of the video game includes the same racial stereotypes as these German films; stereotypes that are far removed from reality and when re-addressed represent the epitome of a culture clash: white vs. Aboriginal culture. That this German fascination is already well known among Aboriginal populations in North America is somewhat surprising and often their responses, as Stephen Loft, curator of the Culture Shock project puts it, take a “fearless kick at the colonial ass.”\textsuperscript{425}

Ein Indianer kennt keinen Schmerz is a common German expression used when trying to calm a child who has injured itself. In stories about Aboriginals in Germany, an Indianer is expected to remain strong and stoic, showing no signs of pain while being tortured.\textsuperscript{426} These myths about North American Indigenous peoples tend to be so entrenched in the German psyche, that Hartmut Lutz has created a term: deutsche Indianertümelei, translated as “German Indanthusiasm”, defined as “a yearning for all things Indian, a fascination with American Indians, a romanticizing about a supposed Indian essence.”\textsuperscript{427} This fascination, however, is firmly situated in a romanticized, noble

\textsuperscript{424} The Story of Apinachie and her Redheaded Warrior, dir. Bear Witness (Beta SP, Imaginative Film Festival, 2008).
\textsuperscript{426} See the Marterpfhal in Winnetou I: Chapter 13 288, Chapter 15. 337.
savage image of the Aboriginal. This figure is seen as an image of a past age - in fact, Indianthusiasm has very little to do with contemporary realities of indigenous life.

In comparing the German Indianerfilme to the Hollywood films, Gerd Gemuenden maintains that a positive attribute of the German films is the historical accuracy. “The exclusive and film-historical unprecedented focus on Native Americans allows for a historical accuracy that most Hollywood films had always lacked, […] Hollywood had to continuously rewrite and deliberately distort historical facts to couch its films in plots acceptable for the home audience.” 428 One should not, however, believe that the German films were progressive beacons in a post-colonialist world. Like the Karl May books themselves, these films participated in an othering and cultural domination of Aboriginal culture, just in different ways and with different ideological and political motivations.

In comparing the East and West German films Stephen Foster writes that although they were different from the popular Hollywood formula and offer a different perspective to their Hollywood counterparts, “they are not intended to be realist depictions but instead create a simulacra of Indianness by mimicking the Hollywood genre and fusing it with a distinctly German and European perspective.” 429 These films with their own political agendas were not interested in the authenticity of their Aboriginal characters, but rather propagated a romanticized notion of Indigenous culture. The Red Westerns of East

Germany\textsuperscript{430} were produced in reaction to the immense popularity and success of the Karl May films in West Germany. The \textit{Indianer} of the Red Westerns were used as ideological symbols of resistance against the Yankees, who were stealing their land. Seen as such, both the \textit{Indianer} tribes and the East Germans were at war with the Yankees and Capitalism.

The American made,\textsuperscript{431} Hollywood westerns by comparison were completely different. In vilifying the Aboriginal, these films sought to re-write the triumph of the “Wild West” from an American perspective. Loft maintains:

\begin{quote}
[t]hat the German films seem to refute this version of history is an interesting departure from the ethno-political narrative North Americans are used to seeing, but it’s instructive that even these “positive” views of Aboriginal people are still infused with many of the stereotypes common in Euro-western mythologies – those that place Aboriginal people as victims…\textsuperscript{432}
\end{quote}

And as Karl May wrote “Indian as the dying man.”\textsuperscript{433}

As found in the Berlinale catalogue of that year: The artists “are acutely aware of the history and enduring power of stereotypes they portray and are forging clear lines of demarcation of those works and contemporary Aboriginal society.”\textsuperscript{434} As Witness tackles these stereotypes in the medium of film and video games, the viewer can see just how

\textsuperscript{430}I concentrate more on the Hollywood and West German image of Aboriginals because the film that Witness worked with was the West German Karl May film. Gemünden’s article already cited in the conclusion offers a very good reading of the DEFA films.

\textsuperscript{431}This includes the famed Spaghetti Westerns.


\textsuperscript{433}May \textit{Winnetou 15}.

entrenched these stereotypes, or as Gemünden calls them “racist blind spots”\textsuperscript{435} have become- on both sides of the Atlantic.

*The Story of Apinachie and her Redheaded Warrior* opens with an eagle circling in the sky. Witness loops the clip continuously but every second loop is mirroring the original. This sequence is then interjected with the image of Happy, a white boy who is shown standing and then kneeling while the image of the eagle continues to circle what now is the boy looking at the eagle’s nest. The image of the eagle circling is gradually phased out and replaced *once* with a close up of Happy smiling then the smile being reversed, while the scene with Happy standing and kneeling is repeated. A close up of the eagle is reintroduced in a manner that suggests it is protecting it’s nest. This is now looped with Happy stealing the eagle feather from the nest. The tempo of the clips is increased and reaches a climax of tension quickly looping Happy taking the feather from the nest.

The scene then switches to a fast looping segment of Apanatschi walking out of the cabin, dressed as an Aboriginal girl and Happy screaming: “Apanatschi sieht wie eine echte Indianerin aus!”\textsuperscript{436} The looping is centred around Happy’s voice. Slowly, Apanatschi leaves the cabin and this is looped with two scenes: Winnteou riding around a mountain and a close up of Winnetou. The scene ends with Winnteou remarking how much she looks like a “echte Apatschin”. Apanatschi, however, just wants her surprise.

\textsuperscript{435} Gemünden 246.
The entire time, the soundtrack remains low key, almost redundant. The sound of drums consistently frame the images, along with the screeching eagle. As the plot develops, Witness combines the sound of the drums with the long drawn out high pitched tone that was common in the Karl May films and Spaghetti Westerns to further draw out the tension in the scene he has created. The high pitched tone is interrupted with sharp tones whenever Winnetou is riding around the mountain.

The action then suddenly switches to the 1992 video game “Virtual Fighter V” and the Aboriginal character Wolf Hatfield, who battles different opponents. This is a love story. Wolf Hatfield is fighting his way through different opponents to find his love, Apanatschi. The second segment shows Wolf Hatfield, Apanatschi’s redheaded warrior, fighting different opponents to an upbeat soundtrack that shifts the viewer to a more North American, AIM stereotype of Aboriginal cultures. Wearing a headdress, aviator sunglasses and a dream catcher around his neck, Wolf Hatfield is “dancing” almost in a Pow Wow style to the beat of the music. The scene opens with the voice over asking “Are you ready for this?” The words flashing on the screen repeat saying either “you win” and “you lose.” This refers back to the struggle to reclaim this image and thus make it his own. The words of the song, however, are inspiring, calling on the listener to “get it on” and “get it up”, again wanting to, not only reclaim, but also be proud of this image. Witness also loops traditional Pow-Wow songs behind the other, more contemporary song. The soundtrack then breaks into another song that is actually from Africa and singing about the AIDS epidemic there. The beat of the African song is similar to the Pow-Wow beat and Witness is playing with the music of Aboriginal peoples from around the world. The
viewer continues following Wolf Hatfield on his journey, fighting different opponents celebrating his wins and lamenting his losses as he journeys to meet Apanatschi. The short film finishes with Wolf being knocked to the ground but confidently getting up, facing the screen and calling on his next opponent.

When working with the film, we can see that Witness is working with the repetition of motion in the first segment to emphasize not only the appropriation of Aboriginal culture but the consistent appropriation of Aboriginal culture from a German perspective. Happy’s smile and the stealing of the feather can be seen as representing the German Indianthusiasm so firmly stuck in the archaic image loved by many Germans. Even in this context Barnett’s categories almost make sense, but not quite. Like the three novels in the body of this dissertation, it is the desperate attempt to reconcile the elements of German attitudes towards Aboriginals in the texts that leads to the image of the “vanishing Indian.” This image is unstable and contradictory as has been shown here by Witness whose work is all about challenging assumptions and received perceptions. This dissertation, like Witness’ short film, shows that when you set these images side-by-side they don't make sense, no matter how plausible any one of them looks on its own. This is also reflected in Witness’ film in the juxtaposition of film and video game: either one makes sense (or seems to) in its context and on its own terms; it's only when you put them together that you see the self-contradictory ideas that both contain- “you win” and “you lose”- Aboriginals have been subjugated and conquered and therefore must be an inferior people, but at the same time their lifestyle is deemed better than the Europeans’ in all sorts of ways.
What the viewer finds is the same sort of stereotypes being used in both the film and video game. In using this comparison, Witness shows us that in a global society, many things can be seen as universal. He also shows us the power of such media as film and video games in that, as he inserts his own voice into action, what he is doing is taking “a kick at the colonial ass.” By using the language (here film) of the colonizer, he is asserting himself into the discussion, and leaving the role of the silent Other, but what does remain, is a clash of cultures, thoughts and opinions.

What curator Stephen Loft says of the Culture Shock artists as a whole is an important message: “They’re not trying to convince other Native people -- we all get the joke and the irony – what they are creating is a bridge, an invitation to rapprochement, and an indictment of attempts to undermine a society’s culture." By building this bridge and creating, not a statement but rather a *conversation* among many people, Witness and the other three artists are trying to find common ground, somewhere to start. Today, not only Aboriginals, but also Germans are aware of and find the humour in and to a certain extent absurdity of Indianthusiasm.

It is not only the image of Winnetou that is a *German* image, not to be representative of Aboriginal culture, but it is the representations of all three authors that are not representative of Aboriginal culture. The German images created by La Roche, Sealsfield and May all served their purposes to address non-Aboriginal, German

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audiences. The role of the Aboriginal characters was to further the plot for a German audience and what this did was create the “imaginary German Indian.”
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